

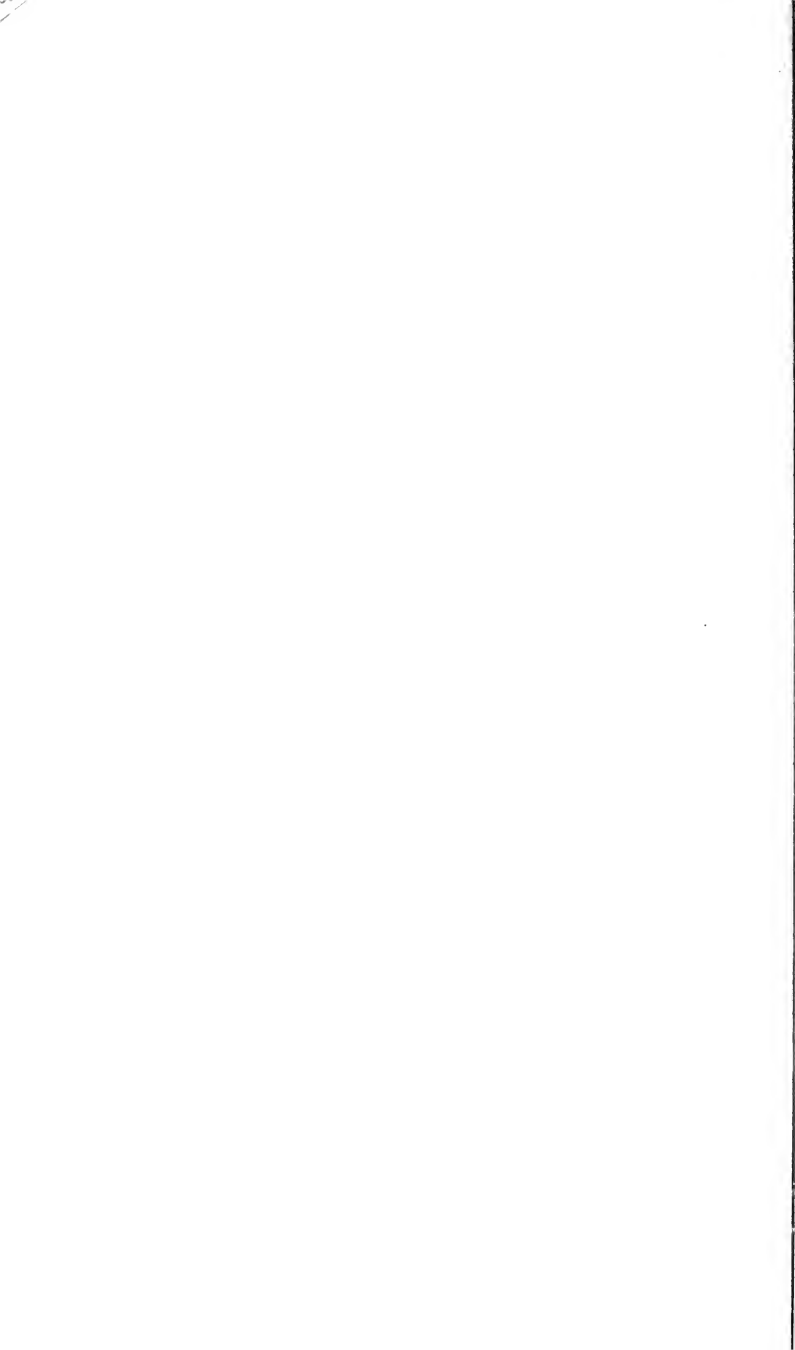
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 00017359 1







COUNCILS  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS  
RELATING TO  
*GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.*

London

HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

7 PATERNOSTER ROW

H. E. E. E.  
H.

COUNCILS  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS  
RELATING TO  
*GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:*

EDITED, AFTER SPELMAN AND WILKINS,

BY

ARTHUR WEST HADDAN, B. D.

*Honorary Canon of Worcester,*

AND

WILLIAM STUBBS, M. A.

*Regius Professor of Modern History,*

*FORMERLY FELLOWS OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.*

VOL. III.

**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC LXXI

[*All rights reserved*]

BR

741

H3

V.3

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



# CONTENTS.

## IX. ENGLISH CHURCH DURING THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

A.D. 595—1066.

A.D.		PAGE
595—604.	I. AUGUSTIN . . . . .	3
	<i>Letters of Gregory the Great.</i>	
590 x 595.	(I.) Prior to Augustin's Mission . . . . .	5
	To Candidus . . . . .	5
596.	(II.) Sent with Augustin's Mission	
	1. To the Brethren . . . . .	5
	2. To the Bishops of Gaul . . . . .	6
	3. To Etherius Bishop of Lyons . . . . .	6
	4. To Vergil Bishop of Arles . . . . .	7
	5. To Desiderius of Vienne and Syagrius of Autun . . . . .	7
	6. To Protasius of Aix . . . . .	8
	7. To Stephen Abbot of Lerins . . . . .	9
	8. To Arigius the Patrician . . . . .	9
	9. To the Kings of the Franks . . . . .	10
	10. To Brunichild . . . . .	10
	Arrival of Augustin in Kent . . . . .	11
596 x 601.	(III.) Letters of Gregory sent between the Mission of Augustin and that of Mellitus . . . . .	12
598.	1. To Eulogius of Alexandria . . . . .	12
598.	2. To Brunichild . . . . .	13
599.	3. To Syagrius . . . . .	13
	(IV.) Letters sent with Mellitus . . . . .	14
	A. On Ecclesiastical Questions . . . . .	14
601.	1. To Augustin, on Miracles . . . . .	14
601.	2. To Bertha . . . . .	17
601.	3. To Augustin in answer to his Questions . . . . .	18
601.	4. To Vergil of Arles . . . . .	28
601.	5. To Augustin, with the pall . . . . .	29
601.	6. To Ethelbert King of Kent . . . . .	30

A.D.		PAGE
	B. Commendatory letters for the second Mission . . . . .	33
601.	1. To Desiderius of Vienne . . . . .	33
	2. To Vergil of Arles . . . . .	34
	3. To Etherius of Lyons . . . . .	34
	4. To Arigius of Gap . . . . .	34
	5. To the Bishops of Toulon, Marseilles, Chalons, Metz, Paris, Rouen, &c. . . . .	34
	6. To Theodoric the King	
	7. To Theodebert the King } of the Franks . . . . .	35
	8. To Clothair the King	
	9. To Brunichild . . . . .	36
	C. Letter to Mellitus . . . . .	37
602 x 603.	Conferences at Augustin's Oak . . . . .	38
	First Conference . . . . .	38
	Second Conference . . . . .	39
597 x 604.	Laws of Ethelbert King of Kent . . . . .	42
597 x 604.	Canon respecting Marriage . . . . .	50
597 x 604.	Canon respecting Baptism . . . . .	51
604.	Charter of Ethelbert to Rochester . . . . .	52
597 x 604.	Rule for the Ember Fasts . . . . .	52
604.	Epitaph of S. Augustine . . . . .	53
<i>Questionable or Spurious Documents.</i>		
601—604.	(I.) Fragments attributed to S. Gregory by Gratian . . . . .	53
605.	(II.) Charter of Ethelbert to S. Peter's Monastery . . . . .	54
	(III.) Second Charter of Ethelbert . . . . .	55
	(IV.) Third Charter of Ethelbert . . . . .	56
	(V.) <i>Bulla Plumbea</i> of S. Augustin . . . . .	58
604—619.	II. LAURENTIUS . . . . .	61
604 x 610.	Unsuccessful attempt at union with the Irish and British Churches . . . . .	61
	1. Letter of Laurentius to the Scottish Bishops . . . . .	61
	2. Letter of Laurentius to the British Bishops . . . . .	61
610.	Mission of Mellitus to Rome . . . . .	62
<i>Documents said to have been brought from Rome by Mellitus.</i>		
	1. Decree of the Roman Council under Boniface IV. . . . .	62
	2. Another version of the same . . . . .	64
	3. Letter of Boniface IV. to Mellitus . . . . .	65
	4. Letter of Boniface IV. to Ethelbert . . . . .	65
617, 618.	Flight of Mellitus from London . . . . .	66
<i>Questionable and Spurious Documents.</i>		
611.	1. Bull of Boniface IV. to Ethelbert . . . . .	67
616.	2. Charter of Eadbald to Canterbury . . . . .	69
618.	3. Charter of Eadbald to S. Augustin's . . . . .	69
619—624.	III. MELLITUS . . . . .	71
619.	Letter of Boniface V. to Mellitus . . . . .	71

A.D.		PAGE
624—627.	IV. JUSTUS . . . . .	72
	Primacy fixed at Canterbury . . . . .	72
	1. Letter of Boniface V. to Justus . . . . .	72
	2. Second letter . . . . .	73
625—627.	Conversion of Northumbria . . . . .	75
625.	1. Letter of Boniface V. to Edwin . . . . .	75
	2. Letter of Boniface V. to Ethelberga . . . . .	78
	3. Northumbrian Witenagemot near Godmundham . . . . .	80
627—653.	V. HONORIUS . . . . .	82
628.	Consecration of Honorius . . . . .	82
634.	1. Letter of Pope Honorius to Edwin . . . . .	83
	2. Letter of Pope Honorius to Archbishop Honorius . . . . .	84
	3. Second letter of Pope Honorius to Archbishop Honorius . . . . .	85
627—633.	Result of the Kentish Mission to Northumbria . . . . .	86
632—636.	Conversion of East Anglia . . . . .	88
634—650.	Conversion of Wessex . . . . .	90
635—651.	Reconversion of Northumbria . . . . .	91
640.	Laws of Earcombert of Kent . . . . .	92
644.	First English Bishop . . . . .	93
653.	Conversion of the Middle Angles . . . . .	93
653.	Reconversion of the East Saxons . . . . .	94
655.	Conversion of Mercia . . . . .	96
655—664.	VI. DEUDEDIT . . . . .	99
655 x 664.	Foundation of the Monastery of Peterborough . . . . .	99
664.	Conference at Whitby about Easter . . . . .	100
664.	Election of Wilfrid to the See of York . . . . .	106
664.	Consecration of Wilfrid . . . . .	108
664 x 665.	Reconversion of the East Saxons . . . . .	109
667.	Negotiations with Pope Vitalian about an appointment to Canterbury . . . . .	110
	1. Letter of Oswy and Egbert to the Pope . . . . .	110
	2. Letter of Pope Vitalian to Oswy . . . . .	110
	Foundation of an Anglo-Saxon monastery in Ireland . . . . .	113
666—669.	Wilfrid acts as Bishop in Kent and Mercia . . . . .	113
668—690.	VII. THEODORE . . . . .	114
668.	Nomination and Consecration of Theodore . . . . .	115
	Letter of Pope Vitalian to Theodore . . . . .	116
	Visitation by Theodore of all England . . . . .	117
669 x 670.	Synod of Wessex . . . . .	118
673.	Council of Hertford . . . . .	118
673.	Privilege of Pope Adeodatus to S. Augustin's . . . . .	123
675.	Foundation of Malmesbury . . . . .	124
675.	Privilege of Pope Agatho to S. Augustin's . . . . .	124
678.	Division of the Northumbrian Diocese . . . . .	125
679.	Northumbrian Council confirming the privilege of Wearmouth . . . . .	126

A.D.		PAGE
679.	Decree of Theodore relating to the division of the West-Saxon Diocese	126
679.	Division of the Mercian Diocese . . . . .	127
679—680.	Councils at Rome on the business of Wilfrid . . . . .	131
	1. Council of seventeen Bishops . . . . .	131
	2. Council of fifty Bishops . . . . .	136
	3. Council of a hundred and twenty-five Bishops . . . . .	140
	Synodical letter of the Council . . . . .	140
680.	Council of Hatfield . . . . .	141

*Appendix to the Council of Hatfield.*

	1. Canons of the Lateran Council of A.D. 649 . . . . .	145
	2. Decree of Theodore for the division of Dioceses . . . . .	152
	3. Privilege of Pope Agatho to Peterborough . . . . .	153
678 x 681.	Privilege of Pope Agatho to S. Paul's, London . . . . .	161
678 x 681.	Privilege of Pope Agatho to Chertsey . . . . .	161
Before 680.	Foundation of Glastonbury . . . . .	164
	Grant of land by Bishop Heddi to Glastonbury . . . . .	164
680.	Rejection of Papal sentence for Wilfrid . . . . .	164
681.	Further subdivision of Northumbria . . . . .	165
684.	Election of Cuthbert . . . . .	165
681—686.	Conversion of the South Saxons . . . . .	167
685.	Mercian Synod at Burford . . . . .	169
686.	Restoration of Wilfrid . . . . .	169
	1. Interview of Theodore and Wilfrid . . . . .	169
686.	2. Letter of Theodore to Ethelred King of Mercia . . . . .	171
686.	3. Restoration of Wilfrid to York . . . . .	172
	POENITENTIALE THEODORI . . . . .	173
	Liber Primus . . . . .	177
	Liber Secundus . . . . .	190

*Appendix to the Penitential.*

	1. Collation of <i>Capitula Theodori</i> . . . . .	205
	2. Collation of <i>Canones Gregorii</i> . . . . .	207
	3. Canons ascribed to Theodore . . . . .	209
690.	Epitaph of Theodore . . . . .	213
690—693.	Vacancy of the See of Canterbury . . . . .	214
690.	Ecclesiastical Laws of Ine . . . . .	214
691.	Wilfrid again expelled from Northumbria . . . . .	219
692.	Mission of Willibrord to Frisia . . . . .	220
	Judicium Clementis . . . . .	226
693—731.	VIII. BRIHTWALD . . . . .	228
693.	Consecration of Brihtwald . . . . .	229
	Supremacy of Canterbury over all Britain . . . . .	229
	1. Letter of Pope Sergius to the Kings . . . . .	229
	2. Letter of Pope Sergius to the Bishops . . . . .	230
693.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	232
696.	Ecclesiastical Laws of Wiltred . . . . .	233

CONTENTS.

ix

A. D.		PAGE
696 x 716.	Council of Baccancelld . . . . .	238
	Privilege of Wihtrred . . . . .	238

*Appendix to the Privilege.*

	1. Form given by Wilkins from a Canterbury MS. . . . .	242
	2. Form given in the Chronicle . . . . .	244
	3. Abridged form . . . . .	245
	4. Similar Privilege of Ine . . . . .	247
	5. Similar Privilege of Ethelbald . . . . .	247
701.	Letter of Pope Sergius to Ceolfrid Abbot of Wearmouth . . . . .	248
	Extracts given by William of Malmesbury . . . . .	249
	Northumbrian Synod . . . . .	250
702—705.	Second personal appeal of Wilfrid . . . . .	251
702.	1. Council of Estrefeld . . . . .	351
704.	2. Letter of Aldhelm to Wilfrid's Clergy . . . . .	254
704.	3. Council of Rome under John VI. . . . .	256
704.	4. Letter of John VI. to the Kings . . . . .	262
704.	5. Letter of John VI. to Brihtwald . . . . .	264
705.	6. Northumbrian Synod on the Nidd . . . . .	264
704.	Division of the Diocese of Wessex . . . . .	267
675 x 705.	Letter of Aldhelm on the Baptism of a Nun . . . . .	267
705.	West-Saxon Synod . . . . .	268
705.	Letter of Aldhelm to Geruntius . . . . .	268
705.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	273
705.	Letter of Waldhere to Brihtwald . . . . .	274
705.	See of Sherborne founded . . . . .	275
705.	Council on the Nodder . . . . .	276
708 x 715.	Privilege of Pope Constantine to Bermondsey and Woking . . . . .	276
706.	Foundation of Evesham . . . . .	278

*Appendix to the Evesham Charter.*

	1. List of Spurious Charters . . . . .	280
	2. Letters of Pope Constantine . . . . .	281
	(a) On the Vision of Ecgwin . . . . .	281
	(b) In favour of Evesham . . . . .	282
	3. Council at Alcester . . . . .	283
709 x 712.	Letter of Brihtwald to Forthere . . . . .	284
710.	Letter of Ceolfrid to Naiton . . . . .	285
710.	Decree of Naiton . . . . .	294
710 x 716:	Synod of Wessex . . . . .	295
711.	See of Selsey established . . . . .	296
716.	Foundation Charter of Crowland . . . . .	296
716.	Letter of Hwætberct to Gregory II. . . . .	299
716.	Council of Clovesho . . . . .	300
718.	Commendatory letter for S. Boniface . . . . .	302
719.	Letter of Gregory II. to Boniface . . . . .	303
719 x 722.	Instructions of Bishop Daniel to Boniface . . . . .	304
723.	Charter of Ine to Glastonbury . . . . .	306
	Appendix—Spurious Charter . . . . .	307

A.D.		PAGE
Before 731.	Restoration of the See of Galloway . . . . .	310
730 × 735.	Letter of Boniface to Pecthelm . . . . .	310
IX. TATWIN . . . . .		
731—734.		311
733.	Letter of Gregory III. to the Bishops . . . . .	311
732 × 741.	Letter of Boniface to the Bishops . . . . .	313
734.	Letter of Bede to Egbert . . . . .	314
	POENITENTIALE BÆDÆ . . . . .	326
X. NOTHELM . . . . .		
735—739.		335
736.	Letter of Boniface to Nothelm . . . . .	335
Before 737.	Letter of Daniel to Forthere . . . . .	337
736 or 737.	Synodal Act of Nothelm . . . . .	337
737 × 740.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	339
XI. CUTHBERT . . . . .		
740—758.		340
742.	Council of Clovesho . . . . .	340
729 × 744.	Letter of Aldhun . . . . .	342
732 × 745.	Letter of Boniface to Daniel . . . . .	343
732 × 745.	Answer of Daniel to Boniface . . . . .	346
732 × 745.	Letter of Sigebald to Boniface . . . . .	350
744 × 747.	Letter of Boniface to Ethelbald . . . . .	350
732 × 751.	Letter of Boniface to Ethelbald . . . . .	357
744 × 747.	Letter of Boniface to Herefrith . . . . .	357
744 × 747.	Letter of Boniface to Egbert . . . . .	358
747.	Council of Clovesho . . . . .	360
	1. Abstract of the Acts of the Council . . . . .	360
	2. Acts of the Council at length . . . . .	362
	<i>Appendix to the Council.</i>	
	1. Letter of Boniface to Cuthbert . . . . .	376
	2. Capitulary of Carloman . . . . .	383
749.	Privilege of Ethelbald . . . . .	386
747 × 749.	Letter of Elfwald to Boniface . . . . .	387
735 × 755.	Letter of Boniface to Egbert . . . . .	388
755.	Council of the English Church . . . . .	390
755 × 758.	Letter of Cuthbert to Lullus . . . . .	390
757 or 758.	Letter of Pope Paul I. to Egbert . . . . .	394
758.	Grants of Cynewulf to Malmesbury . . . . .	396
XII. BREGWIN . . . . .		
759—765.		397
759 × 765.	Letter of Bregwin to Lullus . . . . .	398
759 × 765.	Synod under Bregwin . . . . .	399
755 × 765.	Letter of Eardulf to Lullus . . . . .	400
XIII. JAENBERT . . . . .		
766—791.		402
	DIALOGUS EGBERTI . . . . .	403
	POENITENTIALE EGBERTI . . . . .	413

A.D.		PAGE
755 x 766.	Letter of Kynehard to Lullus . . . . .	431
765 x 774.	Mission of Willehad to Frisia . . . . .	433
769 774.	Letter of Alhred and Osgeofu to Lullus . . . . .	434
774.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	435
775.	Mercian Witenagemot at Godmundes leas . . . . .	435
777.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	435
767 x 778.	Letter of Lullus to Archbishop Ethelbert . . . . .	435
767 x 778.	Letter of Ethelbert to Lullus in answer . . . . .	436
779.	Mercian Witenagemot at Hartleford . . . . .	437
780.	Mercian Witenagemot at Brentford . . . . .	437
781.	Synod of Brentford . . . . .	438
782.	Synod of Acle . . . . .	439
755 x 786.	Letter of Cynewulf to Lullus . . . . .	439
784 x 791.	Letter of Adrian I. to Charles about Offa . . . . .	440
786.	Mission of George and Theophylact . . . . .	443
787.	Synod at Pinchala . . . . .	443
787.	Synod of Celchyth; Archbishopric of Lichfield . . . . .	444
787.	Report on the Legatine Synods . . . . .	447
787.	Synod of Acle . . . . .	462
788.	Grant issued at Celchyth . . . . .	464
788.	Synod of Acle . . . . .	464
789.	Synod of Acle . . . . .	465
789.	Synod of Celchyth . . . . .	465
766 x 791.	Synod under Jaenbert . . . . .	466
XIV. ETHELHEARD . . . . .		
791—805.		467
792.	Negotiations of Charles on Image-worship . . . . .	468
792.	Mercian Witenagemot at Burford . . . . .	469
Before 793.	Letter of Alcuin to the Brethren of S. Peter's . . . . .	470
793.	Letter of Alcuin to the Church at Lindisfarne . . . . .	472
793.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard . . . . .	474
793.	Synod at Celchyth; foundation of S. Alban's . . . . .	478
794.	Attendance of Clergy from Britain at the Council of Frankfort . . . . .	481
787 x 802.	Letter of Alcuin to Kynebert . . . . .	482
794.	Synod at Clovesho . . . . .	483
	1. Grant of land at Westbury to Ethelmund . . . . .	483
	2. Restoration of land at Aust to Worcester . . . . .	484
795.	Council at London . . . . .	485
784 x 796.	Letter of Charles to Offa . . . . .	486
793 x 796.	Letter of Charles to Ethelheard . . . . .	487
793 x 796.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred . . . . .	488
793 x 796.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred . . . . .	492
796.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard . . . . .	495
796.	Letter of Charles to Offa . . . . .	496
796.	Letter of Alcuin to Offa . . . . .	498
796.	Letter of Alcuin to a powerful man . . . . .	499
796.	Letter of Alcuin to the Clergy of York on an Election . . . . .	500
796.	Letter of Alcuin to Archbishop Eanbald . . . . .	501
796.	Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald . . . . .	504

A.D.		PAGE
796.	Synod at Celchyth . . . . .	505
796.	Profession of Bishop Eadulf . . . . .	506
796.	Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald . . . . .	507
797.	Letter of Alcuin to the Clergy of Kent . . . . .	509
798.	Profession of Bishop Tidferth . . . . .	511
798.	Synod at Clovesho . . . . .	512
	1. Recovery of an estate of Canterbury . . . . .	512
	2. Acknowledgment of the right of Ethelric . . . . .	514
	3. Grant of land by Kenulf to Oswulf . . . . .	514
	<i>Appendix to the Synod of Clovesbo.</i>	
	1. Misdated Act of the Council of A.D. 803 . . . . .	516
	2. Misdated Council of Beccanceld . . . . .	517
798.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard . . . . .	518
798.	Letter of Kenulf to Leo III. . . . .	521
798.	Answer of Leo III. to Kenulf . . . . .	523
798.	Profession of Bishop Denebert . . . . .	525
798.	Northumbrian Synod of Pincanhah . . . . .	527
799.	Synod at Celchyth . . . . .	528
799.	Synod or Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	528
799 x 801.	Profession of Bishop Wulfhard . . . . .	528
793 x 801.	Profession of a Bishop of Sherborne . . . . .	529
801.	Synod at Celchyth . . . . .	530
801.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard . . . . .	532
801.	Letter of Alcuin to Charles recommending Ethelheard . . . . .	533
801.	Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald . . . . .	534
802.	Letter of Leo III. to Ethelheard . . . . .	536
802.	Letter of Leo III. to Kenulf . . . . .	538
802.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard . . . . .	540
803.	Council of Clovesho . . . . .	541
	1. Act of Denebert Bishop of Worcester . . . . .	541
	2. Synodical Act abolishing the Archbishopric of Lichfield . . . . .	542
	3. Termination of a dispute between Denebert of Worcester and Wulfhard of Hereford . . . . .	544
	4. Act forbidding the election of laymen or seculars as lords of Monasteries . . . . .	545
804.	Synod at Acle . . . . .	548
804.	Profession of Bishop Beornmod . . . . .	550
798 x 804.	Letter of Alcuin to the East-Anglian Bishops . . . . .	551
793 x 804.	Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard . . . . .	552
805.	Gift of Ethelheard to his Church . . . . .	555
805—832.	XV. WULFRED . . . . .	
805.	Synod at Acle . . . . .	558
805.	Letter of the Bishops to Leo III. . . . .	559
808.	Appeal of King Eadulf to the Pope and Emperor . . . . .	561
808.	Letter of Leo III. to the Emperor Charles . . . . .	562
808.	Letter of Leo III. to Charles . . . . .	565
808.	Extract from a third letter . . . . .	567
810.	Synod at Acle . . . . .	567



CONTENTS.

xiii

A.D.		PAGE
805 x 811.	Profession of Bishop Ethelnoth . . . . .	568
805 x 811.	Profession of Bishop Wigthegn . . . . .	569
811.	Witenagemot at London . . . . .	570
811.	Foundation of Winchelcomb . . . . .	572
813.	Privilege of Wulfred to Canterbury . . . . .	575
814.	Assembly of Bishops under Kenulf . . . . .	577
814 x 816.	Profession of Bishop Herewin . . . . .	577
814 x 816.	Profession of Bishop Hrethun . . . . .	578
816.	Council of Celchyth . . . . .	579
	1. Acts of the Council . . . . .	579
	2. Grant to Worcester . . . . .	585
817.	Two Mercian Witenagemots . . . . .	586
819 x 821.	Witenagemot and Council at London . . . . .	587
822.	Profession of Bishop Heabert . . . . .	588
822.	Witenagemot at Bydictun . . . . .	589
816 x 824.	Profession of Bishop Hunferth . . . . .	591
816 x 824.	Profession of Bishop Ceolbert . . . . .	592
824.	Synod at Clovesho . . . . .	592
	1. Determination of the inheritance of Ethelric . . . . .	592
	2. Discussion of the suit of Wulfred and Cwenthrytha . . . . .	594
824.	West-Saxon Witenagemot at Acle . . . . .	595
825.	Profession of Bishop Hereferth . . . . .	595
825.	Conference at Oslafeshlau . . . . .	596
825.	Council at Clovesho . . . . .	596
	1. Determination of the suit of Archbishop Wulfred and Cwenthrytha . . . . .	596
	2. Abridgment of the record . . . . .	601
	3. Agreement respecting the pasture at Sutton . . . . .	604
	4. Reconciliation of the See of Selsey with the King of Mercia . . . . .	606
826.	West-Saxon Witenagemot at Southampton . . . . .	607
828 or 830.	Profession of Bishop Humbert . . . . .	607
825 x 831.	Profession of Bishop Eadulf . . . . .	608
832.	XVI. FEOLGELD . . . . .	609
832—870.	XVII. CEOLNOTH . . . . .	610
833.	Witenagemots under Egbert . . . . .	612
835.	Grant of Egbert to Abingdon . . . . .	613
832 x 836.	Profession of a Bishop of Lichfield . . . . .	613
836.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	615
830 x 837.	Letter of Bishop Egred to Archbishop Wulfsige . . . . .	615
838.	Kentish grants . . . . .	616
838.	Council of Kingston . . . . .	617
838 or 839.	Witenagemot at Wilton . . . . .	620
839.	Embassy of Ethelwulf to the Emperor . . . . .	621
839.	Profession of Helmstan . . . . .	621
839.	Profession of Berhtred . . . . .	622
839.	Council "æt Astran" . . . . .	624
840.	Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	625

A.D.		PAGE
840.	West-Saxon Witenagemot at Southampton . . . . .	625
841.	Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	625
841.	Grant of Ethelwulf to Beornmod . . . . .	625
842.	Grant of Ethelwulf to Ceolmund . . . . .	626
839 x 844.	Profession of Ceolred of Leicester . . . . .	626
841 x 844.	Profession of Tunbert of Lichfield . . . . .	627
843 or 844.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	628
844.	Synod at Canterbury . . . . .	628
844.	Charter of Ethelwulf to Malmesbury . . . . .	630
845.	Witenagemot of Kent . . . . .	632
845.	Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	632
847.	Witenagemot of Wessex at Dorchester . . . . .	632
848.	Mercian Witenagemot at Repton . . . . .	633
849.	Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	633
850.	Grant of Ethelwulf to Malmesbury . . . . .	633
850.	Grant of Ethelwulf to the Ealdorman Ælfhere . . . . .	633
850.	Grant of Ethelwulf and Ethelstan to Ealhere . . . . .	633
852.	Profession of Swithun Bishop of Winchester . . . . .	633
852.	Mercian Witenagemot under Burhred . . . . .	634
853.	Grant of Ethelwulf to Ealdhere . . . . .	634
849 x 854.	Letter of Lupus of Ferrieres to Wigmund Archbishop of York . . . . .	634
849 x 854.	Letter of Lupus of Ferrieres to Abbot Altsig . . . . .	635
855.	Ethelwulf's grant of freedom from royal taxation to a tenth part of his lands . . . . .	636

*Appendix to Ethelwulf's grant.*

(I.)	Grants made by Ethelwulf rehearsing his gift of a tenth part of the lands throughout his kingdom . . . . .	638
	1. Grant to the thegn Hunsige . . . . .	638
	2. Grant to the thegn Wiferth . . . . .	639
	3. Grant to Malmesbury . . . . .	640
	4. Grant to Glastonbury . . . . .	640
	5. Grant in general terms . . . . .	640
(II.)	Grants made by Ethelwulf rehearsing his liberation of a tenth part of the lands subject to the obligations of folkland, from such obligations, excepting the trinoda necessitas . . . . .	640
	1. Grant to Malmesbury . . . . .	640
	2. Grant in general terms . . . . .	640
	3. Grant in general terms . . . . .	640
(III.)	Grants made by Ethelwulf rehearsing his decimation of his lands for holy places . . . . .	641
	1. Grant to Winchester . . . . .	641
	2. Grant to Winchester . . . . .	642
	3. Grant to Winchester . . . . .	643
	4. Abstract of the last grant . . . . .	643
	5. Grant to Dunne . . . . .	644
855.	Mercian Witenagemot at Oswaldesdun . . . . .	645
855.	Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	645
857.	Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth . . . . .	645

A.D.		PAGE
857.	Last benefactions of Ethelwulf . . . . .	646
	1. Direction that on every tenth hide on his estates a poor man shall be clothed and maintained . . . . .	646
	2. Confirmation of Chilcombe to Winchester . . . . .	646
849 x 858.	Letter of Lupus of Ferrieres to Ethelwulf . . . . .	648
849 x 858.	Letter of Lupus to Felix . . . . .	649
858.	Grant of Swithun to Ethelbald . . . . .	650
839 x 860.	Profession of Diorwulf Bishop of London . . . . .	650
860.	Grants of Ethelbald and Ethelbert to Osmund . . . . .	651
860 x 862.	Grant of Ethelbert to Weremund Bishop of Rochester . . . . .	651
862.	Grant of Burhred King of Mercia to Gloucester . . . . .	652
862.	Grant of Ethelbert to Dryhtwald . . . . .	654
863.	Grant of Ethelbert to Ethelred . . . . .	654
864.	Mercian Witenagemot at Bath . . . . .	654
864.	Witenagemot at Dorchester . . . . .	654
857 x 866.	Profession of Diorlaf Bishop of Hereford . . . . .	655
866.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	656
867.	Kentish Witenagemot at Canterbury . . . . .	656
862 x 868.	Profession of Bishop Alfred of Winchester . . . . .	658
868.	West-Saxon Witenagemot . . . . .	659
868.	Witenagemot at Dorchester . . . . .	659
869.	Mercian Witenagemot . . . . .	659
869.	Witenagemot at Woodgate . . . . .	659
838 x 870.	Profession of Kenstec Bishop of Cornwall . . . . .	659
845 x 870.	Profession of Ethelwald of Dunwich . . . . .	659



COUNCILS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

---

IX.

ENGLISH CHURCH DURING THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

A. D. 595-1066.

Necessarium satis est, ut plures tibi sacri operis adiutores adsciskas, presbyteros videlicet ordinando, atque instituendo doctores qui in singulis viculis prædicando Dei verbo, et consecrandis mysteriis cælestibus, ac maxime peragendis sacri baptismatis officiis, ubi opportunitas ingruerit, insistant. In qua videlicet prædicatione populis exhibenda, hoc præ cæteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam, quæ apostolorum symbolo continetur, et Dominicam orationem quam sancti Evangelii nos Scriptura edocet, omnium qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriæ radicitus infigere cures.—BED. *ad Ecgb.* 3.

B. BEDE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLORUM.

S. SPELMAN'S *Concilia*.

W. WILKINS' *Concilia*.

T. THORPE'S ANCIENT LAWS, ETC.

A. S. C. ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

K. C. D. KEMBLE'S CODEx DIPLOMATICUS ÆVI SAXONICI.

G. P. GESTA PONTIFICUM (*Will. Malmesb.*).

G. R. GESTA REGUM (*Will Malmesb.*).

× (as A.D. 601 × 604). This mark is used to signify that the event in question occurred between the two dates given.

# ENGLISH CHURCH

DURING THE

## ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

### I. AUGUSTIN, A. D. 595-604.

" Archiepiscopus genti Anglorum " (*B. I.* 27) and " Britanniarum " (*B. II.* 3):—" Episcopus " or " Frater et coepiscopus " and once " Episcopus Anglorum " (*S. Greg. Epistt.*)—" Episcopus Cantuariorum ecclesiæ " (*Augustin. Quæstt. ap. B. I.* 27)—" Doruvernensis Archiepiscopus " (*Epitaph. Augustini, ap. B. II.* 3).

#### I. MISSION<sup>a</sup>, A. D. 595-597.

- A. D. 595. Abortive journey of Augustin, then Abbot of S. Andrew's at Rome (*Jo. Diac. V. Greg. M. I.* 6, *II.* 33), with certain of his monks, by way of Lerins and Marseilles to Aix, whence he returns to Rome alone (*B. I.* 23, *II.* 5: and *Chron.*).
- A. D. 596. He quits Rome finally July 23, and with his company winters in Gaul (*B. I.* 23, *V.* 24; *A. S. C.* a. 596); having commendatory letters to the Frank Kings, and to the Bishops at Lerins, Marseilles, Aix, Arles, Vienne, Lyons, Autun, Orleans, Metz, Saintes, Tours<sup>b</sup>.
- A. D. 597. Lands at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet (*B. I.* 25; *A. S. C.* a. 597; see *Stanley's Memcr. of Canterbury*) with about forty persons, including Gallic priests (*Greg. M.*), and " interpretes de gente Francorum " (*B. I.* 25, and *Hussey, ad locum*); and after an interview with King Ethelbert in Thanet, to which the missionaries came, " crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, latinasque canentes " (*B. I.* 26), enters Canterbury with the like pomp, " more suo," and obtains possession of the church of S. Martin (*B. ib.*). Baptizes Ethelbert (*B. I.* 26, *II.* 5), King of Kent A. D. 560-616, and Bretwalda c. A. D. 598-616, " qui ad confinium usque Humbre fluminis . . . imperium tetenderat " (*B. I.* 25), probably upon Whitsunday (*Elmbam*, p. 78, ed. Hardwick), June 2.

#### II. ARCHIEPISCOPATE, A. D. 597-604.

- A. D. 597. Consecrated at Arles Nov. 16 (*Tborn*, 1760) " Archiepiscopus genti Anglorum " by (Vergilius) Bishop of Arles, " juxta quod jussa sancti patris Gregorii acceperat " (*B. I.* 27), or according to Gregory himself (*Epist. ad Eulog.*) " a Germaniarum Episcopis, data a se (sc. Gregorio) licentia." Baptizes more than ten thousand English upon Christmas Day<sup>c</sup> on his return (*Greg. M. ad Eulog.*), and " continuo " sends Laurentius and Peter to Rome with the tidings and with his *Quæstiones* addressed to Pope Gregory (*B. I.* 27).

- A.D. 598-600. Prosecutes his mission in the kingdom of Kent, where he dedicates an ancient Roman church in Canterbury "in nomine S. Salvatoris" (*B. I.* 33), now the Cathedral, and assists in founding, but does not live to consecrate, the church of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, afterwards S. Augustin's (*B. ib.*).
- A.D. 601. Second mission to England, June 22, of Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus (*A. S. C.* a. 601), and others, with Laurentius and Peter; bearing to Augustin a pall, directions respecting the future sees of England, the replies to the *Quæstiones* &c. (*B. II.* 29, *V.* 24), and having commendatory letters to the Frank Kings and to the Bishops at Toulon, Marseilles, Gap, Vienne, Lyons, Paris, Orleans, Angers, Soissons, Rouen.
- A.D. 602 or 603. Claim of superiority over the British Bishops rejected at the synod of Augustin's Oak.
- A.D. 604. Consecrates (alone) Mellitus to the see of London amongst the East Saxons, and Justus to that of Rochester; and afterwards, but prior to April 28, Laurentius to be his own successor (*B. II.* 4; and *Kemble, C. D. I.*). Dies May 26<sup>d</sup>, and is buried in the porch of S. Peter's, afterwards S. Augustin's, Canterbury (*B. II.* 3).

<sup>a</sup> Gregory's own attempted mission dates before King Ælla's death (*B. II.* 1; and *Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury*), i. e. before 589 or 590. His attempt when Pope to purchase Angle slaves for the purpose of conversion and mission, 590 × 595. Liudhardus, Bishop of Senlis (*Thorn, 1767*), was already in Canterbury (*B. I.* 25) before 595.

<sup>b</sup> Goscelin (*V. Min. S. Augustini, III.-VI.*, of the 11th century; ap. *Wharton, Anglia Sacra, II.* 57, 58) takes Augustin to Aujou at this time.

<sup>c</sup> Possibly in the Kentish river Swale (*Smith ad Bed. II.* 14), whence Goscelin's legend of his baptizing subsequently in the Swale in Yorkshire, in which Paulinus certainly did baptize large numbers at a later time (*B. II.* 14). The same writer also takes him with equal absurdity to York and to Dorset; and the legend in William of Malmesbury (*G. P. II.*) takes him to Cerne in Dorset. S. Boniface (*Vita Livini*, the Scottish missionary to Germany) alleges him to have joined an Irish Archbishop in baptizing Livinus the son of a Scottish King; and that in Scotland, i. e. Ireland (he speaks of "Hibernensis Archiepiscopus," and of Livinus as born in Scotia of Scottish parents); and to have sent Livinus on his mission; but it is altogether an impossible story.

<sup>d</sup> The day is from Augustin's epitaph (*B. II.* 3). For the year there is no satisfactory

evidence, except that it certainly could not have preceded 604 (*B. II.* 3), nor followed 610 (*B. II.* 4); that it was *multo tempore* before Ethelfrith's slaughter of the monks at Bangor, the date of that slaughter being almost certainly 613, and the authenticity of Bede's words (*II.* 2) being free from all reasonable doubt; and that Augustin had consecrated his own successor before April 28, 604 (*K. C. D. I.*): neither is his own name mentioned in the charter of that date. He founded a church also between 598 and 600 which he did not live to consecrate.

The earliest direct authorities, viz. in the 12th century, Flor. Wig. and the Chronicon S. Crucis (*Wharton, A. S. I.* 150) give 604, to which Flor. Wig. adds the correct day of the week, "feria tertia," for May 26 of that year. The Chronologia in fin. W. Thorn (*X. Scriptt.* 2230) gives 605, and, correctly for that year, "feria quarta;" Thorn himself, 14th century (*ib.* 1765), retains 605, discussing evidence for other dates, but goes back to what is upon his supposition inaccurate, "feria tertia." The alleged synchronism of the years of the deaths of Augustin and Gregory the Great in a writer of Thorn's date is worthless. Elmham, p. 125, has 605; Sigebert, in an., gives 608. See Smith (*ad Bed. II.* 3), and Wharton (*A. S. II.* 89-91), arguing respectively for 605 and 604. The authorities for later dates are of no value.



# LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT

RELATING TO THE

## MISSION OF S. AUGUSTIN.

### I. *Prior to S. Augustin's Mission, A.D. 590 x 595.*

Directing the purchase of Angle slaves with a view to their conversion.

GREGORIUS *Candido presbytero eunti ad patrimonium Gallie.*—Pergens auxiliante Domino Deo nostro Jesu Christo ad patrimonium quod est in Galliis gubernandum, volumus ut dilectio tua ex solidis quos acceperit, vestimenta pauperum vel pueros Anglos qui sunt ab annis decem et septem vel decem et octo, ut in Monasteriis dati Deo proficiant comparet, quatenus solidi Galliarum qui in terra nostra expendi non possunt, apud locum proprium utiliter expendantur. Si quid vero de pecuniis reddituum quæ dicuntur ablatæ recipere potueris; ex his quoque vestimenta pauperum comparare te volumus, vel sicut præfati sumus, pueros qui in Omnipotentis Dei servitio proficiant. Sed quia pagani sunt qui illic inveniri possunt, volo ut cum eis Presbyter transmittatur ne quid ægritudinis contingat in via, ut quos morituros conspexerit debeat baptizare: ita igitur tua dilectio faciat, ut hæc diligenter implere festinet. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 7 (II. 796); S. I. 74; W. App. IV. 716.*]

### II. *Letters sent with S. Augustin's Mission, July 23, A.D. 596.*

Rebuking the companions of Augustin who were then in Provence for their wish to relinquish the

I. GREGORIUS *ad fratres in Angliam euntes.*—Gregorius servus servorum Dei, servis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his, quæ coëpta sunt, cogitatione retrorsum redire, summo studio, dilectissimi filii, oportet, ut opus

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596.]

Mission to Eng-  
land on which  
they had start-  
ed.

bonum, quod auxiliante Domino, cœpistis, compleatis. Nec ergo vos labor itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguæ deterreant, sed omni instantia omnique fervore, quæ inchoastis, Deo auctore, peragite, scientes quod laborem magnum major æternæ retributionis gloria sequitur. Rememanti autem Augustino præposito vestro, quem et abbatem vobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite, scientes hoc vestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid in vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus sua vos gratia protegat, et vestri laboris fructum, in æterna me patria videre concedat; quatenus etsi vobiscum laborare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inveniar, quia laborare scilicet volo.

Deus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii. Data die decima kalendarum Augustarum, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno decimo quarto, post consulatum ejusdem domini nostri anno decimo tertio, indictione decima quarta. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 51 (II. 829)*; *B. I. 23* (who supplies the date); *S. I. 73*; *W. I. 2*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 674.*]

2. GREGORIUS *Palladio Episcopo de Santonibus Pelagio de Turonis et Sereno de Massilia, Episcopis Galliarum, a paribus.* [*Greg. Ep. VI. 52 (II. 830)*; *S. I. 74*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 674.*]

(This letter is identical with that which follows, except the address and that it has not the final clause "Deus te incolumem custodiat reverentissime frater.")

Commendatory  
letter on S. Au-  
gustin's behalf.

3. GREGORIUS *Etherio Episcopo Lugdunensi.*—Reverentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Etherio coepiscopo Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Licet apud sacerdotes habentes Deo placitam caritatem religiosi viri nullius commendationis indigeant; quia tamen aptum se scribendi tempus ingressit, fraternitati vestræ nostra mittere scripta curavimus: insinuantes latorem præsentium Augustinum servum Dei, de cujus certi sumus studio, cum aliis servis Dei, illuc nos pro utilitate animarum auxiliante Domino direxisse; Quem necesse est ut sacerdotali studio sanctitas vestra adjuvare et sua ei solatia præbere festinet, Cui etiam, ut promptiores ad suffragandum possitis existere, causam vobis injunximus subtiliter indicare; scientes quod ea cognita, tota vos propter Deum devotione ad solatiandum, quia res exigit, commodetis. Candidum præterea Presbyterum communem filium quem ad gubernationem patrimonioli

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596.]

Ecclesiæ nostræ transmisimus caritati vestræ in omnibus commendamus.

Deus te incolumem custodiat reverentissime frater. Data die decima kalendarum Augustarum imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto, anno decimo quarto, post consulatum ejusdem domini nostri anno decimo tertio, indictione decima quarta. [B. I. 24 (wrongly imagining that it was written to the Bishop of Arles, and in consequence elsewhere miscalling that Bishop Etherius instead of Vergilius); S. I. 73; W. App. IV. 716.]

Same with the preceding. 4. GREGORIUS *Vergilio Episcopo Arelatensi metropolitæ.*

—Quamvis fraternitatem vestram bonis esse intentam operibus et sponte se exhibere in causis Deo placitis confidamus; verum tamen utile esse fraterna vos alloqui caritate credimus ut solatia quæ vos ultro decet impendere nostris quoque provocati Epistolis augeatis. Atque ideo indicamus sanctitati vestræ Augustinum servum Dei præsentium portitorem cujus zelus et studium bene est nobis cognitum cum aliis servis Dei pro animarum nos illuc compendio transmisisse, sicut ipse vobis coram positus poterit indicare. In qua re oratione vos eum et auxiliis adjuvare necesse est atque ubi opus exegerit solatiorum vestrorum ei præbere suffragia et paterna ac sacerdotali illum consolatione sicut convenit refovere: quatenus dum Sanctitatis vestræ fuerit solamina consecutus, si quid Deo nostro lucrifacere sicut optamus valuerit, et vos possitis pariter mercedem acquirere qui ad bona opera suffragii vestri devote copiam ministratis.

Candidum autem Presbyterum communem filium et patrimonium Ecclesiæ nostræ fraternitas vestra, quippe ut unanimis nobis, studeat habere commendatum ut aliquid inde pauperum alimoniis sanctitate vestra valeat adjuvante proficere. Quia igitur patrimonium ipsum per annos plurimos prædecessor vester tenuit et collectas apud se pensiones servavit; fraternitas vestra cujus sint res vel quibus erogentur consideret atque eas animæ suæ respectu suprascripto filio nostro Candido Presbytero nobis restituat dirigendas. Nam valde est execrabile ut quod a regibus gentium servatum est ab Episcopis dicatur ablatum. [Greg. Ep. VI. 53 (II. 830); S. I. 75; W. App. IV. 717; Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 675; Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 230.]

Same with the preceding. 5. GREGORIUS *Desiderio Viennensi et Syagrio Augustodunensi Episcopis Galliæ a paribus.*—De fraternitatis vestræ sincera caritate bene confidimus quod amore beati Petri Apostolorum

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596.]

Principis hominibus nostris vestra devote solatia commodetis, præsertim dum causæ qualitas exigat ubi etiam sponte concurrere et laborare magis optetis. Indicamus itaque sanctitati vestræ nos Augustinum servum Dei præsentium portitorem, cujus zelus et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis servis Dei pro animarum illuc causa disponente Domino direxisse, cujus relatione quid sibi injunctum sit subtiliter agnoscens fraternitas vestra ei modis omnibus in quibus causa poposcerit impendat solatia, ut boni operis adjutores sicut decet et convenit possitis existere. Ita ergo fraternitas vestra in hac re se devotam studeat demonstrare ut bona quæ de vobis opinione narrante didicimus vera esse opere comprobemus. Dilectissimum vero communem filium Candidum Presbyterum cui patrimonium Ecclesiæ nostræ commisimus in illis partibus constitutum vobis per omnia commendamus. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 54 (II. 831); S. I. 75; IV. App. IV. 717; Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 675; Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 231.*]

Commendatory letter on S. Augustin's behalf, and also respecting money due to the see of Rome.

6. GREGORIUS *Protasio Episcopo de Aquis Gallie.*—Quantus in vobis beati Petri Apostolorum Principis amor excellat non solum officii vestri prærogativa, sed etiam devotio quam circa utilitates Ecclesiæ ipsius geritis patefecit. Quæ quia Augustino servo Dei præsentium latore cognovimus referente, de affectu, et veritatis studio quod in vobis est valde gaudemus et gratias agimus, quia etsi corpore absentes mente tamen et animo nobiscum vos esse monstratis: quippe erga quos caritatem fraternam, ut convenit exhibetis. Ut igitur bona quæ de vobis prædicavit opinio rerum possit veritas confirmare, Virgilio fratri et coepiscopo nostro dicite ut pensiones quas prædecessor ejus per annos plurimos de patrimonio nostro percepit et apud se retinuit, ad nos quia pauperum res sunt, studeat destinare. Qui si forte aliquo se modo quod non credimus excusare voluerit, vos qui veritatem ipsam subtilius nostis, revera qui in Ecclesia ipsa tunc temporis curam vicedomini gerebatis, qualiter se habeat causa disserite, et ne res Sancti Petri et pauperum ejus apud se retinere debeat admonete. Sed etsi fortasse hominibus nostris necessarium fuerit, vestrum in causa testimonium non negate, ut tam pro veritatis quam pro voluntatis vestræ devotione beatus Petrus Apostolus cujus amore hæc facitis sua vobis et hic et in futura vita intercessione respondeat. Candidum Presbyterum communem filium cui patrimonium ipsum commisimus, sanctitati vestræ magnopere commenda-

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596.]

mus. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 55 (II. 832)*; *S. I. 76*; *W. App. IV. 717*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. 676*; *Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 231.*]

7. GREGORIUS *Stephano Abbati Lirinensi.*—Lætos nos commendatory of S. Augustin. narratio Augustini servi Dei præsentium portitoris effecit, quod dilectionem tuam ut oportet vigilantem esse narravit, denique et presbyteros et diaconos cunctamque congregationem unanimes vivere ac concordēs affirmat. Et quoniam præpositorum bonitas subjectorum salubris est regula, Omnipotentem Dominum deprecamur, ut in bonis te semper operibus gratia suæ pietatis accendat, et commissos tibi ab omni diabolicæ fraudis tentatione custodiat et tecum in caritate, et placita sibi vivere conversatione concedat. Quia vero humani generis inimicus insidiari nostris actibus non quiescit, sed assidua calliditate hoc nititur ut Deo servientes animas in qualibet parte decipiat; ideo, dilectissime fili, hortamur ut sollicitudinem tuam vigilantem exerceas, et ita commissos tibi oratione et cura providenti custodias, ut lupus circumiens nullam dilaniandi occasionem inveniat: quatenus dum Deo nostro incolumes quorum suscepisti curam reddideris et præmia labori tuo gratia sua rependat et tibi æternæ vitæ desideria multiplicet. Cochleares vero et circulos quos direxisti suscepimus et caritati tuæ gratias agimus: quia qualiter pauperes diligas ostendisti qui ad usus eorum quæ sunt necessaria transmisisti. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 56 (II. 833)*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 677*; *Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 232.*]

8. GREGORIUS *Arigio Patricio Gallie*<sup>a</sup>.—Quanta in vobis bonitas, quantaque mansuetudo cum Christo placita commendatory of S. Augustin and of Candidus. caritate resplendat, latore præsentium Augustino servo Dei referente comperimus, atque Omnipotenti Deo gratias agimus qui hæc in vobis pietatis suæ dona concessit per quæ inter homines valde laudabiles et ante conspectum ipsius quod est veraciter utile, gloriosi possitis existere. Oramus ergo Omnipotentem Dominum ut hæc in vobis quæ concessit dona multiplicet et sua vos cum omnibus vestris protectione custodiat, et ita actionem gloriæ vestræ in hoc sæculo disponat ut et hic vobis et in futura quod magis optandum est vita proficiat. Salutantes itaque gloriam vestram paterna dulcedine petimus ut lator præsentium et servi Dei qui cum eo sunt, vestra in quibus necesse fuerit solatia consequantur, quatenus dum vestrum favorem invenerint, injuncta sibi melius adjuvante Domino valeant adimplere.

Præterea filium nostrum Candidum Presbyterum quem ad guber-

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596.]

nationem patrimonii Ecclesiæ nostræ quod illic est transmisimus, vobis per omnia commendamus, confidentes a Deo nostro vos mercedis vicem recipere si rebus pauperum solatia sua Gloria vestra devota mente præstiterit. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 57 (II. 833)*; *S. I. 76*; *W. App. IV. 718*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. 677*; *Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 233.*]

9. GREGORIUS *Theoderico et Theodeberto fratribus, Regibus Francorum a paribus*<sup>b</sup>.—Postquam Deus omnipotens regnum vestrum fidei rectitudine decoravit, et integritate Christianæ religionis inter gentes alias fecit esse conspicuum, magnam de vobis materiam præsumendi concepimus, quod subjectos vestros ad eam converti fidem per omnia cupiatis, in qua eorum nempe reges estis et domini. Atque ideo pervenit ad nos, Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, desideranter velle converti, sed sacerdotes e vicino negligere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succedere. Ob hoc igitur Augustinum servum Dei præsentium portitorem, cujus zelus et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis servis Dei illuc prævidimus dirigendum. Quibus etiam injunximus, ut aliquos secum e vicino debeant presbyteros ducere, cum quibus eorum possint mentes agnoscere, et voluntates admonitione sua, quantum Deus donaverit, adjuvare. In qua re ut efficaces valeant atque idonei apparere, excellentiam vestram paterna salutantes caritate quæsumus, ut hi quos direximus favoris vestri invenire gratiam mereantur. Et quia animarum causa est, vestra eos potestas tueatur et adjuvet, ut Deus omnipotens, qui vos in causa sua devota mente, et toto studio solatiari cognoscit, causas vestras sua protectione disponat, et post terrenam potestatem ad cælestia vos regna perducatur.

Præterea dilectissimum filium nostrum Candidum presbyterum, et patrimoniolum ecclesiæ nostræ, quod in illis partibus est constitutum, ut commendatum excellentia vestra habere debeat postulamus: quatenus beatus Petrus Apostolorum princeps sua vobis intercessione respondeat, qui mercedis intuitu, tuitionem in rebus pauperum ejus impenditis. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 58 (II. 834)*; *S. I. 77*; *W. I. 10*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 678*; *Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 234.*]

10. GREGORIUS *Brunichildæ Reginae Francorum*<sup>c</sup>.—Excellentiæ vestræ Christianitas ita nobis veraciter olim innotuit, ut de bonitate ejus nullatenus dubitemus, sed magis certum modis omnibus teneamus, quia in causa fidei devote et studiose con-

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596.]

currat, et religiosæ sinceritatis suæ solatia copiosissime subministret. Ex qua re bene confidentes paterna caritate salutantes indicamus ad nos pervenisse, Anglorum gentem, Deo annuente, velle fieri Christianam, sed sacerdotes, qui in vicino sunt, pastorem erga eos sollicitudinem non habere. Quorum ne animæ in æterna damnatione valeant deperire, curæ nobis fuit præsentium portitorem Augustinum servum Dei, cujus zelus et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis servis Dei illuc dirigere, ut per eos potuissemus ipsorum voluntates addiscere, et de eorum conversione, vobis quoque annitentibus, in quantum est possibile, cogitare. Quibus etiam injunximus, ut ad agenda hæc e vicino secum debeant presbyteros ducere. Excellentia ergo vestra, quæ prona in bonis consuevit esse operibus, tam pro nostra petitione, quam etiam divini timoris consideratione, eum dignetur in omnibus habere commendatum, atque ei tuitionis suæ gratiam vehementer impendat, et labori ejus patrocinii sui ferat auxilium: et ut plenissime possit habere mercedem, ad suprascriptam Anglorum gentem sua tuitione securum ire provideat: quatenus Deus noster, qui in hoc sæculo vos bonis sibi placitis decoravit, hic et in æterna requie cum suis vos sanctis faciat gratulari. Præterea dilectum filium nostrum Candidum presbyterum, et patrimonium ecclesiæ nostræ, quod illic constitutum est, vestræ Christianitati commendantes, petimus ut tuitionis vestræ gratiam in omnibus consequatur. [*Greg. Ep. VI. 59 (II. 835); S. I. 77; W. I. 10; Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 679; Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 235.*]

<sup>a</sup> There were at this time two Burgundian *patricii*, one commonly called the *Patricius* absolutely, who resided at Arles, the other residing at Marseilles. See *Greg. Turon.*

<sup>b</sup> Two children of 10 and 11 years old, the former King of Burgundy and Orleans, and residing at Châlons sur Saone or at Orleans; the latter King of Austrasia, and re-

siding at Metz; in succession to Childebert (d. 596), who had reigned over both kingdoms (*Fredegar. Chron. a. 596*). The younger is named before the elder, according to Smith's conjecture (*ad Bed. App. p. 678*), because Augustin would reach Châlons before Metz.

<sup>c</sup> Residing at Metz as guardian to her grandson Theodebert (*Fredegar. a. 599*).

\*.\* According to Ælfric (c. A.D. 1000, *Homil. ed. Ælfric Soc. II. 129*) Augustin's preaching to Ethelbert at their first interview, A.D. 597, through interpreters, was in substance as follows (tr. Elstob):—

Hu se mildheorta Hælend mid his agenre ðrowunge þysne scyldigan middaneard alysyde, and geleafullum mannum heofonan rices infær geonode.

Quemadmodum misericors Jesus propria Ipsius passione orbis hujusce universitatem peccatricem redemerat, et omnibus [vere] fidelibus in cœlestia regna aditum patefecerat.

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596 x 601.]

According to Bede (*I.* 25) Ethelbert replied thus:—

“ Pulchra sunt quidem verba et promissa quæ adfertis; sed quia nova sunt et incerta, non his possum assensum tribuere, relictis eis quæ tanto tempore cum omni Anglorum gente servavi. Verum quia de longe huc peregrini venistis et, ut ego mihi videor perspexisse, ea quæ vos vera et optima credebatis, nobis quoque communicare desideratis, nolumus molesti esse vobis; quin potius benigno vos hospitio recipere et quæ victui sunt vestro necessaria, ministrare curamus; nec prohibemus quin omnes quos potestis fidei vestræ religionis prædicando societis.”

Litany chanted by Augustin and his company on approaching Canterbury (*B. I.* 25):—

“ Deprecamur Te, Domine, in omni misericordia Tua, ut auferatur furor Tuus et ira Tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta Tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia.”

### III. *Letters relating to Augustin, between his own Mission, A.D. 596, and that of Mellitus, A.D. 601.*

1. A.D. 598, *June*. GREGORIUS *Eulogio Episcopo Alexandrino*<sup>a</sup>.—\* \* \* \* Sed quoniam vere in bonis quæ agitis accrescit quod et aliis congaudetis, vestræ vobis gratiæ vicem reddo et non dissimilia nuncio, quia dum gens Anglorum in mundi angulo posita in cultu lignorum ac lapidum perfida nunc usque remaneret, ex vestræ mihi orationis adiutorio placuit ut ad eam Monasterii mei monachum in prædicationem transmittersse Deo auctore debuisssem. Qui data a me licentia a Germaniarum Episcopis Episcopus factus cum eorum quoque solatiis ad prædictam gentem in fine mundi perductus est, et jam nunc de ejus salute et opere ad nos scripta pervenerunt, quia tantis miraculis vel ipse vel hi qui cum eo transmissi sunt, in gente eadem coruscant, ut Apostolorum virtutes in signis quæ exhibent imitari videantur. In solemnitate autem Dominicæ Nativitatis quæ hac prima indictione transacta est plus quam decem millia Angli ab eodem nunciati sunt fratre et coepiscopo nostro baptizari. Quod idcirco narravi ut cognoscatis quid in Alexandrino populo loquendo et quid in mundi finibus agitis orando. Vestræ enim orationes sunt in eo loco ubi non estis, quorum operationes sanctæ monstrantur in eo loco in quo estis. \* \* \* [*Greg. Ep. VII.* 30 (*II.* 917); *S. I.* 80; *W. App. IV.* 718.]

Informing Eulogius of Augustin's success.



[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 596 X 601.]

Thanking her  
and praising Sy-  
agrius for help  
given to Augus-  
tin.

2. A.D. 598, *October*. GREGORIUS *Brunichildæ*.— \* \* \*  
Et quid in fratre nostro Augustino fecerit (Syagrius)  
audientes, Redemptorem nostrum benedicimus, quia  
eum sacerdotis nomen etiam operibus implere senti-

mus.

\* \* \* \* Qualiter autem se excellentia vestra erga fratrem et  
coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum exhibuerit quantamque illi sibi  
Deo aspirante caritatem impenderit diversorum fidelium relatione  
cognovimus, pro quo gratias referentes divinæ potentiæ misericor-  
diam deprecamur ut et hic vos sua protectione custodiat, et sicut  
inter homines, ita quoque et post multorum annorum tempora in  
æterna faciat vita regnare. \* \* \* \* Data mense Octobris indictione  
prima<sup>b</sup>. [*Greg. Ep. IX. 11 (II. 936); S. I. 80; W. App. IV. 718.*]

Giving Syagrius  
a pall and plac-  
ing the see of  
Autun next to  
that of Lyons  
for the same  
reason.

3. A.D. 599<sup>c</sup>, *July*. GREGORIUS *Syagrío Episcopo Augusto-*  
*densi*.— \* \* \* Atque ideo multum tibi dilectissime fra-  
ter in Domino condelector atque congaudeo, quod sic  
eadem caritate te præditum multorum testificatione com-  
perio ut et ipse quæ sacerdotis sunt decenter exhibeas et

aliis te laudabiliter imitandum ostendas. Quia igitur in prædicatio-  
nis opere quam diu cogitans Anglorum genti per Augustinum tunc  
monasterii mei præpositum, nunc fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum,  
impendere studui, ita sollicitum atque devotum adiutoremque in  
omnibus te, ut oportuit, fuisse cognovimus ut magnum me sibi  
fraternitas tua hac de re faceret debitorem.

Tantæ rei consideratione commonitus, ne infructuosus erga te  
videre existere, fraternitatis tuæ petitionem nulla pertuli ratione  
postponere. Proinde secundum postulationis tuæ desiderium pallii  
te usu quod intra ecclesiam tuam habere debeas ad sacra tantum  
missarum solemnia celebranda Deo auctore prævidimus honorandum.  
\* \* \* Cujus ne indumenti munificentiam nudam videamur quodam-  
modo contulisse, hoc etiam pariter prospeximus concedendum ut  
metropolitæ suo per omnia loco et honore servato, Ecclesia civitatis  
Augustodunæ cui omnipotens Deus præesse te voluit, post Lugdu-  
nensem Ecclesiam esse debeat et hunc sibi locum et ordinem ex  
nostræ auctoritatis indulgentia vindicare; cæteros vero Episcopos  
secundum ordinationis suæ tempus sive ad considendum in concilio,  
sive ad subscribendum vel in qualibet alia re sua attendere loca  
decernimus. [*Greg. Ep. IX. 108 (II. 1013); S. I. 80; W. App. IV.*  
719, 720.]

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT. A.D. 596 X 601.]

<sup>a</sup> In Gregory's Moral. XXVII. in Job. xxxvi. 21 (I. 862 C.), written before his elevation to the papacy, occurs the following allusion, not to the Hallelujah victory (as Ussher), but to S. Augustin's success, which must have been inserted in the work after A.D. 597: "Ecce lingua Britanniae quæ nil aliud noverat quam barbarum fremdere, jamdudum in Divinis laudibus Hebræum cœpit Alleluia resonare."

<sup>b</sup> The first year of the Pontifical Indiction ended Dec. 25, A.D. 598; the first of the Cæsarean Indiction Sept. 24, A.D. 598 (*Bede, De Nat. Rer. c. 48*). Jaffé places it on Sept. 1, and arranges the letters of Gregory accordingly. Kemble (*Codex Dipl. I. p. lxxxii.*) shews that Bede used the Pontifical Indiction; and according to it, this letter falls in the year 598. If the other theory be maintained we must suppose either that the date of this letter is wrong altogether, as it is clear

from the substance of it that it belongs to the same period as that to Syagrius; or that if the Cæsarean Indiction ended Sept. 24, the day should be fixed so much before the kalends of October, that it would fall before Sept. 24; otherwise it would belong to the year 597, which is earlier than the success of Augustin to which it refers actually occurred.

<sup>c</sup> This is Jaffé's date, inferred seemingly from the position of the letter in the Register of Gregory's Epistles.

Ivo the Persian missionary, dying in England A.D. 600 (*Flor. Wig. ad ann.*), the tutelary saint of S. Ives, rests for his existence on the testimony of a dream of a certain man "simplicitatis innocens" after A.D. 692, as interpreted by the Abbot of Ramsey of that date (*Hist. Rames. XVIII.*, in *Gale, I. 431*; *W. Malmesb. G. P. IV.*). The *Inventio Corporis S. Ivonis* is dated by *Flor. Wig.* in A.D. 1001.

#### IV. *Letters sent with the second Mission, that of Mellitus, June 22, A.D. 601.*

##### A. *Letters to Augustin and others upon ecclesiastical questions relating to the Mission*<sup>a</sup>.

Warning Augustin not to be elated by the miracles wrought by him.

1. GREGORIUS *Augustino Episcopo Anglorum.*—Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis: quia granum frumenti mortuum cadens in terram, multum fructum attulit, ne solum regnaret in cælo, cujus morte vivimus, cujus infirmitate roboramur, cujus passione a passione eripimur, cujus amore in Britannia fratres quærimus, quos ignorabamus, cujus munere quos nescientes quærebat, invenimus. Quis autem narrare hic sufficiat, quanta lætitia in omnium corde fidelium fuerit exorta, quod gens Anglorum, operante omnipotentis Dei gratia, et tua fraternitate laborante, expulsis errorum tenebris, sanctæ fidei luce perfusa est; quod devotione integerrima jam calcat idola, quibus prius vesano timore subiacebat, quod omnipotenti Deo puro corde substernitur, quod a pravi operis lapsibus sanctæ prædicationis regulis ligatur, quod præceptis divinis animo subjacet, et intellectu sublevatur, quod usque ad terram se in oratione humiliat, ne mente jaceat in terra? Cujus hoc opus est, nisi ejus qui ait, "Pater meus usque nunc operatur, et ego operor?" Qui ut mundum ostenderet non sapientia hominum, sed sua se virtute convertere, prædicatores suos, quos in mundum misit, sine literis

eligit, hoc etiam modo faciens, quia in Anglorum gente fortia dignatus est per infirmos operari.

Sed est in isto dono cælesti, frater charissime, quod cum magno gaudio vehementissime debeat formidari: scio enim quia omnipotens Deus, per dilectionem tuam in gente, quam eligi voluit, magna miracula ostendit. Unde necesse est, ut de eodem dono cælesti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudento pertimescas. Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimescas vero, ne inter signa quæ fiunt, infirmus animus in sui præsumptione se elevet, ut unde foras in honore attollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminisse etenim debemus, quod discipuli cum gaudio a prædicatione redeuntes, dum cælesti magistro dicerent: "Domine in nomine tuo dæmonia nobis subjecta sunt;" protinus audierunt: "nolite gaudere super hoc, sed potius gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælo." In privata enim et temporali lætitia mentem posuerant, qui de miraculis gaudebant. Sed de privata ad communem, de temporali ad æternam lætitiā revocantur, quibus dicitur: "in hoc gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælo." Non enim omnes electi miracula faciunt, sed tamen eorum omnium nomina in cælo tenentur adscripta. Veritatis enim discipulis esse gaudium non debet, nisi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent, et in quo finem lætitiæ non habent.

Restat itaque, frater carissime, ut inter ea, quæ, operante Deo, exterius facis, semper te interius subtiliter iudices, ac subtiliter intelligas, et temetipsum qui sis, et quanta sit in eadem gente gratia, pro cuius conversione etiam faciendorum signorum dona percepisti. Et si quando te creatori nostro seu per linguam, sive per opera reminisceris deliquisse, semper hæc ad memoriam revoces, ut surgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quidquid de faciendis signis acceperis vel accepisti, hæc non tibi, sed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi salute collata sunt.

Occurrit autem menti ista cogitanti, quid de uno Dei famulo actum sit, etiam egregie electo. Certe Moyses, dum Dei populum ex Ægypto educeret, mira, sicut tua fraternitas novit, signa in Ægypto operatus est. In Sina monte quadraginta diebus et noctibus jejunans legis tabulas accepit, inter coruscus tonitruos, pertimescente omni populo, omnipotentis Dei servitio solus familiari etiam colloquutione conjunctus est, rubrum mare aperuit, in itinere ducem habuit nubis columnam, esurienti populo manna de cælo

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A. D. 601.]

deposuit, carnes desiderantibus usque ad satietatem nimiam in eremo per miraculum ministravit. Sed cum jam sitis tempore ad petram ventum fuisset, diffusus est, seque de eadem aquam educere posse dubitavit, quam, jubente Domino, percussit atque aquas effluentes aperuit. Quanta autem post hæc per triginta et octo annos in deserto miracula fecerit, quis enumerare, quis investigare valeat? Quotiens res dubia animum pulsasset, recurrens ad tabernaculum, secreto Dominum requirebat, atque de ea protinus, Deo loquente, docebatur. Iratum populo Dominum placabat suæ precis interventione, surgentes in superbia atque in discordia dissidentes dehiscentis terræ hiatibus absorbebat, victoriis premebat hostes, signa monstrabat civibus. Sed cum jam ad repromissionis terram ventum fuisset, vocatus in montem est, et quam culpam ante annos triginta, ut dixi, et octo fecerat, audivit: quia de educenda aqua dubitavit. Et propter hoc quia terram repromissionis intrare non posset, agnovit. Qua in re considerandum nobis est, quam timendum sit omnipotentis Dei iudicium, qui per illum famulum suum tot signa faciebat, cujus culpam tam longo tempore adhuc servabat in cogitatione. Igitur, frater carissime, si et illum agnoscimus post signa pro culpa mortuum, quem omnipotenti Deo novimus præcipue electum: quanto nos debemus metu contremiscere, qui necdum adhuc novimus si electi sumus?

De reproborum vero miraculis quid dicere debeo, cum tua bene fraternitas noverit quid in evangelio veritas dicit: “multi venient in illa die dicentes mihi: Domine, in nomine tuo prophetavimus, et in nomine tuo dæmonia eiecimus, et in tuo nomine virtutes multas fecimus. Sed dicam illis, quia nescio qui estis; recedite a me omnes operarii iniquitatis!” Valde ergo premendus est animus inter signa et miracula, ne fortassis in his propriam gloriam quærat, et privato suæ exultationis gaudio exultet. Per signa enim animarum lucra quærenda sunt, et illius gloria, cujus virtute ipsa eadem signa geruntur. Unum vero Dominus nobis signum dedit, de quo et vehementer gaudere, et electionis gloriam in nobis possimus agnoscere, dicens: “in hoc scietur quia mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.” Quod signum propheta requirebat, cum diceret: “fac mecum, Domine, signum in bonum, ut videant qui oderunt me, et confundantur.” Hæc autem dico, quia auditoris mei animum in humilitate sternere cupio. Sed ipsa tua humilitas habeat fiduciam suam. Nam peccator ego spem certissimam teneo, quia per omni-

[LETTERS OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 601.]

potentis creatoris ac redemptoris nostri Dei et Domini Jesu Christi gratiam jam peccata tua dimissa sunt, et idcirco electus es, ut per te dimittantur aliena. Nec habebis luctum de quolibet reatu in posterum, qui de multorum conversione gaudium conaris facere in cælo? Idem vero conditor et redemptor noster, cum de pœnitentia hominis loqueretur, ait: "ita dico vobis, majus gaudium erit in cælo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, quam super nonaginta novem justis, quibus non opus est pœnitentia." Et si de uno pœnitente grande fit gaudium in cælo, quale gaudium factum credimus de tanto populo a suo errore converso, qui ad fidem veniens, mala quæ egit pœnitendo damnavit? In hoc itaque cæli et angelorum gaudio repetamus ipsas, quas prædiximus, voces angelorum. Dicamus igitur, dicamus omnes: "gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis." [*Greg. Ep. XI. 28 (II. 1109)*, and partly in *B. I. 31*; *S. I. 82*; *W. I. 10*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 688*; *Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 248.*]

Commending  
her zeal. 2. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Berthæ Reginæ Anglorum* a.—Qui post terrenam potestatem regni cælestis gloriam cupit acquirere, ad faciendum lucrum creatori suo debet enixius laborare, ut ad ea, quæ desiderat, operationis suæ gradibus possit ascendere, sicut vos fecisse gaudemus. Remeantes igitur dilectissimus filius noster Laurentius presbyter, et Petrus monachus, qualis erga reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum gloria vestra extiterit, quantaque illis solatia vel qualem caritatem impenderit, retulerunt. Et omnipotentem Deum benediximus, qui conversionem gentis Anglorum mercedi vestræ dignatus est propitius reservare. Nam sicut per recordandæ memoriæ Helenam matrem piissimi Constantini imperatoris ad Christianam fidem corda Romanorum accendit, ita et per gloriæ vestræ studium in Anglorum gentem ejus misericordiam confidimus operari. Et quidem jamdudum gloriosi filii nostri conjugis vestri animos prudentiæ vestræ bono, sicut revera Christianæ, debuistis inflectere, ut pro regni et animæ suæ salute fidem, quam colitis, sequeretur: quatenus et de eo, et per eum, de totius gentis conversione digna vobis in cælestibus gaudiis retributio nasceretur. Nam postquam, sicut diximus, et recta fide gloria vestra munita, et literis docta est, hoc vobis nec tardum, nec debuit esse difficile.

Et quoniam, Deo volente, aptum nunc tempus est, agite, ut divina

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

gratia cooperante cum augmento possitis, quod neglectum est, reparare. Itaque mentem gloriosi conjugis vestri in dilectione Christianæ fidei adhortatione assidua roborate, vestra illi sollicitudo augmentum in Deum amoris infundat, atque ita animos ejus, etiam pro subjectæ sibi gentis plenissima conversione succendat, ut et magnum omnipotenti Domino de devotionis suæ studio sacrificium offeratis, et ea quæ de vobis narrata sunt, crescant, et vera esse modis omnibus approbentur: quia bona vestra non solum jam apud Romanos, qui pro vita vestra fortius oraverunt, sed etiam per diversa loca, et usque Constantinopolim ad serenissimum principem pervenerunt. Unde sicut nobis de Christianitatis vestræ solatiis lætitia facta est, ita quoque de perfecta operatione vestra angelis fiat gaudium in cælis. Sic vos in adjutorio supradicti reverendissimi fratris, et coepiscopi nostri, et servorum Dei, quos illuc misimus in conversione gentis vestræ devote ac totis viribus exhibete, ut et hic feliciter cum glorioso filio nostro, conjugæ vestro regnetis, et post longa annorum tempora futuræ quoque vitæ gaudia, quæ finem habere nesciunt, capiatis. Oramus autem omnipotentem Deum, ut gloriæ vestræ cor ad operanda quæ diximus, gratiæ suæ igne succendat, et æternæ mercedis fructum vobis de placita sibi operatione concedat. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 29 (II. 1112); S. I. 85; W. I. 12; Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 689; Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 251.*]

3. GREGORII *Responiones*<sup>a</sup> *ad Interrogationes Augustini*<sup>b</sup>.

[PRÆFATIO].—Per dilectissimum filium Laurentium presbyterum et Petrum monachum fraternitatis tuæ scripta suscepi; in quibus me de multis capitibus requirere curasti. Sed quia prædicti filii mei podagræ me invenerunt doloribus afflictum, et cum urgerent se citius dimitti, ita relaxati sunt ut in eadem me dolorum afflictione relinquerent; singulis quibusque capitulis ut debui latius respondere non valui<sup>c</sup>.

1. Payment of *Prima Interrogatio beati Augustini Episcopi Cantuariorum*  
Clergy. *ecclesiæ.* De Episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis conversentur, vel de his quæ fidelium oblationibus accedunt altario; quantæ debeant fieri portiones, et qualiter Episcopus agere in ecclesia debeat.

*Respondit Gregorius Papa urbis Romæ.* Sacra Scriptura testatur, quam te bene nosse dubium non est, et specialiter beati Pauli ad Timotheum epistolæ, in quibus eum erudire studuit qualiter in domo Dei conversari debuisset. Mos autem sedis apostolicæ est, ordinatis

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

Episcopis præcepta tradere, ut in omni stipendio quod accedit, quatuor debeant fieri portiones; una videlicet Episcopo et familiæ propter hospitalitatem, atque susceptionem; alia clero; tertia pauperibus; quarta ecclesiis reparandis. Sed quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita, seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis, in ecclesia Anglorum, quæ auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem adducta est, hanc debet conversationem instituere, quæ initio nascentis ecclesiæ fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum ex his quæ possidebant, aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia.

Si qui vero<sup>d</sup> sunt clerici extra sacros ordines constituti, qui se continere non possunt, sortiri uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere. Quia et de hisdem patribus de quibus præfati sumus, novimus scriptum, quod dividebatur singulis prout cuique opus erat. De eorum quoque stipendio cogitandum atque providendum est, et sub ecclesiastica regula sunt tenendi, ut bonis moribus vivant et canendis psalmis invigilent, et ab omnibus illicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conservent. Communi autem vita viventibus jam de faciendis portionibus, vel exhibenda hospitalitate, et adimplenda misericordia, nobis quid erit loquendum? Cum omne quod superest, in causis piis ac religiosis erogandum est; Domino omnium magistro docente: "Quod superest, date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis."

2. Varying customs in different churches. *Secunda Interrogatio Augustini.* Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?

*Respondit Gregorius Papa.* Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia, aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere.

3. Thefts committed upon. *Tertia Interrogatio Augustini.* Obsecro quid pati debeat, si quis aliquid de ecclesia furtu abstulerit?

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

Church propriety.

*Respondit Gregorius.* Hoc tua fraternitas ex persona furis pensare potest, qualiter valeat corrigi. Sunt enim quidam qui habentes subsidia furtum perpetrant; et sunt alii qui hac in re ex inopia delinquant: unde necesse est ut quidam damnis, quidam vero verberibus; et quidam districtius, quidam autem levius corrigantur. Et cum paulo districtius agitur, ex caritate agendum est, et non ex furore: quia ipsi hoc præstat, qui corrigitur, ne gehennæ ignibus tradatur. Sic enim nos fidelibus tenere disciplinam debemus, sicut boni patres carnalibus filiis solent, quos et pro culpis verberibus feriunt, et tamen ipsos quos doloribus adfligunt habere heredes quærunt; et quæ possident ipsis servant quos irati insequi videntur. Hæc ergo caritas in mente tenenda est, et ipsa modum correptionis dicit, ita ut mens extra rationis regulam omnino nihil faciat. Adde etiam, quomodo ea quæ furtu de ecclesiis abstulerint reddere debeant. Sed absit ut ecclesia cum augmento recipiat quod de terrenis rebus videtur amittere, et lucra de vanis quærere.

4. Marriage of two brothers with two sisters.

*Quarta Interrogatio Augustini.* Si debeant quomodo germani fratres singulas sorores accipere, quæ sunt ab illis longa progenie generatæ?

*Respondit Gregorius.* Hoc fieri modis omnibus licet: nequaquam enim in sacris eloquiis invenitur quod huic capitulo contradicere videatur.

5. Degrees of affinity.

*Quinta Interrogatio Augustini.* Usque ad quotam generationem fideles debeant cum propinquis sibi conjugio copulari? et novercis et cognatis si liceat copulari conjugio?

*Respondit Gregorius.* Quædam terrena lex in Romana republica permittit, ut sive frater et soror, seu duorum fratrum germanorum vel duorum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus, ex tali conjugio sobolem non posse succrescere: Et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem revelare. Unde necesse est ut jam tertia vel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi jungi debeat: nam secunda quam prædiximus, a se omni modo debet abstinere. Cum noverca autem miscere grave est facinus, quia et in Lege scriptum est: *Turpitudinem patris tui non revelabis.* Neque enim patris turpitudinem filius revelare potest. Sed quia scriptum est; *Erunt duo in carne una*; qui turpitudinem novercæ quæ una caro cum patre fuit revelare præsumperit, profecto patris turpitudinem revelavit. Cum cognata quoque miscere prohibitum est, quia per conjunctionem priorem caro fratris fuerat facta. Pro qua re etiam Johannes Baptista



[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

capite truncatus est, et sancto martyrio consummatus, cui non est dictum ut Christum negaret, et pro Christi confessione occisus est; sed quia isdem Dominus noster Jesus Christus dixerat: *Ego sum veritas*; quia pro veritate Johannes occisus est, videlicet et pro Christo sanguinem fudit. Quia vero<sup>e</sup> sunt multi in Anglorum gente, qui dum adhuc in infidelitate essent, huic nefando conjugio dicuntur admixti, ad fidem venientes admonendi sunt ut se abstineant, et grave hoc esse peccatum cognoscant. Tremendum Dei iudicium timeant, ne pro carnali dilectione tormenta æterni cruciatus incurrant. Non tamen pro hac re, sacri corporis ac sanguinis Domini communione privandi sunt, ne in eis illa ulcisci videantur, in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lavacrum baptismatis adstrinxerunt. In hoc enim tempore sancta ecclesia quædam per fervorem corrigit, quædam per mansuetudinem tolerat, quædam per considerationem dissimulat, atque ita portat et dissimulat, ut sæpe malum quod adversatur portando et dissimulando compescat. Omnes autem qui ad fidem veniunt, admonendi sunt, ne tale aliquid audeant perpetrare. Si qui autem perpetraverint, corporis et sanguinis Domini communione privandi sunt: quia sicut in his qui per ignorantiam fecerunt, culpa aliquatenus toleranda est, ita in his fortiter insequenda, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare<sup>f</sup>.

6. Whether one Bishop may consecrate a Bishop. *Sexta Interrogatio Augustini.* Si longinquitas itineris magna interjacet, ut Episcopi non facile valeant convenire, an debeat sine aliorum Episcoporum præsentia Episcopus ordinari?

*Respondit Gregorius.* Et quidem in Anglorum ecclesia, in qua adhuc solus tu Episcopus inveniris, ordinare Episcopum non aliter nisi sine Episcopis potes. Nam quando de Gallis Episcopi veniunt, qui in ordinatione Episcopi testes adsistant? Sed fraternitatem tuam ita volumus Episcopos ordinare, ut ipsi sibi Episcopi longo intervallo minime disjungantur; quatenus nulla sit necessitas, ut in ordinatione Episcopi, pastores quoque alii quorum præsentia valde est utilis, facile debeant convenire. Cum igitur auctore Deo ita fuerint Episcopi in propinquis sibi locis ordinati, per omnia Episcoporum ordinatio sine adgregatis tribus vel quatuor Episcopis fieri non debet. Nam in ipsis rebus spiritalibus ut sapienter et mature disponantur, exemplum trahere a rebus etiam carnalibus possumus. Certe enim dum conjugia in mundo celebrantur, conjugati quique convocantur, ut qui in via jam conjugii præcesserunt, in subsequentis

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

quoque copulæ gaudio misceantur. Cur non ergo et in hac spiritali ordinatione, qua per sacrum ministerium homo Deo conjungitur, tales convenient, qui vel in propectu ordinati Episcopi gaudeant, vel pro ejus custodia omnipotenti Deo preces pariter fundant?

*Septima Interrogatio Augustini.* Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum Britanniarumque Episcopis agere?

*Respondit Gregorius.* In Galliarum Episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus: quia ab antiquis prædecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis Episcopus

accepit, quem nos privare auctoritate percepta minime debemus. Si igitur contingat ut fraternitas tua ad Galliarum provinciam transeat, cum eodem Arelatense Episcopo debet agere, qualiter, si qua sunt in Episcopis vitia, corrigantur. Qui si forte in disciplinæ vigore tepidus existat, tuæ fraternitatis zelo accendendus est. Cui etiam epistolas fecimus, ut cum tuæ sanctitatis præsentia in Galliis et ipse tota mente subveniat, et quæ sunt Creatoris nostri jussioni contraria, ab Episcoporum moribus compescat. Ipse autem extra auctoritatem propriam Episcopos Galliarum judicare non poteris; sed suadendo, blandiendo, bona quoque opera eorum imitationi monstrando, pravorum mentes ad sanctitatis studia reforma: quia scriptum est in lege: *Per alienam messem transiens, falcem mittere non debet, sed manu spicas conterere et manducare.* Falcem enim judicii mittere non potes in ea segete, quæ alteri videtur esse commissa; sed per affectum boni operis, frumenta Dominica vitiorum suorum paleis exspolia, et in ecclesiæ corpore monendo et persuadendo quasi mandendo converte. Quicquid vero ex auctoritate agendum est, cum prædicto Arelatense Episcopo agatur, ne prætermitti possit hoc, quod antiqua patrum institutio invenit. Britanniarum vero omnes Episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur<sup>h</sup>.

*Octava Interrogatio Augustini.* Si prægnans mulier debeat baptizari? aut postquam genuerit, post quantum tempus possit ecclesiam intrare? aut etiam ne morte præoccupetur quod genuerit, post quot dies hoc liceat sacri baptismatis sacramenta percipere? aut post quantum temporis huic vir suus possit in carnis copulatione conjungi? aut si menstrua consuetudine tenetur, an ecclesiam intrare ei liceat, aut sacræ communionis sacramenta percipere? aut vir suæ conjugii permixtus, priusquam lavetur aqua, si ecclesiam possit intrare? vel etiam ad mysterium commu-

7. Relation between Augustin and the Gallic and British Bishops respectively.

8. Questions respecting parity.

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

nionis sacræ accedere? Quæ omnia rudi Anglorum genti oportet haberi comperta.

*Respondit Gregorius.* Hoc non ambigo fraternitatem tuam esse requisitam, cui jam et responsum reddidisse me arbitror. Sed hoc quod ipse dicere et sentire potuisti, credo quia mea apud te volueris responsione firmari. Mulier etenim prægnans cur non debeat baptizari, cum non sit ante omnipotentis Dei oculos culpa aliqua fœcunditas carnis? Nam cum primi parentes nostri in paradiso deliquissent, immortalitatem quam acceperant, recto Dei judicio perdidierunt. Quia itaque isdem omnipotens Deus humanum genus pro culpa sua funditus exstinguere noluit, et immortalitatem homini pro peccato suo abstulit; et tamen pro benignitate suæ pietatis, fœcunditatem ei sobolis reservavit. Quod ergo naturæ humanæ ex omnipotentis Dei dono servatum est, qua ratione poterit a sacri baptismatis gratia prohibere? In illo quippe mysterio, in quo omnis culpa funditus exstinguitur, valde stultum est, si donum gratiæ contradicere posse videatur. Cum vero enixa fuerit mulier, post quot dies debeat ecclesiam intrare, Testamenti veteris præceptione didicisti, ut pro masculino diebus triginta tribus, pro femina autem diebus sexaginta sex debeat abstinere. Quod tamen sciendum est quia in mysterio accipitur. Nam si hora eadem qua genuerit, actura gratias intrat ecclesiam, nullo peccati pondere gravatur: voluptas etenim carnis, non dolor in culpa est. In carnis autem commixione voluptas est: nam in prolis prolatione gemitus. Unde et ipsi primæ matri omnium dicitur, *In doloribus paries*. Si itaque enixam mulierem prohibemus ecclesiam intrare, ipsam ei pœnam suam in culpam deputamus. Baptizare autem vel enixam mulierem, vel hoc quod genuerit, si mortis periculo urgetur, vel ipsam hora eadem qua gignit, vel hoc quod gignitur, eadem qua natum est, nullo modo prohibetur: quia sancti mysterii gratia sicut viventibus atque discernentibus, cum magna discretione providenda est; ita his quibus mors imminet, sine ulla dilatione proferenda; ne dum adhuc tempus ad præbendum redemptionis mysterium quæritur, interveniente paululum mora, inveniri non valeat qui redimatur.

Ad ejus vero concubitus vir suus accedere non debet, quoadusque qui gignitur, ablactatur. Prava autem in conjugatorum moribus consuetudo surrexit, ut mulieres, filios quos gignant, nutrire contemnant, eosque aliis mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant, quod videlicet ex sola causa incontinentiæ videtur inventum: quia dum se continere nolunt,

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

despiciunt lactare quos gignunt. Hæ itaque quæ filios suos ex prava consuetudine aliis ad nutriendum tradunt, nisi purgationis tempus transierit, viris suis non debent admisceri: quippe quia et sine partus causa, cum in suctis menstruis detinentur, viris suis misceri prohibentur; ita ut morte Lex sacra feriat, si quis vir ad menstruatam mulierem accedat. Quæ tamen mulier dum consuetudinem menstruam patitur, prohiberi ecclesiam intrare non debet; quia ei naturæ superfuitas in culpam non valet reputari: et per hoc quod invita patitur, justum non est ut ingressu ecclesiæ privetur. Novimus namque quod mulier quæ fluxum patiebatur sanguinis, post tergum Domini humiliter veniens, vestimenti ejus fimbriam tetigit, atque ab ea statim sua infirmitas recessit. Si ergo in fluxu sanguinis posita, laudabiliter potuit Domini vestimentum tangere: cur quæ menstruam sanguinis patitur, ei non liceat Domini ecclesiam intrare? Sed dicis: Illam infirmitas compulit; has vero de quibus loquimur, consuetudo constringit. Perpende autem, frater carissime, quia omne quod in hac mortali carne patimur ex infirmitate naturæ, est digno Dei judicio post culpam ordinatum. Esurire namque, sitire, æstare, algere, lassescere, ex infirmitate naturæ est. Et quid est aliud, contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra æstum auras, contra frigus vestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quærere, nisi medicamentum quidem contra ægritudines explorare? Feminæ itaque et menstruus sui sanguinis fluxus ægritudo est. Si igitur bene præsumsit quæ vestimentum Domini in languore posita tetigit, quod uni personæ infirmanti conceditur, cur non concedatur cunctis mulieribus, quæ naturæ suæ vitio infirmantur? Sanctæ autem communionis mysterium in eisdem diebus percipere non debet prohiberi. Si autem ex veneratione magna percipere non præsumit, laudanda est; sed si perceperit, non judicanda. Bonarum quippe mentium est, et ibi aliquo modo culpas suas agnoscere, ubi culpa non est; quia sæpe sine culpa agitur quod venit ex culpa: unde etiam cum esurimus, sine culpa comedimus, quibus ex culpa primi hominis factum est ut esuriamus. Menstrua enim consuetudo mulieribus non aliqua culpa est, videlicet quæ naturaliter accedit. Sed tamen quod natura ipsa ita vitiosa est, ut etiam sine voluntatis studio videatur esse polluta, ex culpa venit vitium, in quo se ipsa, qualis per judicium facta sit, humana natura cognoscat. Et homo qui culpam sponte perpetravit, reatum culpæ portet invitus. Atque ideo feminæ cum semetipsis considerent, et si in menstrua consuetudine ad sacramentum Domi-

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

nici corporis et sanguinis accedere non præsumant, de sua recta consideratione laudandæ sunt; dum vero percipiendo ex religiosæ vitæ consuetudine, ejusdem mysterii amore rapiuntur, reprimendæ, sicut prædiximus, non sunt. Sicut enim in Testamento veteri exteriora opera observantur, ita in Testamento novo, non tam quod exterius agitur, quam id quod interius cogitatur, sollicita intentione adtenditur, ut subtili sententia puniatur. Nam cum multa Lex velut immunda manducare prohibeat; in Evangelio tamen Dominus dicit: *Non quod intrat in os, coinquinat hominem; sed quæ exeunt de ore, illa sunt quæ coinquant hominem.* Atque paulo post subjecit exponens: *Ex corde exeunt cogitationes malæ.* Ubi ubertim indicatum est, quia illud ab omnipotente Deo pollutum esse in opere ostenditur, quod ex pollutæ cogitationis radice generatur. Unde Paulus quoque apostolus dicit: *Omnia munda mundis, coinquantis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum.* Atque mox ejusdem causam coinquationis adnuntians subjungit: *Coinquinata sunt enim et mens eorum et conscientia.* Si ergo ei cibus immundus non est cui mens immunda non fuerit: cur quod munda mente mulier ex natura patitur, et in immunditiam reputetur?

Vir autem cum propria conjuge dormiens, nisi lotus aqua, intrare ecclesiam non debet; sed neque lotus intrare statim debet. Lex autem veteri populo præcepit, ut mixtus vir mulieri, et lavari aqua debeat, et ante solis occasum ecclesiam non intrare: quod tamen intelligi spiritaliter potest. Quia mulieri vir miscetur, quando illicitæ concupiscentiæ animus in cogitatione per delectationem conjungitur; quia nisi prius ignis concupiscentiæ a mente deferveat, dignum se congregationi fratrum æstimare non debet, qui se gravari per nequitiam pravæ voluntatis videt. Quamvis de hac re diversæ hominum nationes diversa sentiant, atque alia custodire videantur; Romanorum tamen semper ab antiquioribus usus fuit, post admixtionem propriæ conjugis, et lavacri purificationem quærere, et ab ingressu ecclesiæ paululum reverenter abstinere. Nec hæc dicentes, culpam deputamus esse conjugium; sed quia ipsa licita admixtio conjugis sine voluptate carnis fieri non potest, a sacri loci ingressu abstinendum est; quia voluptas ipsa esse sine culpa nullatenus potest. Non enim de adulterio, sive fornicatione, sed de legitimo conjugio natus fuerat qui dicebat: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea.* Qui enim in iniquitatibus conceptum se novebat, a delicto se natum gemebat: quia portat in ramo humorem vitii,

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

quem traxit ex radice. In quibus tamen verbis non admixtionem conjugum iniquitatem nominat, sed ipsam videlicet voluptatem admixtionis. Sunt etenim multa quæ licita probantur esse ac legitima, et tamen in eorum actu aliquatenus fœdamur; sicut sæpe irascendo culpas insequimur, et tranquillitatem in nobis animi perturbamus: et cum rectum sit quod agitur, non est tamen adprobabile quod in eo animus perturbatur. Contra vitia quippe delinquentium iratus fuerat qui dicebat: *Turbatus est præ ira oculus meus.* Quia enim non valet nisi tranquilla mens in contemplationis se lucem suspendere, in ira suum oculum turbatum dolebat: quia dum male acta deorsum insequitur, confundi atque turbari a summorum contemplatione cogebatur. Et laudabilis ergo est ira contra vitium, et tamen molesta, qua turbatum se aliquem reatum incurrisse æstimabat. Oportet itaque legitimam carnis copulam, ut causa prolis sit, non voluptatis; et carnis commixtio, creandorum liberorum sit gratia, non satisfactio vitiorum. Si quis vero suam conjugem non cupidine voluptatis raptus, sed solummodo creandorum liberorum gratia utitur, iste profecto sive de ingressu ecclesiæ, seu de sumendo Dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio, suo est iudicio relinquendus; quia a nobis prohiberi non debet accipere, qui in igne positus nescit ardere. Cum vero non amor ortandi sobolis, sed voluptas dominatur in opere commixtionis: habent conjuges etiam de sua commixtione quod defleant. Hoc enim eis concedit sancta prædicatio; et tamen de ipsa concessione metu animum concutit. Nam cum Paulus Apostolus diceret: *Qui se continere non potest, habeat uxorem suam;* statim subjungere curavit: *Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium.* Non enim indulgetur quod licet, quia justum est. Quod igitur indulgere dixit, culpam esse demonstravit. Vigilanti vero mente pensandum est, quod in Sina<sup>o</sup> monte Dominus ad populum locuturus, prius eundem populum abstinere a mulieribus præcepit. Et si illuc ubi Dominus per creaturam subditam hominibus loquebatur, tanta provisione est munditia corporis requisita, ut qui verba Dei perciperent mulieribus mixti non essent; quanto magis mulieres, quæ corpus Domini omnipotentis accipiunt, custodire in se munditiam carnis debent, ne ipsa inæstimabilis mysterii magnitudine graventur? Hinc etiam ad David de pueris suis per sacerdotem dicitur, ut si a mulieribus mundi essent, panes propositionis acciperent, quos omnino non acciperent, nisi prius mundos eos David a mulieribus fateretur. Tunc autem vir qui post admixtionem conjugis lotus

[GREGORY'S RESPONSIONES, A.D. 601.]

aqua fuerit, etiam sacrae communionis mysterium valet accipere, cum ei juxta praefinitam sententiam, etiam ecclesiam licuerit intrare.

9. Similar to the preceding. *Nona Interrogatio Augustini.* Si post inlusionem quae per somnium solet accidere, vel corpus Domini quilibet accipere valeat; vel, si sacerdos sit, sacra mysteria celebrare?

*Respondit Gregorius.* Hunc quidem Testamentum veteris Legis, sicut in superiori capitulo jam diximus, pollutum dicit, et nisi lotum aqua, usque ad vesperam intrare ecclesiam non concedit. Quod tamen aliter populus spiritalis intelligens, sub eodem intellectu accipiet quo praefati sumus: quia quasi per somnium inluditur qui tentatus immunditia, veris imaginibus in cogitatione inquinatur; sed lavandus est aqua, ut culpas cogitationis lacrymis abluat: et nisi prius ignis tentationis recesserit, reum se quasi usque ad vesperum cognoscat. Sed est in eadem inlusione valde necessaria discretio, quae subtiliter pensari debeat, ex qua re accadat menti dormientis: aliquando enim ex crapula, aliquando ex naturae superfluitate et infirmitate, aliquando ex cogitatione contingit ita. Et quidem cum ex naturae superfluitate vel infirmitate evenerit, omnimodo haec inlusio non est timenda; quia hanc animum nescientem pertulisse magis dolendum est, quam fecisse. Cum vero ultra modum appetitus gulae in sumendis alimentis rapitur, atque idcirco humorum receptacula gravantur, habet exinde animus aliquem reatum, non tamen usque ad prohibitionem percipiendi sancti mysterii, vel missarum sollemnia celebrandi: cum fortasse aut festus dies exigit, aut exhiberi mysterium, pro eo quod sacerdos alius in loco deest, ipsa necessitas compellit. Nam si adsunt alii qui implere ministerium valeant, inlusio pro crapula facta, a perceptione sacri mysterii prohibere non debet; sed ab immolatione sacri mysterii abstinere, ut arbitror, humiliter debet: si tamen dormientis mentem turpi imaginatione non concusserit. Nam sunt quibus ita plerumque inlusio nascitur, ut eorum animus, etiam in somno corporis positus, turpibus imaginationibus non foedetur. Qua in re unum ibi ostenditur, ipsa mens rea, non tamen vel suo iudicio libera, cum se, etsi dormienti corpore, nihil meminit vidisse, tamen in vigiliis corporis, meminit in ingluviem cecidisse. Sin vero ex turpi cogitatione vigilantis oritur inlusio dormientis, patet animo reatus suus: videt enim a qua radice inquinatio illa processerit, quia quod cogitavit sciens, hoc pertulit nesciens. Sed pensandum est, ipsa cogitatio utrum suggestionem, an delectationem, vel, quod majus est, peccati consensu acciderit. Tribus

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

enim modis impletur omne peccatum; videlicet suggestione, delectatione, consensu. Suggestio quippe fit per diabolum, delectatio per carnem, consensus per spiritum: quia et primam culpam serpens suggessit, Eva velut caro delectata est, Adam vero velut spiritus consensit: et necessaria est magna discretio, ut inter suggestionem atque delectationem, inter delectationem et consensum, iudex sui animus præsideat. Cum enim malignus spiritus peccatum suggerit in mente, si nulla peccati delectatio sequatur, peccatum omnimodo perpetratum non est: cum vero delectari caro cœperit, tunc peccatum incipit nasci: si autem etiam ex deliberatione consentit, tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici. In suggestione igitur peccati initium est, in delectatione fit nutrimentum, in consensu perfectio. Et sæpe contingit ut hoc quod malignus spiritus seminat in cogitatione, caro in delectationem trahat; nec tamen anima eidem delectationi consentiat. Et cum caro delectare sine animo nequeat, ipse tamen animus carnis voluptatibus reluctans, in delectatione carnali aliquo modo ligatur invitus, ut ei ex ratione contradicat, ne consentiat, et tamen delectatione ligatus sit, sed ligatum se vehementer ingemiscat. Unde et ille cælestis exercitus præcipuus miles gemebat dicens: *Video aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meæ, et captivum me ducentem in lege peccati, quæ est in membris meis.* Si autem captivus erat, minime pugnabat; sed et pugnabat: quapropter et captivus erat, et pugnabat igitur legi mentis, cui lex quæ in membris est, repugnabat. Si autem pugnabat, captivus non erat. Ecce itaque homo est, ut ita dixerim, captivus et liber; liber ex justitia quam diligit, captivus ex delectatione quam portat invitus. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 64 (II. 1150); B. I. 27; S. I. 95; W. I. 18-24 (following the text of the Paris edition of S. Gregory's works, A.D. 1518); Mansi, X. 404, 415.*]

Requesting Ver- 4. A.D. 601, June 22. GREGORIUS *Vergilio Episcopo Are-*  
 gilius to assist *latensi.*—Quantus sit affectus venientibus sponte fratribus  
 Augustin. impendendus, ex eo quod plerumque solent caritatis causa  
 invitari, cognoscitur. Et ideo si communem fratrem Augustinum  
 Episcopum ad vos venire contigerit, ita illum dilectio vestra, sicut  
 decet, affectuose dulciterque suscipiat, ut et ipsum consolationis  
 suæ bono refoveat, et alios, qualiter fraterna caritas colenda sit,  
 doceat. Et quoniam sæpius evenit, ut hi qui longe sunt positi,  
 prius ab aliis quæ sunt emendanda, cognoscant: si quas fortasse  
 fraternitati vestræ sacerdotum vel aliorum culpas intulerit, una



[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

cum eo residentes subtili cuncta investigatione perquirite, et ita vos in ea quæ Deum offendunt, et ad iracundiam provocant, districtos ac sollicitos exhibete, ut ad aliorum emendationem et vindicta culpabilem feriat, et innocentem falsa opinio non affligat. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reverentissime frater.

Data die decima kalendarum Juliarum, imperante Domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno decimo nono, post consulatum ejusdem Domini nostri anno decimo octavo, indictione quarta. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 68 (II. 1170); B. I. 28 (adding the date); S. I. 89; W. App. IV. 721.*]

5. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Augustino Anglorum Episcopo.*—Reverentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Cum certum sit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regni præmia reservari; nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritalis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare. Et quia nova Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente, et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum sollempnia agenda concedimus: ita ut per loca singula duodecim Episcopos ordines, qui tuæ subjaceant ditioni, quatenus Lundoniensis civitatis Episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et Apostolica, cui Deo auctore deservio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus Episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque duodecim Episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, si vita comes fuerit, pallium tribuere Domino favente disponimus, quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis volumus dispositioni subjacere: post obitum vero tuum ita Episcopis quos ordinaverit præsit, ut Lundoniensis Episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat. Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eburacæ civitatis Episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur qui prius fuerit ordinatus: communi autem consilio et concordii actione quæquæ sunt pro Christi zelo agenda disponant unanimiter; recte sentiant, et ea quæ senserint, non sibimet discrepando perficiant. Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos Episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eburacæ Episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britanniæ sacerdotes habeat Deo

Granting a Pall to Augustin and assigning to the future English Church two provinces, London upon Augustin's death, and York, with twelve Bishops apiece.

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601]

Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore subjectos; quatenus ex lingua et vita tuæ sanctitatis, et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant, atque officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes, ad cælestia cum Dominus voluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reverentissime frater.

Data die decima kalendarum Juliarum, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno decimo nono, post consulatum ejusdem domini anno decimo octavo, indictione quarta. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 65 (II. 1163); B. I. 29 (adding the date); S. I. 90; W. I. 14.*]

6. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Ethelberto Regi Anglorum.*—Propter hoc omnipotens Deus bonos quosque ad populorum regimina perducit, ut per eos omnibus quibus prælati fuerint, dona suæ pietatis impendat. Quod in Anglorum gente factum cognovimus: cui vestra gloria idcirco est præposita, ut per bona quæ vobis concessa sunt, etiam subjectæ vobis genti superna beneficia præstarentur. Et ideo, gloriose filii, eam quam accepisti divinitus gratiam, sollicita mente custodi, Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuæ in eorum conversione multiplica, idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum ædificia evertē, subditorum mores ex magna vitæ munditia, exhortando, terrendo, blandiēdo, corrigēdo, et boni operis exempla monstrando ædifica: ut illum retributorem invenias in cælo, cujus nomen atque cognitionem dilataveris in terra. Ipse enim vestræ quoque gloriæ nomen etiam posteris gloriosius reddet, cujus vos honorem quæritis et servatis in gentibus.

Sic etenim Constantinus quondam piissimus imperator, Romanam rempublicam a perversis idolorum cultibus revocans, omnipotenti Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo secum subdidit, seque cum subjectis populis tota ad eum mente convertit. Unde factum est ut antiquorum principum nomen suis vir ille laudibus vinceret, et tanto in opinione præcessores suos, quanto et in bono opere superaret. Et nunc itaque vestra gloria cognitionem unius Dei, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, regibus ac populis sibimet subjectis festinet infundere, et antiquos gentis suæ reges laudibus ac meritis transeat, et quanto in subjectis suis etiam aliena peccata deterserit, tanto etiam de peccatis propriis ante omnipotentis Dei terribile examen securior fiat.

Exhorting him to persevere in the Christian faith and to destroy idolatrous temples.

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

Reverentissimus frater noster Augustinus Episcopus, in monasterii regula edoctus, sacræ Scripturæ scientia repletus, bonis auctore Deo operibus præditus, quæquæ vos ammonet, audite, devote peragite, studiose in memoria reservate: quia si vos eum in eo quod pro omnipotente Domino loquitur, auditis, isdem omnipotens Deus hunc pro vobis exorantem celerius exaudit. Si enim, quod absit, verba ejus postponitis, quando eum omnipotens Deus poterit audire pro vobis, quem vos negligitis audire pro Deo? Tota igitur mente cum eo vos in fervore fidei stringite, atque adnissum illius virtute quam vobis Divinitas tribuit, adjuvate, ut regni sui vos ipse faciat esse participes, cujus vos fidem in regno vestro recipi faciatis et custodiri.

Præterea scire vestram gloriam volumus, quia sicut in Scriptura sacra ex verbis Domini omnipotentis agnoscimus, præsentis mundi jam terminus juxta est, et sanctorum regnum venturum est, quod nullo unquam poterit fine terminari. Adpropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, multa imminet quæ antea non fuerunt: videlicet immutationes aëris, terroresque de cælo, et contra ordinationem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentia, terræ motus per loca; quæ tamen non omnia nostris diebus ventura sunt, sed post nostros dies omnia subsequenter. Vos itaque, si qua ex his evenire in terra vestra cognoscitis, nullo modo vestrum animum perturbetis; quia idcirco hæc signa de fine sæculi præmittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti, et venturo judici in bonis actibus inveniamur esse præparati. Hæc nunc, gloriose fili, paucis locutus sum, ut cum Christiana fides in regno vestro excreverit, nostra quoque apud vos locutio latior excrescat, et tanto plus loqui libeat, quanto se in mente nostra gaudia de gentis vestræ perfecta conversione multiplicent.

Parva autem exenia transmisi, quæ vobis parva non erunt, cum a vobis ex beati Petri Apostoli fuerint benedictione suscepta. Omnipotens itaque Deus in vobis gratiam suam quam cœpit, perficiat, atque vitam vestram, et hic per multorum annorum curricula extendat, et post longa tempora in cælestis vos patriæ congregatione recipiat. Incolumem excellentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat, domine fili. Data die decima kalendarum Juliarum, imperante Domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno decimo nono, post consulatum ejusdem anno decimo octavo, indictione quarta. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 66 (II. 1164); B. I. 32 (adding the date); S. I. 86; W. I. 12.*]

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

\* Of the six letters here placed together, the first three, viz. the letters to Augustin respecting his miracles, to Queen Bertha, and the *Responsiones*, are not dated. But the statement of Bede (*I.* 31) that the first of the three was sent by Laurentius and Mellitus, i. e. June A.D. 601, and the reference in the *Responsiones* (*Ans. VII.*) to the letter to Vergilius of the same date, refer these two necessarily, and probably therefore that to Bertha also, to June 22, A.D. 601. Inasmuch however as they are all three written in direct reference to tidings received by Gregory early in A.D. 598, it is probable that they were written before A.D. 601, but kept until the new mission, that of Mellitus, was able to start. And the first of them is actually dated "in collectione Pauli Diac. et in Remig. d. Kal. Jan.," but without mentioning the Indiction. *Bened. Edd.* This would also account for the two letters sent at the same date to Augustin, and for the Preface to the *Responsiones*. That the *Responsiones* were sent "without delay" upon the receipt of the *Questiones* (*B. I.* 27), in A.D. 598, is manifestly incorrect.

<sup>b</sup> S. Boniface in A.D. 736 (*Epist. XL. ad Nothelm. Episc. Cantuar.*) requests Nothelm to send him a copy of these Questions and Answers, "in qua inter cætera capitula continetur quod in tertia generatione propinquitatis fidelibus liceat matrimonia copulare;" asking also "ut scrupulosa cautela diligenter investigare studeatis, si illa conscriptio supradicti patris nostri Sancti Gregorii esse comprobetur, annon; quia in scrinio Romanæ ecclesiæ, ut affirmant scriiniarii, cum cæteris exemplaribus supradicti pontificis quæsitâ non inveniebatur." Nothelm, A.D. 715 × 731, had himself brought Bede's copy of this and other documents from Rome (*B. Præf.*). The document must, it would seem, have been rediscovered at Rome subsequently to Boniface's letter in A.D. 736; and possibly was overlooked in A.D. 736, through its not being with Gregory's letters, in the register of which it does not occur in the older editions of Gregory's works, but is added at the end of them. It follows however that Bede's copy is the most certainly authentic copy; and that the additions to his text in the editions of Paris, A.D. 1518 and 1545, and Antwerp, A.D. 1572, and from them in the Benedictine edition, are of no authority, independently of the internal evidence to their being interpolated. The remark does not apply to the Preface, which Nothelm might possibly have omitted intentionally; although his accuracy in adding dates to the documents he brought renders this unlikely. Boniface afterwards, before A.D. 742, obtained copies of some letters of

Gregory from Rome which he says "excepti de scrinio Romanæ ecclesiæ, quæ [sic] non rebar ad Britanniam venisse;" and of which he sends a copy to Archbishop Egbert of York, A.D. 742, adding that if Egbert wishes he will send more, "quia multas inde excepti" (*Bonif. Egberto, Ep. LIV.*). Probably these were letters not in Bede; for Boniface most likely possessed Bede's History before A.D. 742.

<sup>c</sup> Bede omits this Preface.

<sup>d</sup> This paragraph (p. 19), *Si qui vero—vobis*, stands as the answer to a second question in the Paris edition of 1518 and the later editions of S. Gregory's works, viz. "Opto doceri an clerici continere non valentes possint contrahere; et si contraxerint, an debeant ad sæculum redire."

<sup>e</sup> This paragraph (p. 21), *Quia vero—peccare*, stands in the Paris edition of A.D. 1518 and later editions, as the answer to a distinct question, viz. "Declarari posco, an sic turpiter conjunctis sit indicenda separatio, et sacræ communionis deneganda communio."

<sup>f</sup> Felix Messanens. Episc. ad Gregorium (*Greg. Ep. XIV. 16, II. 1274*). "Hæc quidem meditates, ad nos perlatum est a quibusdam Roma venientibus, vos Augustino consodali nostro, per venerabilem sanctitatem vestram postmodum Episcopo Anglorum genti ordinato et illuc directo, atque Anglis scripsisse quos olim ad fidem conversos per vos cognovimus: ut quarta progenie conjuncti non separentur. Quæ consuetudo dudum in illis aut in istis partibus, quando una vobiscum ab infantia nutritus atque edoctus fui, non erat; nec in ullis prædecessorum vestrorum decretis, vel reliquorum generaliter vel specialiter patrum institutis legi, aut haftenus ab ullis sapientibus esse concessum didici. Sed semper usque ad septimum originis suæ gradum hæc a sanctis antecessoribus vestris et cæteris sanctis patribus tam in Nicæna Synodo quam in aliis sanctis Conciliis congregatis, servari debere reperi, et a recte viventibus ac Dominum timentibus hominibus, studiose prævideri cognovi. \* \* \* Super quibus omnibus nos a vestra sanctitate ac vestræ sanctæ sedis auctoritate instrui precamur: et utrum ea quæ sicut prædiximus vos præfato consodali nostro Augustino Episcopo, et Anglorum genti scripsisse audivimus, specialiter eis, aut generaliter omnibus scripta sint, scriptis vestris imbui quærimus."

Gregor. ad Felicem Messanens. Episc. (*ib. XIV. 17, II. 1276*). "De tribus enim Apostolicam sedem in qua alitus es et edoctus capitulis consulendam prædecessorum tuorum sequens exempla credidisti, id est de consanguinitatis conjunctione, et de vexatione Episcoporum a subditis, et de ecclesiarum dubitatione consecrationum. Quod autem scripsi

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

Augustino, Anglorum gentis Episcopo, alumuo videlicet, ut recordaris, tuo, de consanguinitatis conjunctione: ipsi et Anglorum genti, quæ nuper ad fidem venerat, ne a bono quod cœperat, metueno austeriora recederet, specialiter et non generaliter cæteris me scripsisse cognoscas. Unde et mihi omnis Romana civitas extitit testis, nec ea intentione hæc illis scriptis mandavi ut postquam firma radice in fide fuerint solidati, si infra propria fuerint consanguinitatem inventi, non separentur, aut infra affinitatis lineam, id est usque ad septimam generationem, conjungantur: sed adhuc illos neophytos existentes sæpissime eos prius illicita docere vitare et verbis ac exemplis instruere, et quæ post de talibus egerint, rationabiliter et fideliter excludere oportet. \* \* \* His rite perpensis, caritative jam dictis indulsus: nec præceptum dedi, sed consilium: nec regulam in his posteris ullis tenendam tradidi, sed de duobus periculis quod facilius sit vitandum ostendi. \* \* \* Progeniem vero suam unumquemque de his, qui fideliter edocti sunt et jam firma radice plantati stant inconvulsi, usque ad septimam observare decernimus generationem. Et quamdiu se affinitate agnoscunt propinquos, ad hujus copulæ non accedere societatem præsumant: nec eam quam aliquis ex propria consanguinitate conjugem habuit, vel aliqua illicita pollutione maculavit, in conjugium ducere ulli profecto licet Christianorum vel licebit: quia incestuosus est talis coitus et abominabilis Deo et cunctis bonis hominibus. Incestuosos vero nullo conjugii nomine deputandos a Sanctis Patribus dudum statutum esse legimus. Ideo nolimus nos in hac re a vobis sive a cæteris fidelibus reprehendi: quia quod in his Anglorum genti indulsimus, non formam dando, sed considerando ne Christianitatis bonum quod cœperant, imperfectum dimitterent, egimus."

Of the letters of which these are extracts,

the latter is marked by Jaffé as spurious: and see Blondel, Pseudo-Isidor, 668. It is certain however that Gregory's rule was not acted upon by the English Church even from the beginning, as appears by the canon respecting marriage mentioned by S. Boniface; below, pp. 50, 51; A.D. 597 & 604.

\* The letter to Vergilius; immediately following; p. 28.

<sup>h</sup> Between this and the next question the later editions of S. Gregory's works insert a further question (or rather request) and answer, which are neither in Bede nor in the Paris edition of A.D. 1518, but were taken from MSS. otherwise manifestly untrustworthy (see *Ussber* ap. *Wilkins*, in *not. ad Respons.*). They run thus:—

"*Obsecratio Augustini.* Obsecro ut reliquæ S. Sixti Martyris nobis transmittantur.—*Concessio Gregorii.* Fecimus quod petisti, quatenus populus qui in loco quondam Sancti Sixti martyris corpus dixerunt venerari, quod tuæ fraternitati nec verum nec veraciter sanctum videtur, certa sanctissimi et probatissimi martyris beneficia suscipiens, colere incerta non debeat. Mihi tamen videtur, quod si corpus quod a populo quondam martyris esse creditur nullis illic miraculis coruscet, et neque aliqui de antiquioribus existunt qui se a percutibus passionis ejus ordinem audisse fateantur, ita reliquæ, quas petisti, seorsum condendæ sunt, ut locus in quo præfatum corpus jacet modis omnibus obstruatur, nec permittatur populus certum deserere et incertum venerari."

The forgery is a clumsy one which represents the recently converted Kentish people, in A.D. 601, as in the habit of worshipping the body of a saint supposed by them though falsely, to have been S. Sixtus. S. Gregory did send relics of martyrs to S. Augustin (*B. I.* 29), and hence doubtless the interpolation of the passage.

**B. Commendatory Letters on behalf of Laurentius, Mellitus, and their Company<sup>a</sup>, to the Bishops of Vienne, Arles, Lyons, Gap, Toulon, Marseilles, Chalons on the Saone, Metz, Paris, Rouen, and Angers; and to the Kings and Queen of the Franks.**

Concludes with commending Laurentius, Mellitus, and their company to his care.

1. A.D. 601, June 22. GREGORIUS *Desiderio Episcopo Galliæ* [i. e. Viennensi].—\* \* \* Monachos vero quos una cum dilectissimo filio nostro Laurentio presbytero et Mellito abbate ad reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum transmisimus, vobis in omnibus commendamus, ut fraternitate vestra solatiante, nulla illos

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

ad proficiscendum mora valeat impedire. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 54 (II. 1139)*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 680*; *Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 236.*]

Similar to the preceding. 2. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Vergilio Episcopo*

*Arelatensi.*—\* \* \* Monachos vero quos ad reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum transmisimus, fraternitas vestra habeat in omnibus commendatos: et ita eis ad proficiscendum solatiari studeat atque concurrere, ut vobis sibi opitulanti- bus celeriter, Deo protegente, quo directi sunt, valeant perexire. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 55 (II. 1140)*; *Smith ut supra*; *Stevenson, p. 237.*]

Similar to the preceding. 3. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Atherio Episcopo*

*Lugdunensi.*—\* \* \* Præterea fraternitas vestra monachos quos ad reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum direximus, habere studeat in omnibus commendatos, suamque illis caritatem propter Deum exhibeat, atque illis ita studio sacerdotali obnixè concurret, et suo eos solatio ad agendum iter adjuvare festinet, ut dum nulla eis illic res morandi causas intulerit, et hi celerius pergere et vos mercedem de præstitis invenire possitis. Datum die 10 Julii<sup>b</sup>, indictione IV. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 56 (II. 1141)*; *Smith ut supra*; *Stevenson ut supra.*]

Similar to the preceding. 4. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Arigio Episcopo Gal-*

*liarum* [i. e. *Vapincensi*].—\* \* \* Præterea monachis quos ad reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum transmisimus, caritatem suam fraternitas vestra, ut consuevit, impendat: et ita eis tam per se quam per alios quos potuerit ad proficiscendum solatiari studeat: ut dum vobis providentibus nullas illic difficultates vel moras habuerint, et nos quod de vobis confidimus sentiamus, et Deus vobis Omnipotens pro conversione animarum, pro quibus transmissi sunt, suam gratiam recompenset. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 57 (II. 1142)*; *Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 681*; *Stevenson ut supra.*]

Commemoratory letter on behalf of the same. 5. A.D. 601, *June 22.* GREGORIUS *Mennæ Telonæ, Sereno*

*Massiliæ, Lupo Cabilloni, Aigulfo Mettis, Simplicio Parisiis, Melantio Rotomo, et Licinio* [*Andegavensi*], *Episcopis Francorum a paribus.*—Licet fraternitatem vestram suscepti officii cura com- moneat, ut religiosi viris, et præcipue in causa animarum laborantibus, omni debeat adnisi concurrere: non tamen ab re est si sollicitudinem vestram epistolarum nostrarum sermo pulsaverit; quia sicut ignis aura flante fit grandior, ita bonæ mentis studia commendatione proficiunt. Quia igitur Redemptoris nostri gratia co-operante tanta de Anglorum gente ad Christianæ fidei gratiam multitudo convertitur ut reveren-

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

dissimus communis frater et coepiscopus noster Augustinus eos qui secum sunt ad hoc opus exequendum per diversa loca asserat non posse sufficere, aliquantos ad eum monachos cum dilectissimis et communibus filiis, Laurentio presbytero et Mellito abbate prævidimus transmittendos. Et ideo fraternitas vestra eis caritatem quam deceat exhibeat, atque ita illis ubicunque necesse fuerit auxiliari festinet; quatenus, dum vobis opitulantibus nullas illic remorandi causas habuerint, et ipsi vestra se relevatos consolatione congaudeant et vos solatiorum exhibitione in causa pro qua directi sunt possitis participes inveniri. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 58 (II. 1144); S. I. 81; W. App. IV. 720; Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 681; Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 236.*]

Concludes by thanking Theoderic for former help to Augustin, and commending to him Laurentius and his companions.

6. A.D. 601, June 22. GREGORIUS *Theoderico Francorum Regi.*—\* \* \* Quanta præterea bona reverendissimo fratri et coepiscopo nostro Augustino, ad Anglorum gentem proficiscenti, excellentia vestra præbuerit, revertentes ab eo quidam monachi retulerunt. Unde uberes gratias referentes, petimus ut his quoque monachis qui ad eum directi sunt, suffragia vestra copiosius præbere, atque eos ad proficiscendum juvare dignemini: ut quanto beneficia vestra eis amplius exhibetis, tanto majorem vicissitudinem ab Omnipotente Deo, cui serviunt, expectetis. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 59 (II. 1145); Smith ut supra; Stevenson, p. 238.*]

Similar to the preceding.

7. A.D. 601, June 22. GREGORIUS *Theodeberto Regi Francorum.*—\* \* \* Quanta præterea bona proficiscenti ad Anglorum gentem reverendissimo fratri et coepiscopo Augustino excellentia vestra impenderit, referentibus quibusdam monachis qui ab eo reversi sunt, cognovimus. De qua re maximas gratias exsolventes, petimus ut et monachis præsentium portitoribus, quos ad eundem patrem nostrum direximus, vestra uberius beneficia ministretis: quatenus dum vobis patrocinantibus nullas illic difficultates invenerint, sed cœptum iter facile, Christo adjuvante, peregerint, uberiorem mercedis vestræ fructum ante Dei nostri oculos faciatis. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 60 (II. 1146); Smith and Stevenson ut supra.*]

Begins with similar commendations to the preceding.

8. A.D. 601, June 22. GREGORIUS *Clotario Regi Francorum* c.—Inter tot curas et sollicitudines quas pro subjectarum vobis gentium regimine sustinetis, existere vos in causa Dei laborantibus adjutores, eximiæ laudis et magnæ mercedis est. Et quia tales vos bonis præcedentibus ostenditis ut præsumere de vobis meliora possimus, petere quæ pro mercede vestra sunt, libentissime

[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

provocamur. Quidam igitur qui cum reverendissimo fratre et coepiscopo nostro Augustino ad Anglorum gentem perrexerant reverentes, quanta eundem fratrem nostrum excellentia vestra in præsentia positum caritate refecerit, quantisque suffragiis proficiscentem adjuverit, narraverunt. Sed quia illa Deo nostro opera grata sunt semper, quæ a bonis cœptis non recedunt, paterno affectu salutantes petimus ut monachos præsentium portitores quos ad prædictum fratrem nostrum una cum dilectissimis filiis nostris Laurentio presbytero et Mellito abbate transmisimus habeatis peculiariter commendatos. Et quicquid illis ante exhibuistis, his quoque ad laudis vestræ cumulum uberius impendatis: quatenus dum vobis providentibus cœptum sine mora iter expleverint, bonorum vestrorum Omnipotens Deus recompensator existat, atque vobis et in prosperis custos et in adversitatibus sit adjutor. \* \* \* [Greg. Ep. XI. 61 (II. 1147); Smith ut supra; Stevenson ut supra.]

Commendatory letter similar to the preceding. 9. A.D. 601, June 22. GREGORIUS *Brunichildæ Regine Francorum*.—Gratias omnipotenti Deo referimus, Qui inter cætera pietatis suæ dona quæ excellentiæ vestræ largitus est, ita vos amore Christianæ religionis implevit ut quidquid ad animarum lucrum, quidquid ad propagationem fidei pertinere cognoscitis, devota mente et pio operari studio non cessetis. Quanto autem favore quantaque opitulatione excellentia vestra reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum proficiscentem ad Anglorum gentem adjuverit, nec ante silentio fama conticuit et postea quidam ab eo ad nos monachi redeuntes subtiliter retulerunt. Et quidem hæc de Christianitate vestra mirentur alii, quibus adhuc beneficia vestra minus sunt cognita; nam nobis quibus experimentis jam nota sunt non mirandum est sed gaudendum; quia per hoc quod aliis impenditis vos juvatis. Qualia autem quantaque in conversione suprascriptæ gentis Redemptor noster fuerit miracula operatus excellentiæ vestræ jam notum est. Ex qua re magnam vos oportet habere lætitiā, quia majorem sibi partem hæc in re præstitorum vestrorum solatia vendicant, cujus post Deum auxiliis verbum illic prædicationis innotuit. Nam qui alterius bonum adjuvat suum facit. Sed ut mercedis vestræ magis magisque sit fructus uberior, petimus ut monachis præsentium apicum portitoribus quos cum dilectissimis filiis nostris Laurentio presbytero et Mellito abbate ad prædictum reverendissimum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum, pro eo quod illos qui secum sunt sufficere sibi dicit non posse, transmittimus, patrocini vestri suffragia benignius



[LETTERS OF GREGORY, A.D. 601.]

ministretis; atque ita eis in omnibus adesse dignemini, quatenus dum bonis excellentiæ vestræ initiis meliora successerint, et nullas illic moras vel difficultates invenerint, tanto erga vos ac dulcissimos nobis nepotes vestros Dei nostri misericordiam provocetis, quanto pro Ejus vos amore in hujusmodi causis misericorditer exhibetis. [*Greg. Ep. XI. 62 (II. 1148); S. I. 82; W. App. IV. 721; Smith ad Bed. App. num. VI. p. 682; Stevenson, App. ad Bed. p. 237.*]

<sup>a</sup> The date of these nine letters is determined by that appended to the third of them, the letter to Ætherius, corrected by the internal evidence of their having been sent by Mellitus June 22, A.D. 601. Correct the date in the letter (with *Hussey, ad Bed. I. 30*) into "X. Kal. Jul. Indict. IV.," and it harmonizes with the facts of the case. Paulus Diaconus also

gives the correct date to the sixth of the series, that to Theoderic.

<sup>b</sup> Correct into "datum die X. Kal. Julii." See the last note.

<sup>c</sup> King of Soissons, and in A.D. 613 of all France. He was a youth of eighteen in A.D. 601.

### C. *Letter to Mellitus, after the Mission had quitted Rome.*

Retracts the advice given to Ethelbert to destroy the heathen temples, and desires Augustin to convert them into churches.

GREGORIUS *Mellito Abbati in Francia*, [after June 22] A.D. 601.—Post discessum congregationis nostræ quæ tecum est, valde sumus suspensi redditi, quia nihil de prosperitate vestri itineris audisse nos contigit. Cum ergo Deus omnipotens vos ad reverentissimum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei, quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur, aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari, ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari: ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conviviis sollemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esum suum animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant: ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscindere

impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur. Sic Israelitico populo in Ægypto Dominus se quidem innotuit; sed tamen eis sacrificiorum usus quæ diabolo solebat exhibere, in cultu proprio reservavit, ut eis in suo sacrificio animalia immolare præciperet; quatenus cor mutantes, aliud de sacrificio amitterent, aliud retinerent: ut etsi ipsa essent animalia quæ offerre consueverant, vero tamen Deo hæc et non idolis immolantes, jam sacrificia ipsa non essent. Hæc igitur dilectionem tuam prædicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse in præsentem illic positus perpendat, qualiter omnia debeat dispensare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili.

Data die XV. kalendarum Juliarum<sup>a</sup>, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XIX., post consulatum ejusdem domini anno XVIII., indictione IV.<sup>b</sup> [*Greg. Ep. XI. 76 (II. 1176); B. I. 30 (adding the date); S. I. 89; W. App. IV. 721.*]

<sup>a</sup> The date is plainly wrong, as Mellitus did not leave Rome until June 22 (X. Cal. Jul.). There are no means of correcting it.

<sup>b</sup> Ussher, *Epist. Hib. Syll.* in Ep. VII., supposes that Mellitus and his company visited

Columbanus on their way (at Luxeuil?); and quotes *B. I. 29* and *Greg. Ep. IX. 52, 55, 56* (old ed.) to prove it: which, however, they surely fail to do. Luxeuil lies a long way east of their probable route.

A.D. 602 × 603<sup>a</sup>. *Conferences between Augustin and the British Bishops at Augustin's Oak*<sup>b</sup>.

Union in preaching to the Saxons proposed by S. Augustin, on condition that the British Church conforms to that of Rome.

BÆD. II. 2. FIRST CONFERENCE.—Interea Augustinus adiutorio usus Ædilbercti Regis, convocavit ad suum colloquium Episcopos sive doctores proximæ Brittonum provincie, in loco qui usque hodie lingua Anglorum *Augustines Ac*, id est, robur Augustini, in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum, appellatur: cœpitque eis fraterna admonitione suadere, ut pace catholica secum habita, communem evangelizandi gentibus pro Domino laborem susciperent. Non enim Paschæ Dominicum diem suo tempore, sed a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant: quæ computatio octoginta quatuor annorum circulo continetur. Sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticæ contraria faciebant. Qui cum, longa disputatione habita, neque precibus, neque hortamentis, neque increpationibus Augustini ac sociorum ejus assensum præbere voluissent, sed suas potius traditiones universis, quæ per orbem sibi in Christo concordant, ecclesiis præferrent, sanctus pater Augustinus hunc laboriosi atque longi certaminis finem fecit, ut diceret: *Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare facit unanimes in domo*

[CONFERENCES OF AUGUSTIN'S OAK.]

*Patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare cœlestibus signis dignetur, quæ sequenda traditio, quibus sit viis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur aliquis æger, et per cujus preces fuerit curatus, kujus fides et operatio Deo devota atque omnibus sequenda credatur. Quod cum adversarii inviti licet concederent, allatus est quidam de genere Anglorum, oculorum luce privatus: qui cum oblatus Brittonum sacerdotibus, nil curationis vel sanationis horum ministerio perciperet; tandem Augustinus, justa necessitate compulsus, flectit genua sua ad Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, deprecans ut visum cæco, quem amiserat, restitueret, et per illuminationem unius hominis corporalem in plurimorum corde fidelium spiritalis gratiam lucis accenderet. Nec mora, illuminatur cæcus, ac verus summæ lucis præco ab omnibus prædicatur Augustinus. Tum Brittones confitentur quidem intellexisse se veram esse viam justitiæ quam prædicaret Augustinus: sed non se posse absque suorum consensu ac licentia priscis abdicare moribus. Unde postulabant ut secundo synodus pluribus advenientibus fieret. [M. H. B. 149; S. I. 104; W. I. 24, 25.]*

Augustin's demands, limited finally to three points (respecting Easter, Baptism, and the mission to the English), are rejected by the British Bishops acting by the advice of a certain hermit.

BÆD. II. 2. SECOND CONFERENCE.—*Quod cum esset statutum, venerunt, ut perhibent, septem Brittonum Episcopi<sup>e</sup> et plures viri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui tempore illo Dinoot<sup>d</sup> abbas præfuisse narratur, qui ad præfatum ituri concilium, venerunt primo ad quendam virum sanctum ac prudentem, qui apud eos anachoreticam ducere vitam solebat, consulentes, an ad prædicationem Augustini suas deserere traditiones deberent. Qui respondebat: Si homo Dei est, sequimini illum. Dixerunt: Et unde hoc possumus probare? At ille; Dominus, inquit, ait: Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde. Si ergo Augustinus ille mitis est et humilis corde, credibile est quia jugum Christi et ipse portet, et vobis portandum offerat: sin autem inmitis ac superbus est, constat quia non est de Deo, neque nobis ejus sermo curandus. Qui rursus aiebant: Et unde vel hoc dinoscere valemus? Procurate, inquit, ut ipse prior cum suis ad locum synodi adveniat, et si vobis adpropinquantibus adsurrexerit, scientes quia famulus Christi est, obtemperanter illum audite: sin autem vos spreverit, nec coram vobis adsurgere voluerit, cum sitis numero plures, et ipse spernatur a vobis. Fecerunt ut dixerat. Factumque est, ut venientibus illis sederet Augustinus in sella. Quod illi videntes, mox in iram conversi sunt,*

[CONFERENCES OF AUGUSTIN'S OAK.]

eumque notantes superbiam, cunctis quæ dicebat contradicere laborabant. Dicebat autem eis, *Quia in multis quidem nostræ consuetudini, immo universalis ecclesie, contraria geritis: et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis; ut Pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesie compleatis, ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini prædicetis, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, æquanimitè cuncta tolerabimus.* At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant: conferentes ad invicem, quia *si modo nobis adsurgere noluit, quanto magis si ei subditi cæperimus, jam nos pro nihilo contemnet.*

Quibus vir Domini Augustinus fertur minitans prædixisse, quia si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi; et si nationi Anglorum nolissent viam vitæ prædicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri. Quod ita per omnia, ut prædixerat, Divino agente judicio patratum est.

\* \* \* Sicquæ completum est præsagium sancti pontificis Augustini, quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna sublato, ut etiam temporalis interitus ultione sentirent perfidi, quod oblata sibi perpetuæ salutis consilia spreverant. [M. H. B. 150; S. I. 105; W. I. 25, 26.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of the conferences is fixed to a later year than A.D. 601 by the receipt of the *Responsiones* by Augustin (late in A.D. 601) which determined his position relatively to the British Bishops. And the order of Bede's narrative:—a slight but far from conclusive argument—places them next after or about the time of the battle of Dagsæstau, i. e. A.D. 603 (*A. S. C.* and Bede himself). Sigebert dates them in A.D. 602. If Augustin died in May, A.D. 604, the date is of course fixed for certain to one of the two preceding years.

<sup>b</sup> Our one geographical mark for the spot is that it was upon the confines of the Hwicci and Wessex as existing in Bede's time; i. e. somewhere on a line running close along the towns successively of Burford, Kempford, Cirencester, Bath, so as to include all these places among the Hwicci; and so along the south border of Gloucestershire to the Bristol Channel (*A. S. C., Flor. Wig., Nennius, Charters in Kemble*); in other words, almost exactly the south-eastern and southern boundary of the present county of Gloucester. Now this nearly coincided with the boundary in Augustin's time between the Britons, still occupying most of what was afterwards Mer-

cia, and the West Saxons; the exception being that the latter then occupied, since A.D. 584 (*A. S. C.*), the plain of Gloucester also, north of the line above drawn, i. e. Hwiccia or part of it, which subsequently became Mercian; while Briton armies pushed as far as Wanborough, near Swindon, in A.D. 592, and Bampton in Oxfordshire in A.D. 614 (*A. S. C.*). The line therefore drawn by Bede would form also the confines of Briton and Saxon at the period, in two localities—in the south-east of Gloucestershire, and again at the south-western side of the county, near the mouth of the Avon, where the boundary of Gloucester and Somerset touches the Severn. And Augustin might have reached either locality under the protection of the Bretwalda Ethelbert; the Wessex kingdom at the time projecting a sort of tongue of Anglo-Saxon territory westwards from the kingdoms of Sussex, Kent, and Essex, along the south of the Thames and the forest of Anderida, to at least the western edge of Hants; and a still narrower tongue further in a north-westerly direction, consisting of most of Wilts and the south-western part of Gloucestershire, as far as the line of the Severn from Gloucester to the mouth of the Avon or

## [CONFERENCES OF AUGUSTIN'S OAK.]

thereabouts. Again, the Roman roads which left Kent and then London westward, dividing at Speen, ran either by Cirencester to Gloucester, or by Bath to Bristol and the Severn, with a branch from Cirencester to Aust on the Severn at the Passage. And Gloucester and all points beyond Cirencester in that direction being excluded, as not being within Bede's description, we are left to choose between the neighbourhood of Cirencester or some place on the Severn near Bristol or Aust itself. But Cirencester seems too far east for the British Bishops to have come, while either Aust or some spot on the Severn, possibly just across the Severn, between Aust and the mouth of the Avon, would have been conveniently near to Caerleon and equally accessible with Cirencester to Augustin. Somewhere in that neighbourhood, therefore, on the plain of the Severn, probably stood Augustin's oak. (See also the Iolo MSS. as in note <sup>c</sup> below.) Aust itself probably derives its name from *Trajectus Augusti*. It is called *Austin* in a charter of A.D. 691 or 692, in which a grant of lands there and at Henbury is made to the church of Worcester (*K. C. D. XXXII.*). The heading of the Council in Wilkins—*Synodus Wigorniensis*—is incorrect. "*Sinodus Urbis Legion.*" (*Ann. Camb.* a. 601; and see vol. I. p. 121), contemporaneously with the death of S. David, is perhaps connected with these conferences.

<sup>c</sup> There is no trustworthy evidence to show who these Bishops were. Giraldu Cambrensis (*De S. et J. Menev. Ecl.*, *Wbarton, A. S. II.* 543) reasonably suggests that "se tunc ampliori Wallia fine quam usque ad Sabrinam fluvium dilatabat." And see vol. I. p. 142. Five British sees at least certainly then existed, and probably, including Margam, six, even within the modern limits of Wales. There were also perhaps a few Bishops in the British Church in the position of Episcopal Abbats (see vol. I. pp. 142-151). And Bishops of the parts of Britain then overrun by the Saxons might have and probably had fled into Wales and still survived. Picts and Scots also, according to later Chroniclers (*Sigebert in an. 602*, and *H. Hunt, III.*), joined the Britons at the conferences. On the other hand, S. David is said to have died A.D. 601, and possibly his see was vacant. According to Welsh tradition

The story of Offo the Anglo-Saxon, "satus ex regio sanguine," who founded a monastery called Schüttern and the town of Offenburg, near Freiburg, in Baden, in A.D. 603, is taken by *S. I.* 126 and *W. App. IV.* 733, from no better authority than *Munster's Cosmograph. III.* 274. It was a tradition of the place founded on a confusion of Offa and Offo, according to Mabillon, *Ann. Bened. XVI.* 64

(*Iolo MSS.* pp. 547 and 548), "These are the Bishops who disputed with Augustin, the Bishop of the Saxons, on the banks of the Severn in the Forest of Dean, namely:—1, the Bishop of Caerfawydd, called Hereford; 2, the Bishop of Teilo, i. e. Llandaff; 3, the Bishop of Llanbadarn Vawr; 4, the Bishop of Bangor; 5, the Bishop of Llanelwy [S. Asaph]; 6, the Bishop of Weeg; 7, the Bishop of Morgangw." The last-named must be identical with the Bishop of Margam, a see at this time separate from Llandaff (*Lib. Landav., Editor's Appendix.* p. 624); and Weeg (on the Wye) is conjectured by the Editors of the Iolo MSS., but with no historical ground, to have been a see of a Chorepiscopus to Llandaff, probably in Ergyng. Hoveden's list (ad an. 1199; viz. Llandaff, Llanbadarn, Bangor, S. Asaph, Chester, Hereford, and Worcester) is meant to be one of the suffragans of S. David's at a later period; and is a mere blundering guess. So also is Godwin's (*In Episc. Menev.* art. *Sampson*; viz. Llandaff, Exeter, Bangor, S. Asaph, Ferns in Ireland, Hereford, and Bath), said to be taken *ex archivis Menevensibus*. Bale's is of no authority, and is indeed simply the Welsh list here given, with Weeg changed into Wiccensis, subsequently misinterpreted into Worcester. See them all in *S. I.* 29 and *W. App. IV.* 702.

<sup>d</sup> For the "Answer of Dinoth to Augustin," see vol. I. p. 122. The hermit whose advice was followed was certainly *not* Dinoth.

<sup>e</sup> i. e. the slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Ethelfrith the Wild, the pagan King of Northumbria, in A.D. 613 (*Ann. Tigernach and Camb.*), which Bede had just narrated but without a date. The date A.D. 607, given first in the *A. S. C.*, appears to be a mere inference from the order of Bede's narration—not a safe ground to rest upon—for which there is really no ground in Bede's words at all. The only presumption that lies against the genuineness of the clause in the text relating to Augustin's death is the absence of it from Alfred's translation of Bede, and has been long since satisfactorily disposed of by Wheloc and Smith. Christian influence had little enough at any time to do with Ethelfrith, who was the fiercest of pagans.

(vol. I. p. 533). It is inconsistent with *B. V.* 9, and improbable if not impossible in itself. Irish Scots were in that neighbourhood at the time as missionaries, but hardly Anglo-Saxons. See *Lappenberg* (ed. *Tborpe*), *I.* 236, etc., for the whole story. Mabillon mentions another "Offonis villa" and monastery near Toul, in Lorraine, *ut supra*, 65.

A.D. 597 × 604. *Laws of King Ethelbert* <sup>a</sup>.

Dis syndon ða domas ðe Aðdel-  
birkt cyning asettinge on Agustinus  
dæge.

These are the dooms which King  
Aethelbirkt established in the days  
of Augustin.

i. Godes feoh and ciricean xii  
gylde. Biscopes feoh xi gylde.  
Preostes feoh ix gylde. Diacones  
feoh vi gylde. Cleroces feoh iii  
gylde. Cyric-frið ii gylde. Myn-  
steres] frið ii gylde.

1. The property of God and  
of the church, twelve-fold; a  
bishop's property, eleven-fold; a  
priest's property, nine-fold; a dea-  
con's property, six-fold; a clerk's  
property, three-fold; 'church-  
frið,' two-fold; 'm . . . frið,'  
two-fold.

ii. Gif cyning his leode to him  
gehateð, and heom mon þær yfel  
gedo, ii-bote, and cyninge l scil-  
linga.

2. If the king calls his 'leod'  
to him, and any one there do them  
evil, [let him compensate with]  
a two-fold 'bōt,' and l shillings  
to the king.

iii. Gif cyning æt mannes ham  
drincæð, and þær man lyswæs  
hwæt gedo, ii-bote gebete.

3. If the king drink at any  
one's home, and any one there do  
any 'lyswæ,' let him make two-  
fold 'bōt.'

<sup>a</sup> The laws of Ethelbert, as well as those of the other Kentish Kings, are taken from the *Textus Roffensis*, the only ancient MS. in which they are found. In this copy, which is of the twelfth century, each series is written continuously; the several laws being distinguished, though not always accurately, by a large initial letter. The numbers prefixed to the different laws are from the edition published by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*, and were probably added by J. a Lact; for the convenience of reference which they afford, they are here retained. (*Thorpe, I. p. 2, note* <sup>a</sup>.) For a further account of the book or chartulary called *Textus Roffensis*, compiled by Ernuif, who was Bishop of Rochester from A.D. 1114 to A.D. 1124, see *Johnson's Canons, I. p. viii.*, Editor's note <sup>a</sup>, Oxford, 1850. Wilkins, like Spelman, gives only three of these laws, omitting the remainder as secular. All the laws of Ethelbert are here given on account of the interest which at-

taches to them as set forth during the first period of transition from barbaric heathenism to Christianity. Thorpe's text and translation are followed as exhibiting the result of nearly all that can be done by Anglo-Saxon scholarship for the illustration of these interesting though obscure laws. Such of the words left untranslated by Thorpe as admit of a satisfactory explanation will be found in the Glossary at the end of our Anglo-Saxon period.

It is, of course, more exact and scholarly, in cases of difficulty, to leave a word untranslated, than to guess, as Wilkins and others of his day too often did, or to offer as a translation some approximate but inadequate English word which would mislead; but it may be well to note here that "lyswæs" in law 3 ("leswæs" in law 73) is not a hard technical word, but a curious spelling of "leases," genitive of "leas," *fulsum, fraud.* Cf. *Schmid, ad loc.* [J. B.]

iv. Gif frigman cyninge stele,  
ix gylde forgyld.

v. Gif in cyninges tune man  
mannan ofslea, l scill. gebete.

vi. Gif man frigne mannan  
ofsleahð, cyninge l scill. to drihtin-  
beage.

vii. Gif cyninges ambiht-smið,  
opþe laad-rinc mannan ofslehð,  
meduman leodgelde forgelde.

viii. Cyninges mund-byrd l  
scillinga.

ix. Gif frigman freum stelð iii  
gebete; and cyning age thæt wite  
and ealle þa æhtan.

x. Gif man wið cyninges mæg-  
den-man geligeð, l scillinga ge-  
bete.

xi. Gif hio grindende þeowa  
sio, xxv scillinga gebete. Sio  
þridde xii scillingas.

xii. Cyninges fed-esl xx scil-  
linga forgelde.

xiii. Gif on eorles tune man  
mannan ofslæhð, xii scill. gebete.

xiv. Gif wið eorles birele man  
geligeð, xii scill. gebete.

xv. Ceorles mund-byrd, vi scil-  
lingas.

xvi. Gif wið ceorles birelan  
man geligeð, vi scillingum gebete;  
æt þære oðere þeowan l scætta;  
æt þære þriddan xxx scætta.

4. If a freeman steal from the  
king, let him pay nine-fold.

5. If a man slay another in the  
king's 'tūn,' let him make 'bōt'  
with l shillings.

6. If any one slay a freeman, l  
shillings to the king, as 'drihtin-  
beah.'

7. If the king's 'ambiht-smið,'  
or 'laad-rinc,' slay a man, let him  
pay a half 'leod-geld.'

8. The king's 'mund-byrd,' l  
shillings.

9. If a freeman steal from a  
freeman, let him make three-fold  
'bōt;' and let the king have the  
'wite' and all the chattels.

10. If a man lie with the king's  
maiden, let him pay a 'bōt' of l  
shillings.

11. If she be a grinding slave,  
let him pay a 'bōt' of xxv shil-  
lings. The third [class] xii shil-  
lings.

12. Let the king's 'fed-esl' be  
paid for with xx shillings.

13. If a man slay another in an  
'eorl's' 'tūn,' let him make 'bōt'  
with xii shillings.

14. If a man lie with an 'eorl's'  
'birele,' let him make 'bōt' with  
xii shillings.

15. A 'ceorl's' 'mund-byrd,' vi  
shillings.

16. If a man lie with a 'ceorl's'  
'birele,' let him make 'bōt' with  
vi shillings; with a slave of the  
second [class], l 'scætts;' with  
one of the third, xxx 'scætts.'

[LAWS OF ETHELBERG OF KENT.]

XVII. Gif man in mannes tun ærest geirneð, vi scillingum gebete; seþe æfter irneð, iii scillingas; siþþan gehwylc scilling.

XVIII. Gif man mannan wæpnum bebyreð þær ceas weorð, and man nænig yfel ne gedeð, vi scillingum gebete.

XIX. Gif weg-reaf si gedon, vi scillingum gebete.

XX. Gif man þone man ofslæhð, xx scillingum gebete.

XXI. Gif man mannan ofslæhð, medume leod-geld c scillinga gebete.

XXII. Gif man mannan ofslæhð æt openum græfe, xx scillinga forgelde, and in xl nihta ealne leod forgelde.

XXIII. Gif bana of lande gewiteð, þa magas healfne leod forgelde.

XXIV. Gif man frigne man gebi . . eð xx scill. gebete.

XXV. Gif man ceorlæs hlaf-ætan ofslæhð, vi scillingum gebete.

XXVI. Gif læt ofslæhð þone selestan, lxxx scil. forgelde; gif þane oðerne ofslæhð, lx scillingum forgelde; þane þridan, xl scillingum forgelde<sup>b</sup>.

XXVII. Gif friman edor-brecðe

17. If any one be the first to make an inroad into a man's 'tūn,' let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings; let him who follows, with iii shillings; after, each, a shilling.

18. If a man furnish weapons to another where there is strife, though no evil be done, let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings.

19. If 'weg-reaf' be done, let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings.

20. If the man be slain, let him make 'bōt' with xx shillings.

21. If a man slay another, let him make 'bōt' with a half 'leod-geld' of c shillings.

22. If a man slay another at an open grave, let him pay xx shillings, and pay the whole 'leod' within xl days.

23. If the slayer retire from the land, let his kindred pay a half 'leod.'

24. If any one bind a freeman, let him make 'bōt' with xx shillings.

25. If any one slay a 'ceorl's' 'hlaf-æta,' let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings.

26. If [any one] slay a 'læt' of the highest class, let him pay lxxx shillings; if he slay one of the second, let him pay lx shillings; of the third, let him pay xl shillings.

27. If a freeman commit

<sup>b</sup> *Lege*, forgelde. T.



## [LAWS OF ETHELBERT OF KENT.]

gedeð, vi scillingum gebete.

XXVIII. Gif man inne feoh genimeð, se man iii gelde gebete.

XXIX. Gif fri-man edor gegangeð, iv scillingum gebete.

XXX. Gif man mannan ofslea, agene scætte, and unfacne feo gehwilce gelde.

XXXI. Gif friman wið fries mannes wif geligeð, his wer-gelde abicege, and oðer wif his agenum scætte begete, and þæm oðrum æt þam<sup>c</sup> gebrenge.

XXXII. Gif man riht ham-scyld þurhstinð, mid weorðe forgelde.

XXXIII. Gif feax-fang geweorð, l scætta to bote.

XXXIV. Gif banes blice weorðeð, iii scillingum gebete.

XXXV. Gif banes bite weorð, iv scillingum gebete.

XXXVI. Gif sio uterre hion gebrocen weorðeð, x scillingum gebete.

XXXVII. Gif butu sien, xx scillingum gebete.

XXXVIII. Gif eaxle gelæmed weorðeð, xxx scillingum gebete.

XXXIX. Gif eare of weorð aslagen, xii scill. gebete.

‘edor’-breach, let him make ‘bōt’ with vi shillings.

28. If any one take property from a dwelling, let him pay a three-fold ‘bōt.’

29. If a freeman pass over an ‘edor,’ let him make ‘bōt’ with iv shillings.

30. If a man slay another, let him pay with his own money, and with any sound property whatever.

31. If a freeman lie with a freeman’s wife, let him pay for it with his ‘wer-geld,’ and provide another wife with his own money, and bring her to the other.

32. If any one thrust through the ‘riht ham-scyld,’ let him adequately compensate.

33. If there be ‘feax-fang,’ let there be l scætts for ‘bōt.’

34. If there be an exposure of the bone, let ‘bōt’ be made with iii shillings.

35. If there be an injury of the bone, let ‘bōt’ be made with iv shillings.

36. If the outer ‘hion’ be broken, let ‘bōt’ be made with x shillings.

37. If it be both, let ‘bōt’ be made with xx shillings.

38. If a shoulder be lamed, let ‘bōt’ be made with xxx shillings.

39. If an ear be struck off, let ‘bōt’ be made with xii shillings.

<sup>c</sup> *Lege*, ham. T.

XL. Gif oðer eare nawiht gehereð, xxv scill. gebete.

XLI. Gif eare þirel weorðeð, iii scill. gebete.

XLII. Gif eare sceard weorðeð, vi scill. gebete.

XLIII. Gif eage of weorð, l scillingum gebete.

XLIV. Gif muð oþþe eage woh weorðeð, xii scill. gebete.

XLV. Gif nasu þyrel weorð, ix scillingum gebete.

XLVI. Gif hit sio an hleore, iii scill. gebete.

XLVII. Gif butu þyrele sien, vi scill. gebete.

XLVIII. Gif nasu ælcor sceard weorð, gehwilec vi scill. gebete.

XLIX. Gif þirel weorð, vi scill. gebete.

L. Seþe cin-ban forslæhð mid xx scillingum forgelde.

LI. Æt þam feower toðum fyrestum, æt gehwylcum, vi scillingas; se toð se þanne bistanceð iv scill. seþe þonne bi þam standeð iii scill. and þonne siþþan gehwilec scilling.

LII. Gif spræc awyrd weorð, xii scillingas. Gif wido-bane gebroced weorðeð, vi scill. gebete.

LIII. Seþe earm þurhstinð vi scillingum gebete. Gif earm for-

40. If the other ear hear not, let 'bōt' be made with xxv shillings.

41. If an ear be pierced, let 'bōt' be made with iii shillings.

42. If an ear be mutilated, let 'bōt' be made with vi shillings.

43. If an eye be [struck] out, let 'bōt' be made with l shillings.

44. If the mouth or an eye be injured, let 'bōt' be made with xii shillings.

45. If the nose be pierced, let 'bōt' be made with ix shillings.

46. If it be one 'ala,' let 'bōt' be made with iii shillings.

47. If both be pierced, let 'bōt' be made with vi shillings.

48. If the nose be otherwise mutilated, for each let 'bōt' be made with vi shillings.

49. If it be pierced, let 'bōt' be made with vi shillings.

50. Let him who breaks the chin-bone pay for it with xx shillings.

51. For each of the four front teeth, vi shillings; for the tooth which stands next to them, iv shillings; for that which stands next to that, iii shillings; and then afterwards, for each a shilling.

52. If the speech be injured, xii shillings. If the collar-bone be broken, let 'bōt' be made with vi shillings.

53. Let him who stabs [another] through an arm, make 'bōt'

brocen weorð, vi scill. gebete.

LIV. Gif þuman of-aslæhð, xx scill. Gif þuman nægl of weorðeð, iii scill. gebete. Gif man scyte-finger of-aslæhð, viii scill. gebete. Gif man middel-finger of-aslæhð, iv scill. gebete. Gif man gold-finger of-aslæhð, vi scill. gebete. Gif man þone lytlan finger of-aslæhð, xi scill. gebete.

LV. Æt þam neglum gehwylcum scilling.

LVI. Æt þam lærestan wlite-wamme, iii scillingas; and æt þam maran, vi scill.

LVII. Gif man oðerne mid fyste in naso slæhð, iii scill.

LVIII. Gif dynt sie, scilling. Gif he heahre handa dyntes on-fehð, scill. forgelde.

LIX. Gif dynt sweart sie buton wædum, xxx scætta gebete.

LX. Gif hit sie binnan wædum, gehwilec xx scætta gebete.

LXI. Gif hrif wund weorðeð, xii scill. gebete; Gif he þurh-þirel weorðeð, xx scill. gebete.

with vi shillings. If an arm be broken, let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings.

54. If a thumb be struck off, xx shillings. If a thumb nail be off, let 'bōt' be made with iii shillings. If the shooting (i. e. fore) finger be struck off, let 'bōt' be made with viii shillings. If the middle finger be struck off, let 'bōt' be made with iv shillings. If the gold (i. e. ring) finger be struck off, let 'bōt' be made with vi shillings. If the little finger be struck off, let 'bōt' be made with xi shillings.

55. For every nail, a shilling.

56. For the smallest disfigurement of the face, iii shillings; and for the greater, vi shillings.

57. If any one strike another with his fist on the nose, iii shillings.

58. If there be a bruise, a shilling; if he receive a right-hand bruise, let him [the striker] pay a shilling.

59. If the bruise be black in a part not covered by the clothes, let 'bōt' be made with xxx 'scætts.'

60. If it be covered by the clothes, let 'bōt' for each be made with xx 'scætts.'

61. If the belly be wounded, let 'bōt' be made with xii shillings; if it be pierced through, let 'bōt' be made with xx shillings.

## [LAWS OF ETHELBERT OF KENT.]

LXII. Gif man gegemed we-orðeð, xxx scill. gebete.

LXIII. Gif man cear-wund sie iii scill. gebete.

LXIV. Gif man gekyndelice lim awyrdeð þrym leud-geldum hine man forgelde. Gif he þurhstinð vi scill. gebete. Gif man inbestinð vi scill. gebete.

LXV. Gif þeoh gebrocen we-orðeð, xii scillingum gebete. Gif he healt weorð, þær motan freond seman.

LXVI. Gif rib forbrocen weorð, iii scill. gebete.

LXVII. Gif man þeoh þurhstingð, stice gehwilce vi scillingas. Gife ofer ynce, scilling. æt twam yncum, twegen. ofer þry, iii scill.

LXVIII. Gif wælt wund we-orðeð, iii scillingas gebete.

LXIX. Gif fot of weorðeð l scillingum forgelden<sup>a</sup>.

LXX. Gif seo mycle ta of weorðeð x scill. forgelden<sup>a</sup>.

LXXI. Æt þam oðrum taum gehwilcum, healf gelde, ealswa æt þam fingrum ys cwiden.

LXXII. Gif þare mycclan taan nægl of weorðeð, xxx scætta to bote; æt þam oðrum gehwilcum x scættas gebete.

LXXIII. Gif fri-wif loc-bore les-

62. If any one be 'gegemed,' let 'bōt' be made with xxx shillings.

63. If any one be 'cear-wund,' let 'bōt' be made with iii shillings.

64. If any one destroy [another's] organ of generation, let him pay him with iii 'leud-gelds:?' if he pierce it through, let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings; if it be pierced within, let him make 'bōt' with vi shillings.

65. If a thigh be broken, let 'bōt' be made with xii shillings; if the man become halt, then the friends must arbitrate.

66. If a rib be broken, let 'bōt' be made with iii shillings.

67. If a thigh be pierced through, for each stab vi shillings; if (the wound be) above an inch, a shilling; for two inches, ii; above three, iii shillings.

68. If a sinew be wounded, let 'bōt' be made with iii shillings.

69. If a foot be cut off, let l shillings be paid.

70. If a great toe be cut off, let x shillings be paid.

71. For each of the other toes, let one half be paid, like as it is stated for the fingers.

72. If the nail of a great toe be cut off, xxx 'scætts' for 'bōt;?' for each of the others, make 'bōt' with x 'scætts.'

73. If a freewoman 'loc-bore'

<sup>a</sup> Thorpe in the margin suggests *forfelde*.

wæs hwæt gedeð, xxx scill. gebete.

LXXIV. Mægð-bot si swa friges mannes.

LXXV. Mund þare betstan widuwan eorlcundre l scillinga gebete. Ðare oðre, xx scill. þare þriddan, xii scill. þare feorðan, vi scill.

LXXVI. Gif man widuwan unagne genimeð, ii gelde seo mund sy.

LXXVII. Gif man mægð gebi-geð ceapi, geceapod sy, gif hit unfacne is; gif hit þonne facne is, ef e þær æt ham gebrenge, and him man his scæt agefe.

LXXVIII. Gif hio cwic bearn gebyreð, healfne scæt age, gif ceorl ær swylteð.

LXXIX. Gif mid bearnum bugan wille, healfne scæt age.

LXXX. Gif ceorl agan wile, swa an bearn.

LXXXI. Gif hio bearn ne gebyreð, fædering-magas fih agan and morgengyfe.

LXXXII. Gif man mægð-man nede genimeð, þam agende l scillinga, and æft æt þam agende, sinne willan, æt-gebicge.

LXXXIII. Gif hio oðrum mæn in sceat bewyddod si, xx scillinga gebete.

commit any 'leswe,' let her make a 'bōt' of xxx shillings.

74. Let 'maiden-bōt' be as that of a freeman.

75. For the 'mund' of a widow of the best class, of an 'eorl's' degree, let the 'bōt' be l shillings; of the second, xx shillings; of the third, xii shillings; of the fourth, vi shillings.

76. If a man carry off a widow not in his own tutelage, let the 'mund' be twofold.

77. If a man buy a maiden with cattle, let the bargain stand, if it be without guile; but if there be guile, let him bring her home again, and let his property be restored to him.

78. If she bear a live child, let her have half the property, if the husband die first.

79. If she wish to go away with her children, let her have half the property.

80. If the husband wish to have them, [let her portion be] as one child.

81. If she bear no child, let her paternal kindred have the 'fih' and the 'morgen-gyfe.'

82. If a man carry off a maiden by force, let him pay l shillings to the owner, and afterwards buy [the object of] his will of the owner.

83. If she be betrothed to another man in money, let him make 'bōt' with xx shillings.

<sup>e</sup> *Lege*, cft, T.

[LAWS OF ÆTHELBERT OF KENT.]

LXXXIV. Gif gængang geweorðeð, xxxv scill. and cyninge xv scillingas.

LXXXV. Gif man mid esnes cwynan geligeð, be cwicum ceorle, ii gebete.

LXXXVI. Gif esne oðerne ofslea unsynnigne, ealne weorðe forgelde.

LXXXVII. Gif esnes eage and foot of weorðeð aslagen, ealne weorðe hine forgelde.

LXXXVIII. Gif man mannes esne gebindeð vi scill. gebete.

LXXXIX. ðeowæs weg-reaf se iii scillingas.

xc. Gif þeow steleð ii gelde gebete.

84. If she become 'gængang,' xxxv shillings; and xv shillings to the king.

85. If a man lie with an 'esne's' wife, her husband still living, let him make two-fold 'bôt.'

86. If one 'esne' slay another unoffending, let him pay for him at his full worth.

87. If an 'esne's' eye or foot be struck out or off, let him be paid for at his full worth.

88. If any one bind another's 'esne,' let him make 'bôt' with vi shillings.

89. Let the 'weg-reaf' of a 'theow' be iii shillings.

90. If a 'theow' steal, let him make two-fold 'bôt.'

[S. I. 127; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. *Hearne*, p. 1; *Hickes, Diss. Epist.* p. 89; *Johnson's Canons*, I. 83; *Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Sax.* p. 1; *W. I.* 29; *Thorpe, Ancient Laws*, 1; *Schmid, Gesetze der Angel-Sachsen*.]

BÆD. II. 5.—Inter cætera bona quæ genti suæ consulendo conferebat (Ædilberct), etiam decreta illi judiciorum, juxta exempla Romanorum, cum consilio sapientium constituit; quæ conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habentur et observantur ab ea; in quibus primitus posuit "qualiter id emendare deberet, qui aliquid rerum vel Ecclesiæ vel Episcopi vel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret;" volens scilicet tuitionem eis quos et quorum doctrinam susceperat, præstare. [*M. H. B.* 154.]

A.D. 597 × 604. *Canon respecting Marriage established in the English Church from the time of Augustin*<sup>a</sup>.

BONIFAC. MOGUNT., *ad Zach. Pap. Epist. LI.* [A.D. 742, *Fan. × Mar.*] \* \* \* Laicus quidam magnæ personæ, ad nos veniens, dicebat sibi ab apostolicæ sedis pontifice sanctæ

Respecting marriage with an uncle's widow, and a cousin's wife,

[ENGLISH CANONS PRESERVED BY S. BONIFACE.]

and in the third degree of consanguinity.

memoriæ Gregorio datam fuisse licentiam<sup>b</sup>, ut in matrimonio acciperet viduam avunculi sui, quæ et ipsa fuit uxor consobrini sui, et ipsa illo vivente discessit ab eo, et isti viro, qui nunc eam accipere desiderans, affirmat sibi licentiam datam; in tertia generatione propinqua illius esse dinoscitur; et votum vovit Deo castitatis, et velata fuit; et iterum abjecto velamine, maritata. Tale enim matrimonium supradictus homo sibi ab Apostolico affirmat esse permissum. Quod non æstimamus esse verum, quia Synodus et Ecclesia in qua natus et nutritus fui, id est, in transmarina Saxonia, Lundunensis synodus<sup>c</sup>, quæ imprimis a discipulis Sancti Gregorii, id est, Augustino, Laurentio, Justo, Mellito Archiepiscopis, constituta et ordinata fuit, talem copulam et matrimonium maximum scelus et incestum et horribile flagitium et damnabile piaculum fieri ex auctoritate Sacræ Scripturæ judicabant. [Ed. *Würdtwein*, p. 108.]

<sup>a</sup> This is transformed by Wilkins (after Spelman) into a special Council of London, A.D. 605. It may be questioned whether the acknowledgment of such a canon in the English Church ought to be dated so far back as Augustin himself, who probably tried to act upon Gregory's contrary rule (*Respons., Answ. V.*). S. Boniface (born probably in A.D. 680) found the stricter rule admitted without question by the Church of England in his own time, and supposed that it had been always so.

<sup>b</sup> See above, in *S. Greg. Respons., Answ. V.*

<sup>c</sup> This phrase seems to indicate that the original plan of Pope Gregory, according to which London was to be the southern archiepiscopate, had not dropped out of sight in the south any more than the corresponding part of it relating to York and its twelve suffragans had in the north of England, so late as the time of Boniface (middle of the 8th cen-

tury). London itself at the time of Boniface's writing was the most unimportant of all the sees of England. Kemble's conclusions respecting the precedence of the sees of the province of Canterbury prior to Egbert, c. 800, place London the last of all except the recent one of Selsey (Pref. to *C. D.*, p. xciv. note). This remark bears against the genuineness of the series of letters respecting the supremacy of Canterbury, produced by Lanfranc in A.D. 1072. See below, p. 65, on the letter of Pope Boniface IV. to Ethelbert, A.D. 610. If the phrase, however, be interpreted to mean not the synod of the province of London, but the synod held habitually at London, some weight may be attached to it as determining the locality of Clovesho, the appointed habitual meeting-place of English synods from A.D. 673, and the actual place of their meeting in A.D. 747. See below, under that year.

A.D. 597-604. *Canon respecting Baptism established in the English Church from the time of Augustin*<sup>a</sup>.

Invocation of the Holy Trinity in Baptism indispensable.

ZACHARIAS PAPA ad Bonifac. Mogunt. [A.D. 748, May 1.]

\* \* \* Primum capitulum pro synodo provinciæ in qua natus et nutritus es, quam et in gentem Anglorum et Saxonum in Britannia insula, primi prædicatores ab Apostolica sede missi, Augustinus, Laurentius, Justus, et Honorius, novissime et tuis temporibus Theodorus Græco-Latinus, ante philosophus et Athenis eruditus, Romæ ordinatus, pallio sublimatus, ad præfatam Britanniam transmissus judicabat et gubernabat. In illa tale decre-

[CHARTER OF ÆTHELBERGT, A.D. 604.]

tum et iudicium firmissime præceptum et diligenter demonstratum esse dinoscitur, ut quicumque sine invocatione Trinitatis lotus fuisset, quod sacramentum regenerationis non haberet. \* \* \* Hoc quoque observasse in supradicta synodo sacerdotes, ut qui vel Unam Personam de Trinitate in baptismo non nominaret, illud baptismum esse non posset: quod pro certo verum est, quia qui Unum ex Sancta Trinitate confessus non fuerit, perfectus Christianus esse non potest. [*Inter Epp. S. Bonif. LXXXII. ed. Würdtwein, p. 235; also in Gratian, De Consecr. Dist. IV. In Synodo Anglorum.*]

<sup>a</sup> This is also transformed by Wilkins and A.D. 603; which Mansi improves by transferring it to the first year of Theodore.

A.D. 604, April 28. *Charter of Æthelbert to Rochester Cathedral.*

✠ Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Jesu Christo Salvatore! Mense Aprilio, sub die IIII. Kl. Maias, Indictione VII., Ego Æthelberhtus Rex filio meo Eadbaldō admonitionem catholicæ fidei optabilem. Nobis est aptum semper inquirere qualiter per loca sanctorum pro animæ remedio vel stabilitate salutis nostræ, aliquid de portione terræ nostræ in subsidiis servorum Dei, devotissima voluntate debeamus offerre. Ideoque tibi, Sancte Andrea, tuæque ecclesiæ quæ est constituta in civitate Hrofibrevis, ubi præesse videtur Justus Episcopus, trado aliquantulum telluris mei. Hic est terminus doni mei; fram Suðgeate west, andlanges wealles, oð norðlanan to stræte; and swa east fram stræte oð doddinghyrnan ongean bradgeat. Si quis vero augere voluerit hanc ipsam donacionem augeat illi Dominus dies bonos. Et si præsumpserit minuere aut contradicere, in conspectu Dei sit damnatus et sanctorum ejus, hic et in æterna sæcula, nisi emendaverit ante ejus transitum quod inique gessit contra Christianitatem nostram. Hoc cum consilio Laurentii Episcopi et omnium principum meorum, signo sanctæ crucis confirmavi, eosque jussi ut mecum idem facerent. Amen. [*Textus Roffensis, fol. 119; K. C. D. I.; Mon. Angl. I. 162.*]

A.D. 597 × 604. *Rule given by S. Gregory to the English on the Ember Fast.*

Hæc sunt jejunia, quæ S. Gregorius genti Anglorum prædicari præcepit.

Sunt quatuor jejunia quatuor temporum anni; id est, veris, æstatis,



## [RULE FOR THE EMBER DAYS.]

autumni et hyemis. Jejunium primum in prima hebdomada Quadragesimæ; jejunium secundum in hebdomada post Pentecosten; jejunium tertium in plena hebdomada ante autumnale æquinoctium; jejunium quartum in plena hebdomada ante natale Domini. Jejunium in feria sexta per totum annum nisi a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten, aut si major festivitas fuerit. [*Mansi, X. 446, ex additamentis ad codicem Burchardi, in MS. Codice Lucensi.*]

This canon is placed by Mansi as No. XXXII. in an Appendix to the Acts of Gregory first published by him. He is inclined to doubt the authorship of the canon, and adds the following note: "Canon XXXII. in quo sedes certa jejuniorum quatuor temporum assignata est, ad Gregorium VII. referendus, cum usque ad eam ætatem incertam sedem jejunia hæc haberent, ut probat Muratorius, tom. II. p. 262, in *Dissert. de Jejniis Quatuor Temporum*, cap. VII." (p. 449). It is accordingly marked as spurious by Dr. Jaffé.

That Gregory did give the English a rule for the observance of the Ember Days was believed by the English Church, if not certainly as early as the 8th century, when it is assumed in the answers ascribed to Archbishop Egbert—by the Council of Eham in the 11th. See *Jobson's Canons (ed. Baron), I. 173-176, 180, 486*; but the evidence there adduced, although sufficient to shake the authority of Muratori on the point, seems insufficient to establish the authenticity of this form of the injunction.

EPIGRAPH OF S. AUGUSTIN IN THE MONASTERY OF SS. PETER AND PAUL  
AT CANTERBURY.

BÆD. II. 3.—Hic requiescit dominus Augustinus Doruvernensis Archiepiscopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Ædilbertum regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est septimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante. [*M. H. B. 152.*]

QUESTIONABLE OR SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.

- I. A.D. 601 × 604. *Fragments of Letters to S. Augustin, attributed by Gratian to Gregory the Great* <sup>a</sup>.

GREGORIUS *Augustino Anglorum Episcopo.*—Denique sacerdotes et diaconi et reliqui omnes quos ecclesiastici gradus dignitas exornat, a quinquagesima propositum

Rules of fasting and respecting the Lord's Day.

[QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

jejunandi suscipiant, quo et aliquid ad pensum sanctæ institutionis adjiciant, et eorum qui in laicali ordine consistunt observantiam sicut loco ita religione præcellant.

De ipsa vero die Dominica hæsitamus quidnam dicendum sit, cum omnes laici et sæculares illa die plus solito cæteris diebus accuratius cibos carnum appetant, et nisi nova quadam aviditate usque ad mediam noctem se ingurgitent, non aliter se hujus sacri temporis observationem suscipere putant: quod utique non rationi sed voluptati imo cuidam mentis cæcitati adscribendum est; unde nec a tali consuetudine averti possunt, et ideo cum venia suo ingenio relinquendi sunt, ne forte pejores existant si a tali consuetudine prohibeantur: ut enim ait Salomon, “*Qui multum emungit, elicit sanguinem.*”

*Et post pauca*] Par autem est ut quibus diebus a carne animalium abstinemus, ab omnibus quoque quæ sementinam carnis trahunt originem jejunemus, lacte videlicet, caseo, et ovis.

*Et post pauca*] Cæterum piscium jus ita Christiano relinquitur ut hoc ei infirmitatis solatium, non luxuriæ pariat incendium. Denique, qui a carne abstinet, nequaquam sumtuosiora marinarum belluarum convivia præparet.

Vinum quoque ita bibere permittitur ut ebrietatem omnino fugiamus: alioqui restat, ut omnia quæ corpori libent, similiter faciamus. [*Greg. Opp. II. 1302, in App. ad Epistt. XIII., from Gratian, Dist. IV. Canon 6.*]

<sup>a</sup> Spurious according to Jaffé. They come originally from Ivo, *Decret. IV. 29.*

II. A.D. 605, *Charter of ÆTHELBERT to S. Peter's, afterwards S. Augustin's Monastery, at Canterbury.*

✠ In Nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Omnem hominem qui secundum Deum vivit, et remunerari a Deo sperat et optat, oportet ut piis precibus consensum hilariter ex animo præbeat. Quoniam certum est tanto facilius ea quæ ipse a Deo poposcerit consequi posse, quanto et ipse libentius Deo aliquid concesserit. Quocirca ego Æthilberhtus Rex Canciæ cum consensu venerabilis Archiepiscopi Augustini, ac principum meorum, dabo et concedo [Deo] in honore Sancti Petri aliquam partem terræ juris mei, quæ jacet in oriente civitatis Doroberniæ: ita duntaxat, ut monasterium ibi construatur, et res quam supra memoravi in potestate abbatis sit qui ibi fuerit ordinatus. Igitur adjuro et præcipio, in nomine Domini Dei

[QUESTIONABLE DOCUMENTS DATED A.D. 601-605.]

omnipotentis, qui est omnium rerum Judex justus, ut præfata terra subscripta donatione sempiternaliter sit confirmata, ita ut nec mihi, nec alicui successorum meorum, Regum aut Principum, sive cujus libet conditionis dignitatibus et ecclesiasticis gradibus, de ea aliquid fraudare liceat.

Si quis vero de hac donatione nostra aliquid minuere aut irritum facere temptaverit, sit in præsentis separatus a sancta communione corporis et sanguinis Christi, et in die judicii, ob meritum malitiæ suæ, a consortio sanctorum omnium segregatus. Circumcincta est hæc terra his terminibus. In oriente ecclesia Sancti Martini; in meridie via of Burhgate; in occidente et in aquilone Druting Strat. Acta in civitate Doroberni, anno ab incarnatione Christi DCV., indictione 8.

✠ Ego Æthilberhtus Rex Cantix̄ sana mente integroque consilio, donationem meam signo sanctæ crucis propria manu roboravi confirmavique. [*Elmbam, MS. Aul. Trin. Cantab.*, printed in *K. C. D. II.\**; *S. I.* 118; *W. App. IV.* 728; *Elmbam*, ed. *Hardwick*, pp. 109, 110.]

III. A.D. 605, *Jan. 9.* *Second Charter of ÆTHELBERT to SS. Peter and Paul's, afterwards S. Augustin's Monastery, Canterbury<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ In Nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Notum sit omnibus, tam præsentibus quam posteris, quod ego Æthilberhtus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum, per evangelicum genitorem meum Augustinum de idolatra factus Christicola, tradidi Deo per ipsum antistitem aliquam partem terræ juris mei sub orientali muro civitatis Doroverniæ, ubi scilicet per eundem in Christo institutorem monasterium in honore principum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli condidi, et cum ipsa terra, et cum omnibus quæ ad ipsum monasterium pertinent, perpetua libertate donavi, adeo ut nec mihi, nec alicui successorum meorum Regum, nec ulli unquam potestati, sive ecclesiasticæ, sive seculari, quidquam inde liceat usurpare, sed in ipsius abbatis sint omnia libera ditione.

Si quis vero de hac donatione nostra aliquid minuere aut irritum facere temptaverit, auctoritate Dei et beati Papæ Gregorii, nostrique Apostoli Augustini, simul et nostra imprecatione, sit hic segregatus ab omni sanctæ Ecclesiæ communione, et in die judicii ab omni electorum societate. Circumcingitur hæc terra his terminibus. In oriente Ecclesia Sancti Martini. Et inde ad orientem be Siwendune. Et sic ad aquilonem be Wycingesmarce. Iterumque ad orientem et ad

[QUESTIONABLE DOCUMENTS DATED A.D. 601-605.]

austrum be Burhwaremarce. Et sic ad austrum et occidentem be Cyningesmarce. Item ad aquilonem et orientem be Cyningesmarce. Sicque ad occidentem to Riðerescæpe. Et ita ad aquilonem to Drutingstræte. Actum est hoc in civitate Doroverni: anno ab incarnatione Christi DCV., indictione VIII.

✠ Ego Æthilberhtus Rex Anglorum hanc donationem meam signo sanctæ crucis propria manu confirmavi.

✠ Ego Augustinus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus libenter subscripsi.

✠ Ego Ædbaldus Regis filius favi.

✠ Ego Hamgisilus Dux laudavi.

✠ Ego Hocca Comes consensi.

✠ Ego Angemundus referendarius approbavi.

✠ Ego Graphio Comes benedixi.

✠ Ego Tangisilus Regis optimas confirmavi.

✠ Ego Pinca consensi.

✠ Ego Geddi corroboravi. [*Elmham, MS. Aul. Trin. Cant.*, printed in *K. C. D. III.\**; *S. I. 119*; *W. App. IV. 728*; *Elmham*, ed. *Hardwick*, pp. 111-113.]

<sup>a</sup> Sprott founds upon this an account of a Council at Canterbury in A.D. 605, given accordingly in *W. I. 28*. Elmham has the

same story (pp. 110, 111, ed. Hardwick) of "Convocato consilio communi tam cleri quam populi," etc. etc., on the same authority.

IV. A.D. 605, *Jan. 9. Third Charter of ÆTHELBERT to the same Monastery.*

✠ In Nomine Sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis. REX ANGLORUM ÆTHILBERHTUS misericordia omnipotentis Dei catholicus, omnibus suæ gentis fidelibus et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi beata spe expectantibus, salutem vitæque æternæ beatitudinem. Largiente summi Regis clementia, ego Æthilberhtus solio paterno confirmatus, paceque Divinitus concessa, eo jam per decem quinquennia sceptigera potestate potitus, et per venerabiles sacræ fidei doctores Spiritus Sancti gratia irradiatus, ab errore falsorum deorum ad unius veri Dei cultum toto corde conversus, ne ingratus beneficiorum appaream illi, a cujus sancta sede nobis in regione umbræ mortis sedentibus lux veritatis emicuit: inter alias quas fabricavi ecclesias, monitu et hortatu beatissimi Papæ Gregorii, et sancti patris nostri Augustini, ipsi beatissimo Apostolorum principi Petro, et Doctori gentium Paulo, ecclesiam a fundamentis construxi, illamque terris, variisque possessionum donariis decorare studui, inibi-

[QUESTIONABLE DOCUMENTS DATED A.D. 601-605.]

que monachos Deum timentes aggregari feci, et cum consilio ejusdem reverentissimi Archipræsulis Augustini ex suo sancto sanctorum collegio venerabilem virum secum ab apostolica sede directum Petrum monachum elegi, eisque ut ecclesiasticus ordo exposcit, abbatem præposui.

Hanc igitur ecclesiam ad provectum debiti culminis promovere desiderans, suarumque possessionum terminis dilatare gestiens, sana mente, integroque consilio, cum Eadbaldi filii mei aliorumque nobilium optimatum meorum consensu, ob redemptionem animæ meæ, et spem retributionis æternæ: obtuli ei etiam villam nomine Sturigao, alio nomine dictum Cistelet, cum omnibus redditibus ei jure competentibus, cum mancipiis, silvis, cultis vel incultis, pratis, pascuis, paludibus, fluminibus, et contiguis ei maritimis terminis eam ex una parte cingentibus: omnia mobilia vel immobilia in usus fratrum sub regulari tramite et monastica religione inibi Deo servientium, missurium etiam argenteum, scapton aureum, iterum sellam cum fræno, auro et gemmis exornatam, speculum argenteum, armilcaisia oloserica, camisiâ ornatam, quod mihi xenium de Domino Papa Gregorio sedis apostolicæ directum fuerat, quæ omnia supradictæ ecclesiæ gratanter obtuli. Quam etiam ecclesiam ipse servus Dei Augustinus sanctorum Apostolorum ac martyrum reliquiis, variisque ecclesiasticis ornamentis ab apostolica sede sibi transmissis, copiose ditavit; seseque in ea, et cunctos successores suos, ex auctoritate apostolica sepeliri præcepit, Scriptura dicente, *non esse civitatem mortuorum, sed vivorum.* Ibi etiam mihi et successoribus meis sepulturam providi, sperans me quandoque ab ipso apostolici ordinis principe, cui Dominus potestatem ligandi atque solvendi dedit, et claves regni cælorum tradidit, a peccatorum nexibus solvi, et æternæ beatitudinis januam introduci. Quod monasterium aut ecclesiam, nullus Episcoporum, nullus successorum meorum Regum, in aliquo lædere aut inquietare præsumat. Nullam omnino subjectionem in ea sibi usurpare audeat. Sed Abbas ipse, qui ibi fuerit ordinatus, intus et foris cum consilio fratrum secundum timorem Dei libere eam regat et ordinet, ita ut in die Domini dulcem illam piissimi Redemptoris nostri vocem mereatur audire, dicentis, *Euge serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam; intra in gaudium Domini tui.*

Hanc donationem meam in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, largitate Divina, ut mihi tribuatur peccatorum remissio, per omnia cum consilio reverentissimi patris Augustini condidi, atque ad

[QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

transcribendum, Angemundum presbyterum ordinavi. De his ergo omnibus, quæ hic scripta sunt, si quis aliquid inde minuere præsumserit, sciat se æquissimo Judici Deo, et beatis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, rationem esse redditurum. Confirmata est hæc donatio præsentibus testibus; reverentissimo patre Augustino Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo primo, Mellito quoque et Iusto Londoniæ et Rofensis ecclesiæ præsulibus, et religioso famulo Christi Laurencio presbytero, Eadbaldo filio meo, Hamigisilo duce, Angemundo referendario, Hocca et Graphione comitibus, Tangisilo et Pinca et Geddi et Aldhuno regis optimatibus aliisque plurimis diversarum dignitatum personis. Actum sane quadragesimo quinto anno regni nostri sub die V. idus Januarii. [*Elmkam, MS. Aul. Trin. Cant.*, printed in *K. C. D. IV.\**; *S. I. 120*; *W. App. IV. 728*; *Elmkam*, pp. 114–116.]

V. *Bulla Plumbea of S. AUGUSTIN.*

✠ AUGUSTINUS Episcopus, Doroberniæ sedis famulus, quem superna inspirante clementia beatissimus Papa Gregorius Anglicæ genti Deo acquirendæ legatarium misit ac ministrum, omnibus successoribus suis Episcopis, cunctisque Angliæ Regibus cum suis posteris atque omnibus Dei fidelibus, et in fide et gratia pacem et salutem. Patet omnibus quod Deo amabilis Rex Æthilberhtus, primus Anglorum Regum Christi regno sacratus, nostra instantia, et sua prodiga benevolentia, inter cæteras ecclesias quas fecit et Episcopia, monasterium extra metropolim suam Doroberniam in honorem principum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli regaliter condidit, et regalibus opibus, amplisque possessionibus ditavit, dilatavit, magnificavit, perpetuaque libertate, et omni jure regio, cum omnibus rebus et judiciis intus et foris illi pertinentibus munivit, suoque regio privilegio, et superni judicii interminatione, atque apostolica sancti Papæ Gregorii interminatione excommunicatoria, contra omnem injuriam confirmavit.

Ego quoque, ejusdem libertatis adjutor et patrocinator, omnes successores meos Archiepiscopos, omnesque ecclesiasticas vel sæculares potestates, per Dominum Jesum Christum, et Apostolorum Ejus reverentiam obtestor, atque apostolica patris nostri Papæ Gregorii interminatione interdico, ne quisquam unquam ullam potestatem, aut dominatum, aut imperium in hoc Dominicum vel Apostolicum monasterium, vel terras vel ecclesias ad illud pertinentes, usurpare præsumat; nec ulla prorsus subjugationis aut servitutis, aut tributi conditione, vel in magno vel in minimo, Dei ministros inquietet aut opprimat.

Abbatem a suis fratribus electum in eodem monasterio non ad suum famulatum sed ad Dominicum ministerium ordinet, nec sibi hunc obaudire, sed Deo suadeat. Nec vero sibi subjectum, sed fratrem, sed consortem, sed collegam et comministrum in opus Dominicum, eum reputet. Non ibi missas, quasi ad suæ ditionis altare, nec ordinationes vel benedictiones usurpative, sine abbatis vel fratrum petitione exerceat. Nullum sibi jus consuetudinarium vel in vilissima re exigat, quatenus pacis concordia unum sint in Domino utrinque. Nec quisquam, quod absit, dominandi dissidio in iudicium incidat diaboli, qui superbiæ tyrannide corruit de cælo. *Reges gentium*, inquit Dominus, *dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic*. Cumque ab alienis, non a filiis accipiantur tributa, sic ipse Dominus concludit, *Ergo liberi sunt filii*. Qua ergo irreverentia patres ecclesiarum in filios regni Dei sibi vendicant dominationem, maxime autem in hanc ecclesiam sanctorum thesaurariam, in cujus materno utero tot Pontificum Doroberniæ, Regum ac Principum corpora speramus alma repouenda sepulturæ requie, ex auctoritate scilicet apostolica, et hinc ad æternam gloriam resuscitanda. Tales supremi Judicis amicos si quis offendere non metuens, hujus privilegii statuta violaverit, vel violatorem imitando vim suam tenuerit, sciat se apostolico beati Petri gladio per suum vicarium Gregorium puniendum, nisi emendaverit.

Hæc ergo omnia, uti hic sunt scripta, apostolica ipsius institutoris nostri Gregorii comprobatione et auctoritate servanda sancimus, suoque ore confirmamus, præsentem glorioso Rege Æthilberhto cum filio suo Ædbaldo et collaudante cum ipso et omnibus optimatibus regii, atque ultro volentibus reverentissimis fratribus nostris, a sancta Romana Ecclesia huc mecum vel ad me in Evangelium Domini destinatis: scilicet Laurentio, quem nobis Deo favente successorem constituimus, et Mellito Lundoniæ Episcopo, et Justo Rofensi Episcopo, et Petro venerabili ejusdem monasterii principum Apostolorum abbate primo, cum cæteris in Domino adjutoribus meis, obnixè postulantibus, simulque in eos qui hæc fideliter servaverint benedictionem, aut in impœnitentes, quod nolumus, transgressores damnationem, exercentibus. [*Elmkam*, MS. *Aul. Trin. Cant.*, printed in *K. C. D. V.\**; *S. I.* 121; *W. App. IV.* 729; *Elmkam*, p. 119; *Mon. Angl. I.* 127.]

VI. *Charter of ÆTHELBERT to Mellitus, and to the Monastery of S. Paul's, London.*

✠ In Christi nomine! ÆTHELBERTUS Rex, Deo inspirante, pro

[QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

animæ suæ remedio, dedit Episcopo Mellito terram quæ appellatur Tillingeham ad monasterii sui solatium, scilicet monasterium Sancti Pauli Apostoli doctoris gentium. Et ego Rex Æthelbertus ita firmiter concedo tibi Præsuli Mellito potestatem ejus habendi et possidendi ut inperpetuum in monasterii utilitate permaneat. Si quis vero contradicere temptaverit hanc donationem, anathema et excommunicatus sit ab omni societate Christiana usque ad satisfactionem. Qua de re ego Episcopus Mellitus una cum Rege Æthelberto Hunfredum Episcopum subscribere rogavi.

Signum manus Hunfridi Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Letharii Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Abbanæ ✠. Signum manus Æthelwaldi ✠. Signum manus Æswinæ ✠, et aliorum multorum. [*Reg. D. et C. S. Pauli*, printed in *K. C. D. DCCCCLXXXII.\**; *S. I.* 130; *W. App. IV.* 735.]

1. The list of gifts sent to the English Church by Gregory, by the hands of Mellitus, A.D. 601 (*Smith ad Bed. App. num. VII.*), is now printed in Elmham (pp. 96-102), and is too late in date to be of any authority.

According to Bede (*I.* 29), "Per eos, generaliter universa, quæ ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiæ necessaria<sup>a</sup>, vasa videlicet sacra, et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia vel clericalia indumenta, sanctorum etiam Apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, necnon et codices plurimos."

2. The same account applies also to the history of the foundation of S. Augustin's at Canterbury, and other extracts printed from MS. by Spelman (*I.* 112 sq., 116 sq.) and Wilkins (*App. IV.* 724 sq.), all now printed in Elmham, pp. 77 sq., 84 sq.; and too late in date to claim a place here.

<sup>a</sup> Johnson's surprise—that Gregory did not also send *Bishops*, when sending missionaries—is certainly well founded. It may perhaps be accounted for by supposing him to have still hoped for a union between Augustin and the British Bishops; but even this does not wholly meet the case.

The codices described by Elmham (ed. Hardwick, pp. 96-98) as preserved until his own time, were "Biblia Gregoriana," in two volumes; "Psalterium Augustini;" "Textus Evangeliorum," called also "Textus Sanctæ Mildredæ;" another Psalter, and another "Tex-

tus;" two Passionaries, and an "Expositio super Epistolas et Evangelia a Dominica III. post octavas Paschæ, usque ad Dominicam IV<sup>tam</sup> post octavas Pentecostes." "Hæc sunt primitiæ librorum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." Some of the MSS. so described, whether or not the original presents of S. Gregory, are probably still in existence; one of the copies of the Gospels in the Bodleian, another in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. See *Hardwick's Elmham*, pp. xxvi. and xxvii., and *Bosworth's Preface to the Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, p. xi.



## II. LAURENTIUS, A.D. 604-619.

[A.D. 604 x 610. Fails to reconcile the British and Scoto-Irish Churches.

A.D. 617 x 618. Temporary overthrow of the Mission and relapse of the East Saxons into Paganism.

A.D. 619, Feb. 2. Laurentius dies, and is buried in the porch of S. Peter's (S. Augustin's), Canterbury (*B. II.* 3. 7). No pall mentioned.]

A.D. 604 x 610.—*Unsuccessful Attempt at Union with Irish and British Churches*<sup>a</sup>.

1. *Letter of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus to the Scottish (Irish) Bishops.* [*Fragment.*]

Urge compli- BÆD. II. 4.—*Dominis carissimis fratribus Episcopis vel*  
ance with the *abbatibus per universam Scottiam*, LAURENTIUS, MELLITUS,  
customs of the *ET JUSTUS EPISCOPI, SERVI SERVORUM DEI. Dum nos sedes*  
Roman Church, *apostolica*, more suo sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in  
especially about *his occiduīs partibus ad prædicandum gentibus paganis*  
Easter. *dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quæ Britannia nuncupatur, contigit*  
*introisse antequam cognosceremus: credentes quod juxta morem*  
*universalis Ecclesiæ ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis*  
*tam Brittones quam Scottos venerati sumus; sed cognoscentes Brit-*  
*tones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos vero per Daganum Epi-*  
*scopum in hanc, quam superius memoravimus, insulam, et Columba-*  
*num abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare a Brittonibus in*  
*eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos*  
*veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospicio quo*  
*vescebamur, sumere voluit b. \* \* \** [*M. H. B. 153; S. I. 128; W.*  
*IV. App. 734.*]

2. *Letter of Laurentius to British Bishops.* [*The letter itself not preserved.*]

Similar to the BÆD. II. 4.—“*Misit idem Laurentius cum coepiscopis*  
preceding. *suis etiam Brittonum sacerdotibus litteras suo gradui*  
*condignas, quibus eos in unitate catholica confirmare satagit. Sed*  
*quantum hæc agendo profecerit, adhuc præsentia tempora declarant c.*”  
[*M. H. B. 153; S. I. 129; W. IV. App. 734.*]

<sup>a</sup> Tradition represents Laurentius as cultivating peace with the British and their kindred Churches. Goscelinus in his *Vita Laurentii* (v. *Ussber, Epist. Hib. Syll. in Ep. VII.*)

## [MISSION OF MELLITUS TO ROME.]

asserts him to have converted an Irish Archbishop named Terenan, attracted to England by his fame, to the Roman Easter. Ware identifies Terenan with Mac Laisre, Bishop of Armagh (Irish Bishops *in loco*).

That he was the Archbishop of Canterbury who consecrated Oudoceus of Llandaff is a purely modern conjecture founded upon a Welsh fiction of the 12th century, made from a perfectly different point of view. And it is simply impossible, after the result of the conferences at Augustin's Oak, that any such consecration by any Archbishop of Canterbury could have taken place. See vol. I. pp. 160, 209. And if by any one, the date would indicate Augustin, which is still more out of the question.

<sup>b</sup> The remainder of the letter is lost, but in

it, according to Bede, II. 4, "Ubi Scottorum in præfata ipsorum patria, quomodo et Brittonum in ipsa Britannia, vitam ac professionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis esse cognovit (Laurentius), maxime quod Paschæ solemnitatem non suo tempore celebrarent, sed ut supra docuimus, a decima quarta luna usque ad vicesimam Dominicæ resurrectionis diem observandum esse putarent; scripsit cum coepiscopis suis exhortatorium ad eos epistolam, obsecrans eos, et contestans unitatem pacis et catholicæ observationis, cum ea quæ toto orbe diffusa est Ecclesia Christi tenere."

<sup>c</sup> In A.D. 731 all the Scottish and Pictish and probably the Cornish Churches had yielded; but the Welsh still retained their own Easter. See vol. I. pp. 202, 203, 674.

A.D. 610. *Mission of Mellitus to Rome, where he is accidentally present at a Council Feb. 27, and whence he returns with Letters and the Decrees of the Council.*

BÆD. II. 4.—His temporibus venit Mellitus, Landoniæ Episcopus, Romam de necessariis Ecclesiæ Anglorum cum apostolico Papa Bonifacio tractaturus. Et cum idem Papa reverentissimus cogeret synodum Episcoporum Italiæ, de vita monachorum et quiete ordinaturus, et ipse Mellitus inter eos adsedit anno octavo imperii Focatis principis, indictione decima tertia, tertia die kalendarum Martiarum: ut quæque erant regulariter decreta, sua quoque auctoritate subscribens confirmaret, ac Britanniam, rediens, secum Anglorum Ecclesiis mandanda atque servanda deferret, una cum epistolis quas idem pontifex Deo dilecto Archiepiscopo Laurentio, et clero universo, similiter et Ædilbercto Regi atque genti Anglorum, direxit. Hic est Bonifacius, quartus a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis Episcopo. [*M. H. B.* 153; *S. I.* 129; *W. IV. App.* 734.]

*Documents alleged to have been brought to England by Mellitus.*

1. A.D. 610, Feb. 27. *Decree of the Roman Council under Boniface IV.*  
[*Spurious.*]

*Quomodo liceat monachis cum sacerdotali officio ubiubi ministrare.*

Monks may be priests. Sunt nonnulli fulti nullo dogmate, audacissime quidem zelo magis amaritudinis quam dilectione inflammati, asserentes monachos, quia mundo mortui sunt et Deo vivunt sacer-

[SPURIOUS DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF ROME, A.D. 610.]

dotalis officii potentia indignos neque pœnitentiam neque Christianitatem largiri neque absolvere posse per sacerdotali officio Divinitus injunctam potestatem. Sed omnino labuntur. Nam si ex hac causa veteres æmuli vera prædicarent, Apostolicæ compar sedis beatissimus Gregorius monachico cultu pollens ad summum nullatenus apicem conscenderet. Quoniam quidem hæc ostiatim fungendi, ligandi, solvendique potestas a Deo summa conceditur. Augustinus quoque ejusdem sanctissimi Gregorii discipulus Anglorum prædicator egregius; ac Pannoniensis Martinus beatissimus, cujus sanctitatis fama longe lateque diffusa totus personat mundus; alii quoque jam plurimi sanctissimi, pretiosissimo monachorum habitu fulgentes, nequaquam annulo pontificali subarrarentur, si quia monachi fuerunt, prædictis uti prohiberentur. Neque enim Benedictus monachorum præceptor almificus hujuscemodi rei aliquo modo fuit interdictor; sed eos sæcularium negotiorum edixit expertes fore solummodo. Quod quidem apostolicis documentis, et omnium sanctorum patrum institutis, non solum monachis, verum etiam canonicis maximopere imperatur. *Nemo enim militans Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus.* Utrisque etiam præfatorum patrum exemplis perspicacibus circumquaque, ut mundo mortui sint, evidentissima ratione præcipitur. Tantorum igitur patrum instituti exemplis, quibus periculosissimum est refragari, credimus a sacerdotibus monachis ligandi solvendique officium Deo imperante haud indigne administrari, si eos digne contigerit ad hoc ministerium sublimari. Quod incunctanter affirmat, quisquis statum monachorum et habitum potentatumque evidenter considerat. Verbi gratia: Angelus Græce, Latine nuntius dicitur. Sacerdotes igitur monachi atque canonici, qui quotidie sancta Dei præcepta annuntiant, angeli vocantur, ratione non incongrua. Sed unusquisque angelicus ordo, quanto claritate Deo vicinius contemplatur, tanto dignitate sublimior affirmatur. Nam uti Cherubim, monachi sex alis velantur. Duæ quidem in capitis, quo caput tegitur, verisimilibus demonstratur assertionibus. Illud vero tunicæ quod brachiis extenditur, alas duas esse dicimus: et illud tandem quo conditur corpus, sex alarum numerum certissime implere asseritur. Decertantes igitur monachicæ professionis presbyteros sacerdotalis potentia arcere officio, omnimodo præcipimus, ut ab hujuscemodi nefandis ausibus reprimantur in posterum; quia quanto quisque celsior, tanto potentior. [*Ivon. Decret. VII. 22; Gratian, c. XVI. qu. 1. c. 25; Smith, App. ad Bed. num. XI. p. 717; Mansi, X. 504.*]

[SPURIOUS DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF ROME, A.D. 610].

*Quod liceat monachis ubiubi cum sacerdotali officio celebrare.*

[Another version of the same document.]

Sunt nonnulli stulti dogmatis, magis zelo amaritudinis, quam dilectionis inflammati, asserentes monachos, quia mundo mortui sunt, et Deo vivunt, sacerdotali officio indignos, neque pœnitentiam, aut Christianitatem, seu absolutionem largiri posse per sacerdotalis officii injunctam gratiam. Sed omnino falluntur. Nam si ex hac causa veteres æmuli vera prædicarent, apostolicæ sedis compar beatus Gregorius monachico pollens cultu, ad summum apicem nullatenus conscenderet, cui solvendi ligandique potestas concessa est. Augustinus quoque ejusdem sanctissimi Gregorii discipulus, Anglorum prædicator egregius; et Pannoniensis Martinus, aliique quamplurimi viri sanctissimi, pretiosorum monachorum habitu fulgentes nequaquam annulo pontificali subarrarentur. Neque enim Benedictus monachorum præceptor hujus rei aliquo modo fuit interdictor, sed eos sæcularium negotiorum dixit expertes esse debere: quod quidem apostolicis documentis et sanctorum patrum institutis, non solum universis, verum etiam canonicis summopere imperatur. Utrisque enim perspicacibus sanctorum patrum exemplis, ut mundo mortui sint præcipitur. Credimus igitur a sacerdotibus monachis ligandi solvendique officium digne administrari, si tamen digne contigerit eos hoc ministerio sublimari. Quod evidenter affirmat, quisquis statum monachorum et habitum considerat. Angelus enim Græce, Latine nuncius dicitur. Sacerdotes igitur monachi atque canonici, qui Dei præcepta adnunciant, Angeli vocantur: sed unusquisque angelicus ordo, quanto vicinius Dominum contemplantur, tanto sublimius dignitate firmantur. Numquid non ut Cherubim monachi sex alis velantur? Duæ in capitis, quo caput tegitur, veris demonstrantur assertionibus. Illud vero quod brachiis extenditur, duas alas esse dicimus: et illud quo corpus conditur, alas duas. Sic sex alarum numerus certissime conficitur. Decertantes igitur contra monachos in hac re sacerdotalis potentæ arcere officio præcipimus, ut ab hujuscemodi nefandis ausibus in posterum reprimantur: quia quanto quisque excelsior, tanto potentior. [Labbe, from a MS. of the church of S. Symphorian at Metz, *Conc. V.* 1619; *Smith, App. ad Bed.* p. 718; *Mansi, X.* 506.]

[LETTERS OF BONIFACE IV.]

2. A.D. 610. *Letter of Pope Boniface IV. to Laurentius, sent by Mellitus.* [Lost; see B. II. 4.]

3. A.D. 610. *Letter of Pope Boniface IV. to Etkelbert<sup>a</sup>, sent by Mellitus.* [Questionable.]

Establishment of monks in S. Saviour's, Canterbury.

BONIFACIUS PAPA *Etkilberto*. Domino excellentissimo atque præcellentissimo filio Regi Anglorum

Ethelberto, Bonifacius Episcopus servus servorum Dei. Dum Christianitatis vestræ integritas ita circa Conditoris sui cultum excreverit, ut longe lateque resplendeat, et in omni mundo annuntiata vestra Deo dignæ operationis augmenta referat, enormes largitori omnium bonorum Deo grates exsolvimus, qui vos de excelso prospexit et in tanto culmine virtutum erexit. Quapropter, fili gloriose, quod ab apostolica sede per coepiscopum nostrum Mellitum postulastis, libenti animo concedimus; id est, ut vestra benignitas, in monasterio in Dorobernensi civitate constituto, quod sanctus doctor vester Augustinus beatæ memoriæ Gregorii discipulus Sancti Salvatoris nomini consecravit, cui ad præsens præesse dignoscitur dilectissimus frater noster Laurentius, licenter per omnia monachorum regulariter viventium habitationem statuatur: apostolica auctoritate decernentes, ut ipsi vestri prædicatores monachi monachorum gregem sibi associant, et eorum vitam sanctitatum moribus exornent. Quæ nostra decreta, si quis successorum vestrorum sive regum sive Episcoporum, clericorum sive laicorum, irrita facere tentaverit, a principe Apostolorum Petro et a cunctis successoribus suis anathematis vinculo subjaceat, quoad usque quod temerario ausu peregit, Domino placita satisfactione pœniteat et hujus inquietudinis veram emendationem faciat. In Christo valeas, Domine fili.

Missa per manum Melliti Episcopi Londoniensis Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 615. [*W. Malm. G. P. I.*, ed. *Savile*, fo. 112; and partly *Eadmer, Hist. Nov.*, ed. *Selden*, p. 11; *S. I.* 130; *W. App. IV.* 735; *Smith, App. ad Bed. num. XI.* p. 717.]

<sup>a</sup> Elmham says, p. 134, that Mellitus was sent a second time to Rome in A.D. 615 to fetch this. That the Pope did send a letter to Ethelbert by Mellitus in A.D. 610 is certain from Bede (*II.* 4), but the letter above given

is of very doubtful genuineness. It is the first of a series of letters given in William of Malmesbury, *G. P. I.*; of which the following is a list. (1) Boniface IV. to Ethelbert, A.D. 610. as above. (2) Boniface V. to

## [LETTERS OF BONIFACE IV.]

Justus, A.D. 624-5. (3) Honorius to Honorius, A.D. 634. (4) Vitalian to Theodore, A.D. 669. (5) Sergius to Ethelred and others, A.D. 693. (6) Sergius to English Bishops, A.D. 693. (7) Gregory III. to English Bishops, A.D. 733. (8) Leo III. to Ethelhard, A.D. 797. (9) Formosus to English Bishops, A.D. 905. (10) John XIII. to Dunstan.—These were produced for the first time by Lanfranc in A.D. 1072 at the Council of London, for the purpose of establishing the supremacy of Canterbury over York, at that time fiercely disputed; and they were confessed at the time by Lanfranc himself to be the relics of the fire at Canterbury which four years previously had destroyed both originals and copies of all other documents (see also *Eadmer, Hist. Nov. I.*). These letters are not mentioned by the English Bishops in their letter to Pope Leo III. in A.D. 801 (*W. I.* 166, and below *ad annum*), although they would have been directly to their purpose, and although those Bishops do mention in some detail the series of letters in Bede relating to the position of the see of Canterbury. Moreover the Malmesbury series of letters and the Bede series, of which the latter are unquestionably genuine, present in several instances pairs of letters from the same Pope to the same Archbishop at the same date, and of different tenour. And the view to be derived from the latter, of the original position of Canterbury relatively to London and York, and of the steps by which that original position was gradually changed, differs irreconcilably from the view, in support of which the former series was produced. The letters of the later date represent Canterbury as intended from the time of Justus if not of Laurentius, nay even by Gregory himself, to be the seat of the primacy of England, including York. The letters of the earlier date represent it as in the first instance not intended to be the seat of an Archiepiscopate at all; and when circumstances had determined thus much in its favour, in opposition to London,—a step apparently taken formally on the accession of Justus, yet possibly on that of Mel-

litus,—then as being placed on a level with York and no more,—a step dating with Archbishop Honorius in A.D. 634; while Theodore's conduct first obtained a superiority over York (A.D. 669 sq.) in point of fact, and it was not until the time of Anselm that a similar superiority was established in point of right. As to the case of London against Canterbury, the words of Bede, "Ibidem (at S. Saviour's) sibi (sc. Augustin) habitationem statuit et cunctis successoribus suis," and, "in qua (sc. SS. Peter and Paul's, i. e. S. Augustin's) et ipsius Augustini, et omnium Episcoporum Doruvernensium, simul et regum Cantie poni corpora possent" (*B. I.* 33), look as if Augustin had himself discarded London.

Under these circumstances the genuineness of the Malmesbury series becomes exceedingly questionable.

The date of the particular letter with which we are here concerned is plainly erroneous as it stands in *W. Malm. Spelman*, from the MS. "Annals of Peterborough," has a copy with a different date, equally erroneous (*S. I.* 130; *W. App. IV.* 735), viz. "Actum sane anno Incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto decimo, imperante Foca Augusto piissimo, anno imperii ejusdem principis octavo, indictione XIV., tertio die Martiarum, Æthelberti regis regni anno quinquagesimo tertio;" which he would correct into "sexcentesimo decimo," and (with another MS.) "Indictione XIII."—Ussher, from a MS. in the Cotton Library once belonging to S. Augustin's, gives a like date to that in *Spelman*, except that the indiction is XIII., and the day is "quarta Kalendarum," with no month added. The true date, if the letter be genuine, is A.D. 610, 8th year of Phocas, 13th Indiction, and the 50th year of Ethelbert, according to Bede's reckoning; the 45th according to the *A. S. C.* But all these dates are subsequent additions of chronicles or copyists, and prove little either way. The letter is quoted by Pope Alexander II. in a letter to Lanfranc (*ap. Eadmer, H. N. I.*), but this was after A.D. 1072.

A.D. 617, 618. *Flight of Mellitus from London and of Justus from Rochester, and temporary overthrow of the Mission in Canterbury itself, upon the death of Ethelbert.*

BÆD. II. 5.—Qui (Mellitus) expulsus inde (sc. e regno Orientalium Saxonum), venit Cantiam<sup>a</sup>, tractaturus cum Laurentio et Justo coepiscopis, quid in his esset agendum. Decretumque est communi consilio, quia satius esset ut omnes patriam redeuntes libera ibi mente

## [QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

Domino deservirent, quam inter rebelles fidei barbaros sine fructu residerent. Discessere itaque primo Mellitus ac Justus, atque ad partes Galliæ successere, ibi rerum finem expectare disponentes. [M. H. B. 155; S. I. 132; W. I. 30.]

\* This meeting is exalted by Spelman, and therefore by Wilkins, into a Council of Kent in A.D. 617. One result of the flight of Mellitus, followed by the refusal of the Londoners to receive him again, was the impossibility of carrying out Gregory's plan of establishing the

southern Archbishopric not at Canterbury but at London. The political dependence of London on Canterbury prevented this being done upon Augustin's death, and the apostasy of the Londoners hindered it thenceforward.

## QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.

I. A.D. 611, Feb. 27. *Bull of Pope Boniface IV., addressed to Ethelbert, sent by Mellitus.* [Spurious.]

In favour of S. Augustin's, Canterbury. BONIFACIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, glorioso filio Regi Anglorum Æthelberto salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Omnipotentis Dei institutione et apostolica saluberrima incitatur monitione, ut pro omnium fidelium regimine impigra vigilemus sollicitudine. Et quia, Divina providente clementia, totius sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ per universum orbem diffusæ curam gerimus, omnibus nostra suffragia quærentibus auctoritate apostolica subvenire cupimus; quoniam ex Divina et humana dispensatione sancitum est, cunctarum Ecclesiarum negotia nostra reparari vigilantia. Quapropter, rex inclite ac fili carissime, omnia, quæ tuæ amplectendæ voluntatis studium per coepiscopum nostrum Mellitum poscebat, apostolica auctoritate libentissime concedimus; quia nec æquum videtur difficultates pati hujusmodi rem petitam. Laudabilis atque Deo placita petitio tua hæc est, ut ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ad orientem civitatis Doroberniæ sita, quam Catholicæ religionis amore succensus, et sanctissimorum patrum tuorum Gregorii atque Augustini hortatu admonitus, in sepulturam tui et successorum tuorum regum et præfatæ urbis præsulum a fundamentis construxisti, et ob honorem Divini cultus habitantium sustentationem diversis donis ditasti; in qua et monachorum religiosorum congregationem sub abbate Johanne, ab hac apostolica sede directo, collocasti, ubi et ipse vir præfatus, vere Deo dilectus, et in gloria resurrecturus pater Augustinus requiescit, apostolicis privilegiis roborata, perpetua libertate donaretur, atque illius spiritualis petreæ soliditate solida-

[QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

retur, cui Salvator ait, "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum." Hujus igitur beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri auctoritate ordinamus, atque perpetua stabilitate stabilimus, ut præfatum monasterium, apostolicis prærogativis præmunitum, in initio nascentis Christianæ religionis in vestro regno constructum, atque monastico ordine primum, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, ab omni servitio sit liberum, ab omni mundiali strepitu inconcussum, nec ecclesiasticis conditionibus seu angariis vel quibuslibet obsequiis sæcularibus ullo modo subiaceat, nullis canonicis juribus deserviat; quia incongruum valde videtur qualicumque modo alterius ditioni deservire, quod apud vos est primum in hac religione. Unde interdicens in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ex auctoritate ipsius beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, cujus vice huic Romanæ præsidemus Ecclesiæ, ut a præsentis nullus præsulum, nullus sæcularium præsumat in dominium hujus ecclesiæ aliquo modo sese ingerere, vel quamlibet impediendi potestatem sibi usurpare, vel alicujus inquietudinis molestias inferre, vel aliquam omnino consuetudinem, quamvis levissimam, sibi attribuere, vel etiam, nisi rogatu abbatis aut fratrum, in ea missas facere. Sed communis filius noster abbas Johannes libere teneat, possideat, cum consilio fratrum, omnem utilitatem loci, intus vel foris, bene ordinet atque disponat; et sic remota vexatione et cuncto gravamine, Divinum servitium peragant cum tota animi devotione. Post cujus obitum non extraneus assumatur, sed de eadem congregatione, et quem sibi propria voluntate concors fratrum societas elegerit; et qui electus fuerit sine dolo vel venalitate aliqua, ordinetur, atque in eodem loco consecretur. Si autem, quod non optamus, aptam inter se personam invenire nequiverint, sollerter sibi de aliis monasteriis similiter eligant ordinandum.

Hæc itaque nostræ institutionis decreta in synodo Episcoporum Italiæ, cui etiam interfuit tuæ dilectionis legatus Mellitus, coepiscopus noster, recitari et roborari fecimus, tibi que et Ecclesiæ tuæ superscriptæ, Johanni abbati et cunctis successoribus suis, custodienda atque perpetualiter observanda, tibi et genti tuæ per manum ipsius direximus. Quæ si quis successorum tuorum regum sive Episcoporum, clericorum sive laicorum, contempserit aut irrita facere tentaverit, ab officio cleri submotus, apostolicæ auctoritatis reus et sanctorum communione judicetur alienus, quoad usque quod temerario ausu præsumpsit congrua satisfactione recognoscat, et tanti excessus



[QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

pœnitudinem gerat. Ipsa vero sæpe dicta ecclesia, tua largiente regali munificentia, ab hac, ut ita dicam, sede apostolica constructa, ordinata, atque edocta, siqua sibi contigerint adversa, indurata aliquorum pestilentum pertinacia ad matris Ecclesiarum recurrat limina, apostolica utatur audientia, ipsiusque in perpetuum consoletur et regatur vigilantia. In Christo, domine fili, valeas. Data die III. Kal. Mart., imperante piissimo Augusto Phoca, anno VIII. imperatoris ejusdem principis, indictione XIV. [*Elmkam*, 129-131; *Thorn*, 1766.]

2. *Deed of Gift to the Cathedral at Canterbury by Eadbald, witnessed by Laurentius, etc. in A.D. 616. [Spurious.]*

Grants lands to the monks of the cathedral. ✠ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCXVI. Ego Eadbalus rex Cantiaë, filius Æthilberti regis, a Deo com-punctus et per ejus misericordiam perque ammonitionem domini Laurentii Archiepiscopi, conversus a pravitate vitæ meæ, pro recuperanda salute animæ meæ proque spe remunerationis futuræ, concedo ecclesiæ Christi in Dorobernia, et familiæ in eadem ecclesia Deo servienti, terram juris mei nomine Adesham, cum campis, silvis, pascuis, et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, liberam ab omnibus sæcularibus servitiis et fiscali tributo, exceptis istis tribus, expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione. [From *MS. Lambeth* 1212, as printed in *K. C. D. DCCCCLXXXIII.\**]

3. *Similar Deed to S. Augustin's Abbey in A.D. 618. [Spurious.]*

Grants lands to S. Augustin's at Canterbury. ✠ IN NOMINE PATRIS, ET FILII, ET SPIRITUS SANCTI! Ego Ædbaldus rex, gloriosi regis Æthilberhti filius, quem protodoctor et apostolus Anglorum Augustinus, cum suo regno, ab æternis inferorum cruciatibus eripuit, et dealbatum fonte baptismatis sanctorum collegio copulavit, per venerabilem Laurencium, beati Augustini discipulum, quem ipse pater novellæ adhuc Anglorum Ecclesiæ sibi successorem in Archiepiscopatum ordina-verat, tandem sermonibus assiduis, et signis ac plagis in se ipso pro me passis ac ostensis, a volutabro scelerum lotus, et ad agnitionem Creatoris omnium creaturarum promotus, Dominum Deum meum recognosco et adoro. Proinde ego Ædbaldus in solio paterno confirmatus, patris vestigia imitans, et ecclesias Dei, quas viriliter instantia patris Augustini fundavit, et terris mul-

## [QUESTIONABLE AND SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS.]

tisque honoribus ditavit, augens et confirmans, monasterio apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in suburbio Doroverniæ civitatis fundato, et prærogativo ecclesiasticæ libertatis privilegio munito, terris ac variis honoribus ditato, ad honorem Dei et sanctorum apostolorum sanctique Augustini, pro remedio animæ mei patris, meæque, parentumque meorum, granter concedo et amicabilem do quamdam partem terræ regni mei, XXX. aratorum, nomine Nortburne, in usum monachorum ibidem Deo famulantium, ubi ipse pater Augustinus et pater meus requiescunt, ubi etiam Archiepiscopos et Reges sibi succedentes requiescere decreverunt, ubi et corpus meum sepeliri præcipio. Hanc autem præfatam terram in omnibus ad se pertinentibus, pascuis, paludibus, pratis, silvis, ac finibus maritimis, ita liberam et quietam dono ac dico, sicut pater meus aut ego unquam liberius habuimus.

Hujus donationis confirmationem trophæo agiæ crucis ✠ et carta mea regia consignavi, assidentibus et collaudantibus Archiepiscopo, baptista scilicet meo, Laurencio, et subscribente, cum regina mea Æmma filiisque meis Egfrido ac Ercumberhto, cum duobus Episcopis, Mellito Londoniæ, et Justo Rofensis Ecclesiæ, cæterisque multis comitibus et optimatibus meis confaventibus et subscribentibus, in hujus donationis fautores et auctores vitam æternam optantibus, in invidentes seu minuentes Dei Omnipotentis et sanctorum apostolorum et patris nostri Augustini terribilem interminationem.

✠ Ego Laurentius, gratia Dei Archiepiscopus, signo sanctæ crucis, sicut regem vidi facere, hoc donum confirmo.

✠ Ego Æmma, Francorum regis filia, regis Æadbaldi copula, vexillo adorandæ crucis armavi.

✠ Ego Mellitus, Landoniæ Episcopus, signo sanctæ crucis, quæ vidi astipulor.

✠ Ego Justus, Rofensis Episcopus, laudo et subscribo.

✠ Ego Egberhtus signo crucis libenter corroboro.

✠ Ego Ercumberhtus, attestante venerandæ ✠ [signo], granter concedo, contestor, et subscribo.

✠ Ego Suebhardus consensi.

✠ Ego Guthardus subscribo.

Actum est autem anno ab Incarnatione Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi sexcentesimo octavo decimo, indictione sexta. [*Elmhams MS.*, as printed in *K. C. D. VI.*; *Elmhams*, ed. *Hardwick*, p. 144; *Smith, App. ad Bed. num. IX.* p. 694.]

## III. MELLITUS, A.D. 619-624.

[No pall mentioned. Died April 24, A.D. 624, and was buried in the porch of S. Peter's (S. Augustin's), Canterbury. *B. II. 3. 7.*]

A.D. 619. *Letter of Boniface V. to Mellitus and Justus*<sup>a</sup>.

[*Not preserved.*]

BÆD. II. 7.—Qui (Mellitus et Justus) cum magna Ecclesiam Anglorum cura ac labore gubernarent, susceperunt scripta exhortatoria a pontifice Romanæ et apostolicæ sedis Bonifacio qui post Deusdedit Ecclesiæ præfuit, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ sexcentesimo decimo nono<sup>b</sup>. [*M. H. B. 156.*]

<sup>a</sup> This letter seems to be assumed by the English Bishops in A.D. 801 to have been of the same tenour with that to Justus when Archbishop, but they also do not appear to have seen it. Probably it had been lost previously to even A.D. 801. Bede's account of it is sufficiently vague; so that it remains doubtful whether or no it attached the Archi-

episcopate to Canterbury, or whether it referred to the subject at all.

<sup>b</sup> It is not clear whether A.D. 619 is meant by Bede as the date of the letter or of Boniface's accession to the papacy, which latter it certainly was. Of course the date of the letter is at any rate A.D. 619 x 624.

IV. JUSTUS, A.D. 624-627<sup>a</sup>.

[Pall, A.D. 624. Primacy said to be fixed at Canterbury, 624 x 625. Conversion of Northumbria, 625-627. Died, Nov. 10 (B. II. 18), 627 (A. S. C.), and was buried in the porch of S. Peter's, Canterbury (B. II. 3).]

## PRIMACY SAID TO BE FIXED AT CANTERBURY.

1. A.D. 624. *Letter of Boniface V. to Justus.*

Gives him a pall, and the right to ordain Bishops. *Dilectissimo fratri Justo* BONIFACIUS. Quam devote quamque etiam vigilanter pro Christi evangelio elaboraverit vestra fraternitas, non solum epistolæ a vobis directæ tenor, immo indulta desuper operi vestro perfectio indicavit. Nec enim omnipotens Deus aut sui nominis sacramentum, aut vestri fructum laboris deseruit, dum ipse prædicatoribus evangelii fideliter repromisit: "Ecce Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi." Quod specialiter injuncto vobis ministerio, ejus clementia demonstravit, aperiens corda gentium ad suscipiendum prædicationis vestræ singulare mysterium. Magno enim præmio fastigiorum vestrorum delectabilem cursum bonitatis suæ suffragiis illustravit, dum creditorum vobis talentorum fidelissimæ negotiationis officiis uberem fructum impendens ei, quod signare possetis multiplicatis generationibus præparavit. Hocque etiam illa vobis repensatione collatum est, qua injuncto ministerio jugiter persistentes, laudabili patientia redemptionem gentis illius expectastis, et vestris ut proficerent meritis, eorum est salvatio propinata, dicente Domino: "qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit." Salvati ergo estis spe patientiæ, et tolerantia virtute, ut infidelium corda naturali ac superstitioso morbo purgata, sui consequerentur misericordiam Salvatoris.

Susceptis namque apicibus filii nostri Adulvaldi regis, reperimus quanta sacri eloquii eruditione ejus animum ad veræ conversionis et indubitata fidei credulitatem fraternitas vestra perduxerit. Qua ex re de longanimitate clementiæ cælestis certam adsumentes fiduciam, non solum suppositarum ei gentium plenissimam salutem immo quoque vicinarum, vestræ prædicationis ministerio credimus subsequen-

[LETTERS OF BONIFACE V.]

dum, quatenus sicut scriptum est: "consummati operis vobis merces a retributore omnium bonorum Domino tribuatur." Et vere per omnem terram exiisse sonum eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba ipsorum, universalis gentium confessio, suscepto Christianæ sacramento fidei, protestetur.

Pallium præterea per latorem præsentium fraternitati tuæ benignitatis studiis invitati direximus, quod videlicet tantum in sacrosanctis celebrandis mysteriis utendi licentiam imperavimus: concedentes etiam tibi ordinationes Episcoporum exigente opportunitate, Domini præveniente misericordia celebrare, ita ut Christi evangelium plurimorum adnunciatione in omnibus gentibus, quæ necdum conversæ sunt, dilatetur. Studeat ergo tua fraternitas hoc, quod sedis apostolicæ humanitate percepit, intemerata mentis sinceritate servare; intendens, cujus rei similitudine tam præcipuum indumentum humeris tuis bajulandum susceperis. Talemque te Domini implorata clementia exhibendum stude, ut indulti muneris præmia non cum reatitudine, sed cum commodis animarum ante tribunal summi et venturi Judicis repræsentes. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater. [B. II. 8; M. H. B. 157; S. I. 134; W. I. 31, 32.]

<sup>a</sup> Bede speaks as if there were no prolonged interval between the death of Justus and the consecration of Honorius, and he usually mentions such intervals with precision. Now Honorius was certainly consecrated before A.D. 633, the year in which Paulinus fled from Northumbria; and at least as early as A.D. 631, to allow room for the 22 years which elapsed between the first and third of the three successive missions or consecrations of East Anglian Bishops by Honorius himself, who certainly died A.D. 653 (B. II. 15, III. 20). Moreover if Pope Honorius, writing in A.D. 634, was ignorant of Edwin's death, October, A.D. 633, but yet had heard of Archbishop Honorius's consecration (see letter of Honorius below), clearly the latter must have happened

at least some time earlier than October, A.D. 633. But the order of the East Anglian consecrations suits better with a date earlier than A.D. 631. And there is nothing to overrule the distinct testimony of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the year A.D. 627 as that of the death of Justus, beyond the difficulty of supposing the people of Lindsey to have been converted so immediately after Easter, A.D. 627, as to allow of a stone church existing in Lincoln of Paulinus's foundation in the end of A.D. 627 or the beginning of A.D. 628 (B. II. 16). See also below on the conversion of Lindsey and of East Anglia, the circumstances of both of which weigh strongly in favour of the earliest date.

2. A.D. 624 × 625. *Second Letter of Boniface V. to Justus*<sup>a</sup>.

[*Questionable.*]

Gives the primacy to Canterbury. *Dilectissimo fratri Justo BONIFACIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.* Susceptis vestræ dilectionis apicibus, in quibus reperimus, inter alia, plurimos ex gentilitate ibidem degentium, Deo omnipotenti et Domino nostro Jesu Christo auxiliante, conversos, maxime autem in partibus Cantix ad veri Dei

[BONIFACE V. TO JUSTUS.]

nostri fidem vestris laboribus esse perductos, valde gratulati sumus. Eadbaldi quoque regis animum ad veræ agnitionis viam esse correctum, Dominum omnipotentem in eo laudavimus, qui sui nominis sacramentum vestrique laboris fructum non deseruit, sicut ipse prædicatoribus evangelii veraciter repromisit: "Ecce Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi." Multa est clementia apud Deum, quæ multa est in nobis demonstrata, cum aperiantur corda barbararum gentium ad suscipiendum prædicationis vestræ singulare mysterium. Ut enim proficerent, vestris meritis eorum est salvatio propinata, Domino dicente: "qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit." Et alibi: "consummati operis vobis merces a retributore omnium bonorum Domino tribuetur." Cognovi siquidem in vestris syllabis, ut sanctæ recordationis prædecessor noster Gregorius constituit Augustino et omnibus successoribus suis in posterum metropolitanam et primitivam sedem in civitate Dorobernia, ubi caput totius gentis Anglorum a diebus Paganorum habetur. At vero nunc per revelationem Jesu Christi, qui est origo et caput totius Christianitatis, eadem civitas exaltatur, et orthodoxa fides, quæ est radix nobilissima, ibidem collocatur, ut ex illa segete uberrimum fructum boni operis ad pabulum cælestis patriæ omnes insulani metiri queant. O quam felix illa civitas, quæ meruit in se Christum habitorem habere expulsis antiqui hostis insidiis! Felix illa civitas; felix et tota gens, cum illas superna misericordia visitare non dedignata sit, quos ante mundi creationem prædestinaverat sibi sociare. Quare absit ab omni Christiano, ut ex illa civitate Dorobernia aliquid minuatur, aut in aliud mutetur, nunc vel futuris temporibus, quæ a prædecessore nostro domino Papa Gregorio statuta sunt, quoquo modo res humanæ quassentur. Sed magis ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis id ipsum præcipientes firmamus, ut in Dorobernia civitate semper in posterum metropolitanus totius Britanniaë locus habeatur, omnesque provinciaë regni Anglorum præfati loci metropolitanæ Ecclesiæ subjiciantur immutilata perpetuaque stabilitate decernimus. Hanc autem Ecclesiam, utpote specialiter consistentem sub potestate et tuitione sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, si quis conatus fuerit imminuere, eique de concessæ potestatis jure quicquam abstulerit, auferat eum Deus de libro vitæ, sciatque se sub anathematis vinculis esse nodatum. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reverentissime frater. [*W. Malm. G. P. I.*, ed. *Savile*, fo. 112; *W. I.* 32, 33.]

## [CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA.]

<sup>a</sup> See the note on the letter of Boniface IV. died October 22, A.D. 625; Justus became Ethelbert, above, pp. 65, 66. Boniface V. Archbishop after April, A.D. 624.

CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA<sup>a</sup>, A.D. 625-627.

- A.D. 625, July 21. Paulinus ordained Bishop by Justus, to accompany Ethelberga, or Tate, of Kent into Northumbria (*B. II.* 9).  
 A.D. 626. Eanfled daughter of Edwin born at Easter, and baptized, "prima de gente Nordanhymbrorum," Whitsunday, June 8 (*B. II.* 9), or on the Eve, June 7 (*A. S. C.*).  
 A.D. 627. Baptism of Edwin<sup>b</sup> himself [Bretwalda from A.D. 616, and King of all Britain "buton Cantware anre" (*A. S. C.*)], after the destruction of idols by the high-priest Coifi; and also of Hilda afterwards abbess of Whitby (*B. IV.* 23); by Paulinus at York, Easter, April 12 (*B. II.* 13-15, *IV.* 23, *V.* 24).

<sup>a</sup> The story of Paulinus's appearance to Edwin when in exile at the court of Redwald of East Anglia, i. e. before A.D. 616 (*B. II.* 12), seems, rightly interpreted, to imply a previous mission of Paulinus to that kingdom. Redwald himself had certainly been converted and baptized in Kent, but had fallen away on his return home (*B. II.* 15).

<sup>b</sup> This is claimed also as the result of a *British* mission: "Run filius Urbgen baptizavit eum" (sc. Edwin). *Ann. Camb.* a. 626; *M. H. B.* 832. "Rum map Urbgen baptizavit eos" (sc. "Eadguin et XII. millia hominum"), "et per XL. dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus Ambronum, et per prædicationem illius multi crediderunt in Christo." *Nennius* (*ib.* 76). Some MSS. and some editors of Nennius

strive to cut the knot by identifying Run with Paulinus (see *Stevenson's Nennius ad loc.*); and Paulinus did baptize a multitude of Bernician Northumbrians for 36 days together at Yeverin, near Wooler, and afterwards many of Deira in the river Swale (*B. II.* 14); but Run son of Urbgen is obviously intended for a British Bishop. See *Williams, Antiq. of Cymry*. And Edwin, who was in exile from his childhood, A.D. 588, to A.D. 616, is affirmed by another Welsh tradition to have taken refuge first of all and to have been brought up at the court of Cadvan, King of Gwynedd, and therefore as a Christian. Whence he afterwards fled to East Anglia, and it would seem also to Mercia previously, where he found a wife.

I. *Letter of Boniface V. to Edwin King of Northumbria,*  
*July × Oct. A.D. 625<sup>a</sup>.*

Exhorts him to listen to Paulinus's preaching, to follow the example of Eadwald and to destroy idols.

*Viro glorioso Æduino regi Anglorum, BONIFACIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.* Licet summæ Divinitatis potentia humanæ locutionis officiis explanari non valeat, quippe quæ sui magnitudine ita invisibili atque investigabili æternitate consistit, ut hæc nulla ingenii sagacitas, quanta sit, comprehendere disserereque sufficiat: quia tamen ejus humanitas ad insinuationem sui reseratis cordis januis, quæ de semetipsa proferetur, secreta humanis mentibus inspiratione clementer infundit; ad adnunciandum vobis plenitudinem fidei Christianæ, sacerdotalem curavimus sollicitudinem prorogare, ut perinde Christi evangelium, quod Salvator noster omnibus præcepit

[BONIFACE V. TO EDWIN KING OF NORTHUMBRIA.]

gentibus prædicari, vestris quoque sensibus inserentes, salutis vestræ remedia propinentur.

Supernæ igitur majestatis clementia, quæ cuncta solo verbo præceptionis suæ condidit, et creavit, cælum videlicet et terram, mare et omnia quæ in eis sunt, dispositis ordinibus quibus subsisterent, coæterni Verbi sui consilio, et Sancti Spiritus unitate dispensans, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam ex limo terræ plasmatum constituit, eique tantam præmii prærogativam indulsit, ut eum cunctis præponeret, atque servato termino præceptionis, æternitatis subsistentia præmuniret. Hunc ergo Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, quod est individua Trinitas, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, humanum genus, quippe ut creatorem omnium atque factorem suum, salutifera confessione fide veneratur et colit. Cui etiam summitates imperii, rerumque potestates submissæ sunt: quia ejus dispositione omnium prælatio regnorum conceditur. Ejus ergo bonitatis misericordia, totius creaturæ suæ dilatandi, subdi etiam in extremitate terræ positarum gentium corda frigida, Sancti Spiritus fervore in sui quoque agnitione mirabiliter est dignata succedere. Quæ enim in gloriosi filii nostri Audubaldi regis, gentibusque ei subpositis illustratione, clementia Redemptoris fuerit operata, plenius ex vicinitate locorum vestram gloriam conjicimus cognovisse. Ejus ergo mirabile donum, et in vobis certa spe, cælesti longanimitate conferri confidimus. Cum profecto gloriosam conjugem vestram, quæ vestri corporis pars esse dignoscitur, æternitatis præmio per sacri baptismatis regenerationem illuminatam agnovimus.

Unde præsentī stylo gloriosos vos adhortandos cum omni affectu intimæ caritatis curavimus, quatenus abominatis idolis, eorumque cultu, spretisque fanorum fatuitatibus, et auguriorum deceptabilibus blandimentis, credatis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ejusque Filium Jesum Christum, et Spiritum Sanctum, ut credentes, a diabolicæ captivitatis nexibus, sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis cooperante potentia, absoluti, æternæ vitæ possitis esse participes. Quanta autem reatitudinis culpa teneantur obstricti hi, qui idolatriarum perniciosissimam superstitionem colentes amplectuntur, eorum quos colunt exempla perditionis insinuant. Unde de eis per Psalmistam dicitur: "omnes dii gentium dæmonia, Dominus autem cælos fecit." Et iterum: "oculos habent et non vident, aures habent et non audiunt; nares habent et non odorabunt; manus habent et non



[BONIFACE V. TO EDWIN KING OF NORTHUMBERIA.]

palpabunt; pedes habent et non ambulabunt. Similes ergo efficiuntur his, qui spem suæ confidentiæ ponunt in eis." Quomodo enim juvandi quemlibet possunt habere virtutem hi, qui ex corruptibili materia inferiorum etiam subpositorumque tibi manibus construuntur, quibus videlicet artificium humanum adcommodans eis inanimatam membrorum similitudinem contulisti, qui nisi a te moti fuerint, ambulare non poterunt, sed tanquam lapis in uno loco positus, ita constructi, nihilque intelligentiæ habentes, ipsaque insensibilitate obruti, nullam neque lædendi, neque juvandi facultatem adepti sunt? Qua ergo mentis deceptione eos deos, quibus vos ipsi imaginem corporis tradidistis, colentes sequimini, judicio discreto reperire non possumus.

Unde oportet vos suscepto signo sanctæ crucis, per quod humanum genus redemptum est, execrandam diabolicæ versutiæ subplantationem, qui Divinæ bonitatis operibus invidus æmulusque consistit, a cordibus vestris abjicere, injectisque manibus, hos quos eatenus materiæ compage vobis deos fabricastis, confringendos diminuendosque summopere procurate. Ipsa enim eorum dissolutio corruptioque, quæ nunquam viventem spiritum habuit, nec sensibilitatem a suis factoribus potuit quolibet modo suscipere, vobis patenter insinuet, quam nihil erat quod eatenus colebatis; dum profecto meliores vos, qui spiritum viventem a Domino percepistis, eorum constructioni nihilominus existatis: quippe quos Deus omnipotens ex primi hominis, quem plasmavit, cognitione deductis per secula innumerabilibus propaginibus pullulare constituit.

Accedite ergo ad agnitionem Ejus, qui vos creavit, qui in vobis vitæ insufflavit spiritum, qui pro vestra redemptione Filium suum unigenitum misit, ut vos ab originali peccato eriperet, et ereptos de potestate nequitiae diabolicæ pravitatis cælestibus præmiis muneraret. Suscipite verba prædicatorum, et evangelium Dei, quod vobis adnunciant, quatenus credentes, sicut sæpius dictum est, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum ejus Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, et inseparabilem Trinitatem, fugatis dæmoniorum sensibus, expulsaque a vobis sollicitatione venenosi et deceptibilis hostis, per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum renati, Ei, cui credideritis, in splendore gloriæ sempiternæ cohabitare, Ejus opitulante munificentia valeatis.

Præterea benedictionem protectoris vestri beati Petri apostolorum principis vobis direximus, id est, camisiam cum ornatura in auro una, et lena anciriana una, quod petimus ut eo benignitatis animo gloria

[BONIFACE V. TO QUEEN ETHELBERGA.]

vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum. [B. II. 10; M. H. B. 159-161; S. I. 135; W. I. 30, 31.]

\* Paulinus's mission dates from July 21, and Boniface's death upon Oct. 22, A.D. 625.

2. *Letter of Boniface V. to Ethelberga, Edwin's Queen,*  
July x Oct., A.D. 625.

Exhorts her to perseverance in the faith and to the conversion of her husband.

*Dominæ gloriosæ filię Ædilbergæ reginæ,* BONIFACIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI. Redemptoris nostri benignitas humano generi, quod pretiosi sanguinis sui effusione a vinculis diabolicæ captivitatis eripuit, multæ providentiæ, quibus salvaretur, propinavit remedia, quatenus sui nominis agnitionem diverso modo gentibus innotescens, Creatorem suum suscepto Christianæ fidei agnoscerent sacramento; quod equidem in vestræ gloriæ sensibus cælesti conlatum munere, mystica regenerationis vestræ purgatio patenter innuit.

Magno ergo largitatis Dominicæ beneficio mens nostra gaudio exultavit, quod scintillam orthodoxæ religionis in vestri dignatus est confessione succendere. Ex qua re non solum gloriosi conjugis vestri, immo totius gentis subpositæ vobis intelligentiam in amore sui facile inflammaret. Didicimus namque referentibus his, qui ad nos gloriosi filii nostri Audubaldi regis laudabilem conversionem nunciantes pervenerunt, quod etiam vestra gloria, Christianæ fidei suscepto mirabili sacramento, piis et Deo placitis jugiter operibus enitescat; ab idolorum etiam cultu, seu fanorum auguriorumque inlecebris se diligenter abtineat, et ita in amore Redemptoris sui immutata devotione persistens invigilet, ut ad dilatandam Christianam fidem incessabiliter non desistat operam commodare.

Cumque de glorioso conjugate vestro paterna caritas sollicitè perquisisset, cognovimus, quod eatenus abominandis idolis serviens ad suscipiendam vocem prædicatorum suam distulerit obedientiam exhibere. Qua ex re non modica nobis amaritudo congesta est, ab eo quod pars corporis vestri ab agnitione summæ et individuæ Trinitatis remansit extranea. Unde paternis officiis vestræ gloriosæ Christianitati nostram commonitionem nec distulimus conferendam, adhortantes quatenus Divinæ inspirationis imbuta subsidiis, importune et opportune agendum non differas, ut et ipse, Salvatoris nostri Domini Jesu Christi cooperante potentia, Christianorum numero copuletur,

[BONIFACE V. TO QUEEN ETHELBERGA.]

ut perinde intemerato societatis fœdere jura teneas maritalis consortii. Scriptum namque est: "erunt duo in carne una." Quomodo ergo unitas vobis conjunctionis inesse dici poterit, si a vestræ fidei splendore interpositis detestabilis erroris tenebris ille remanserit alienus? Unde orationi continuæ insistens, a longanimitate cælestis clementiæ illuminationis ipsius beneficia impetrare non desinas; ut videlicet quos copulatio carnalis affectus unum quodammodo corpus exhibuisse monstratur, hos quoque unitas fidei, etiam post hujus vitæ transitum, in perpetua societate conservet. Insiste ergo, gloriosa filia, et summis conatibus duritiam cordis ipsius religiosa Divinorum præceptorum insinuatione mollire summopere dematura, infundens sensibus ejus, quantum sit præclarum, quod credendo suscepisti mysterium, quantumve sit admirabile quod renata præmium consequi meruisti. Frigiditatem cordis ipsius Sancti Spiritus adnunciatione succende, quatenus amoto torpore perniciosissimi cultus, Divinæ fidei calor ejus intelligentiam tuarum adhortationum frequentatione succendat; ut profecto Sacræ Scripturæ testimonium per te expletum indubitanter perclareat: "Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem." Ad hoc enim misericordiam Dominicæ pietatis consecuta es, ut fructum fidei creditorumque tibi beneficiorum Redemptori tuo multiplicem resignares. Quod equidem suffragante præsidio benignitatis ipsius, ut explere valeas, assiduis non desistimus precibus postulare. His ergo præmissis, paternæ vobis dilectionis exhibentes officia, hortamur, ut nos, reperta portitoris occasione, de his quæ per vos superna potentia mirabiliter in conversatione conjugis vestri, summissæque vobis gentis, dignatus fuerit operari, prosperis quantocius nunciis relevetis; quatenus sollicitudo nostra, quæ de vestri, vestrorumque omnium animæ salute optabilia desideranter expectat, vobis nunciantibus relevetur, illustrationemque Divinæ propitiationis in vobis diffusam opulentiùs agnoscentes, hilari confessione largitori omnium bonorum Deo et beato Petro apostolorum principi uberes merito gratias exsolvamus.

Præterea benedictionem protectoris vestri beati Petri apostolorum principis vobis direximus, id est, speculum argenteum, et pectinem eboreum inauratum, quod petimus ut eo benignitatis animo gloria vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum. [B. II. 11; M. H. B. 161, 162; S. I. 137; W. I. 33.]

3. A.D. 627. *Before April. Northumbrian Witenagemot near Godmundham (on the Derwent, near Market Weighton, in Yorkshire), which abjures idolatry, and destroys the idolatrous temples.*

BÆD. II. 13.—Quibus auditis<sup>a</sup>, rex suscipere quidem se fidem quam docebat, et velle et debere respondebat. Verum adhuc cum amicis principibus, et consiliariis suis sese de hoc collaturum esse dicebat, ut si et illi eadem cum illo sentire vellent, omnes pariter in fonte vitæ Christo consecrarentur. Et annuente Paulino, fecit ut dixerat. Habito enim cum sapientibus consilio, sciscitabatur singillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi doctrina hæc eatenus inaudita, et novus Divinitatis qui prædicabatur cultus videretur.

Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit: “Tu vide, rex, quale sit hoc quod nobis modo prædicatur: ego autem tibi verissime quod certum didici, profiteor, quia nihil omnino virtutis habet, nihil utilitatis religio illa quam hucusque tenuimus: nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturæ deorum nostrorum se subdidit; et nihilominus multi sunt qui ampliora a te beneficia quam ego, et majores accipiunt dignitates, magisque prosperantur in omnibus quæ agenda vel adquirenda disponunt. Si autem dii aliquid valerent, me potius juvare vellent, qui illis impensius servire curavi. Unde restat, ut si ea quæ nunc nobis nova prædicantur, meliora esse et fortiora, habita examinatione perspexeris, absque ullo cunctamine suscipere illa festinemus.”

Cujus suasioni verbisque prudentibus alius optimatum regis tribuens assensum, continuo subdidit: “Talis,” inquit, “mihi videtur, rex, vita hominum præsens in terris, ad comparisonem ejus quod nobis incertum est temporis, quale cum te residente ad cœnam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio et calido effecto cœnaculo, fuentibus autem foris per omnia turbini-bus hiemalium pluviarum vel nivium, adveniensque unus passerum domum citissime pervolaverit, qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens, mox per aliud exierit. Ipso quidem tempore quo intus est, hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen parvissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excursu, mox de hieme in hiemem regrediens, tuis oculis elabitur. Ita hæc vita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur, quidve præcesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Unde si hæc nova doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda videtur.” His

[WITENAGEMOT NEAR GODMUNDHAM.]

similia et cæteri majores natu ac regis consiliarii Divinitus admoniti prosequerentur.

Adjecit autem Coifi, quia vellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius audire de Deo quem prædicabat, verbum facientem. Quod cum jubente rege faceret, exclamavit auditis ejus sermonibus dicens: "Jam olim intellexeram nihil esse quod colebamus: quia videlicet quanto studiosius in eo cultu veritatem quærebam, tanto minus inveniebam. Nunc autem aperte profiteor, quia in hac prædicatione veritas claret illa, quæ nobis vitæ, salutis, et beatitudinis æternæ dona valet tribuere. Unde suggero, rex, ut templa et altaria, quæ sine fructu utilitatis sacravimus, ociosius anathemati et igni contradamus." Quid plura? Præbuit palam ad sensum evangelizanti beato Paulino rex, et, abrenunciata idolatria, fidem se Christi suscipere confessus est. Cumque a præfato pontifice sacrorum suorum quæreret, quis aras et fana idolorum cum septis, quibus erant circumdata, primus profanare deberet; ille respondit, "Ego. Quis enim ea, quæ per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo vero donatam destruam?" Statimque, abjecta superstitione vanitatis, rogavit sibi regem arma dare et equum emissarium, quem ascendens ad idola destruenda veniret. Non enim licuerat pontificem sacrorum vel arma ferre, vel præter in equa equitare. Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu, et ascendens emissarium regis pergebat ad idola. Quod aspiciens vulgus æstimabat eum insanire. Nec distulit ille, mox ut propiabat ad fanum, profanare illud, injecta in eo lancea quam tenebat: multumque gavisus de agnitione veri Dei cultus, jussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis. Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eburaco ad Orientem, ultra amnem Dorwentionem, et vocatur hodie Godmunddingaham, ubi pontifex ipse inspirante Deo vero polluit ac destruxit eas quas ipse sacraverat aras. [M. H. B. 164, 165.]

<sup>a</sup> The appeal of Paulinus to Edwin's recollection of the promises made by him during his exile at the court of Redwald.

## V. HONORIUS. A.D. 627-653.

["Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ Antistes" (*B. II. 18*). "Metropolitanus" (Pope Honorius to Edwin, *B. II. 17*). "Unus e discipulis Beati Papæ Gregorii" (*B. V. 19*). And last Archbishop of the original mission.

Consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln, A.D. 628. Pall and primacy (?) granted to Honorius, A.D. 634. Success, A.D. 627-633, followed by the failure and abandonment of the Kentish mission under Paulinus in Northumbria, A.D. 633 and 634. Conversion of East Anglia (temporarily, A.D. 632, possibly A.D. 628), finally by Felix, a Burgundian Bishop sent by Archbishop Honorius, A.D. 636 (possibly A.D. 631). Conversion of Wessex, first by an independent Italian mission (Birinus), A.D. 634; followed and restored by a Bishop from Ireland (Agilbert), A.D. 648. Re-conversion of Northumbria by a Scottish mission (Aidan), A.D. 635-651. Attempts on the part of Popes Honorius, c. A.D. 633, and John IV., A.D. 640, to bring over the Scottish Churches, to which the South Irish yield (*B. II. 19, III. 3. 26*). See under Irish Church). Actual jurisdiction of Archbishop Honorius confined to Kent (where he "solus" ordains Ithamar Bishop of Rochester, A.D. 644), and East Anglia (to which he likewise ordains Bishops, A.D. 647 and 652).

Died Sept. 30, A.D. 653 (*B. III. 20*), and was buried in the porch of S. Peter's, Canterbury (*B. II. 3*.)

A.D. 628<sup>a</sup>. *Consecration of Honorius by Paulinus (alone) Bishop of York at Lincoln.*

BÆD. II. 18.—Honorius . . . in præsulatum effectus: qui ordinandus venit ad Paulinum, et occurrente sibi illo in Lindocolino quintus ab Augustino Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ consecratus est antistes. [*M. H. B. 169.*]

BÆD. II. 16.—In qua videlicet civitate (sc. Lindicolino), et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit (Blæcca præfectus Lindicolinæ civitatis) . . . in qua ecclesia Paulinus, transeunte ad Christum Justo, Honorium pro eo consecravit episcopum. [*M. H. B. 167.*]

<sup>a</sup> Justus died Nov. 10, A.D. 627 (see above, p. 73, note<sup>a</sup>), so that the actual consecration of Honorius must have been postponed until at least A.D. 628. That Honorius went for consecration to Paulinus was in accordance with the directions of Pope Gregory (above, p. 29), now for the first time rendered capable of being so far followed, by the establish-

ment at length of the see of York: but there was in fact no choice, inasmuch as in A.D. 627, after the death of Archbishop Justus, there was no other Bishop in Saxon England than Paulinus himself, Romanus of Rochester having been drowned before Justus died, on his way to Rome (*B. II. 20*).

1. A.D. 634<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Pope Honorius to Edwin, King of Northumbria.*

Informs him that he has sent  
 palls to both  
 Honorius of  
 Canterbury and  
 Paulinus, with  
 authority to  
 each of these  
 two Metropoli-  
 tans to appoint  
 the other's suc-  
 cessor in a va-  
 cancy.

*Domino excellentissimo atque præcellentissimo filio, Æd-  
 uino Regi Anglorum, HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SER-  
 VORUM DEI salutem. Ita Christianitatis vestræ in-  
 tegeritas circa sui Conditoris cultum fidei est ardore suc-  
 censa, ut longe lateque resplendeat, et in omni mundo  
 adnunciata, vestri operis multipliciter referat fructum.  
 Sic enim vos reges esse cognoscitis, dum Regem et Crea-  
 torem vestrum, orthodoxa prædicatione edocti, Deum  
 venerando creditis, eique, quod humana valet conditio,  
 mentis vestræ sinceram devotionem exsolvit. Quid enim Deo  
 nostro aliud offerre valebimus, nisi ut in bonis actibus persistentes,  
 ipsumque auctorem humani generis confitentes, eum colere, eique  
 vota nostra reddere festinemus? Et ideo, excellentissime fili, paterna  
 vos caritate, qua convenit, exhortamur, ut hoc quod vos Divina  
 misericordia ad suam gratiam vocare dignata est, sollicita intentione,  
 et assiduis orationibus servare omnimodo festinetis, ut qui vos in  
 præsentī seculo ex omni errore absolutos ad agnitionem sui nominis  
 est dignatus perducere, et cælestis patriæ vobis præparet mansionem.  
 Prædicatoris igitur vestri domini mei apostolicæ memoriæ Gregorii  
 frequenter lectione occupati, præ oculis affectum doctrinæ ipsius,  
 quem pro vestris animabus libenter exercuit, habetote, quatenus ejus  
 oratio et regnum vestrum populūque augeat, et vos omnipotenti Deo  
 inreprehensibiles repræsentet.*

Ea vero quæ a nobis pro vestris sacerdotibus ordinanda sperastis,  
 hæc pro fidei vestræ sinceritate, quæ nobis multimoda relatione per  
 præsentium portitores laudabiliter insinuata est, gratuito animo adtri-  
 buere ulla sine dilatione prævidemus. Et duo pallia utrorumque me-  
 tropolitanorum, id est, Honorio et Paulino<sup>b</sup> direximus, ut dum quis  
 eorum de hoc seculo ad Auctorem suum fuerit arcersitus, in loco  
 ipsius alter episcopum ex hac nostra auctoritate debeat subrogare,  
 quod quidem tam pro vestræ caritatis affectu, quam pro tantarum  
 provinciarum spatiis, quæ inter nos et vos esse noscuntur, sumus  
 invitati concedere, ut in omnibus devotioni vestræ nostrum con-  
 cursum, et juxta vestra desideria præberemus. Incolumem excel-  
 lentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat. [B. II. 17; M. H. B. 168,  
 169; S. I. 139; W. I. 34.]

[RELATION OF SEES OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is fixed by that of the following letter to Archbishop Honorius. Edwin was killed at the battle of Hæthfelth, Oct. 12, A.D. 633 (*B. II.* 20), but his death might easily have been unknown at Rome in the middle of A.D. 634. Honorius therefore received the pall six or seven years after his consecration. Bede sums up the two letters which he himself gives, of the Pope to the King and Archbishop respectively, as containing a decree

“ ut cum Doruvernensis vel Eboracensis antistes de hac vita transierit, is qui superest, *consors ejusdem gradus*, habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi, in loco ejus qui transierat, sacerdotem; ne sit necesse ad Romanam usque civitatem per tam proluxa terrarum et maris spatia pro ordinando Archiepiscopo semper fatigari.”

<sup>b</sup> Paulinus took his pall in his flight to Rochester and left it there at his death (*B. II.* 20).

2. A.D. 634, *June 11. Letter of Pope Honorius to Archbishop Honorius.*

Same in contents with the preceding.

*Dilectissimo fratri Honorio*, HONORIUS. Inter plurima quæ Redemptoris nostri misericordia suis famulis dignatur bonorum munera prærogare, illud etiam clementer collata suæ pietatis munificentia tribuit, quoties per fraternos affatus unianimam dilectionem quadam contemplatione alternis aspectibus repræsentat: pro quibus majestati ejus gratias indesinenter exsolvimus, eumque votis supplicibus exoramus, ut vestram dilectionem in prædicatione evangelii elaborantem et fructificantem, sectantemque magistri vestri et capitis sui sancti Gregorii regulam perpeti stabilitate confirmet, et ad augmentum ecclesiæ suæ potiora per vos suscitetur incrementa, ut fide et opere in timore Dei et caritate, vestra adquisitio decessorumque vestrorum, quæ per domini Gregorii exordia pullulat, convalescendo amplius extendatur, ut ipsa vos Domini eloquii promissa in futuro respiciant, vosque vox ista ad æternam festivitatem evocet: “ Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.” Et iterum: “ Euge bone serve et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam: intra in gaudium Domini tui.” Et nos equidem, fratres carissimi, hæc vobis pro æterna caritate exhortationis verba præmittentes, quæ rursus pro ecclesiarum vestrarum privilegiis congruere posse conspiciamus, non desistimus impertire.

Et tam juxta vestram petitionem, quam filiorum nostrorum regum vobis per præsentem nostram præceptionem, vice beati Petri apostolorum principis, auctoritatem tribuimus, ut quando unum ex vobis Divina ad se jusserit gratia vocari, is qui superstes fuerit, alterum in loco defuncti debeat Episcopum ordinare. Pro qua etiam re singula vestræ dilectioni pallia pro eadem ordinatione celebranda direximus, ut per nostræ præceptionis auctoritatem possitis Deo placitam ordinationem efficere: quia ut hæc vobis concederemus, longa terrarum marisque intervalla, quæ inter nos ac vos obsistunt, ad hæc nos con-



[RELATION OF SEES OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.]

descendere coegerunt; ut nulla possit ecclesiarum vestrarum jactura per cujuslibet occasionis obtentum quoquo modo provenire, sed potius commissi vobis populi devotionem plenius propagare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater.

Data die tertio iduum Juniarum, imperantibus dominis nostris Augustis, Heraclio, anno vicesimo quarto, post consulatum ejusdem anno vicesimo tertio, atque Constantino filio ipsius anno vicesimo tertio et consulatus ejus anno tertio: sed et Heraclio felicissimo Cæsare, item filio ejus, anno tertio, indictione septima, id est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo tricesimo quarto. [B. II. 18; M. H. B. 169, 170; S. I. 140; W. I. 34, 35.]

3. A.D. 634. *Second Letter of Pope Honorius to Archbishop Honorius*.  
[*Questionable.*]

Gives the Primacy to Canterbury. *Dilectissimo fratri Honorio, HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.* Susceptis vestræ dilectionis litteris, in eis reperimus vestri laboris sollicitudinem circa vobis commissum gregem multa fatigatione occupatam, multo labore et angustia crebrescentibus malis et mundanis usibus mentis vestræ difficultatis sæpius sustinere gravitatem. Nos vero hortamur vestram dilectionem, ut opus evangelii, quod cœpistis, teneatis, quia in eo tibi laborandum atque perseverandum magis quam omittendum necesse est. Memento evangelici præcepti quomodo dicitur: "Ego pro te rogavi, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos." Et item in apostolo: "Fratres, stabiles estote et immobiles, abundantes in opere Domini semper, scientes quod labor vester non est inanis in Domino." Ideo suppliciter vestram dilectionem admonemus, ut fide et opere in timore Dei et caritate, vestra acquisitio decessorumque vestrorum, quæ per domini Gregorii exordia pullulat, convalescendo amplius extendatur, ut ipsa promissa Dominici eloquii vos ad æternam festivitatem evocet, quæ dicit: "Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos." Et iterum: "Euge serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam, intra in gaudium Domini tui." Interea tuæ sedis auctoritatem nostræ auctoritatis privilegio firmari postulasti. Nos vero absque ulla dilatione gratuito animo annuentes, quia rectum est ut quæ semel statuta atque disposita a prædecessoribus nostris cognovimus,

[RELATION OF SEES OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.]

hoc ipsum et nos confirmemus;—eorum itaque vestigia assequentes juxta ritum priscae consuetudinis, quae a temporibus sanctae recordationis Augustini praedecessoris vestri nunc usque tua ecclesia detinuit, ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis primatum omnium Ecclesiarum Britanniae tibi, Honori, tuisque successoribus in perpetuum obtinere concedimus. Tuae ergo jurisdictioni subjici praecipimus omnes Ecclesias Angliae et regiones, et in civitate Dorovernia metropolitanus locus et honor Archiepiscopatus, et caput omnium Ecclesiarum Anglorum populorum semper in posterum servetur, et a nulla persona per aliquam malam suasionem in alium locum mutetur. Aliter autem si quis fecerit typho superbiae instinctus, et nostrae praeeptioni inobediens, et praenominatae Ecclesiae concessis suae dignitatis rationibus contenderit reniti, sciat se separatum a participatione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini et Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater. [*W. Malm. G. P. I., ed. Savile, fo. 112 v<sup>o</sup>.; W. I. 35, 36.*]

<sup>a</sup> This is the third of the series of letters in William of Malmesbury, for which see above, p. 65, note <sup>a</sup>. This particular letter is directly at variance with the certainly genuine letter just preceding it, of the same Pope to the same Archbishop, at probably the same date. The establishment of a definite order between Canterbury and York, of the downfall of the latter of which Pope Honorius was certainly

ignorant when he wrote either letter, is no doubt the most natural thing in the world for the Pope to do precisely at the time when the see of York had come into being by the previous success of Paulinus; but the establishing of two inconsistent arrangements on the subject at the same time may be fairly set aside as impossible.

A.D. 627–633. *Success followed by the failure and abandonment of the Kentish Mission to Northumbria.*

Bernicia and Deira. BÆD. II. 14, 16, 20.—Paulinus . . . sex annis continuis (A.D. 627–633), id est, ad finem usque imperii regis illius (Æduini) verbum Dei, adnuente ac favente ipso, in ea provincia (Northumbria) praedicabat: credebantque et baptizabantur quotquot erant praordinati ad vitam aeternam; in quibus erant Osfrid et Eadfrid filii Regis Æduini, qui ambo ei exuli nati sunt de Quoenburga filia Cearli Regis Merciorum.

Baptizati sunt tempore sequente et alii liberi ejus de Ædilberga regina progeniti, Ædilhun, et Ædilthryd filia, et alter filius Vuscfreea, quorum primi albati adhuc rapti sunt de hac vita, et Eburaci in ecclesia sepulti. Baptizatus est et Yffi filius Osfridi, sed et alii nobiles ac regii viri non pauci. Tantus autem fertur tunc fuisse fervor fidei ac desiderium lavacri salutaris genti Nordanhymbrorum,

## [CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA.]

ut quodam tempore Paulinus veniens cum rege et regina in villam regiam quæ vocatur Adgefrin<sup>a</sup>, triginta sex diebus ibidem cum eis catechizandi et baptizandi officio deditus moraretur: quibus diebus cunctis a mane usque ad vesperam nil aliud ageret quam confluentem eo de cunctis viculis ac locis plebem Christi verbo salutis instruere, atque instructam in fluvio Gleni<sup>b</sup>, qui proximus erat, lavacro remissionis abluere. Hæc villa tempore sequentium regum deserta, et alia pro illa est facta in loco qui vocatur Maelmin<sup>c</sup>. Hæc quidem in provincia Berniciorum; sed et in provincia Deirorum, ubi sæpius manere cum rege solebat, baptizabat in fluvio Sualua<sup>d</sup>, qui vicum Cataractam<sup>e</sup> præterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiæ poterant ædificari. Attamen in Campodono<sup>f</sup>, ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fecit basilicam, quam postmodum pagani, a quibus Æduini Rex occisus est, cum tota eadem villa succenderunt: pro qua reges posteriores fecere sibi villam in regione quæ vocatur Loidis. Evasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat: et servatur adhuc in monasterio reverentissimi abbatis et presbyteri Thryduulfi, quod est in silva Elmete. [M. H. B. 165, 166.]

Lindsey. Prædicabat autem Paulinus verbum etiam provinciæ Lindissig quæ est prima ad meridianam Humbræ fluminis ripam, pertingens usque ad mare, præfectumque Lindocolinæ civitatis cui nomen erat Blæcca, primum cum domo sua convertit ad Dominum. \* \* \* De hujus fide provinciæ narravit mihi presbyter et abbas quidam vir veracissimus de monasterio Peartancu<sup>b</sup> vocabulo Deda, retulisse sibi quendam seniore[m] baptizatum se fuisse die media a Paulino Episcopo, præsentem rege Æduino, et multam populi turbam in fluvio Treenta juxta civitatem quæ lingua Anglorum Tiovulfgangæstir<sup>i</sup> vocatur. [M. H. B. 167.]

Death of Edwin and flight of Paulinus. Conserto gravi prælio in campo qui vocatur Haethfelth, occisus est Æduini die quarta iduum Octobris, anno

Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo tricesimo tertio. \* \* \* Quo tempore maxima est facta strages in ecclesia vel gente Nordanhymbrorum, maxime quod unus ex ducibus a quibus acta est, paganus, alter quia barbarus erat pagano sævior. Siquidem Penda cum omni Merciorum gente idolis deditus, et Christiani erat nominis ignarus: at vero Caedualla, quamvis nomen et professionem haberet Christiani, adeo tamen erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri, vel innocuæ parvulorum parceret ætati, quin universos atrocitate ferina morti per tormenta contraderet, multo tempore totas eorum

[CONVERSION AND RELAPSE OF NORTHUMBRIA.]

provincias debacchando pervagatus, ac totum genus Anglorum Britanniæ finibus erasurum se esse deliberans. Sed nec religioni Christianæ, quæ apud eos exorta erat, aliquid inpendebat honoris. Quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Brittonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis. \* \* \* Turbatis itaque rebus Nordanhymbrorum hujus articulo cladis, cum nil alicubi præsidii nisi in fuga esse videretur, Paulinus adsumpta secum regina Ædilberge quam pridem adduxerat, rediit Cantiam navigio. \* \* \* Quo in tempore, Hrofensis ecclesia pastorem minime habebat, eo quod Romanus præsul illius ad Honorium Papam a Justo Archiepiscopo legatarius missus, absorptus fuerat fluctibus Italici maris: ac per hoc curam illius præfatus Paulinus, invitatione Honorii antistitis et Eadbaldi regis suscepit ac tenuit (A.D. 633-644), usquedum et ipse suo tempore ad cælestia regna cum gloriosi fructu laboris ascendit.

James the Deacon remains in Northumbria. Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eburacensi Jacobum diaconum, virum utique ecclesiasticum et sanctum, qui multo exhinc tempore in ecclesia manens, magnas antiquo hosti prædas, docendo et baptizando eripuit: cujus nomine vicus in quo maxime solebat habitare, juxta Cataractam, usque hodie cognominatur. [M. H. B. 171, 172.]

<sup>a</sup> Yeverin in Glendale, near Wooler (*Smith*).

<sup>b</sup> The Bowent (*Smith*).

<sup>c</sup> Millfield (*Smith*).

<sup>d</sup> The Swale.

<sup>e</sup> Catterick.

<sup>f</sup> Either Almondbury, or Tanfield (*Smith*).

<sup>g</sup> There is nothing but the order of Bede's narrative to date the conversion of Lindsey, and therefore the consecration of Archbishop Honorius at Lincoln, after the termination or during the latter part of the six years of Paulinus's preaching in Northumberland. As far as the facts themselves are concerned, the preaching south of the Humber might have

been carried on equally well in any one of the years from A.D. 627 to A.D. 633. Paulinus appears to have resided with Edwin, and Edwin might be in the south as well as in the north of his kingdom in any of those years. And if the first conversion of East Anglia, which arose from Northumbrian influence, is to be dated, not in A.D. 632, but as early as A.D. 628, as Bede's narrative elsewhere implies (see next note), the probability of an early conversion of Lindsey also is considerably increased.

<sup>h</sup> Near Bardney.

<sup>i</sup> Probably Torksey, near Gainsborough.

A.D. 632-636, or possibly 628-631. *Conversion of East Anglia at first from Northumbria, A.D. 632<sup>a</sup> (or possibly A.D. 628), but finally by a Burgundian Bishop<sup>b</sup>, Felix, sent by Archbishop Honorius A.D. 636 (or possibly A.D. 631).*

Eorpwald, A.D. 632 or 628.

BÆD. II. 15.—Tantum autem devotionis Æduini erga cultum veritatis habuit, ut etiam regi Orientalium Anglo-

[CONVERSION OF EAST ANGLIA.]

rum Earpualdo filio Redualdi persuaderet, relictis idolorum superstitionibus, fidem et sacramenta Christi cum sua provincia suscipere. Et quidem pater ejus Reduald jamdudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianæ fidei imbutus est, sed frustra: nam rediens domum, ab uxore sua et quibusdam perversis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei depravatus habuit posteriora pejora prioribus; ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum et Christo servire videretur, et diis quibus antea serviebat; atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium

Christi, et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum. \* \* \* Verum Eorpuald non multo postquam fidem accepit tempore, occisus est a viro gentili, nomine Ricbercto; et exinde tribus annis provincia in errore versata est, donec accepit regnum frater ejusdem Eorpualdi Sigberct, vir per omnia Christianissimus atque doctissimus, qui vivente adhuc fratre cum exularet in Gallia, fidei sacramentis imbutus est, quorum participem, mox ubi regnare cœpit, totam suam provinciam facere curavit. Cujus studiis gloriosissime favit Felix Episcopus, qui de Burgundiorum partibus, ubi ortus et ordinatus est, cum venisset ad Honorium Archiepiscopum, eique indicasset desiderium suum, misit eum ad prædicandum verbum vitæ præfatæ nationi Anglorum. Nec vota ipsius in cassum cecidere; quin potius fructum in ea multiplicem credentium populorum pius agri spiritalis cultor invenit. Siquidem totam illam provinciam juxta sui nominis sacramentum, a longa iniquitate atque infelicitate liberatam, ad fidem et opera justitiæ, ac perpetuæ felicitatis dona perduxit, accepitque sedem Episcopatus in civitate Domnoc<sup>d</sup>. [*M. H. B.* 166, 167.]

<sup>a</sup> The date A.D. 632 is that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and of Florence of Worcester; but Bede's dates for the successive East Anglian Bishops, from Felix to Boniface inclusive (twenty-two years in all, to be counted backward from A.D. 653 at the latest, *B. III.* 20), throw back Felix's arrival in East Anglia to at least as early as A.D. 631, and the death of Eorpwald, which followed shortly after his conversion (*B. II.* 15), to three years earlier still; and therefore the first conversion of East Anglia to A.D. 628 at the latest. See *Smith*, and *Hussey*, *ad loc. Bad.*, who however seem disposed to make as much of the years named as they will bear, and unnecessarily date the conversion of East Anglia as early as A.D. 627; Hussey even earlier. It must have been posterior to April A.D. 627. The date A.D. 636 for Felix is also that of the Chronicle and Florence, but the twenty-two years above-mentioned, sub-

tracted from A.D. 653, bring it to A.D. 631; and since it does not appear how long before Honorius's death Boniface was consecrated to East Anglia, possibly to A.D. 630. Moreover, the ordination of Bisi, Boniface's successor, took place almost certainly in A.D. 669, immediately on Theodore's arrival, and Boniface's episcopate lasted seventeen years; therefore again we are brought to A.D. 652 for Boniface's consecration, and A.D. 630 for that of Felix.

<sup>b</sup> Probably connected with the Irish Burgundian mission of Columbanus, and with Sigberct during his exile in Gaul.

<sup>c</sup> A school was founded in East Anglia by Sigberct and Felix, "more Cantuariorum" (*B. III.* 18); and a monastery by Furseus, an Irish monk (*B. III.* 19); both between A.D. 631 and 636.

<sup>d</sup> Dunwich.

A.D. 634–650. *Conversion of Wessex, first by an independent Italian Mission under Birinus (A.D. 634), and finally by a Gallic Bishop from Ireland, Agilbert, A.D. 650.*

The Gevissæ BÆD. III. 7.—Eo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum converted by Birinus, A.D. 634. qui antiquitus Gevissæ vocabantur, regnante Cynigilso, fidem Christi suscepit, prædicante illis verbum Birino Episcopo, qui cum consilio Papæ Honorii venerat Britanniam; promittens quidem se illo præsentem in intimis ultra Anglorum partibus, quo nullus doctor præcessisset, sanctæ fidei semina esse sparsurum. Unde et jussu ejusdem pontificis per Asterium Genuensem Episcopum in Episcopatus consecratus est gradum. Sed Britanniam perueniens, ac primum Gevissorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inveniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius verbum prædicare, quam ultra progrediens, eos quibus prædicare deberet, inquirere.

Itaque evangelizante illo in præfata provincia, cum rex ipse catechizatus fonte baptismi cum sua gente ablueretur, contigit tunc temporis sanctissimum ac victoriosissimum regem Nordanhymbrorum Osualdum adfuisse, eumque de lavacro exeuntem suscepisse; ac pulcherrimo prorsus et Deo digno consortio, cujus erat filiam accepturus in conjugem, ipsum prius secunda generatione Deo dedicatum sibi accepit in filium. Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem Episcopo civitatem quæ vocatur Dorcic, ad faciendum inibi sedem Episcopalem; ubi factis dedicatisque ecclesiis, multisque ad Dominum pio ejus labore populis advocatis, migravit ad Dominum, sepultusque est in eadem civitate \* \* \*.

Defuncto autem et rege, successit in regnum filius ejus They relapse into paganism, A.D. 643. Coinualch, qui et fidem ac sacramenta regni cælestis suscipere renuit, et non multo post etiam regni terrestris potentiam perdidit. Repudiata enim sorore Pendan regis Merciorum quam duxerat, aliam accepit uxorem: ideoque bello petitus, ac regno privatus ab illo, secessit ad regem Orientalium Anglorum, cui nomen erat Anna: apud quem triennio exulans fidem cognovit ac suscepit veritatis. Nam et ipse apud quem exulabat rex erat vir bonus, et bona ac sancta sobole felix, ut in sequentibus docerimus.

## [CONVERSION OF WESSEX.]

Cum vero restitutus esset in regnum Coinualch, venit Agilbert in A.D. in provinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam, nomine 650.

Agilberctus, natione quidem Gallus, sed tunc legendarum gratia Scripturarum in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus, conjunxitque se regi, sponte ministerium prædicandi adsumens: cujus eruditionem atque industriam videns rex, rogavit eum, accepta ibi sede Episcopali, suæ genti manere pontificem. Qui precibus ejus adnuens, multis annis eidem genti sacerdotali jure præfuit. [*M. H. B.* 178, 179; *S. I.* 132; *W. IV. App.* 736; and cf. *A. S. C.* a. 634, 635, 636, 650, for the dates.]

Winchester Cathedral founded, A.D. 648. Birinus dies, A.D. 650. *A. S. C.* a. 648.—Her wearð getimbrod þæt mynstre on Winceastre þæt Cynwalh cing let macian on S. Petres naman and gehalgod. [*M. H. B.* 311.]

*A. S. C.* 650.—Her forðferde Birinus se Biscop and Ægebertus se Frencisca was gehadod.

Her Ægelbyrht of Galwalum, æfter Birine þam Romaniscan Biscop, onfeng West-Seaxna Biscopdome. [*M. H. B.* 311, and so also *Flor. Wig.* 650.]

A.D. 635-651. *Reconversion of Northumbria by a Scottish Mission under Aidan.*

Oswald, restored to his kingdom of Northumbria by the battle of Hæfenfelth in A.D. 635, sends for Aidan from Hii to restore Christianity in Northumbria. *BÆD.* III. 3.—Idem ergo Osuald, mox ubi regnum suscepit, desiderans totam cui præesse cœpit gentem fidei Christianæ gratia imbui, cujus experimenta permaxima in expugnandis barbaris jam ceperat, misit ad majores natu Scottorum, inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes, cujus doctrina ac ministerio gens quam regebat Anglorum, Dominicæ fidei et dona disceret, et susciperet sacramenta. Neque aliquanto tardius quod petiit impetravit: accepit namque pontificem Ædanum summæ mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis virum, habentemque zelum Dei, quamvis non plene secundum scientiam. Namque diem Paschæ Dominicum more suæ gentis, cujus sæpius mentionem fecimus, a quartadecima luna usque ad vicesimam observare solebat. Hoc etenim ordine septentrionalis Scottorum provincia, et omnis natio Pictorum illo adhuc tempore Pascha Dominicum celebrabat, æstimans se in hac observatione sancti ac laude digni patris Anatolii scripta

[RECONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA BY AIDAN.]

secutam. Quod an verum sit, peritus quisque facillime cognoscit. Porro gentes Scottorum, quæ in australibus Hiberniæ insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem apostolicæ sedis antistitis, Pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt.

Venienti igitur ad se Episcopo, rex locum sedis Episcopalis in insula Lindisfarnensi, ubi ipse petebat, tribuit. Qui videlicet locus, accedente ac recedente reumate bis quotidie, instar insulæ maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato littore contiguus terræ redditur; atque ejus admonitionibus humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans, Ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter ædificare ac dilatare curavit. Ubi pulcherrimo sæpe spectaculo contigit, ut evangelizante antistite qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non noverat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpretis verbi existeret cælestis: quia nimirum tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum jam plene didicerat. Exin cœpere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britanniam atque illis Anglorum provinciis quibus regnavit rex Osuald, magna devotione verbum fidei prædicare, et credentibus gratiam baptismi, quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu præditi, ministrare. Construebantur ergo ecclesiæ per loca, confluebant ad audiendum verbum populi gaudentes, donabantur munere regio possessiones, et territoria ad instituenda monasteria, imbuebantur præceptoribus Scottis parvuli Anglorum, una cum majoribus studiis et observatione disciplinæ regularis.

Nam monachi erant maxime qui ad prædicandum venerant. Monachus ipse Episcopus Ædan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii, destínatus: cujus monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum, et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat: quæ videlicet insula ad jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione Pictorum, qui illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis prædicantibus fidem Christi perceperint. [*M. H. B.* 174, 175, cf. *B. III.* 26.]

A.D. 640. *Laws of Earconberct of Kent*<sup>a</sup>. [*Not preserved.*]

Idolatry forbidden and Lent enforced under penalties, in Kent.

BÆD. III. 8.—Hic (Earconberct) primus regum Anglorum in toto regno suo idola relinqui ac destrui, simul et jejunium quadraginta dierum observari principali auctoritate præcepit. Quæ ne facile a quopiam posset contemni,



[CONVERSION OF THE MIDDLE ANGLES BY CEDD.]

in transgressores dignas et competentes punitiones proposuit.  
[*M. H. B.* 180; *S. I.* 143; *W. I.* 37.]

<sup>a</sup> Eadbald died and Earconberct succeeded A.D. 640 (*B. III.* 8).

A.D. 644. *First English Bishop, Ithamar of Rochester.*

BÆD. III. 14.—In cujus (Paulini in Hrofi civitate) locum Honorius Archiepiscopus ordinavit Ithamar, oriundum quidem de gente Cantuariorum, sed vita et eruditione antecessoribus suis æquandum.  
[*M. H. B.* 186.]

SEE OF CANTERBURY VACANT, SEPT. 30, A.D. 653—MARCH 26,  
A.D. 655. [*B. III.* 20.]

A.D. 653. *Middle Angles and Mercians converted by a Mission from the Northumbrian Bishop Finan, headed by Cedd, Diuma, and others.*

BÆD. III. 21.—His temporibus Middilangli, id est, Mediterranei Angli, sub principe Peada filio Pendan regis, fidem et sacramenta veritatis perceperunt. Qui cum esset juvenis optimus, ac regis nomine ac persona dignissimus, prælatus est a patre regno gentis illius. Venitque ad regem Nordanhymbrorum Osuiu, postulans filiam ejus Alchfledam sibi conjugem dari, neque aliter quod petebat impetrare potuit, nisi fidem Christi ac baptismum, cum gente cui præerat, acciperet. At ille audita prædicatione veritatis, et promissione regni cælestis, speque resurrectionis, ac futuræ immortalitatis, libenter se Christianum fieri velle confessus est, etiam si virginem non acciperet: persuasus maxime ad percipiendam fidem a filio regis Osuiu, nomine Alchfrido, qui erat cognatus et amicus ejus, habens sororem ipsius conjugem vocabulo Cyniburgam filiam Pendan regis. Baptizatus est ergo a Finano Episcopo, cum omnibus qui secum venerant comitibus ac militibus, eorumque famulis universis, in vico regis inlustri qui vocatur Ad Murum <sup>a</sup>. Et acceptis quatuor presbyteris, qui ad docendam baptizandamque gentem illius, et eruditione et vita videbantur idonei, multo cum gaudio reversus est. Erant autem presbyteri Cedda, et Adda, et Betti, et Diuma, quorum ultimus natione Scottus, cæteri fuere de Anglis. Adda autem erat frater Uttan presbyteri inlustri, et Abbatis monasterii quod vocatur Ad Capræ caput <sup>b</sup>, cujus supra meminimus.

## [CONVERSION OF MERCA.]

Venientes ergo in provinciam memorati sacerdotes cum principe, prædicabant verbum, et libenter auditi sunt. Multique quotidie et nobilium et infirmorum, abrenunciata sorde idolatriæ, fidei sunt fonte abluti. Nec prohibuit Penda rex, quin etiam in sua, hoc est, Merciorum natione, verbum, si qui vellent audire, prædicaretur. Quin potius odio habebat, et despiciebat eos, quos fide Christi imbutos opera fidei non habere deprehendit, dicens contemnendos esse eos et miseros, qui Deo suo in quem crederent, obedire contemnerent. Cœpta sunt hæc biennio ante mortem Pendan regis. Ipso autem occiso, cum Osuii rex Christianus regnum ejus acciperet, ut in sequentibus dicemus, factus est Diuma unus ex præfatis quatuor sacerdotibus Episcopus Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul et Merciorum, ordinatus a Finano Episcopo. Paucitas enim sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis præfici. [*M. H. B.* 194; *A. S. C. a.* 653; *S. I.* 143; *W. IV. App.* 737.]

<sup>a</sup> Walton, or (according to *Smith*) Waubottle.

<sup>b</sup> Gateshead.

A.D. 653. *East Saxons reconverted by Cedd, who is consecrated their Bishop by Finan* "vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus Episcopis."

BÆD. III. 22.—Eo tempore etiam Orientales Saxones fidem quam olim expulso Mellito antistite abjecerant, instantia regis Osuii receperunt. Erat enim rex ejusdem gentis Sigberct, qui post Sigberctum cognomento Parvum regnavit, amicus ejusdem Osuii regis, qui cum frequenter ad eum in provinciam Nordanhymbrorum veniret, solebat eum hortari ad intelligendum deos esse non posse qui hominum manibus facti essent; dei creandi materiam lignum vel lapidem esse non posse, quorum recisuræ vel igni absumerentur, vel in vasa quælibet humani usus formarentur, vel certe despectui habita foras projicerentur, et pedibus conculcata in terram verterentur. Deum potius intelligendum majestate incomprehensibilem, humanis oculis invisibilem, omnipotentem, æternum, qui cælum et terram et humanum genus creasset, regeret, et judicaturus esset orbem in æquitate; cujus sedes æterna non in vili et caduco metallo, sed in cælis esset credenda: meritoque intelligendum, quia omnes qui voluntatem ejus a quo creati sunt discerent et facerent, æterna ab illo præmia essent percepturi. Hæc et hujusmodi multa cum rex Osuii regi Sigbercto amicali et quasi fraterno consilio sæpe inculcaret, tandem juvante

amicorum consensu credidit, et facto cum suis consilio, cum exhortatione, faventibus cunctis, et adnventibus fidei, baptizatus est cum eis a Finano Episcopo in villa regia cujus supra meminimus, quæ cognominatur Ad Murum. Est enim juxta murum, quo olim Romani Britanniam insulam præcinxere, duodecim millibus passuum a mari orientali secreta.

Igitur rex Sigberct æterni regni jam civis effectus, temporalis sui regni sedem repetiit, postulans ab Osuiu rege ut aliquos sibi doctores daret, qui gentem suam ad fidem Christi converterent ac fonte salutari abluerent. At ille mittens ad provinciam Mediterraneorum Anglorum, clamavit ad se virum Dei Cedd, et dato illi socio altero quodam presbytero, misit prædicare verbum genti Orientalium Saxonum. Ubi cum omnia perambulantes multam Domino ecclesiam congregassent, contigit quodam tempore eundem Cedd redire domum, ac pervenire ad ecclesiam Lindisfaronensem, propter conloquium Finani Episcopi; qui ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit, fecit eum Episcopum in gentem Orientalium Saxonum, vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus Episcopis. Qui accepto gradu Episcopatus, rediit ad provinciam, et majore auctoritate cœptum opus explens, fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit, qui se in verbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi adjuvent, maxime in civitate quæ lingua Saxonum Ythancestir<sup>a</sup> appellatur. Sed et in illa quæ Tilaburg<sup>b</sup> cognominatur: quorum prior locus est in ripa Pentæ amnis, secundus in ripa Tamensis: in quibus collecto examine famulorum Christi, disciplinam vitæ regularis, in quantum rudes adhuc capere poterant, custodire docuit.

Cumque tempore non pauco in præfata provincia, gaudente rege, congaudente universo populo, vitæ cælestis institutio quotidianum sumeret augmentum, contigit ipsum regem instigante omnium bonorum inimico, propinquorum suorum manu interfici. Erant autem duo germani fratres qui hoc facinus patrarunt; qui cum interrogarentur quare hoc facerent, nil aliud respondere potuerunt, nisi ob hoc se iratos fuisse et inimicos regi, quod ille nimium suis parcere soleret inimicis, et factas ab eis injurias mox obsecrantibus placida mente demitteret. Talis erat culpa regis pro qua occideretur, quod evangelica præcepta devoto corde servaret: in qua tamen ejus morte innoxia, juxta prædictum viri Dei, vera est ejus culpa punita. Habuerat enim unus ex his qui eum occiderunt comitibus, illicitum conjugium, quod cum Episcopus prohibere et corrigere non posset, excommunicavit eum,

[RECONVERSION OF THE EAST SAXONS BY CEDD.]

atque omnibus qui se audire vellent præcepit ne domum ejus intrarent neque de cibis illius acciperent. Contempsit autem rex præceptum, et rogatus a comite, intravit epulaturus domum ejus: qui cum abiisset, obviavit ei antistes. At rex intuens eum, mox tremefactus desiluit equo, ceciditque ante pedes ejus, veniam reatus postulans. Nam et Episcopus pariter desiluit: sederat enim et ipse in equo. Iratus autem tetigit regem jacentem virga quam tenebat manu, et pontificali auctoritate protestatus: "Dico tibi," inquit, "quia noluit te continere a domo perdit et damnati illius, tu in ipsa domo mori habes." Sed credendum est quia talis mors viri religiosi non solum talem culpam diluerit, sed etiam meritum ejus auxerit: quia nimirum ob causam pietatis, quia propter observantiam mandatorum Christi contigit.

Successit autem Sigbercto in regnum Suidhelm, filius Sexbaldi, qui baptizatus est ab ipso Cedde in provincia Orientalium Anglorum, in vico regio qui dicitur Rendlæsham, id est, Mansio Rendili; susceptique eum ascendentem de fonte sancto Ædilvald rex ipsius gentis Orientalium Anglorum, frater Anna regis eorundem. [*M. H. B.* 195, 196; *Flor. Wig.* a. 653.]

<sup>a</sup> S. Peter's on the Wall (*Smith*).

<sup>b</sup> Tilbury.

A.D. 655. *Mercians converted by Finan's Mission, upon the death of Penda, A.D. 655. Diuna a Scot, their first Bishop, A.D. 656, consecrated by Finan.*

BÆD. III. 24.—His temporibus Rex Osuiu cum acerbas atque intolerabiles pateretur irruptiones sæpedicti regis Merciorum [Pendæ] qui fratrem ejus occiderat, ad ultimum necessitate cogente, promisit se ei innumera, et majora quam credi potest ornamenta regia vel donaria in pretium pacis largiturum, dummodo ille domum rediret, et provincias regni ejus usque ad internecionem vastare desineret. Cumque rex perfidus, nullatenus precibus illius assensum præberet, qui totam ejus gentem a parvo usque ad magnum delere, atque exterminare decreverat, respexit ille ad Divinæ auxilium pietatis, quo ab impietate barbarica posset eripi; votoque se obligans, "Si paganus," inquit, "nescit accipere nostra donaria, offeramus ei, qui novit, Domino Deo nostro." Vovit ergo quia si victor existeret, filiam suam Domino sacra virginitate dicendam offerret, simul et duodecim possessiones prædiorum ad construenda monasteria donaret, et sic cum paucissimo exercitu se

[CONVERSION OF MERCIA ON PENDA'S DEATH.]

certamini dedit. Denique fertur, quia tricies majorem pagani habuerint exercitum, siquidem ipsi triginta legiones ducibus nobilissimis instructas in bello habuere. Quibus Osuiu rex cum Alchfrido filio perparvum, ut dixi, habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus occurrit. Nam alius filius ejus Ecgfrid eo tempore in provincia Merciorum apud reginam Cynuise obses tenebatur. Filius autem Osualdi regis Oidilvald qui eis auxilio esse debuerat, in parte erat adversariorum, eisdemque contra patriam et patruum suum pugnaturis ductor exstiterat, quamvis ipso tempore pugnandi sese pugnae subtraxerat, eventumque discriminis tuto in loco expectabat. Inito ergo certamine fugati sunt et cæsi pagani, duces regii triginta qui ad auxilium venerant pene omnes interfecti, in quibus Ædilheri, frater Annæ regis Orientalium Anglorum, qui post eum regnavit, auctor ipse belli, perditis militibus sive auxiliis interemptus. Et quia prope fluvium Uinuæd pugnatum est, qui tunc præ inundantia pluviarum late alveum suum, immo omnes ripas suas transierat, contigit, ut multo plures aqua fugientes, quam bellantes perderet ensis. Tunc rex Osuiu juxta quod Domino voverat, pro conlata sibi victoria gratias Deo referens, dedit filiam suam Ælfledam, quæ vixdum unius anni ætatem impleverat, perpetua ei virginitate consecrandam, donatis insuper duodecim possessiunculis terrarum, in quibus ablato studio militiæ terrestris, ad exercendam militiam cælestem supplicandumque pro pace gentis ejus æterna, devotioni sedulæ monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret. E quibus videlicet possessiunculis sex in provincia Deirorum, sex in Berniciorum dedit. Singulæ vero possessiones decem erant familiarum, id est, simul omnes centum viginti. Intravit autem præfata regis Osuiu filia Deo dedicanda monasterium quod nuncupatur Heruteu<sup>a</sup>, id est, insula cervi, cui tunc Hild abbatissa præfuit. Quæ post biennium comparata possessione decem familiarum, in loco qui dicitur Streanaeshalch<sup>b</sup> ibi monasterium construxit. In quo memorata regis filia primo discipula vitæ regularis, deinde etiam magistra exstitit, donec completo undesexaginta annorum numero ad complexum et nuptias Sponsi cælestis virgo beata intraret. In quo monasterio et ipsa, et pater ejus Osuiu, et mater ejus Æanfled, et pater matris ejus Æduini, et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia Sancti Apostoli Petri sepulti sunt.

Hoc autem bellum rex Osuiu in regione Loidis tertio decimo regni sui anno, decimoseptimo die kalendarum Decembrium, cum magna

[CONVERSION OF MERCIA.]

utriusque populi utilitate confecit. Nam et suam gentem ab hostili paganorum depopulatione liberavit, et ipsam gentem Merciorum finitimarumque provinciarum, desecto capite perfido, ad fidei Christianæ gratiam convertit. Primus autem in provincia Merciorum simul et Lindisfarorum ac Mediterraneorum Anglorum factus est Episcopus Diuna, ut supra diximus, qui apud Mediterraneos Anglos defunctus ac sepultus est. [*M. H. B.* 197, 198; *S. I.* 144; *W. IV. App.* 738.]

<sup>a</sup> Hart, near Hartlepool.<sup>b</sup> Whitby.

SEE OF CANTERBURY VACANT Sept. 30, A.D. 653-March 26,  
A.D. 655.

## VI. DEUSDEDIT, A.D. 655-664.

[First Saxon Archbishop<sup>a</sup>: a West Saxon (*B. III. 20*), by name Frithonas (*Elmbam*, ed. Hardwick, 192<sup>b</sup>). Consecrated by Ithamar of Rochester, alone<sup>c</sup>, at Canterbury, March 26, A.D. 655 (*B. III. 20*). Turning-point of the Scottish schism in England at the Conference of Whitby, before July A.D. 664. Deusdedit dies July 14, A.D. 664<sup>d</sup> (*B. III. 20, IV. 1*), and is buried in the porch of S. Peter's, Canterbury (*B. III. 3*).]

<sup>a</sup> The A. S. Chronicle, a. 690, erroneously assigns this distinction to Brihtwald. There is no proof whatever that Deusdedit was a monk.

<sup>b</sup> So also Gotselinus, *Vita Deusdedit* (ap. *Capgrave*).

<sup>c</sup> There was at this time in England another Bishop, Boniface of East Anglia, of Cañterbury consecration, besides Agilbert of

Wessex, against whose ecclesiastical position Deusdedit could have entertained no feeling. The ordination by one Bishop therefore was not compelled by circumstances.

<sup>d</sup> If the dates in Bede of Deusdedit's accession and death are correct, then the duration of his Archbishopric, also in Bede (*III. 20*), viz. nine years seven (*aliter* four) months and two days, is not so.

A.D. 655 × 664. *Foundation in a Witenagemot* (A.D. 655 × 657), and *consecration* (A.D. 664), of *Peterborough Abbey*.

BÆD. IV. 6.—Qui (Sexuulfus) erat constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamstedi, in regione Gyrviorum. [*M. H. B. 217.*]

A. S. C. a. 655.—On his time<sup>a</sup> þa comon togadere heo (Peada, king of the Middle Angles) and Oswiu Oswaldes broðor cyningas and sprecon þæt hi wolden an mynstre areren Criste to loue and Sancte Petre to wurðminte. And hi swa diden, and nama hit gauen Medeshamstede. [*M. H. B. 312; W. I. 36.*]

A. S. C. a. 657.—Ða<sup>b</sup> man halgode se mynstre; þa wæs seo kyning Wulfere þær and his broðer Æþelred, and his swustre Kyneburg and Kynesuith: and seo mynstre halgode seo ærcebiscop Deusdedit of Cantwarbyrig and seo biscop of Rofecæstre Ithamar and seo biscop of Lundone þe wæs Wina gehaten, and seo Myrcene biscop Jeruman wæs gehaten and Tuda biscop. And þær wæs Wilfrid preost, þe siððon wæs biscop, and þær wæron ælle his þegnas þe wæron on his kynerice. [*M. H. B. 313, 314.*]

[CONFERENCE AT WHITBY, ON EASTER.]

<sup>a</sup> Peada was King from A.D. 655-657 (A. S. C.).

<sup>b</sup> The A. S. Chronicle (the Laud MS. 636) dates this vaguely in Wulfhere's reign, although mentioning it under the year of his accession, A.D. 657. The spurious act of Wulfhere (*K. C. D. DCCCLXXXIV.*) gives A.D. 664 as the date; and if the other details of the story could be trusted, and Bishop Ithamar's name omitted, the date would be fixed to A.D. 664: for at no other time except the middle of A.D. 664 could it possibly be true that Deusdedit was still alive, Tuda a Bishop, and Wilfrid still a priest and in England. The A. S. Chronicle in the one MS. of it supposed to have belonged to Peterborough, and which alone contains these notices of the abbey, adds to the few lines in the text an abstract of the spurious charter of A.D. 664. But Ithamar of Rochester died shortly after A.D. 655 (*B. III. 20*; and see *Wharton, A. S. I. 330*), and Damian his successor must have died before

Deusdedit, that is, before July 14, A.D. 664; while Tuda was not Bishop until after the Whitby Conference in A.D. 664, and died in the course of the same year. Jaruman was not Bishop until A.D. 662, nor Wini until A.D. 660 (*A. S. C. and Flor. Wig.*). Moreover Wini was Bishop of Winchester in A.D. 664 (*B. III. 28*), and did not become Bishop of London until A.D. 666 (*Flor. Wig.*; and see *Wharton, A. S. I. 192*: also the account of the discovery of the documents after the Danes had destroyed the monastery, in A.D. 963, *A. S. C. ad ann.*). However, the nunnery was consecrated no doubt about this time, and possibly by Deusdedit: although all the details are untrustworthy, and their authority not older probably than the 12th century. For Agatho's spurious grant of privileges see below, under the year 680. A spurious rescript of Vitalian containing Wulfhere's charter is also given in the Chronicle under the year 657.

A.D. 664, before July. Conference at Whitby respecting Easter<sup>a</sup>.

Synodus Pharisensis. BÆD. III. 25, 26.—His temporibus quæstio facta est frequens et magna, de observatione Paschæ, confirmantibus eis qui de Cantia, vel de Galliis advenerant, quod Scotti Dominicum Paschæ diem contra universalis ecclesiæ morem celebrarent. Erat in his acerrimus veri Paschæ defensor, nomine Ronan, natione quidem Scottus, sed in Galliæ vel Italiæ partibus regulam ecclesiasticæ veritatis edoctus; qui cum Finano confligens, multos quidem correxit, vel ad sollertio rem veritatis inquisitionem accendit: nequaquam tamen Finanum emendare potuit; quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi, acerbio rem castigando, et apertum veritatis adversarium reddidit. Observabat autem Jacob diaconus quondam, ut supra docuimus, venerabilis Archiepiscopi Paulini, verum et catholicum Pascha, cum omnibus quos ad correctio rem viam erudire poterat. Observabat et regina Eanfled cum suis, juxta quod in Cantia fieri viderat, habens secum de Cantia presbyterum catholicæ observationis, nomine Romanum: unde nonnunquam contigisse fertur illis temporibus, ut bis in anno uno Pascha celebraretur. Et cum rex Pascha Dominicum solutis jejuniis faceret, tunc regina cum suis persistens adhuc in jejunio Diem Palmarum celebraret. Hæc autem dissonantia Paschalis observantiæ vivente Ædano patienter ab omnibus tolerabatur, qui patenter intellexerant, quia etsi Pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit, opera tamen fidei, pietatis, et



[CONFERENCE AT WHITEY, ON EASTER.]

dilectionis, juxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum, diligenter exsequi curavit: unde ab omnibus etiam his qui de Pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur: nec solum a mediocribus, verum ab ipsis quoque Episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum, et Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitus est.

Defuncto autem Finano qui post illum fuit, cum Colmanus in Episcopatum succederet, et ipse missus a Scottia, gravior de observatione Paschæ necnon et de aliis ecclesiasticæ vitæ disciplinis controversia nata est: unde movit hæc quæstio sensus et corda multorum, timentium ne forte accepto Christianitatis vocabulo, in vacuum currerent, aut cucurrissent. Pervenit et ad ipsas principum aures, Osui videlicet Regis et filii ejus Alchfridi; qui nimirum Osui a Scottis edoctus ac baptizatus, illorum etiam lingua optime imbutus, nihil melius quam quod illi docuissent autumabat. Porro Alchfrid magistrum habens eruditionis Christianæ Vilfridum virum doctissimum: nam et Romam prius propter doctrinam ecclesiasticam adierat, et apud Dalfinum Archiepiscopum Galliarum Lugduni multum temporis egerat, a quo etiam tonsuræ ecclesiasticæ coronam susceperat: hujus doctrinam omnibus Scottorum traditionibus jure præferendam sciebat: unde ei etiam donaverat monasterium quadraginta familiarum in loco qui dicitur Inhrypum; quem videlicet locum paulo ante eis qui Scottos sequebantur in possessionem monasterii dederat. Sed quia illi postmodum data sibi optione, magis loco cedere quam suam mutare consuetudinem volebant, dedit eum illi qui dignam loco et doctrinam haberet, et vitam. Venerat eo tempore Agilberctus, Occidentalium Saxonum Episcopus, cujus supra meminimus, amicus Alchfridi regis, et Vilfridi abbatis, ad provinciam Nordanhymbrorum, et apud eos aliquandiu demorabatur; qui etiam Vilfridum, rogatu Alchfridi, in præfato suo monasterio presbyterum fecit. Habebat autem secum ipse presbyterum nomine Agathonem. Mota ergo ibi quæstione de Pascha, vel tonsura, vel aliis rebus ecclesiasticis, dispositum est ut in monasterio quod dicitur Strenæshalch, quod interpretatur Sinus Fari, cui tunc Hild abbatissa Deo devota femina præfuit, synodus fieri et hæc quæstio terminari deberet. Veneruntque illo reges ambo, pater scilicet et filius; Episcopi, Colman cum clericis suis de Scottia, Agilberctus cum Agathone et Vilfrido presbyteris. Jacobus et Romanus in horum parte erant: Hild abbatissa cum suis in parte Scottorum, in qua erat etiam venerabilis Episcopus Cedd, jamdudum ordinatus a Scottis, ut supra

[CONFERENCE AT WHITBY, ON EASTER.]

docuimus, qui et interpres in eo concilio vigilantissimus utriusque partis exstitit.

Primusque rex Osuiu præmissa præfatione, quod oporteret eos qui una Deo servirent, unam vivendi regulam tenere, nec discrepare in celebratione sacramentorum cælestium, qui unum omnes in cælis regnum expectarent; inquirendum potius quæ esset verior traditio, et hanc ab omnibus communiter esse sequendam: jussit primo dicere Episcopum suum Colmanum, qui esset ritus, et unde originem ducens ille quem ipse sequeretur. Tunc Colmanus: "Pascha," inquit, "hoc quod agere soleo, a majoribus meis accepi, qui me huc Episcopum miserunt, quod omnes patres nostri, viri Deo dilecti, eodem modo celebrasse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum et reprobandum esse videatur, ipsum est quod beatus evangelista Johannes discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus, cum omnibus quibus præerat ecclesiis, celebrasse legitur." Quo hæc et his similia dicente, jussit rex et Agilberctum proferre in medium morem suæ observationis, unde initium haberet, vel qua hunc auctoritate sequeretur. Respondit Agilberctus: "Loquatur, obsecro, vice mea discipulus meus Vilfrid presbyter, quia unum ambo sapimus cum cæteris qui hic adsident ecclesiasticæ traditionis cultoribus; et ille melius ac manifestius ipsa lingua Anglorum, quam ego per interpretem, potest explanare quæ sentimus." Tunc Vilfrid jubente rege ut diceret, ita exorsus est: "Pascha quod facimus," inquit, "vidimus Romæ ubi beati Apostoli Petrus et Paulus vixere, docuere, passi sunt et sepulti, ab omnibus celebrari: hoc in Italia, hoc in Gallia, quas discendi vel orandi studio pertransivimus, ab omnibus agi conspeximus: hoc Africam, Asiam, Ægyptum, Græciam, et omnem orbem, quacumque Christi Ecclesia diffusa est, per diversas nationes et linguas, uno ac non diverso temporis ordine gerere comperimus: præter hos tantum, et obstinationis eorum complices, Pictos dico et Brittones, cum quibus de duabus ultimis oceani insulis, et his non totis, contra totum orbem stulto labore pugnant." Cui hæc dicenti respondit Colmanus: "Mirum quare stultum appellare velitis laborem nostrum, in quo tanti apostoli qui super pectus Domini recumbere dignus fuit, exempla sectamur; cum ipsum sapientissime vixisse omnis mundus noverit." At Vilfridus: "Absit," inquit, "ut Johannem stultitiæ reprehendamus, cum scita legis Mosaicæ juxta literam servaret, judaizante adhuc in multis Ecclesia, nec subito valentibus apostolis omnem legis observantiam quæ a Deo instituta est, abdicare. Quomodo simulacra quæ a dæmonibus inventa

[CONFERENCE AT WHITBY, ON EASTER.]

sunt, repudiare omnes qui ad fidem veniunt, necesse est: videlicet ne scandalum facerent eis qui inter gentes erant Judæis. Hinc est enim quod Paulus Timotheum circumcidit, quod hostias in templo immolavit, quod cum Aquila et Priscilla caput Corinthi totondit: ad nihil videlicet utile, nisi ad scandalum vitandum Judæorum. Hinc quod eidem Paulo Jacobus ait: 'Vides, frater, quot millia sunt in Judæis qui crediderunt? et omnes hi æmulatores sunt legis.' Nec tamen hodie clarescente per mundum evangelio necesse est, immo nec licitum fidelibus vel circumcidi, vel hostias Deo victimarum offerre carnalium. Itaque Johannes secundum legis consuetudinem quarta decima die mensis primi ad vesperam incipiebat celebrationem festi Paschalis, nil curans hæc sabbato, an alia qualibet feria proveniret. At vero Petrus cum Romæ prædicaret, memor quia Dominus prima sabbati resurrexit a mortuis, ac mundo spem resurrectionis contulit, ita Pascha faciendum intellexit, ut secundum consuetudinem ac præcepta legis quartam decimam lunam primi mensis, æque sicut Johannes, orientem ad vesperam semper expectaret: et hac exorta, si Dominica dies, quæ tunc prima sabbati vocabatur, erat mane ventura, in ipsa vespera Pascha Dominicum celebrare incipiebat, quomodo et nos hodie facere solemus. Sin autem Dominica non proximo mane post lunam quartam decimam, sed sexta decima, aut septima decima, aut alia qualibet luna, usque ad vicesimam primam esset ventura, expectabat eum, et præcedente sabbato, vespere, sacrosancta Paschæ sollemnia inchoabat; sicque fiebat, ut Dominica Paschæ dies nonnisi a quinta decima luna usque ad vicesimam primam servaretur. Neque hæc evangelica et apostolica traditio legem solvit, sed potius adimplet, in qua observandum Pascha a quarta decima luna primi mensis ad vesperam, usque ad vicesimam primam lunam ejusdem mensis ad vesperam, præceptum est: in quam observantiam imitandam, omnes beati Johannis successores in Asia post obitum ejus, et omnis per orbem Ecclesia conversa est. Et hoc esse verum Pascha, hoc solum fidelibus celebrandum, Nicæno concilio non statutum noviter, sed confirmatum est, ut Ecclesiastica docet Historia. Unde constat vos, Colmane, neque Johannis, ut autumatis, exempla sectari, neque Petri, cujus traditioni scientes contradicitis, neque Legi, neque Evangelio in observatione vestri Paschæ congruere. Johannes enim ad legis Mosaicæ decreta tempus Paschale custodiens, nil de prima sabbati curabat; quod vos non facitis, qui nonnisi prima sabbati Pascha celebratis. Petrus a quinta decima luna usque ad vicesimam primam

[CONFERENCE AT WHITBY, ON EASTER.]

diem Paschæ Dominicum celebrabat; quod vos non facitis, qui a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam diem Dominicum Paschæ observatis: ita ut tertia decima luna ad vesperam sæpius Pascha incipiatis, cujus neque Lex ullam fecit mentionem, neque auctor ac dator Evangelii Dominus in ea, sed in quarta decima vel vetus Pascha manducavit ad vesperam, vel Novi Testamenti sacramenta in commemorationem suæ Passionis, Ecclesiæ celebranda tradidit. Item, lunam vicesimam primam, quam Lex maxime celebrandam commendavit, a celebratione vestri Paschæ funditus eliminatis: sicque, ut dixi, in celebratione summæ festivitatis, neque Johanni, neque Petro, neque Legi, neque Evangelio concordatis."

His contra Colmanus: "Numquid," ait, "Anatolius vir sanctus, et in præfata historia ecclesiastica multum laudatus, Legi vel Evangelio contraria sapuit, qui a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam Pascha celebrandum scripsit? Numquid reverentissimum patrem nostrum Columbam, et successores ejus viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo Pascha fecerunt, Divinis paginis contraria sapuisse, vel egisse credendum est? Cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati cælestia signa, et virtutum quæ fecerunt miracula, testimonium præbuerunt: quos ipse sanctos esse non dubitans, semper eorum vitam, mores et disciplinam sequi non desisto."

At Vilfridus: "Constat," inquit, "Anatolium virum sanctissimum, doctissimum, ac laude esse dignissimum; sed quid vobis cum illo, cum nec ejus decreta servetis? Ille enim in Pascha suo regulam utique veritatis sequens, circulum decem et novem annorum posuit, quem vos aut ignoratis, aut agnitum et a tota Christi ecclesia custoditum, pro nihilo contemnit. Ille sic in Pascha Dominico quartam decimam lunam computavit, ut hanc eadem ipsa die more Ægyptiorum quintam decimam lunam ad vesperam esse fateretur. Sic item vicesimam die Dominico Paschæ adnotavit, ut hanc declinata eadem die esse vicesimam primam crederet. Cujus regulam distinctionis vos ignorasse probat, quod aliquoties Pascha manifestissime ante plenilunium, id est, in tertia decima luna facitis. De patre autem vestro Columba et sequacibus ejus, quorum sanctitatem vos imitari, et regulam ac præcepta cælestibus signis confirmata sequi perhibetis, possem respondere; quia multis in judicio dicentibus Domino, quod in nomine ejus prophetaverint, et dæmonia ejecerint, et virtutes multas fecerint; responsurus sit Dominus quia nunquam eos noverit. Sed absit ut de patribus vestris hoc dicam: quia justius multo est, de

[CONFERENCE AT WHITBY, ON EASTER.]

incognitis bonum credere, quam malum. Unde et illos Dei famulos, ac Deo dilectos esse non nego, qui simplicitate rustica, sed intentione pia Deum dilexerunt. Neque illis multum obesse reor talem Paschæ observantiam, quandiu nullus advenerat, qui eis instituti perfectioris decreta quæ sequerentur, ostenderet: quos utique credo, si qui tunc ad eos catholicus calculator adveniret, sic ejus monita fuisse secuturos, quomodo ea quæ noverant ac didicerant, Dei mandata probantur fuisse secuti. Tu autem et socii tui, si audita decreta sedis apostolicæ, immo universalis Ecclesiæ, et hæc literis sacris confirmata sequi contemnitis, absque ulla dubitatione peccatis. Etsi enim patres tui sancti fuerunt, numquid universali quæ per orbem est Ecclesiæ Christi, eorum est paucitas uno de angulo extremæ insulæ præferenda? Et si sanctus erat ac potens virtutibus ille Columba vester, immo et noster si Christi erat, numquid præferri potuit beatissimo apostolorum principi, cui Dominus ait: "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum?"

Hæc perorante Vilfrido, dixit rex: "Verene, Colmane, hæc illi Petro dicta sunt a Domino?" Qui ait: "Vere, rex." At ille, "Habetis," inquit, "vos proferre aliquid tantæ potestatis vestro Columbæ datum?" At ait ille: "Nihil." Rursum rex: "Si utrique vestrum," inquit, "in hoc sine ulla controversia consentiunt, quod hæc principaliter Petro dicta, et ei claves regni cælorum sint datae a Domino?" Responderunt: "Etiam, utique." At ille ita conclusit: "Et ego vobis dico, quia hic est ostiarius ille cui ego contradicere nolo; sed in quantum novi vel valeo, hujus cupio in omnibus obedire statutis; ne forte me adveniente ad fores regni cælorum, non sit qui reseret, averso illo qui claves tenere probatur."

Hæc dicente rege, faverunt adsidentes quique sive adstantes, majores una cum mediocribus; et abdicata minus perfecta institutione, ad ea quæ meliora cognoverant, sese transferre festinabant.

Finitoque conflictu, ac soluta concione, Agilberctus domum rediit. Colman videns spretam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse despectam, adsumptis his qui se sequi voluerunt, id est, qui Pascha catholicum, et tonsuram coronæ, nam et de hoc quæstio non minima erat, recipere nolebant, in Scottiam regressus est, tractaturus cum suis, quid de his facere deberet. Cedd, relictis Scottorum vestigiis, ad suam

[CONFERENCE AT WHITEBY, ON EASTER.]

sedem rediit, utpote agnita observatione catholici Paschæ. Facta est autem hæc quæstio anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo sexagesimo quarto, qui fuit annus Osuii regis vicesimus secundus; Episcopatus autem Scottorum, quem gesserunt in provincia Anglorum, annus tricesimus. Siquidem Aidan decem et septem annis, Finan decem, Colman tribus Episcopatum tenuere. [*M. H. B.* 199-203; *S. I.* 145; *W. I.* 37.]

<sup>a</sup> Deusedit was alive at the time of this Conference, inasmuch as, after it was over (1) Colman retired to Scotland; (2) Tuda came in his room as Bishop of Northumbria, dying the same year; (3) Wilfrid was chosen to York in his place, and then went to Canterbury for consecration; and still later, (4), after Wilfrid's departure and delay, Chad was chosen to York in his place, and then went to Canterbury in search of Deusedit as a consecrator: whom he found dead indeed, but the news of his death had not had time to reach York (*B. III.* 28). Wilfrid it is true sought consecration abroad after the Conference, on the ground that there were no three Bishops canonically ordained or free from the taint of schism in England (*Edd. XII.*); ignoring thereby both Deusedit, if alive, and Boniface of East Anglia, and possibly Damianus of Rochester also. Wini of Wessex undoubtedly communicated with schismatics in Wilfrid's judgment, and possibly Deusedit did so too. But a hasty phrase of the kind from a man of Wilfrid's decided views cannot outweigh the evidence of the chain of facts above enumerated, and it is moreover certainly an exaggerated phrase as regards Bishop Boniface. Bede speaking of the consecration of Chad, who finding Deusedit dead went to Wini, who ordained him, "adsumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brittonum gente Episcopis" (*B. III.* 28), also affirms, with a like inaccuracy, that "non erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Vine, in tota Britannia canonicè electus episcopus." Eadmer (*V. Wilfridi*, ap. *Mabillon*, *AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc. III.* p. 1, p. 181) is the earliest writer who asserts that Deusedit died before the Conference: Florence places his

death after it (a. 664). His absence from the Conference is accounted for easily by the fact, that the whole scheme was got up by Wilfrid's zeal, taking advantage of his friend Agilbert's visit to King Alchfrith of Northumbria and to himself at Ripon, and managed accordingly on the anti-Scottish side wholly by Agilbert and Wilfrid. Excepting Cedd, who was brought thither by his connexion with the country, it was also entirely a Northumbrian gathering. And possibly health may have detained Deusedit, inasmuch as his death certainly followed shortly after.

Agilbert had retired from Wessex and become Bishop of Paris about A.D. 660 (*A. S. C.* and *Flor. Wig. ad an.*). Eddius, at the date A.D. 664, calls him "transmarinus Episcopus;" and Bede's narrative (*IV.* 7. 26, *V.* 19), although sometimes supposed to imply that he remained in Wessex until A.D. 664, really leaves the point undecided. He was undoubtedly Bishop of Paris shortly after the Conference, when Wilfrid went to him for consecration.

The mention of Agatho as *pope* in Eddius's account of the Conference (*Edd. X.*) is a blunder for *presbyter*: he went thither with Wilfrid as "Magister ecclesiæ." (See *Smith ad Bed. App. num. XVII.*)

The whole of England, except Kent, East Anglia, Wessex, and Sussex, was at the beginning of A.D. 664 attached to the Scottish communion; and Wessex was under a Bishop, Wini, ordained in Gaul and in communion with British Bishops (*B. III.* 28). Sussex was still heathen. So that Kent and East Anglia alone remained completely in communion with both Rome and Canterbury.

A.D. 664. *Election of Wilfrid to the See of York in a Witenagemot of Northumbria.*

EDDIUS, *V. Wilfr. cc. XI. XII.* [A.D. 709.]—Reges deinde concilium cum sapientibus suæ gentis post spatium inierunt; quem eligerent in sedem vacantem, qui voluisset sedis apostolicæ disciplinam sibi facere, et alios docere, et esset dignus moribus, et Deo

## [ELECTION OF WILFRID.]

acceptabilis, et hominibus amabilis. Responderunt omnes uno consensu: "Neminem habemus meliorem, et digniorem nostræ gentis, quam Wilfridum presbyterum, et abbatem, quem in omnibus rebus sapientem esse cognovimus, et talem esse, qualem Paulus Apostolus ad Titum scribens docuit: 'oportet Episcopum sine crimine esse, ut Dei dispensatorem: non superbum, non iracundum, non vinolentum, non percussorem, non litigiosum, non turpe lucrum sectantem: sed hospitalem, benignum, sobrium, justum, sanctum, continentem, amplectentemque eam quæ secundum Deum est doctrinam; fidelem in sermone, ut potens sit exhortari ad doctrinam, et contradicentes revincere.' Hæc omnia secundum apostoli iudicium iste habet. Et ideo eum eligimus in perfecta ætate ad legem Dei docendam." Erat enim ita homo ille electus sicut Johannes præcursor Domini, et Ezechiel propheta xxx. annorum ætatis. Tunc quoque consenserunt reges, et omnis populus huic electioni, et sancto Wilfrido presbytero omnis conventus in nomine Domini accipere gradum Episcopalem præcepit. Ille autem primo abnuens non esse se dignum excusavit: postremo tamen obediens factus est, noluitque benedictionem Dei effugere. Qualem ergo tunc illi eum intellexerunt, talem adhuc et nos viventes novimus. Fuit enim sermo ejus purus, et aptus, plenus gravitatis, et honestatis, plenus suavitatis, et gratiæ: tractans de mysterio legis, de doctrina fidei, de virtute continentiæ, de disciplina justitiæ: unumquemque ammonens diversa exhortatione secundum morum qualitatem: videlicet, ut prænosceret quid, cui, et quando proferret. Præ cæteris speciale officium erat, ut jejuniis, et orationibus, et vigilis incumberet, scripturas legens (memoriam enim miram in libris habuit), percurrens canones, exempla sanctorum imitatus, cum fratribus pacem implens, tenens quoque humilitatem, et illam supereminentem omnibus donis caritatem, sine qua omnis virtus nihil est; curam pauperum gerens, esurientes pascens, nudos vestiens, peregrinos suscipiens, captivos redimens, viduas ac pupillos tuens, ut mercedem vitæ æternæ inter choros Angelorum cum Domino nostro Jesu Christo accipere mereatur.

Locutus est autem sanctus Wilfridus dicens: "O Domini venerabiles reges, omnibus modis nobis necessarium est provide considerare, quomodo cum electione vestra sine accusatione catholicorum virorum ad gradum Episcopalem cum Dei adjutorio venire valeam: sunt enim hic in Britannia multi Episcopi, quorum nullum meum est

## [ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF WILFRID.]

accusare, quamvis veraciter sciam, quod aut quartadecimani sunt ut Brittones, ut Scotti, aut ab illis sint ordinati, quos nec Apostolica sedes in communionem recipit, neque eos qui schismaticis consentiunt; Et ideo in multa humilitate a vobis posco, ut me mittatis cum vestro præsidio trans mare ad Galliarum regionem, ubi catholici Episcopi multi habentur: ut sine controversia apostolicæ sedis, licet indignus gradum Episcopalem merear accipere." Tale jam consilium bene regibus complacuit, præparantes ei navem, et auxilia hominum, et pecuniæ multitudinem, ita ut valde honorifice ad Galliæ regionem perveniret. [Ed. Gale, p. 56; Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc. IV. pt. I. pp. 641, 642.*]

SEE OF CANTERBURY VACANT, JULY 14, A.D. 664-MARCH 26,  
A.D. 668.

A.D. 664-5. *Assembly of French Bishops at Compiègne to consecrate Wilfrid<sup>a</sup>.*

BÆD. III. 28.—Interea Rex Alchfrid misit Vilfridum presbyterum ad regem Galliarum, qui eum sibi suisque consecrari faceret Episcopum. At ille misit eum ordinandum ad Agilbertum, de quo supra diximus, qui relicta Brittania, Parisiæ civitatis factus erat Episcopus; et consecratus est magno cum honore ab ipso, convenientibus plurimis Episcopis in vico regio qui vocatur in Compendio. [*M. H. B. 206.*]

EDD. V. *Wilfr. c. XII.* [A.D. 709.]—Statim conventio magna facta est, non minus quam duodecim Episcoporum Catholicorum, e quibus unus erat Ægilberchtus Episcopus, qui eum, propter fidem suam indicatam, gratanter et honorifice coram omni populo publice ordinarunt, et in sella aurea sedentem more eorum sursum elevarunt, portantes in manibus soli Episcopi intra oratoria, nullo alio attingente, hymnosque et cantica in choro canentes. [Ed. Gale, p. 57; Mabillon, *ut supra, 642.*]

<sup>a</sup> Pagi dates this synod in A.D. 665; and the order of events, as detailed at the beginning of note <sup>a</sup>, p. 106 above, naturally suggests, although it does not require, a longer time than a few months, less perhaps than a year. Wilfrid certainly did not return from Gaul until three years before Theodore's arrival in England, which was in A.D. 669 (*Edd. XV.*), that

is until A.D. 666. Moreover Chad was seated at York only three years (*B. V. 19*), and therefore he was not consecrated until A.D. 665, if not A.D. 666, as he was ejected by Theodore in A.D. 669 (*B. IV. 2*). But, on the other hand, Bede (*V. 19*) reckons A.D. 709 as the 45th year of Wilfrid's episcopate; and if by computing the current year this statement can be



[RELAPE AND RECONVERSION OF THE EAST SAXONS.]

made to allow A.D. 665 as possibly the year of consecration, yet it is certain that Chad came to Canterbury so soon after July 14, A.D. 664, that he had not heard of Deusdedit's death on that day, and that Wilfrid's departure for Gaul to be consecrated preceded by some little time Chad's journey from York to Canterbury. If

Wilfrid's death fell on April 24, A.D. 709 (*Mabillon, Ann. O. S. B. II. 24*), in the 45th year of his pontificate *literally*, his consecration must have taken place before April 24, A.D. 665. If he died on the 12th of October, he must have been consecrated after Oct. 12, A.D. 664.

A.D. 664 × 665. *The East Saxons relapse into idolatry after the death of Cedd, and are reconverted by Jaruman, Bishop of Mercia, who was one of the line of Bishops in communion with the Scottish Bishops, and himself of Scottish ordination.*

BÆD. III. 30.—Eodem tempore provinciæ Orientalium Saxonum post Suidhelmum, de quo supra diximus, præfuere reges Sigheri et Sebbi, quamvis ipsi regi Merciorum Vulfhere subjecti. Quæ videlicet provincia cum præfata mortalitatis clade premeretur, Sigheri cum sua parte populi, relictis Christianæ fidei sacramentis, ad apostasiam conversus est. Nam et ipse rex, et plurimi de plebe sive optimatibus, diligentes hanc vitam, et futuram non quærentes, sive etiam non esse credentes, cœperunt fana quæ derelicta erant, restaurare, et adorare simulacra: quasi per hæc possent a mortalitate defendi. Porro socius ejus, et coheres regni ejusdem Sebbi, magna fidem perceptam cum suis omnibus devotione servavit, magna, ut in sequentibus dicemus, vitam fidelem felicitate complevit. Quod ubi Rex Vulfheri comperit, fidem videlicet provinciæ ex parte profanatam, misit ad corrigendum errorem, revocandamque ad fidem veritatis provinciam Jaruman Episcopum, qui successor erat Trumheri: qui multa agena sollertia, juxta quod mihi presbyter qui comes itineris illi et cooperator verbi extiterat, referebat, erat enim religiosus et bonus vir, longe lateque omnia pervagatus, et populum et regem præfatum ad viam justitiæ reduxit: adeo ut relictis, sive destructis fanis arisque quas fecerant, aperirent ecclesias, ac nomen Christi, cui contradixerant, confiteri gauderent, magis cum fide resurrectionis in illo mori, quam in perfidiæ sordibus inter idola vivere cupientes. Quibus ita gestis, et ipsi sacerdotes, doctoresque eorum domum rediere lætantes. [*M. H. B. 208.*]

[NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUCCESSION TO CANTERBURY.]

A.D. 667. *Negotiations with the Pope, Vitalian, respecting a successor to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.*

1. *Letter of Oswy of Northumberland and Egbert of Kent, sent by Wighard to Vitalian (A.D. 667). [The letter itself not preserved.]*

Requests Vitalian to consecrate Wighard, who had been nominated with the choice and assent of the English Church, by the two Kings.

BÆD. III. 29.—His temporibus reges Anglorum nobilissimi, Osuii provincię Nordanhymbrorum, et Egberct Cantuariorum, habito inter se consilio, quid de statu Ecclesię Anglorum esset agendum, intellexerat enim veraciter Osuii, quamvis educatus a Scottis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica Ecclesia, adsumpserunt cum electione et consensu sanctę Ecclesię gentis Anglorum, virum bonum, et aptum Episcopatu Presbyterum nomine Wighardum, de clero Deusdedit Episcopi, et hunc antistitem ordinandum Romam miserunt: quatenus accepto ipse gradu Archiepiscopatus, catholicos per omnem Britanniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites.

Verum Wighard Romam perveniens, priusquam consecrari in Episcopatum posset, morte præreptus est \* \* \*. [M. H. B. 206, 207.]

BÆD. IV. 1.—Tunc cessante non paucio tempore Episcopatu, missus est Romam ab ipso simul et a rege Nordanhymbrorum Osuio, ut præcedente libro paucis diximus, Wighard Presbyter, vir in ecclesiasticis disciplinis doctissimus, de genere Anglorum, petentibus hunc Ecclesię Anglorum Archiepiscopum ordinari: missis pariter apostolico Papę donariis, et aureis atque argenteis vasis non paucis. Qui ubi Romam pervenit, cujus sedi apostolicę tempore illo Vitalianus præerat, postquam itineris sui causam præfato Papę apostolico patefecit, non multo post et ipse et omnes pene qui cum eo advenerant socii, pestilentia superveniente deleti sunt. [M. H. B. 209; and see for the date *A. S. C.* and *Flor. Wig. ad 667*; *S. I.* 150; *W. IV. App.* 739.]

2. *Letter of Pope Vitalian to Oswy on the occasion of Wighard's dying unconsecrated (A.D. 667), [including a passage respecting Easter, which is not preserved.]*

Commends him for quitting the Scottish communion.

BÆD. III. 29.—*Domino excellenti filio Osuio Regi Saxonum,*  
VITALIANUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI. Desiderabiles literas excellentię vestrę suscepimus: quas relegentes,

[LETTER OF VITALIAN TO OSWY.]

cognovimus ejus piissimam devotionem, ferventissimumque amorem, quem habet propter beatam vitam; et quia dextera Domini protegente ad veram et apostolicam fidem sit conversus, sperans ut sicut in sua gente regnat, ita et cum Christo in futuro conregnare. Benedicta igitur gens, quæ talem sapientissimum, et Dei cultorem promeruit habere regem: quia non solum ipse Dei cultor extitit, sed etiam omnes subjectos suos meditatur die ac nocte ad fidem catholicam atque apostolicam pro suæ animæ redemptione converti. Quis enim audiens hæc suavia, non lætetur? Quis non exultet et gaudeat in his piis operibus? Quia et gens vestra Christo omnipotenti Deo credidit, secundum divinorum prophetarum voces, sicut scriptum est in Isaia: ‘In die illa radix Jesse, qui stat in signum populorum, ipsum gentes deprecabuntur.’ Et iterum: ‘Audite insulæ, et adtendite populi de longe.’ Et post paululum; ‘Parum, inquit, est ut mihi sis servus ad suscitandas tribus Jacob, et fæces Israel convertendas. Dedi te in lucem gentium, ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum terræ.’ Et rursum: ‘Reges videbunt, et consurgent principes, et adorabunt.’ Et post pusillum: ‘Dedi te in fœdus populi, ut suscitares terram, et possideres hæreditates dissipatas, et diceres his qui vincti sunt: Exite; et his qui in tenebris, Revelamini.’ Et rursum: ‘Ego Dominus vocavi te in justitia, et adprehendi manum tuam, et servavi; et dedi te in fœdus populi, in lucem gentium, ut aperires oculos cæcorum, et educeres de conclusione vinctum, de domo carceris sedentes in tenebris.’ Ecce, excellentissime fili, quam luce clarius est, non solum de vobis, sed etiam de omnibus prophetatum gentibus, quod sint credituræ in Christo omnium conditore. Quamobrem oportet vestram celsitudinem, utpote membrum existens Christi, in omnibus piam regulam sequi perenniter principis apostolorum, sive in Pascha celebrandum, sive in omnibus quæ tradiderunt sancti apostoli Petrus et Paulus, qui ut duo luminaria cæli illuminant mundum, sic doctrina eorum corda hominum quotidie inlustrat credentium<sup>a</sup>. \* \* \* \* \*

Successor to Hominem<sup>b</sup> denique, inquit, docibilem, et in omnibus  
 Canterbury. ornatum antistitem, secundum vestrorum scriptorum  
 tenorem, minime valuimus nunc reperire pro longinquitate itineris.  
 Profecto enim dum hujusmodi apta repertaque persona fuerit, eum  
 instructum ad vestram dirigemus patriam, ut ipse et viva voce, et per  
 divina oracula omnem inimici zizaniam ex omni vestra insula cum  
 divino nutu eradicet.

[LETTER OF VITALIAN TO OSWY.]

Gifts. Munuscula a vestra celsitudine beato principi apostolorum directa, pro æterna ejus memoria suscepimus, gratiasque ei agimus, ac pro ejus incolumitate jugiter Deum deprecamur cum Christi clero. Itaque qui hæc obtulit munera, de hac subtractus est luce, situsque ad limina apostolorum, pro quo valde sumus contristati cum hic esset defunctus. Verumtamen gerulis harum nostrarum litterarum vestris missis, beneficia sanctorum, hoc est, reliquias beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sanctorum martyrum Laurentii, Johannis et Pauli, et Gregorii atque Pancratii eis fecimus dari, vestrae excellentiæ profecto omnes contradendas. Nam et conjugii vestrae, nostræ spiritali filiaë, direximus per præfatos gerulos crucem clavem auream habentem de sacratissimis vinculis beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli: de cujus pio studio cognoscentes, tantum cuncta sedes apostolica una nobiscum lætatur, quantum ejus pia opera coram Deo fragrant et vernant. Festinet igitur, quæsumus, vestra celsitudo, ut optamus, totam suam insulam Deo Christo dicare. Profecto enim habet protectorem, humani generis Redemptorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui ei cuncta prospera impertiet, ut novum Christi populum coacervet, catholicam ibi et apostolicam constituens fidem. Scriptum est enim: 'Quærite primum regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis.' Nimirum enim quærit, et impetravit, et ei omnes suæ insulæ, ut optamus, subdentur. Paterno itaque affectu salutantes vestram excellentiam, divinam precamur jugiter clementiam, quæ vos vestrosque omnes in omnibus bonis operibus auxiliari dignetur, ut cum Christo in futuro regnetis sæculo. Incolumem excellentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat. [M. H. B. 207, 208; S. I. 150; W. I. 40.]

<sup>a</sup> "Nonnulla quibus de celebrando per orbem totum uno vero Pascha loquitur," is Bede's summary of the passage. Ussher (*Epist. Hib. Syll. num. IX.* note) supplies, "ex antiquissimis fortasse Whitbeiensis cœnobii schedis," a fragment of it: "Nunquam enim celebrare debemus sanctum Pascha nisi secundum apostolicam et canonicam fidem, ut in toto orbe celebratur a Christiana plebe, id est, secundum apostolicam regulam CCCXVIII. patrum et computum sanctorum Cyrilli et Dionysii. Nam in toto terrarum orbe sic Christi una columba, hoc est, Ecclesia immaculata, sanctum Paschæ resurrectionis diem cele-

brat. Nam Victoris (*lege* Victorii) regulam Paschæ sedes apostolica non adprobavit, ideo nec sequitur dispositionem ejus pro Pascha."

<sup>b</sup> The Kings asked the Pope definitely to consecrate Wighard, whom they themselves with the English Church had chosen and sent. The Pope implies in his reply that they had merely asked him to find for them a fit person to consecrate, and promises to send his own nominee to them. Probably he took advantage of the death of Wighard and of nearly all his company to read the matter in his own way. See *Smith, ad loc. Bedæ.*

[WILFRID IN MERCIA AND KENT.]

A.D. 667. *Foundation of an Anglo-Saxon Monastery by Colman in Ireland, and succession of Bishops there*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. II. at the date, under the Irish Church.

A.D. 666-669. *Wilfrid returning from Gaul remains at Ripon; and performs episcopal functions in Mercia<sup>a</sup> and Kent during the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, and until Theodore's arrival.*

EDD. V. *Wilfr. c. XIV.*—Revertens quippe ad sedem cœnobialem Abbatis, humiliter in HRypis III. annis resedit, nisi quod frequenter ab Wlfario rege Merciorum ad officia diversa Episcopalia in regione sua cum vera dilectione invitatus est. Suscitavit enim Dominus sibi regem hunc mitissimum, qui inter alia bona in diversis locis multa spatia terrarum pro animæ suæ remedio Episcopo nostro concessit, in quibus mox monasteria servorum Dei constituit. Ecgberhtus quoque Rex Cantwariorum religiosus, Pontificem nostrum ad se accersivit, et illic presbyteros multos (ex quibus unus erat Putta, qui postea Episcopatum accepit), et non paucos diacones ordinavit. Deusdedit enim Episcopus post Honorium Archiepiscopum [diem obiit]. Ideo autem venerabiliter vivens, omnibus carus, Episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens cum cantoribus Ædde et Æonan, et cæmentariis, omnisque pene artis institoribus regionem suam rediens cum Regula Sancti Benedicti<sup>b</sup>, instituta Ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat. [Ed. *Gale*, p. 58, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell. 1; and see *B. IV. 2.*]

BÆD. III. 28.—Veniens quoque Britanniam Wilfrid jam Episcopus factus, et ipse perplura catholicæ observationis moderamina Ecclesiis Anglorum sua doctrina contulit. Unde factum est, ut crescente per dies institutione catholica, Scotti omnes qui inter Anglos morabantur, aut his manus darent, aut suam redirent ad patriam. [*M. H. B. 206.*]

<sup>a</sup> After the death of Jaruman, in A.D. 667 (*Wharton, A. S. I. 425*), the see of Mercia was vacant two years until Chad came to Lichfield from York in A.D. 669.

<sup>b</sup> Wilfrid when Bishop of York introduced the rule of S. Benedict into his monasteries (*W. Malm. G. P. lib. III. fo. 151, Savile*), supplanting that of Columba.

## VII. THEODORE. A.D. 668-690.

"Natus Tharso Ciliciæ, vir et sæculari et divina literatura et Græce instructus et Latine" (*B. IV. 1*).  
 "Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus" (Conc. Herutf. A.D. 673. *B. IV. 5*). "Dei gratia Archiepiscopus Britanniae insulæ et civitatis Dorovernis" (Conc. Hæthf. A.D. 680. *B. IV. 17*).  
 "Primus in Archiepiscopis cui omnis Anglorum Ecclesia manus dare consentiret" (*B. IV. 2*).

- A.D. 668. Nominated by Pope Vitalian, and consecrated by him, Mar. 26 (*B. IV. 1*).  
 A.D. 669. May 27. Arrives at Canterbury (*B. IV. 2*).  
 A.D. 669-672. Visits the whole of England, establishing the Roman rule of Easter throughout the Church; and settles Bishops in all the sees except London; viz., in East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, at Rochester, and in Wessex.  
 A.D. 673. Sept. 24. Council of Hertford, the first Council, properly so called, of the English Church, settles the organization of the Church.  
 A.D. 673-681. Division of dioceses throughout all England, except those of Wessex, Kent, and London.  
 A.D. 680. Sept. 17. Council of Hatfield, to declare the faith of the Church.  
 A.D. 678-686. First exile and restoration of Wilfrid, arising out of the forcible division of his diocese.  
 A.D. 681 x 686. Conversion by Wilfrid of the last heathens in England, viz. the South Saxons; and of the people of the Isle of Wight, A.D. 686.  
 A.D. 689, 690. First foreign mission of the Anglo-Saxon Church attempted by Egbert, A.D. 689; executed by Vicberct, A.D. 690, and Willibrord, A.D. 692; to the mother country of the Saxons and to Frisia (*B. V. 9, 10*), whither accident had also taken Wilfrid himself in A.D. 678 (*B. V. 19; Edd. XXV.*).  
 A.D. 690. Sept. 19. Death of Theodore; he is buried within<sup>b</sup> the church of S. Peter (S. Augustin's), Canterbury (*B. II. 3, V. 8*).

<sup>a</sup> For the alleged origination, at this time, of parishes in the modern sense of the word, see below, on the Council of Hertford, A.D. 673.

<sup>b</sup> Not in the porch, but inside the church, merely, however, "quod prædicta porticus plura capere nequivit" (*B. II. 3*).

A.D. 668. *Nomination and Consecration of Theodore by Pope Vitalian at Rome, March 26.*

BÆD. IV. 1.—Apostolicus Papa habito de his consilio, quæsit sedulus quem Ecclesiis Anglorum Archiepiscopum mitteret. Erat autem in Monasterio Hiridano quod est non longe a Neapoli Campaniæ, Abbas Hadrianus, vir natione Afer, sacris literis diligenter imbutus, monasterialibus simul et ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutus, Græcæ pariter et Latinæ linguæ peritissimus. Hunc ad se accitum Papa jussit Episcopatu accepto Brittaniam venire. Qui indignum se tanto gradui respondens, ostendere posse se dixit alium, cujus magis ad suscipiendum Episcopatum et eruditio conveniret, et ætas. Cumque monachum quemdam de vicino virginum monasterio, nomine Andream, Pontifici offerret, hic ab omnibus qui novere, dignus Episcopatu judicatus est. Verum pondus corporeæ infirmitatis, ne Episcopus fieri posset, obstitit. Et rursum Hadrianus ad suscipiendum Episcopatum actus est: qui petens inducias, si forte alium, qui Episcopus ordinaretur ex tempore posset invenire.

Erat ipso tempore Romæ monachus Hadriano notus, nomine Theodorus, natus Tharso Ciliciæ, vir et sæculari et divina literatura, et Græcæ instructus et Latine, probus moribus, et ætate venerandus, id est, annos habens ætatis sexaginta et sex. Hunc offerens Hadrianus Pontifici, ut Episcopus ordinaretur obtinuit: his tamen conditionibus interpositis, ut ipse eum perduceret Brittaniam, eo quod jam bis partes Galliarum diversis ex causis adiisset; et ob id majorem hujus itineris peragendi notitiam haberet, sufficiensque esset in possessione hominum propriorum: et ut ei doctrinæ cooperatore existens, diligenter adtenderet ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in ecclesiam cui præset, introduceret. Qui subdiaconus ordinatus, quatuor exspectavit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tonderi posset. Habuerat enim tonsuram more Orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli. Qui ordinatus est a Vitaliano Papa anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo sexagesimo octavo, sub die septima kalendarum Aprilium, Dominica. [M. H. B. 209, 210.]

[LETTER OF POPE VITALIAN TO THEODORE.]

1. A.D. 668, *May. Commendatory Letter of Pope Vitalian to John Archbishop of Arles*<sup>a</sup> *on Theodore's behalf; not preserved. (B. IV. 1.)*

<sup>a</sup> Theodore left Rome with Hadrian and Benedict Biscop (*B. Hist. Abb.* 3), May 27, A.D. 668, and was detained at Arles by Archbishop John, in obedience to the order of Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace to Clothaire III., upon political suspicions. Thence he passed to Paris, where he was entertained by Bishop

Agilbert, Hadrian visiting the Bishops of Sens and Meaux. At length, at the request of King Egbert, Theodore was allowed to embark at Quentavic (Etaples), and he arrived at Canterbury May 27, A.D. 669. Hadrian, after being detained some time longer, was allowed to follow him.

2. *Letter of Pope Vitalian to Theodore respecting the See of Canterbury.*  
[Of questionable authenticity<sup>a</sup>.]

Giving supremacy to Canterbury over all England.

*Dilectissimo fratri Theodoro* VITALIANUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI. Inter plurima quæ nobis per vestras syllabas intimari jussisti, cognovimus etiam desiderium vestrum pro confirmatione diocesis, quæ tuæ subjectioni subjacet, quia in omnibus ex nostro apostolicæ auctoritatis privilegio splendescere desideras. Nos vero vestræ petitioni annuentes, quia congruit pastorali sollicitudini, circa ecclesias Dei, quæ a priscis temporibus ab hac apostolica sede statuta intelligimus, irrefragabili ratione volumus, ut sicut a nobis ita et a nostris successoribus perpetua stabilitate muniantur. Unde nobis visum est te exhortari, ac in præsentî commendare tuæ sagacissimæ sanctitati omnes ecclesias in insula Britannia positas; omnia ergo quæ a sancto Gregorio prædecessore nostro Augustino, sincello suo, statuta sunt atque firmata, vel etiam per sacrum usum pallii concessa, nos tibi in ævum concedimus, et Doroberniam civitatem, ubi primitus per revelationem Jesu Christi Domini nostri fides catholica secundum institutionem sacrorum canonum suscepta est, habetote. Ex auctoritate autem beati Petri apostolorum principis, cui a Domino Deo potestas data est ligandi atque solvendi, in cælo ac in terra, nos licet immeriti ejusdem beati Petri clavigeri regni cælorum vicem tenentes, tibi, Theodore, tuisque successoribus, sicut ab olitanis temporibus fuerunt condonata in perpetuum, ita in ipsa tua metropolitana sede, quæ sita est in civitate Dorobernia, immutilanda concedimus obtinenda. Si quis vero, quod non optamus, contra hanc nostræ apostolicæ diffinitionis et privilegii auctoritatem venire temptaverit, si quidem Episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus fuerit, ex hac Apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut Episcopus ordine præsulatus careat, et presbyter vel



[THEODORE'S MEASURES OF ORGANIZATION.]

diaconus a suis ordinibus se noverint dejectos. Ex numero autem laicorum tam ex regibus quam ex principibus, sive magna vel parva persona fuerit, sciat se alienatum a participatione corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Hanc autem privilegii paginam suffultam auctoritate beati Petri Apostolorum principis, cujus ministerio fungimur, tibi, Theodore, tuisque successoribus in perpetuum obtinendam delegamus. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater. [*W. Malm. G. P. I. fo. 113, ed. Savile, (collated with the MS. Bodl. 357); W. I. 41.*]

<sup>a</sup> This is the fourth of William of Malmesbury's series of letters; see above, p. 65.

A.D. 669. *Visitation by Theodore of all England.*

Ordains Bishops, and disseminates through all England the Roman Easter, ecclesiastical learning, and choral singing after the Roman or Canterbury fashion.

BÆD. *IV. 2.*—Peragrata insula tota, quaquaversum Anglorum gentes morabantur, nam et libentissime ab omnibus suscipiebatur atque audiebatur, rectum vivendi ordinem, ritum Paschæ celebrandi canonicum, per omnia comitante et cooperante Hadriano disseminabat. Isque primus erat in Archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum Ecclesia manus dare consentiret. Et quia literis sacris simul et sæcularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterva, scientiæ salutaris quotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant: ita ut etiam metricæ artis, astronomiæ et arithmeticæ ecclesiasticæ disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum volumina suis auditoribus contraderent. Indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ut propriam in qua nati sunt, norunt. Neque unquam prorsus ex quo Britanniam petierunt Angli, feliciora fuere tempora; dum et fortissimos, Christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori, et omnium vota ad nuper audita cælestis regni gaudia penderent, et quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri, haberent in promptu magistros qui docerent.

Sed et sonos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere cœperunt: primusque, excepto Jacobo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis, Æddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, invitatus de Cantia a reverentissimo viro Vilfrido, qui primus inter Episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent, catholicum vivendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.

[THEODORE'S MEASURES OF ORGANIZATION.]

Itaque Theodorus perlustrans universa, ordinabat locis opportunis Episcopus<sup>a</sup>, et ea quæ minus perfecta reperit, his quoque juvantibus corrigebat. [M. H. B. 210, 211.]

<sup>a</sup> Bisi (for the date of whose consecration see below, p. 121, note <sup>b</sup>) established as Bishop for East Anglia (B. IV. 5), probably A.D. 669 (*Flor. Wig.*; in one MS. A.D. 667); Wilfrid at York (B. IV. 3, V. 19; *Edd. XV.*) for Northumbria, including the Picts under the rule of Oswy; Chad, whose ordination Theodore "denuo catholica ratione con-

summavit" at Lichfield, for Mercia (B. IV. 2, 3), A.D. 669; Putta at Rochester (B. IV. 2), A.D. 669; Leutherius for Wessex, "qui episcopatum Gevissarum e synodica sanctione solus gessit" (B. III. 7), A.D. 670 (A. S. C.); and on the death of Chad, Winfrid is placed at Lichfield, A.D. 672 (B. IV. 3).

A.D. 669 x 670. *Synod of Wessex<sup>a</sup>, sanctioning the union of that kingdom under one Bishop, Leutherius.*

BÆD. III. 7.—Quo etiam tempore rex præfatus ipsius gentis, gravisimis regni sui damnis sæpissime ab hostibus adfectus, tandem ad memoriam reduxit, quod eum pridem perfidia regno pepulerit, fides agnita Christi in regnum revocaverit: intellexitque quod etiam tunc destituta pontifice provincia, recte pariter Divino fuerit destituta præsidio. Misit ergo legatarios in Galliam ad Agilbertum, summissa illum satisfactione deprecans ad episcopatum suæ gentis redire. At ille se excusans, et eo venire non posse contestans quia episcopatu propriæ civitatis ac parochiæ teneretur adstrictus; ne tamen obnixè petenti nil ferret auxilii, misit pro se illo presbyterum Leutherium, nepotem suum, qui ei, si vellet, ordinaretur Episcopus; dicens quod ipse eum dignum esse episcopatu judicaret. Quo honorifice a populo et a rege suscepto, rogaverunt Theodorum, tunc Archiepiscopum Doruvernensis ecclesiæ, ipsum sibi antistitem consecrari: qui consecratus in ipsa civitate, multis annis Episcopatum Gevissarum, e synodica sanctione, solus sedulo moderamine gessit. [M. H. B. 179, 180.]

<sup>a</sup> The division of Wessex between two sees, Dorchester and Winchester, had been attempted by King Cenwalch, about A.D. 660, but was defeated by the withdrawal of the elder Bishop, Agilbert, which left the whole kingdom under the newly-introduced Wini. On the expulsion of Wini by Cenwalch, A.D. 666, the bishopric was vacant until Leutherius

(Hlodhere, A. S. C.), nephew of Agilbert, the Frenchman, was sent to be Bishop in A.D. 670. Under these circumstances a synod or a witenagemot was evidently held, the result of which was to defer the division of the diocese for some years longer. See below, A.D. 704, for the date of the actual division.

A.D. 673, Sept. 24<sup>a</sup>. *Council of Hertford<sup>b</sup>.*

History of BÆD. IV. 5.—Anno regni tertio (Ecgrifridi regis Northanhymbrorum) Theodorus cogit concilium Episcoporum,

[COUNCIL OF HERTFORD.]

una cum eis, qui canonica patrum statuta et diligenter et nosset, magistris ecclesiæ pluribus. Quibus pariter congregatis, diligenter ea quæ unitati pacis ecclesiasticæ congruerent, eo quo pontificem decebat animo, cœpit observanda docere. Cujus synodicæ actionis hujusmodi textus est.

“IN NOMINE DOMINI DEI ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI; regnante in perpetuum ac gubernante suam Ecclesiam eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, placuit convenire nos, juxta morem canonum venerabilium, tractaturos de necessariis ecclesiæ negotiis. Convenimus autem die vigesima quarta mensis Septembris, indictione prima, in loco qui dicitur Herutford. Ego quidem Theodorus, quamvis indignus, ab apostolica sede destinatus Doruvernensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus, et consacerdos ac frater noster reverentissimus Bisi Orientalium Anglorum Episcopus, quibus etiam frater et consacerdos noster, Vilfrid Nordanhymbrorum gentis Episcopus, per proprios legatarios adfuit. Adfuerunt et fratres ac consacerdotes nostri Putta Episcopus castelli Cantuariorum, quod dicitur Hrofescæstir, Leutherius Episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum, Vynfrid Episcopus provinciæ Merciorum. Cumque in unum convenientes juxta ordinem quique suum resedissemus;

“‘Rogo,’ inquam, ‘dilectissimi fratres, propter timorem et amorem Redemptoris nostri, ut in commune omnes pro nostra fide tractemus, ut quæque dēcreta ac definita sunt a sanctis et probabilibus patribus, incorrupte ab omnibus nobis serventur.’ Hæc et alia quamplura, quæ ad caritatem pertinebant, unitatemque Ecclesiæ conservandam, prosecutus sum. Cumque explessem prælocutionem, interrogavi unumquemque eorum per ordinem, si consentirent, ea quæ a patribus canonicè sunt antiquitus decreta, custodire. Ad quod omnes consacerdotes nostri respondententes dixerunt: ‘optime omnibus placet, quæquæ definierunt sanctorum canones patrum, nos quoque omnes alacri animo libentissime servare. Quibus statim protuli eundem librum<sup>c</sup> canonum, et ex eodem libro decem capitula, quæ per loca notaveram: quia maxime nobis necessaria sciebam, illis coram ostendi, et ut hæc diligentius ab omnibus susciperentur, rogavi.’

Canons. “*Primum capitulum*, ut sanctum diem Paschæ in com-

1. Easter. mune omnes servemus, Dominica post quartam decimam lunam mensis primi. [*Conc. Antioch. I.*]

2. Bishoprics to be kept distinct. “*Secundum*, ut nullus episcoporum parochiam alterius invadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditæ sibi plebis. [*Can. Apost. XIV. ; Nic. XV. ; Antioch. XXI. ; Sardic. I.*]

[CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF HERTFORD.]

3. Freedom of monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction. "Tertium capitulum, ut quæque monasteria Deo consecrata sunt, nulli episcoporum liceat ea in aliquo inquietare, nec quicquam de eorum rebus violenter abstrahere. [*Chalced. XXIV.*]
4. Monks to remain in their own monasteries. "Quartum, ut ipsi<sup>d</sup> monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est, de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per demissionem proprii abbatis, sed in ea permaneant obedientia, quam tempore suæ conversionis promiserunt. [*Chalc. IV. XXIII.*]
5. Clergy to remain in their own dioceses. "Quintum, ut nullus clericorum relinquens proprium episcopum, passim quolibet discurrat, neque alicubi veniens absque commendatitiis litteris sui præsulis suscipiatur. Quod si semel susceptus noluerit invitatus redire, et susceptor, et is, qui susceptus est, excommunicationi subjacebit. [*Can. Apost. XXXII. ; Laod. XLI. XLII. ; Antioch. VII. ; Chalc. XXIII. ; Sardic. XVI. ; Leo. XXXIX. ; Afric. CV.*]
6. Of Bishops and clergy when in a diocese not their own. "Sextum, ut Episcopi atque clerici peregrini contenti sint hospitalitatis munere oblato, nullique eorum liceat ullum officium sacerdotale absque permisso Episcopi, in cujus parochia esse cognoscitur, agere. [*Can. Apost. XXXII. ; Sardic. XI.*]
7. Synods to be held at least once a year at Clovesho. "Septimum, ut bis in anno synodus congregetur: sed quia diversæ causæ impediunt, placuit omnibus in commune, ut kalendis Augustis in loco, qui appellatur Clofeshoch<sup>e</sup> semel in anno congregemur. [*Can. Apost. XXXVI. ; Nic. V. ; Antioch. XX. ; Chalc. XIX. ; Afric. XVIII. XCV.*]
8. Order of precedence among Bishops. "Octavum, ut nullus Episcoporum se præferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus, et ordinem consecrationis suæ. [*Can. Afric. LXXXVI.*]
9. Increase of sees and dioceses. "Nonum, in commune tractatum est, ut plures Episcopi crescente numero fidelium auferentur, sed de hac re ad præsens siluimus<sup>f</sup>. [*Can. Afric. LIII. LVI. XCVIII.*]
10. Marriage and divorce. "Decimum, pro conjugiiis, ut nulli liceat nisi legitimum habere connubium. Nullus incestum faciat, nullus conjugem propriam, nisi, ut sanctum evangelium docet, fornicationis causa relinquat. Quod si quisquam propriam expulerit conjugem legitimo sibi matrimonio conjunctam, si Christianus esse recte voluerit, nulli alteri copuletur; sed ita permaneat, aut propriæ recon-

[CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF HERTFORD.]

cilietur conjugi. [*Can. Neo-Cæs. II. ; Basil. LXXVII. LXXVIII. LXXV. LXXIX. ; Can. Apost. XLVII. ; Basil. LXXXVII.*]

Subscriptions  
and date.

“His itaque capitulis in commune tractatis ac definitis, ut nullum deinceps ab aliquo nostrum oriatur contentionis scandalum, aut alia pro aliis divulgarentur, placuit ut quæque definita sunt, unusquisque nostrum manus propriæ subscriptione confirmaret. Quam sententiam definitionis nostræ Titillo notario scribendam dictavi. Actum in mense et indictione supra scripta. Quisquis igitur contra hanc sententiam juxta decreta canonum, nostra etiam consensione ac subscriptione manus nostræ confirmatam, quomodo venire, eamque infringere tentaverit, noverit se ab omni officio sacerdotali et nostra societate separatum. Divina nos gratia in unitate sanctæ suæ ecclesiæ viventes custodiat incolumes.”

Facta est autem hæc synodus anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo tertio, quo anno Rex Cantuariorum Ecgerbert mense Julio obierat, succedente in regnum fratre Hlothere. [*M. H. B. 215-217 ; S. I. 152-154 ; W. I. 41-43, from MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. 14, fo. 170.*]

\* Bede names the year twice over (*IV. 5, and V. 24*). Wharton (*A. S. I. 426*) needlessly infers from the indiction that it should be A.D. 672; but even if the English at this time used the Cæsarean indiction ending Sept. 24 (*Bæd. Nat. Rer. XLVIII.*), the day of the council would be the last of the first indiction or the first of the second. (So Hussey, *ad loc. Bædæ.*) And the knot is cut at once by assuming, with Kemble, that the indiction is the pontifical indiction which ends Dec. 25. Kemble makes unnecessarily a precisely similar difficulty with the council of Hatfield, A.D. 680 (*K. C. D. I. p. lxxx.*).

<sup>b</sup> All the Bishops of the Anglo-Saxon Church then living, except Wini the simoniacal Bishop of London, were present either in person or by deputy at this council. If Wini died in A.D. 675, the year his successor at London was consecrated, and if there is any truth in the story preserved by Rudborne (*Hist. Maj. Winton., A. S. I. 192*) that he retired to Winchester as a penitent three years before his death, his absence on this occasion is accounted for. See *Johnson's English Canons, I. 89*. The order of the Bishops' names is, in accordance with the 8th canon of the council itself, that of their consecration, with the exception of the placing of Wilfrid after Bisi—assuming that Bisi was consecrated early in A.D. 669. This may be accounted for by the fact that although Wilfrid was

consecrated three or four years before Bisi, he was not placed in his see as a diocesan Bishop until the year 669, and probably after the consecration of the East Anglian Bishop. The latter was consecrated by Theodore (*B. IV. 7*), and therefore not before A.D. 669; and if his predecessor, Boniface, was Bishop seventeen years from A.D. 652 when he was consecrated by Honorius (*B. III. 20, IV. 5*), it may be safely fixed to that year. One MS. of Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B. p. 533*) gives, in an interlineation, A.D. 667 for the year of the death of Boniface; in which case Bisi would naturally be consecrated by Theodore almost immediately after his arrival.

<sup>c</sup> “Non puto hunc fuisse librum aliquem peculiarem a Theodoro compositum, sed collectionem canonum Ecclesiæ in concilio Calchedonensi approbatam, et a Dionysio Exiguo non diu antea in Latinum sermonem traductam, et in Ecclesiam occidentalem receptam.” *Smith, ad loc. Bædæ.* The precise canons of this collection, to which Theodore probably referred, are noted above from *Johnson's English Canons, I. 90-94*.

<sup>d</sup> “Mira fuit hic editorum ignorantia dicam an oscitantia, qui legerunt *Episcopi*.” *Smith, ad loc. Bædæ.* For *Episcopi*, are Spelman's reading, the improbability that any one would have changed *ipsi* into *Episcopi*, and the Scottish practice. Against it, are Moore's MS. and Alfred's Translation of Bede; the appa-

[COUNCIL OF HERTFORD.]

rent fact that Theodore took all his canons from old Church councils, this, in particular, from *Conc. Calch. IV. 25*; the fact that no *Episcopi monachi* ever existed in an English monastery except as diocesan Bishops presiding over the monastery as well as the see; and the connexion in sense of the canon (reading *ipsi*) with those before and after it.

<sup>o</sup> *Cliff at Hoo*, in Kent, the old interpretation of Clovesho, rests solely on the resemblance of name; the place is not in Mercia, and is set aside by Johnson as being also too unhealthy to have been selected for such a purpose. *Abingdon* is also the merest conjecture, founded on the sound of an old name, Sheovesham, said to belong to it; it is not indeed in Mercia, but close to the border, and tolerably central. Kemble's conjecture, that it must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Tewkesbury (*Saxons in England, II. 191*), is founded upon a mistaken identification, in two charters of A.D. 804 and 824 (*K. C. D. CLXXXVI. and CCXVIII.*), of Westminster, where certain disputed Church lands lay in each case, with Clovesho where the council was held which settled the disputes: and this disputed land lay in neither case in the Gloucestershire hundred of Westminster, which was not called by that name until long after, and in consequence of the extent of lands possessed in it by the more famous abbey of Westminster. Those lands apparently were at a Westminster close to Henbury, near Bristol. And the choice of such a locality for the place of the yearly council of the Anglo-Saxon Church in A.D. 673 is impossible. That Clovesho was either in Mercia or in some kingdom subordinate to Mercia, has been rightly inferred by Smith and others from the fact that all the recorded councils of Clovesho date within a period coincident with the predominance of Mercia, and that the Mercian kings take the lead in them, often without the presence of any other king at all. It is singular that no recorded council of Clovesho occurs until the celebrated one under Archbishop Cuthbert, seventy years subsequent to the appointment of the place for a yearly synod. There is indeed in the interval only one genuine council of the entire Anglo-Saxon Church of which the place is recorded, except those of Twiford and One-strefeld, the circumstances of which account for their locality. That one is Theodore's own council of Hatfield in A.D. 680; and it is curious that he should himself desert the place which he had fixed on only seven years

before. S. Boniface's expression in A.D. 742, "synodus Londinensis," and all the probabilities of the case, indicate London or its immediate neighbourhood.

<sup>†</sup> Wharton (*A. S. I. 426*) needlessly throws a suspicion on the last clause of this canon, as being omitted in Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Translation, which is an argument of no weight. Gregory's scheme of two archiepiscopates, with twelve suffragan sees a-piece, no doubt supplied the basis of Theodore's proceedings. The division of sees was actually and generally, although not universally, accomplished during the eight years following the council, but, apparently, not according to any definite decree of the council entering into particulars. It is true that according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*ad ann. 657*) Winfrid was expelled from his see by the council itself, and in all probability a refusal to allow his diocese to be divided was the real reason of his expulsion. But Bede (*IV. 6*) implies a space of time, though not a long one, between the council and the expulsion, and Florence dates the latter in A.D. 675.

According to Elmham (ed. *Hardwick*, pp. 285, 286), Theodore "excitabat fidelium devotionem et voluntatem in quarumlibet provinciarum civitatibus necnon villis ecclesias fabricandi, parochias distinguendi, assensus eisdem regios procurando, ut qui sufficientes essent, et ad Dei honorem pro voto haberent super proprium fundum ecclesias construere, earundem perpetuo patronatu gauderent. Si autem infra limites alicujus alterius domini ecclesias facerent, ejusdem fundi notarentur domini pro patronis." Possibly this statement may have grown out of a confusion between the ancient and modern senses of the word *parochia*; and Theodore, who certainly constituted dioceses (the identical dioceses, with a few exceptions and subdivisions, that exist at this day), may have been thence inferred to have constituted parishes. Before him, in A.D. 653, Cedd among the East Saxons "fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit," etc. (*B. III. 22*); but the statement seems to be limited by Bede himself to two churches, Ythanæstir, on the coast of Essex, and Tilbury. There were no settled parishes in Northumberland in the time of Cuthbert, A.D. 670 (*B. IV. 27*), nor in the beginning of Egbert's pontificate, A.D. 734 (*Bæd. ad Egb. 3, 4*). See *Lappenberg's Hist. Ang.-Sax. I. 196, 197*; *Wharton, Defence of Pluralities*, p. 83, cited by Hussey.

A.D. 673<sup>a</sup>, Dec. 23. *Privilege of Pope Adeodatus to the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul (S. Augustin's), Canterbury.*

ADEODATUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Adriano Abbati Monasterii Sancti Petri.* Evangelicis atque apostolicis sanctionibus luce clarius edocemur, nec servorum sollertiam in administratione talentorum, nec Dominicæ vineæ operarios pondere diei et æstu affectos a remuneratione boni operis esse fraudatos. Scriptum namque est: "Voca," ait, "operarios et redde illis mercedem suam;" et, "Dignus est operarius proprio laboris commodo perpotiri." Quapropter oportet etiam nos, licet immeritos, pastoralem tamen curam administrantes, eis qui ad lucrandas Deo animas sollerter invigilant, providentiam aliquam ad temporalem eorum sustentationem utcunque peragere, ne eorum sagacitas erga lucrandarum animarum quæstum, necessitate scilicet temporali præpedita, ad opus implendum segniter efficiatur. Quam ob causam annuentes tuæ petitioni, quemadmodum nos fusa prece poposcit, a præsentī concedimus tibi Adriano, utpote abbati ab apostolica sede ordinato atque destinato, una cum tua propria congregatione, quæ nunc vel futura est, monasterium videlicet sancti Petri constitutum extra civitatem cognomento Doroverno, cum omnibus redditibus ad eum pertinentibus, vel quicquid ei jure verbi competere videtur. Et si qua exinde ab aliquo injuste ablata sunt, restitui absque recrastinatione censemus; quatenus dum nihil [eorum], quæ ad sustentationem corpoream sunt profutura, defuerint, licenter ad lucrandas, ut dictum est, Deo animas pervigil possit esse sollicitudo. Cujus ad cumulum firmitatis prævidimus præfatum monasterium apostolicis prærogativis nunc et in perpetuum præmunire, insolentiasque tam sacerdotum quam laicorum pariter ab eo inhibere; præcipientes ex auctoritate videlicet apostolicæ sedis, cui superna largiente gratia præesse dignoscimur, omnes omnino tam ecclesiæ præsules, quamque sublimium sæcularium dignitates, vel inferioris ordinis administrationem gerentes, sese a præfati monasterii inquietudinibus atque gravaminibus suspendere, nec per quamlibet occasionem tibi tuæque congregationi in eo degenti, vel qui pro tempore suo successerit in loco, quoquo modo dispendia vel inquietudinum molestias irrogare. Sed et hoc nihilominus sancientes, ut post tuum obitum futurus abbas, non alius, vel aliunde ad eorum regimen animarum, nisi quem ipsa sibi prorsus Deo servientium congregatio de proprio videlicet

[PRIVILEGES OF S. AUGUSTIN'S, CANTERBURY.]

monasterio communi assensu regulariter præelegerint, subrogetur. Si quis interea, quod non credimus, temerario ausu contra hæc sanctæ et apostolicæ sedis decreta contraire tentaverit, et ea, quæ a nobis pie indulta sunt, privilegia convellere præsumperit, noverit se, si præsul vel minister est, ex auctoritate videlicet beati Petri apostolorum principis, cui Dominus Jesus Christus, Deus noster, ligandi solvendique in cælo et in terra potestatem concessit, proprio esse privatum officio; si de sæcularibus laicisque fuerit, a participatione corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi cognoscat se esse segregatum, quousque videlicet quod temere perpetravit, humiliter corrigat, et de excessu pœnitudinem gerat. Data X. kalend. Januarii, imperantibus dominis piissimis Augustis, Constantino majore Imperatore anno XXII. post consulatum ejus anno VI.; sed et Heraclio atque Tiberio novis Augustis, ejus fratribus anno XVIII. indictione XV.<sup>a</sup> [*Elmham*, 244-246, ed. *Hardwick*; and see *Thorn*, in *Chron.*, *Twysden*, c. 1769; *W. I.* 43, 44, from a MS. of Ussher.]

<sup>a</sup> Indictione XV., *Elmham*; but with marks of being written over an erasure. This would date the letter A.D. 672 (*Hardwick*). The

MS. used by Wilkins had *Indictione secunda*, which may have been also the original reading of *Elmham's* MS.

A.D. 675, or earlier. *Foundation of Malmesbury Abbey*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> According to the tradition preserved by William of Malmesbury (*G. R. I.*, *G. P. V.*, and *Faricius*, in *V. S. Aldhelmi*, c. 31, a small foundation by one Meildulfus, a Scottish monk, was raised into a considerable abbey by Aldhelm, who was made its abbot by Bishop Leutherius in A.D. 675. The charter of Leutherius, Aug. 26, A.D. 675 (*K. C. D. XI.*, and *W. Malm. G. P. V.*), is fictitious. Aldhelm was a pupil of Adrian (*W. Malm.*

*G. P. V.* ed. *Gale*, 342), abbot of S. Augustin's A.D. 671-710, and went to Rome as abbot of Malmesbury in the time of Sergius, A.D. 687 × 701 (*Faric.* c. 2). The first genuine grant to the monastery is one of Ini of Wessex, A.D. 701 (*K. C. D. XLVIII.*). See, however, the supposed synods of Berghford, A.D. 685, and on the Nodder, A.D. 705, below under those years.

A.D. 675. *Privilege of Pope Agatho to S. Augustin's, Canterbury.*

[*Of questionable authenticity.*]

AGATHO EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Adriano religioso Abbati Monasterii Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri ac Pauli*, quod ab Æthelberto primo Christiano Rege Anglorum fundatum, juxta Doroverniæ metropolitanam civitatem est situm, ejusque congregationi, pacis prosperitatem in perpetuum. Quoniam semper sunt concedenda quæ rationabilibus desideriis congruunt, oportet ut nostrum studium pii petitoris devotioni in præstandis privilegiis minime denegetur.



[PRIVILEGE OF POPE AGATHO.]

Igitur postulastis a nobis, quatenus vestrum monasterium supra nominatum privilegio apostolico decoretur, ut sub jurisdictione sanctæ nostræ, cui Deo auctore deservimus, Ecclesiæ constitutum, nullius alterius Ecclesiæ ditioni in posterum submittatur. Pro qua re piis desideriis faventes, seu et prædecessorum nostrorum beatæ memoriæ pontificum privilegia confirmantes, apostolica auctoritate id quod exposcitur effectui mancipamus hoc modo: Omnem cujuslibet ecclesiæ sacerdotem in præfato monasterio ditionem quamlibet aut auctoritatem, præter sedem apostolicam, habere prohibemus. Et cum abbatem loci illius obiisse contigerit, nullus monachis eisdem præferatur, nisi quem sibi ex seipsis regulariter præelegerint patrem; et nisi ab abbate monasterii quisquam fuerit invitatus, ne missarum solemniam ibi præsumat agere, sub anathematis interpositione, nobis placuit statuere. Interdicimus etiam omnibus omnino ecclesiæ præsulibus vel quacumque dignitate seu regali præditis potestate, ne vel ipsi hæc nostra infringere decreta audeant, nec aliis contraire volentibus consentiant. Si quis hæc despexerit a Deo Omnipotente anathema sit.

Data Idus Maii, imperantibus dominis piissimis Augustis, Constantino majore imperatore, anno XXV., post consulatum ejus IX.; sed et Heraclio atque Tiberio novis Augustis, ejus fratribus, anno XXI., Indictione V. [*Elmhams*, ed. *Hardwick*, pp. 246, 247.]

A.D. 678<sup>a</sup>. *Council (incerti loci) at which Wilfrid's Northumbrian diocese is divided*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Bede gives the date A.D. 678 for the expulsion of Wilfrid and the division of his see into three, the people of Lindsey being for the time (A.D. 678-679) subject to Egrifid of Northumberland. The death of Ælwyni also happened just one year after Wilfrid's flight to Rome (*Edd. XXIV.*), and the date of that event was A.D. 679 (*B. IV. 22*). Florence gives A.D. 677, but Wilfrid's own statement of his ten years' episcopate, which may harmonize with Bede's date (allowing one for the current year) and remembering that it was not meant for precise chronology, cannot possibly harmonize with that of Florence. The political and personal dissensions of which Theodore took advantage may be traced in Eddius and in Simeon of Durham.

<sup>b</sup> Wilfrid in his petition to Pope Agatho, A.D. 680, sets forth that "quidam mei episcopatus invasores . . . in conventu Theodori

sanctissimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariorum Ecclesiæ, aliorumque tunc temporis antistitum cum eo convenientium, sedem quam pro decem et eo amplius annis (A.D. 669-678) cum Dei clementia dispensabam, . . . invadere atque eripere moliti sunt; et in eadem sede subsidere, et non solum unum sed tres in mea ecclesia sese promoverunt Episcopos," etc. See the whole document below under its year. Wilfrid was himself absent from the council (*Edd. XXIV.*). The three Bishops whom Theodore "inordinate solus ordinavit" (*Edd. XXIV.*), were "Bosa qui Deirorum, et Eata qui Berniciorum provinciam gubernaret; hic in civitate Eburaci, ille in Hagustaldensi, sive in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia cathedram habens Episcopalem," and Eadhæd "in provincia Lindisfarorum" (*B. IV. 12*), i. e. in Lindsey, but whether at Stow (Sidenacester) does not appear.

## [THEODORE'S MEASURES OF ORGANIZATION.]

Theodore had previously taken steps towards the division of the southern dioceses also, according to the 9th canon of the council of Hertford.—1. Two Bishops were ordained to Dunwich and Elmham, thus dividing the diocese of East Anglia, A.D. 673 (*B. IV. 5; Fl. Wig. ad annum*). 2. Winfrid was expelled, by Theodore (*B. IV. 6; Fl. Wig. A.D. 675*), and Ethelred (*W. Malm. G.P.*

*III. fo. 140, Savile*), from the Mercian see of Lichfield, probably for refusing a similar division of his diocese (see *Smith, ad loc. Bædæ*). 3. Putta, flying from Rochester, received from Saxulf of Lichfield a church with a small district at Hereford in A.D. 676, which either then or very shortly after became a distinct diocese (*B. IV. 12*); see below, p. 130.

A.D. 679. *Northumbrian Council which confirms Agatho's privilege granted to the Monastery of Wearmouth<sup>a</sup>.*

BÆDA, *Hist. Abb.*—Benedictus (Biscop) non vile munus (a Roma) attulit, epistolam privilegii a venerabili Papa Agathone, cum licentia, consensu, desiderio et hortatu Ecgfridi Regis acceptam, qua monasterium quod fecit ab omni prorsus extrinseca irruptione tutum perpetuo redderetur et liberum. \* \* \* Illud (privilegium Agathonis) sui temporis Regem (Ecgfrid) et Episcopos in synodo publice confirmasse non latet. [*B. Hist. Abb. c. 5, 12, ed. Hussey, pp. 320, 327; and see H. E. IV. 18.*]

<sup>a</sup> Florence dates this journey of Benedict Biscop and his return with the Privilegium under the year 676, but as Agatho did not become Pope until A.D. 678, Smith (*ad loc. Bædæ*) postpones the date (and so far rightly) to A.D. 678 at the earliest. But it must have been a year later; for John, the precentor of S. Peter's at Rome, who came from Rome with Benedict on his return from this his fourth journey (*Flor. Wig. ad an. 676*), was present at the council of Hatfield in A.D. 680,

and came expressly charged with a mission from the Pope of which that council was the result; and John did not leave Rome until the first council on the business of the English Church had been held, and that council was not held until the arrival of Deodatus of Toul, who accompanied Wilfrid thither, for Deodatus's name is among those present at it, and Wilfrid did not reach Rome until A.D. 679. Bede's Northumbrian council therefore must be dated A.D. 679.

A.D. 679 (?). *Fragment of a Decree of Theodore, at a Council (incerti loci) respecting the See of Wessex<sup>a</sup>. [Questionable.]*

Diocese of Wessex not to be divided during the life of Bishop Heddi.

RUDBORNE, *Hist. Maj. Winton.*—In decretis Theodori Dorobernensis Archiepiscopi, nunc Cantuariensis, Decreto secundo, sic habetur: "Nolumus," inquit summus Anglorum pontifex Theodorus, "immo nobis non congruit, ipso fratre nostro sanctissimo Hedda superstite, qui Ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitavit, autoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus beatissimi Birini Occidentalium Saxonum apostoli a villa Dorkecestrensi, ubi reconditum erat, una cum sede in Wentanam civitatem, cujus etiam labore ac studio apostolicoque

mandato ex tunc primo confirmata est in ipsa civitate sedes Episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo lædere diminuendo.”

[*A. S. I.* 193.]

\* Heddi became Bishop of Winchester A.D. 676 (*A. S. C.* and *Fl. Wig.*) and Agatho Pope June 27, A.D. 678. Rudborne places the translation of S. Birinus in the third year of Heddi, although giving inaccurate dates. It seems probable also that some such decree as this would accompany the attempt made in A.D. 679 to divide the Mercian diocese. Rudborne's authority, however, is not great, and the statement in the alleged decree that Heddi transferred the Wessex see to Winchester, if it be understood as implying that he was the first Wessex Bishop who sat there, is untrue. The point of time at which Dorchester ceased to belong to Wessex, and Winchester became the only seat of the Wessex Bishop, is uncertain. It is not, however, necessary to interpret the decree as stating more than that Heddi procured from Agatho a confirmation of the settlement of the see at Winchester; and possibly the transference of the bones of Birinus

coincided with the transference of the see. It is certain that Theodore did leave Wessex undivided; that Wessex was the only diocese left undivided, except those of London, Canterbury, and Rochester, which were already small; and that Wessex was actually divided immediately after Heddi's death. Heddi also is known from the epilogue to the Penitential of Theodore to have been in close friendship with him. Theodore's decrees were, it would seem, well-known documents (see the references to them in *Eddius*, XLIV.; *K. C. D.* CCCXLII., etc.). The *Annales Breves Wintonienses* (*Wbarton*, *A. S. I.* 194) give the tenth instead of the third year of Heddi's episcopate, but their chronology is even worse than Rudborne's, and A.D. 686 was not a likely time for Theodore to be thinking of further disturbances in the arrangements of the sees.

A.D. 679. *Division of the Bishopric of Mercia by Theodore with the consent of a Mercian Witenagemot* <sup>a</sup>.

Archbishop Theodore, at the request of Ethelred King of Mercia and his under king Oshere of the Hwiccii, divides Mercia into five dioceses.

FLOR. WIG., in *App. ad Chron.*—Egrogio Merciorum regi Wlfario, qui regum totius Mercie fidem Christi primus suscepit, germanus suus gloriosus rex sanctus Æthelredus in regnum successit, cui Hwiccorum subregulus Osherus, vir multum laudabilis, Hwicciam, cui dignitate præsidebat regia, proprii antistitis dignitate honorari sublimarique desiderans regimine, consilium dedit utile, rogavitque summopere quatenus suum, quod tunc cæteris regnis præminebat Angliæ, pluribus antistitibus decoraret venustius, ac honoraret sublimius, sicut quosdam reges Angliæ noverat olim fecisse. Qui cum prius id idem faciendi magno flagraret desiderio, mox ejus suasionibus salubribusque consiliis acquievit, et archipræsule Doruberniæ Theodoro ad se accersito, rogavit ut, regno suo plures in parochias divisio, Episcopus locis constitueret opportunis. Ille autem utile satis regis votum granter approbans, quod rogabatur sine dilatione maturavit explere, itaque diocesim, cui tunc Saxwlfus pontificali regimine præfuit, cum consensu ejusdem regis ac principum illius, in quinque <sup>b</sup> parochias divisit, anno ab Incarnatione Domini secundum Evange-

[DIVISION OF MERCIA INTO FIVE DIOCESES.]

lium DCC.I., juxta Dionisium, cujus errorem adhuc sancta sequitur ecclesia, anno DC.LXXIX.

1. Worcester. I. Et quia civitas Wigornia<sup>c</sup>, tempore quo regnabant Britones vel Romani in Britannia, et tunc et nunc totius Hwicciæ vel Magesitanæ metropolis extitit famosa, cathedram erexit pontificalem digniter in ea, parochiarum jam divisarum primam constituens Hwicciam; ad quam de monasterio Hildæ abbatissæ vir strenuissimus ac doctissimus Tatfrithus electus est antistes; sed priusquam ordinari posset, morte præreptus est immatura.

2. Lichfield. II. Secundam autem illam, quæ pertinet ad Episcopatum Licetfeldensem<sup>d</sup>, cui virum religiosum ac modestum Cuthwinum præfecit.

3. Leicester. III. Tertiam vero Mediterraneam Angliam, in qua prædictus Episcopus Saxulfus, quia ita sibi placuit, resedit, pontificali cathedra illi constituta in civitate Leogera.

4. Lindsey at Sidenacester. IV. Quartam denique Lindissim provinciam, cui præposuit virum sanctum Æthelwinum, germanum sancti Aldwini, abbatis monasterii quod Partaneum nuncupatur; statuens ei episcopalem sedem in civitate, quæ vocabatur Siddena.

5. Dorchester. V. Quintam vero constituit Suth-Angliam<sup>e</sup>, ad quam de præfato monasterio Hild abbatissæ, singularis meriti et sanctitatis virum Ætlam elegit antistitem, eique præsulatus sedem in loco qui vocatur Dorcestera constituit. Porro pro Tatfritho venerabilis vir Bosel electus, ab ipso Theodoro sicut et cæteri, ordinatus est Episcopus, habens episcopalem sedem in prædicta civitate Wigorna, quæ tunc temporis altis muris et mœnibus pulcris decorata, multis urbibus clarior extitit atque sublimior. [*Flor. Wig. in App. ad Chron. M. H. B. 622.*]

<sup>a</sup> Florence's statement is too late in date to be received without analysis and criticism. His authorities were, (1) Bede; (2) the lists of the Bishops of the sees of England, which he edits in his Appendix, but of which there are copies a century and a half earlier in date; and (3) the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and its Latin version, the Worcester edition of which is embodied in his own work. His statements here fall into three classes, (1) those which are confirmed by, that is, were taken by him directly from, his authorities; (2) those which rest entirely on his evidence, so far as we are enabled to test them; and (3) those which are at variance with his authorities or with

others of sound authenticity. To the first of these may be referred the fact of the subdivision of Mercia about the time at which he places it, and the names of the Bishops who presided over the newly-organized dioceses; to the second, the enumeration of the original subdivisions and the fixing of the number five; the assertion of the synodical act by which the division was made, and the part taken by the king of the Hwiccians in procuring it; to the third, the assigning of Lichfield to Cuthwin and of Leicester to Saxulf, which contradicts the evidence of the Lists on which no doubt his statement is founded. The first class of statements may

## [DIVISION OF MERCIA INTO FIVE DIOCESES.]

be accepted, and the third rejected without further question: but the second is fair matter for criticism. The main points are, (1) the number of sees into which Mercia was divided; (2) the identification of the divisions; (3) the statements touching Leicester and Lichfield; (4) the statement touching Dorchester; (5) the formation of the see of Hereford. These are the subjects of the following notes.

<sup>b</sup> The statement of the division of Mercia under King Ethelred into five dioceses may be either an ancient tradition in the church; or (2) an inference from the account given by Bede of the English dioceses, and from other particulars preserved by him; or (3) an attempt to account for the division as it existed in the time of the writer; although the five sees into which Mercia was divided in the 12th century do not coincide with the five into which it fell in the 8th. Either of the former theories would satisfactorily account for it; but a complication arises from the fact, that if Florence's identification of the five be adopted, the division was really into six; for he omits Hereford as one of the five, and introduces Dorchester. Either then the division into five must be given up as devoid of authority, or Hereford must be substituted for Dorchester, or we must suppose that when speaking of Mercia he meant to exclude Hereford as already separated, and not thrown into the general division. This last would be the most probable solution if it were not for other difficulties which are stated below. There are no materials for forming an indubitable conclusion.

<sup>c</sup> This statement about the foundation of Worcester is based on the narrative and clothed in the words of Bede (*IV.* 23). A charter of Osric, of Nov. 6, 676, founding a nunnery at Bath, and held to be genuine by Kemble (*K. C. D. XII.*), speaks of the foundation by Osric of a Bishop's see, which would of course be Worcester, as already accomplished "juxta synodalia decreta." But the charter is questionable as to the indiction, and is signed by both Leutherius and Hedda, successive Bishops of the West Saxons. If it is genuine, it only shows that the arrangements for the division may have occupied some years.

<sup>d</sup> The statement that Lichfield was placed under Cuthwin and Leicester under Sexulf is contradicted by the evidence of the Lists of Bishops (*M. H. B.* 623. 624), which place Sexulf at Lichfield and Cuthwin at Leicester. Of Cuthwin nothing whatever is known except this: of Sexulf, Bede tells us that he succeeded Winfrid as Bishop of all Mercia (*IV.* 6), that he was Bishop of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and Lindisfari, until the year 678; when,

Lindsey having been conquered by Egfrid of Northumbria, he relinquished the government of that portion of his diocese to Eadhed (*IV.* 12); and that he was the founder and abbot of Medeshamsted (*IV.* 6). We know further from Eddius (*XLIV.*), that he was dead before A.D. 692, in which year Wilfrid undertook the government of his see (a statement which corrects the *A. S. C.*, where his death is placed in A.D. 705); and from Florence (*Lists, M. H. B.* 624) that on his death, which must have occurred after that of Cuthwin, had reunited both Middle Anglia and Mercia under him, his dioceses were divided between Wilfrid and Headda. On Wilfrid's restoration to Hexham in A.D. 705, they were again united under Headda, and his successor Aldwin; the final separation being made on the death of Aldwin in A.D. 737 (*Sim. Dun. ad ann.; M. H. B.* 659). The Bishops of Leicester from Totta or Thorhelm (A.D. 737) to Ceolred (A.D. 840-869) are called "Legoracensis civitatis" (*K. C. D. MCCIV.*, and cf. the Professions of Bishops Hrethun, A.D. 816, and Ceolred, A.D. 840). From the accession of Alheard, who succeeded Ceolred, they are called Bishops of Dorchester (*Flor. Wig.* and *A. S. C.* ad A.D. 897). Florence at A.D. 785 calls Berthun, Bishop of Lichfield, "Dorcestrensis Episcopus;" but this, as well as the date of Berthun's death, is disproved by the evidence of charters. The removal of the see from Leicester to Dorchester was undoubtedly occasioned by the conquest of Mercia and Middle Anglia by the Danes, after which the succession at Lichfield also is broken off for nearly fifty years. The Danish conquest of Mercia took place in A.D. 874.

William of Malmesbury (*G. P. IV.* ed. *Savile*, 165) has confounded the see of Lindsey with that of Dorchester, and placed at Dorchester both Eadhed the Northumbrian Bishop who was set over the Lindisfari in A.D. 678, and Ethelwin who was appointed on the division of Mercia in A.D. 679, with the whole line of his successors; an error arising probably from the fact that the dioceses of Leicester, Dorchester, and Lindsey had been united long before Malmesbury's time, and that the see had lately been transferred to Lincoln. Henry Wharton, in a note (on *Chesterfield, A. S. I.* 426-428) curiously full of mistakes, supposes that there was an early confusion between Sidnacester and Dorchester, and that on this occasion only one see was founded, and that at the former place. On this head however speculation is unnecessary; for the succession of the Lindsey Bishops, and their position as "Syddensis civitatis," or "Lindisfarorum Episcopi," are points well ascertained, although the exact locality of their see is uncertain. The line

## [DIVISION OF MERCIA INTO FIVE DIOCESES.]

breaks off, as does that of Lichfield, at the Danish conquest; and reappears in the middle of the 10th century: shortly after which date the dioceses of Lindsey and Dorchester were united.

<sup>e</sup> Florence's statement that the fifth division of the kingdom of Mercia was formed into a diocese with the see at Dorchester requires examination. There can be no doubt that it rests on the mention by Bede of Ætla, a disciple of S. Hilda, as Bishop of Dorchester: for besides this there is no evidence of the existence of a see at Dorchester from the time when the West Saxon see was extinguished to the time when that of Leicester was transferred. Bede gives no clue as to whether Dorchester was in Wessex or in Mercia at the time of Ætla's appointment, and his name does not occur in the lists either of the West Saxon or of the Mercian Bishops. Supposing then that Florence's story is correct, and that Dorchester was in A.D. 679 made a Mercian see, we must conclude that Ætla, like Cuthwin of Leicester, by an early death left the newly created diocese to the government of Sexulf, under whom, as we have seen, the whole of Mercia except Lindsey and Hereford were reunited. Supposing, on the other hand, that Dorchester was still a part of Wessex, we should be inclined to identify Ætla with Hedda, or Heddi, the successor of Leutherius, by whom the West Saxon see was transferred from Dorchester to Winchester. This is not impossible, as several of the Anglo-Saxon Bishops had two names, and Ætla might be a familiar form of Hedda, just as Sigga is of Siegfried (cf. *Fl. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 618, *Bad. app. ibid.* 288), and Totta of Torthelm (v. *Fl. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 624 *et not. ad loc.*). This would account for the omission of Ætla, *eo nomine*, in the Lists, a circumstance extremely difficult to dispose of otherwise. And although Mabillon, arguing on a misreading of Bede, rejects it, it has been accepted by many authorities as the true solution.

We have unfortunately no sufficient data to determine at what period Oxfordshire finally became a part of the kingdom of Mercia. It is possible that it may have been

seized by Ethelred on the death of Æscwin in A.D. 676, but there is no authority for such a supposition; it is possible that it continued subject to Wessex until the battle of Bensington in A.D. 778 threw it permanently into Mercia. Bensington is very near Dorchester, and that certainly was West Saxon until the conquest by Offa. Gaimar's statement that Dorchester was in A.D. 704 the capital of Mercia is utterly absurd (*M. H. B.* 784). If Dorchester were indeed Mercian in A.D. 679, the case is very nearly parallel to that of the see of Lindsey: each was the seat of a Bishop belonging to a kingdom which had lately been deprived of the territory over which he presided; and each was a convenient place for Theodore on his system of subdivision to place there a new Bishop with a newly formed diocese.

On the whole the matter must remain undecided.

The elimination of Dorchester from the list of five Mercian sees would leave the place open for Hereford. As to its original foundation, see above. Putta had been Bishop of Rochester, and although he may for a few years have administered the district of Hecana, or Hereford, as the deputy of Sexulf (*B. IV.* 12), it does not follow that his presence there constituted it a separate see. Eadhed in A.D. 679 retired from Lindsey to Ripon, yet the latter did not become a see for that reason. It is possible that the final constitution of the see of Hereford was completed at the same time with that of the other divisions. The conclusion that must be arrived at on the view of the whole question, is that Florence has probably massed together under a definite date, A.D. 679, arrangements which had been in progress ever since the council of Hertford: and that by attempting to argue on that fixed date he was compelled to leave Hereford out of his calculations as already existing: the place of Hereford he has filled up with Dorchester, resting his assertion on a passage of Bede which is capable of other explanation, and thus has created a Mercian Bishopric of whose existence there is absolutely no other evidence.

*Councils at Rome, A.D. 679–680, on the business of the English Church and of Wilfrid<sup>a</sup>.*

1. A.D. 679, Oct. Council at Rome<sup>b</sup> of seventeen Bishops and thirty-five Priests under Pope Agatho in the cause of the English Church. [Irrespective of Wilfrid, although after he reached Rome.]

In nomine Domini Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, imperantibus dominis nostris piissimis, Augustis, Constantino majore imperatore anno vicesimo sexto, post consulatum ejus anno decimo, sed et Heraclio atque Tiberio novis Augustis, ejus fratribus, vicesimo secundo, indictione septima, mense Octobri, præsidente Agathone sanctissimo atque ter beatissimo apostolico universali Papa sanctæ Dei catholicæ atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ urbis Romæ, præpositis sacrosanctis evangelii, in basilica Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quæ appellatur Constantiniana, consedentibus una cum eo gloriosis atque cognoscentibus sanctissimis Episcopis Crescente ecclesiæ Vivonensis Calabriae, Andrea Hostiensi, Juvenali Albanensi, Mauricio Tiburtino, Johanne Falaritano, Benedicto Mesanensi, Theodosio Siracusano, Deusdedit Narniensi, Paulo Nomentano, Johanne Portuensi, Theodoro Nepesino, Vito Sylvæ Candidæ, Gaudioso Signiæ ecclesiæ, Georgio Agrigentino, Placentio Veliternensi, Georgio Catanensi, Deodato Tullensi; et venerabilibus presbyteris, Bonifacio, Petro, Juvenale, Theodosio, Georgio, Theodorio, Sergio, Theodorio, Sisinnio, Theodoro, Augusto, Benedicto, Paulo, Tribuno, Corono, Petro, Johanne, Sisinnio, Epiphanio, Sisinnio, Decoro, Soleuncio, Theopicto, Martino, Sisinnio, Georgio, Sisinnio, Johanne, Habito, Probino, Johanne, Martino, Petro, Eutichio et Georgio; astantibus quoque Deo amabilibus diaconibus, cunctoque clero.

Agatho sanctissimus atque ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ atque apostolicæ urbis Romæ consedentibus dixit: “Non credo latere vestram fraternitatem, quamobrem ad hunc venerabilem conventum eam arcisciverim; cognoscere cupio vestram quippe sinceritatem, mecumque tractare, qualis sit ecclesiasticus status in Britannia insula, in qua per Dei gratiam fidelium multitudo concrebuit; nuper exorta est dissensio, cum una sit consonantia fidei, quam ex prædicatione atque doctrina hujus sacrosanctæ atque apostolicæ sedis ac beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sancti Gregorii

[COUNCIL AT ROME, A.D. 679.]

exorta ac directa, atque per sanctum Augustinum et ejus socios perceperunt.”

Andreas et Johannes reverentissimi Episcopi coram omnibus responsum dederunt, dicentes: “Clarum constat universis, quod multo pontificali succursu, ecclesiæ in Britannia insula positæ indigent, primum quidem quod dissensio ibidem inter sanctissimum Theodorum Archiepiscopum, et cæteros ejusdem provinciæ præsules, quam cum Dei præsidio sola possit apostolica auctoritas mitigare, et dissensionis fomitem subtrahere, dum origines scandalorum abscindat, atque superflua et Christianæ conversationi noxia ibidem geri considerata demat, et spirituali medela curet.”

Agatho sanctissimus atque ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ atque apostolicæ urbis Romæ dixit: “Constat itaque quod vestra consideravit reverenda fraternitas, æquitati competere finienda, quia jam sunt quæ dudum concordie consideratione præviderunt et statuerunt prædecessores nostri; verbi gratia, primus beatus Gregorius hujus apostolicæ sedis pontifex, et totius Saxonie apostolicus apex, ejusque successores sancti pontifices usque ad nostra tempora. Et nos prævidimus et constituimus, ut statuta illa, quæ synodalibus decretis jamdudum solidata per beatum Petrum principem apostolorum fuerunt, in perpetuum ab omnibus ecclesiarum Christi præsulibus ibidem constitutis inconvulse atque illibate serventur.”

Crescens Episcopus ecclesiæ Vivonensis, et Juvenalis sanctæ Albanensis ecclesiæ Episcopus dixerunt: “Universa itaque synodus hæc, quæ una cum sanctissimo atque ter beatissimo Agathone Papa convenit, regulariter definiens, etsi humani generis inimicus, qui bonis seminibus interserere semper conatur zizania, cavendus est, et fidelibus Britannie insulæ ecclesias ecclesiarumque præsules adversus invicem excitare molitus est, verum superna clementia non permittit suos fideles usquequaque tentari, sed dat consilium, ut hii qui consulunt et consulantur, cum fide suscipiunt, pariter utrique salventur. Ideoque consideratis omnibus atque tractatis, quæque ex diversorum venientium relatione cognovimus, quæque ex scriptorum diversis vocibus huc ad apostolicam sedem directorum colligi potuerunt, sollicitius flagitantes prævidimus communi consensu hanc definitionis sententiam promulgare.

“Unde ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis, cui claves ligandi atque solvendi in cælo et in terra  
 Conditor et Salvator generis humani Dominus noster



[COUNCIL AT ROME, A.D. 679.]

Jesus Christus Filius Dei concessit, definimus atque statuimus, ut unumquodque regnum in Britannia insula constitutum habeat, secundum moderaminis mensuram, provinciarum Episcopos ita statutos, ut simul omnes cum Archiepiscopo duodecim ecclesiarum præsules numerentur; quos Archiepiscopus, qui pro tempore ab hac apostolica sede pallii honore decoratur, provehat, atque sacerdotali gradu eos canonicè ordinet, ipsiusque tantum sint ordinationi subjecti, hac dispositione interposita, ut nullus audeat de Episcopis in alterius præsulis jura semetipsum immergere, sed illibata sua jura unumquemque servare, et in admonendos et convertendos populos studere.

Behaviour of the clergy.

“Statuimus etiam atque decernimus, ut Episcopi vel quicumque ecclesiastici ordinis religiosam vitam professi sunt, armis non utantur, nec citharædas habeant, vel quæcunque symphoniaca, nec quoscunque jocos vel ludos ante se permittant, quia omnia hæc disciplina sanctæ ecclesiæ sacerdotes fideles suos habere non sinit, sed præcipit divinis officiis et providentia pauperum et ecclesiasticis utilitatibus occupari, magisque divinorum eloquiorum lectio ad ædificationem ecclesiarum semper legatur, quatenus cum nutrimentis corporeis pariter et animæ audientium divinis eloquiis nutriantur.”

Agatho sanctissimus atque ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ, atque apostolicæ urbis Romæ dixit: “Si et vestræ fraternæ caritati providum esse censeretur, opportunum itaque ac saluberrimum plebibus ibidem constitutis esse censendum est, ut de ecclesiasticis statutis, atque de serie Episcoporum, seu etiam de probatione catholicæ fidei, qualiter et quam orthodoxe in provinciis Saxonæ gerere et habere ab universis examinetur.”

Council of the English Church to be held.

Andreas reverendissimus Episcopus ecclesiæ Hostiensis, et Johannes reverendissimus Episcopus Portuensis dixerunt: “Verum est enim, quod vestræ sanctitati injunctum est, ut apostolica censura. Ex hinc illuc hæc decretalis dispositio per epistolas ac virum prudentem, et idoneum, et bene imbutum, dirigatur ad Theodorum reverentissimum atque sanctissimum Archiepiscopum Cantuariorum, sanctæ Dei nostri salvatoris ecclesiæ, in qua illis in partibus summi sacerdotii principatum fundavit, qui suo sanguine sanctam suam redemit ecclesiam, omnipotens Christus Dominus, et beati Petri principis apostolorum auctoritate, per vestrum prædecessorem beatæ memoriæ Gregorium,

[COUNCIL AT ROME, A.D. 679.]

et per beatum Augustinum ejus sincellum construendo, collocando fundavit, ut ipse prædictus Theodorus illis in partibus ex tua sacrosancta auctoritate et nostra synodali unitate universale consilium congreget, et cum universis præsulibus, regibus, principibus, et universis fidelibus, senioribus, majoribusque natu totius Saxonix, publicam œcumenicamque faciant synodum: et has dispositiones prædictas non solum, verum etiam quæ tuæ sanctitatis gerulis seu apicibus injunxeris, diligenti investigatione tui apostolatus auctoritate coram omnibus examinare, et universos observare præcipias. Quod enim multorum consilio geritur, nulli consentientium ingerat scandalum.”

Mission of John the Precentor with the Lateran canons of A.D. 649. Placuitque enim hæc relatio universæ synodo, cum sanctissimo atque ter beatissimo Agathone apostolico Papa; cœperuntque simul omnes unanimiter quærere, et invenerunt, Christo auspice, virum venerabilem Johannem archicantatorem ecclesiæ sancti apostoli Petri, et abbatem monasterii beati Martini, qui a Roma per jussionem Papæ Agathonis in Britanniam est directus.

Hac provida ac celeberrima doctrina sacrorum canonum et pontificalium decretorum statuimus atque decernimus, sicut prodesse dispensatoribus ecclesiæ, et populis eis commissis, quos ad sui cognitionem divina adscivit clementia, salubreque eis prævidimus quidem, quatenus frequentia vicinorum antistitum studentium suam parochiam ad studium perfectæ religionis adducere, hæreticæ pravitate satellites decipiendi simplices locum non inveniant, nec disseminent sua schismata vel errores, dum falce piæ doctrinæ, præsule prædicante, quotidie succidantur et defluant, et in multorum præsulum cum suo Archiepiscopo convenientium, cum consilio quæque salubriter perpenduntur, ac disponuntur firmiter, obtineant; quia ibi salus ubi plurima consilia: et sic, “ubi duo vel tres congregati in nomine Domini, ibi ipse est in medio eorum:” multo magis ubi plures unanimiter ad confitendum nomini ejus, ac gloriandum in laude ejus fuerint congregati.

Insuper quoque Agatho sanctissimus atque ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ atque apostolicæ urbis Romæ, synodum beati Martini Papæ conscriptam centum quinque Episcoporum consensu non multo ante Romæ celebratam præfato religioso abbati Johanni tribuens, ut secum in Britanniam veniens beato Theodoro Archiepiscopo afferret, non solum ad suæ legationis testi-

[COUNCIL AT ROME, A.D. 679.]

monium atque confirmationem, sed etiam quicquid sanctus Theodorus Archiepiscopus cum sapientibus et fidelibus, et viris religiosis in Anglorum provinciis, Christi ecclesiis et universo populo Dei ibidem positus, profuturum melius ac religiosius in Christo invenire potuisset, cum prædicta auctoritate roborare atque transcribere commendaret. [*Spelman*, I. 158, from a MS.<sup>a</sup>; *W.* I. 45, 46; *Labbe*, VI. 579; *Mansi*, XI. 179.]

<sup>a</sup> Wilfrid on his flight in A.D. 678, instead of taking the regular route by Quentavic (Etaples), the French port then in use for crossing the channel, sailed eastward to Frisia, thereby avoiding the snares laid for him on the ordinary road (*Edd.* XXV.). The result was his preaching the gospel to the Frisians: he subsequently formed a mission to them, begun in A.D. 690 by an Irish missionary, Victbert, and followed up in A.D. 692 by a monk of Wilfrid's own monastery of Ripon, Willibrord (*Edd.* XXV.), just after the commencement of Wilfrid's second exile. The letter of Aldhelm, "Ad Clerum Wilfridi," will be found under A.D. 704. There is nothing to render it certain that it refers to Wilfrid's second exile, A.D. 692-705, rather than to the first, A.D. 679-686: but the degree of violence in the party-feeling referred to in the letter agrees better with Eddius's account of the second. It was written when Wilfrid was about to go to Rome, and therefore either A.D. 679 or 704, in both which years Aldhelm was abbot of Malmesbury.

<sup>b</sup> Eddius, Bede, and William of Malmesbury all know nothing of this council, and mention only the second and third given below, which alone directly concerned Wilfrid. This first council comes from a MS. copied by Spelman, professing erroneously to come from William of Malmesbury (a mistake arising from the fact that the opening address of Agatho is clothed in the same words in this as in the second council), but having nothing to do with Wilfrid except as dealing in general with dissensions in the English Church, of which his business was one of the causes; and it issues in a decree respecting English Bishoprics in general, in the mission of John the Precenator with the canons of the council of the Lateran of A.D. 649, and in the holding of the council of Hatfield. Assuming then (see above, p. 126) that John came to England with Benedict Biscop in A.D. 679; and remembering that his mission resulted in the council of Hatfield A.D. 680, which did not deal with Wilfrid at all, and was held if not in ignorance of Wilfrid's success at Rome, at least wholly irrespective of it, and for a totally

different purpose, we must conclude that this council at Rome, if the acts be genuine, must have been held A.D. 679, upon occasion of some appeal to Rome unrecorded, upon the general question of the quarrels in the English Church arising out of Theodore's division of the Bishoprics. Possibly the arrival of Coenwald as Theodore's messenger, mentioned in the next council, was the occasion of it. Possibly it is only the version of that next council, accepted by or sent to Theodore. Its genuineness may seem to be shown by the agreement of the Bishops' names and sees with the facts as known independently: in particular by the mention of Deodatus of Toul, who was not an Italian Bishop, but who is known from Eddius (*XXVIII.*), and from the subscriptions to the Roman council of A.D. 680, to have accompanied Wilfrid to Rome (See *Jobson*, *English Canons*, I. 101; and *Baron's note*). At the same time, if this was so, Wilfrid must have reached Rome at the time of this council, but not yet being acknowledged as a Bishop did not take part in it. Deodatus calls himself legate of a Gallic synod, just as Wilfrid does of a British one; but the council of Hatfield was held September, A.D. 680, and could not have sent Wilfrid, nor were he and Theodore reconciled, until A.D. 686.

<sup>c</sup> See Appendix to Council of Hatfield, p. 145, below.

<sup>d</sup> The MS. from which these Acts were printed by Spelman has not been identified. They are given in the text as amended by Wilkins. It is through Spelman and Wilkins only that they are known to the editors of the Councils, Labbe and Mansi; but they appear to have been received, without any suspicion, as genuine. The names of the Bishops, with the single exception of George of Catania, are consistent with the signatures attached to the letter addressed by the Roman Council of A.D. 680 to the Council of Constantinople, which appears in the 4th Act of the latter. The error in the date, which ought to run "post consulatum ejus anno XII.", is not sufficient to throw a doubt on the authenticity of the record. Its bearing, however, on the controversy between Canterbury and York in

[COUNCIL AT ROME, A. D. 679.]

the 11th and 12th centuries may seem to render it questionable, taken in connexion with the series of letters adduced by William

of Malmesbury (see above, p. 65). And this suspicion is not diminished if it be compared with the following documents.

II. A. D. 679. *Council at Rome of fifty Bishops and Presbyters under Pope Agatho to decide upon Wilfrid's Appeal.*

Decreases the restoration of Wilfrid to his see, subject to a division of it among Bishops of his own choice.

EDDIUS, *V. Wilfr. cc. XXIX.—XXXI.*—Perveniente igitur Deo amabili Wilfrido Episcopo prospere cum omnibus ad sedem prædictam, causa adventus ejus perlata urbe innotuit: quia eo tempore Coenwald religiosus monachus a sancto Theodoro Archiepiscopo cum suis literis emissus Romam venit, et beatissimum Agathonem Papam sedis apostolicæ rerum dissensio non latuit. Tunc vero congregantibus sanctissimis Episcopis et presbyteris plus quam L, in Basilicam Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quæ appellatur Constantiana, Agatho sanctissimus ac ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ, catholicæ, atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ urbis Romæ consedentibus dixit.

“Non credo latere vestram sanctam fraternitatem, quamobrem ad hunc venerabilem conventum eam adsciverim: cognoscere quippe vestram cupio, reverentiam mecumque tractare, qualis in ecclesiis Britannæ insulæ, per Dei gratiam ubi fidelium multitudo concrevit, nuper exorta est dissensio, quæ ad nos tam per relationem exinde huc venientium, quam per scriptorum seriem perlata est.”

Andreas reverentissimus Episcopus Ostiensis, et Johannes Episcopus Portuensis dixerunt: “Omnium quidem ecclesiarum ordinatio in vestræ apostolicæ auctoritatis pendet arbitrio, qui vicem beati Petri apostolorum principis geritis, cui claves ligandi atque solvendi conditor atque redemptor omnium Christus Dominus contulit. Verum erga quod nobis est injunctum ab apostolica vestra censura, ante hos dies, consedentibus nobis una cum nostris coepiscopis et confamilis, relegimus singula scripta, quæ de Britannia insula directi apostolico vestro pontificatui detulerunt, tam ea quæ ex persona Theodori reverentissimi Archiepiscopi, illuc ab apostolica sede olim directi, missa sunt, aliorumve cum eisdem scriptis relationes, adversus quemdam Episcopum subterfugientem, ut asserunt, quem huc venisse arbitrati sunt; quamque ea quæ a Wilfrido Deo amabili Episcopo sanctæ Eboracæ ecclesiæ oblata sunt, qui de sua sede ejectus a prænominato sanctissimo, apostolicam sedem appellans huc usque pervenit: in quibus, cum multas quæstiones inferrent, neque secundum sanc-

torum canonum subtilitatem convictum de aliquibus facinribus, et ideo non canonicè dejectum reperimus; neque quælibet facinora perpetrasse dictis propriis accusatores ejus comprobare valuerunt, pro quorum flagitiis degradari debuisset. Potius autem et modestiam hunc tenuisse perpendimus, quod non seditiosis quibusdam decertationibus seipsum implicuisset. Sed postquam de sua sede repulsus est, coepiscopis suis facti meritum innotescens memoratus Deo amabilis Episcopus Wilfridus, exinde ad hanc apostolicam sedem accurrit, in qua summi sacerdotii principatum fundavit, qui suo sanguine sanctam ecclesiam redemit omnipotens Christus Dominus, et principis apostolorum auctoritate firmavit. Vestri denique apostolatus auctoritati concessum est, quid in hoc ordinare præcipiatis."

Agatho sanctissimus, ac ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ, catholicæ, atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ urbis Romæ dixit: "Wilfridus Deo amabilis Episcopus sanctæ Eboracæ ecclesiæ præ foribus nostri secretarii moratus, ad nostrum secretarium juxta suam postulationem cum petitione, quam secum adferre dictus est ammittatur."

Wilfridus Deo amabilis Episcopus, dum venerabile secretarium ingrederetur dixit: "deprecor vestram pontificalem beatitudinem ut meæ humilitatis petitionem excipi, coramque relegi, præcipiatis."

Agatho sanctissimus Episcopus dixit: "Wilfridi Deo amabilis Episcopi ejus petitio suscepta coram omnibus relegatur," et accipiens Johannes notarius relegit sancto et apostolico concilio.

*Hæc est petitio Wilfridi Episcopi.*—"Wilfridus humilis et indignus Episcopus Saxoniam, ad hoc apostolicum fastigium, tamquam ad locum munitum turremque fortitudinis, gressus cordis sui Deo præviante perduxi: quia unde normam sacrorum canonum in omnes Christi ecclesias per totum orbem diffusas manare cognosco, apostolica traditas et plena fide susceptas, ex eo meæ humilitatis justitiæ censuram confidenter præstolor conservari. Cognovisse quippe confido vestrum pontificale fastigium, tam ex meæ parvitatatis suggestionem, quam quæ viva voce personaliter intimavi, et per satisfactionem petitionis scriptis narrantibus obtuli ejus apostolicis obtutibus in ipso mei adventus exordio præsentatus, quod nullam in me supplicem canonicam culpam reperientes, quidam mei Episcopatus invasores, illicita præsumptione, contra sacrorum canonum normas ac diffinitiones, in conventu Theodori sanctissimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariorum ecclesiæ, aliorumque tunc temporis antistitem cum eo convenientium, sedem, quam per decem et eo amplius annos

[WILFRID'S APPEAL AT ROME.]

cum Dei clementia dispensabam, raptorum more invadere atque eripere moliti sunt, et in eadem sede subsidere, et non solum unum, sed tres in mea ecclesia sese promoverunt Episcopos, licet canonica non sit eorum promotio. Quid autem acciderit, ut Theodorus sanctissimus Archiepiscopus, me superstite, in sedem, quam licet indignus dispensabam, absque consensu cujuslibet Episcopi, tres sua auctoritate, mea humilitate non adquiescente, ordinaret Episcopos, omittere magis quam flagitare pro ejusdem viri reverentia condecet: quem quidem, eo quod ab hac apostolicæ summitatis sede directus est, accusare non audeo. Verum si claruit, quod contra jus regularium sanctionum de dispensatione ecclesiæ, cui licet indignus præeram, ab infestis propulsus sum, sine convictione cujuspiam criminis, et absque culpa facinoris, citra ullius delicti piaculum, quod canonica percellit severitas; et neque de pristina sede pulsus tumultuosus cuiquam apparui, neque seditiois quæstionem succensi, neque ambitiosis contentionibus obstiti; sed confestim hujus sacro-sanctæ sedis appellavi subsidium, confamilos atque consacerdotes meos earundem provinciarum Episcopos tantummodo protestatus abscessi; siquidem prævidit vestra apostolica summitas una cum consedentibus sanctissimis Episcopis privatum me esse, qui pro nulla culpa convictus sum, humili devotione quæ censentur amplector. Si autem et pristinum Episcopatum percipere; sequor, totisque viribus veneror ab apostolica sede prolatam sententiam: tantum ut invasores de pristinis parochiis ecclesiæ, cui ego indignus vester famulus præfui, vestra synodali sanctione pellantur. Et si rursus in eadem parochia, cui præfui, præsules adhibere præviderit; saltem tales jubeas prævidere promovendos, cum quibus possim, pacifica atque tranquilla concordia inter nos obtinente, Deo unanimiter deservire. Ut videlicet unusquisque nostrum concessa ecclesiæ jura cognoscat, et vigilantiam sibi commissis impertiat, ut si ita placuerit Archiepiscopo et coepiscopis meis, ut augeatur numerus Episcoporum; tales eligant de ipso clero ecclesiæ, quales in synodo placeat congregatis Episcopis: ut non a foris et ab alienis damnetur ecclesia: quicquid enim confusum et indiscretum est, inextricabiles atque inexplebiles dissensiones exaggerat: nec valebit a quoquam pontifice ullatenus, de quo contenditur, dispensari. Confido enim, quod omnem devotæ obedientiæ obsequelam statutis apostolicis exhibebo: ad cujus æquitatem, omnibus abjectis, cum tota mentis confidentia properavi."

Agatho sanctissimus ac ter beatissimus Episcopus sanctæ, catho-

[WILFRID'S APPEAL AT ROME.]

licæ, atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ urbis Romæ dixit: "Non mediocriter audientibus satisfacit petitionis series, quam Wilfridus Deo amabilis Episcopus obtulit, in hoc, quod cum se indigne de Episcopali sede ejectum agnoscat, non contumaciter obstitit ambientibus, nec vi vim repellere seculariter maluit: sed humiliter sentiens, auctoris nostri beati Petri apostolorum principis canonicum expetivit subsidium supplici præstolatione; quæ super eo censenda sunt prompte suscepturum pollicetur; nec ambigit de prolotione sententiæ: sed quæ terminantur, amplectitur, integra fide se suscepturum perhibens, quod nostro ore auctor noster beatus Petrus apostolus, cujus ministerio fungimur, providerit statuendum."

Universa synodus, quæ una cum sanctissimo atque ter beatissimo Agathone apostolico Papa convenit, regulariter in cætera diffiniens dixit: "Statuimus, atque decernimus, ut Deo amabilis Wilfridus Episcopus Episcopatum, quem nuper habuit, recipiat, salva diffinitione superius ordinata: et quos cum consensu concilii ibidem congregandi elegerit sibi adjutores Episcopos, cum quibus debeat pacifice conversari secundum regulam superius constitutam, a sanctissimo Archiepiscopo promoti ordinentur Episcopi, expulsis proculdubio eis, qui in ejus absentia in Episcopatum innormiter missi sunt. Si quis proinde contra horum statutorum synodaliū decreta ausu temerario obsistere tentaverit, vel non obedienter susceperit, vel post quodlibet temporis spatium, quiqui sint vel fuerint, infringere ea in totum vel in partem tentaverit; ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis eum hac sanctione percellendum censemus: ut, siquidem Episcopus est, qui hanc piam dispositionem temerare tentaverit, sit ab Episcopali ordine destitutus, et æterni anathematis reus: similiter si presbyter, aut diaconus fuerit, vel inferioris gradus ecclesiæ: si vero clericus, monachus, vel laicus cujuslibet ditionis, vel rex, extraneus efficiatur a corpore et sanguine Salvatoris nostri Domini Jesu Christi; nec terribilem ejus adventum dignus appareat conspicerere. Si quis vero hæc, quæ a nobis statuta vel diffinita sunt, cum sincera devotione et perfecta satisfactione susceperit, tenuerit, perfecerit ad perficiendum concursum præbuerit; videat bona Domini in regione vivorum, consorsque dextræ partis existat, ac æternam beatitudinem possideat, et illam beatissimam vocem mereatur audire cum omnibus sanctis, qui divino conspectui placuerunt, et æternam gloriam possederunt, audiens et ipse pro obedientia, quam Deus præ omnibus sacrificiis diligit, ab ipso judice omnium Domino nostro Jesu Christo: 'venite

[COUNCIL AT ROME, A.D. 680.]

benedicti Patris mei percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.” [Ed. *Gale*, pp. 65–68, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell 1; *W. Malm. G. P. III.*, ed. *Savile*, 149, 150; cf. *B. V.* 19; *S. I.* 160–162; *W. I.* 47, 48.]

III. A.D. 680, March 27. Council at Rome of CXXV. Bishops under Pope Agatho, called in preparation for the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in the same year, against the Monothelites. [Wilfrid takes part in it as Bishop of York, and signs as speaking for the British, Scottish, and Irish Churches.]

EDDIUS, *V. Wilfr. c. LI.*—In sancto Pascha tertia die, ter beatissimi Agathonis synodus adversum pravitates hæreticorum cum CXXV. orthodoxis Episcopis constituta est; ex quibus unusquisque pro sua provincia et civitate veram fidem confessus est et subscriptione sua confirmavit. \* \* In qua scriptura inventum erat inter cætera; “Wilfridus Deo amabilis Episcopus Eboracæ civitatis, apostolicam sedem de sua causa appellans, et ab hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus absolutus, et cum aliis CXXV. coepiscopis in synodo in judicii sede constitutus, pro omni Aquilonali parte Britanniae et Hiberniae insulisque, quæ ab Anglorum et Britonum nec non Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus colebantur, veram et catholicam fidem confessus est et cum subscriptione sua corroboravit.” [Ed. *Gale*, p. 81, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell 1; and from Eddius, *B. V.* 19; briefly, and with CL. for CXXV. Bishops, *W. Malm. G. P. III.*; *W. I.* 47, note.]

A.D. 680. Synodical letter<sup>a</sup> of the Pope and Roman Council of CXXV. Bishops to the Emperors Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius. [Extract.]

The Pope and synod excuse the delay in addressing the council, on the ground that they had waited for the presence of Archbishop Theodore among the Bishops.

Sperabamus deinde de Britannia Theodorum confamulum atque coepiscopum nostrum, magnæ insulæ Britanniae Archiepiscopum et philosophum cum aliis qui ibidem usque hactenus demorantur, exinde ad nostram humilitatem conjungere; atque diversos hujus concilii Episcopos in diversis regionibus constitutos, ut a generalitate totius concilii servilis nostra suggestio fieret, ne si tantum pars quod agebatur cognosceret, partem



## [COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

lateret; et maxime, quia in medio gentium tam Langobardorum quamque Sclavorum, necnon Francorum, Gallorum et Gotthorum, atque Britannorum plurimi confamulorum nostrorum esse noscuntur qui et de hoc curiose satagere non desistunt, ut cognoscant quid in causa apostolicæ sedis peragatur. \* \* \* \* \*

*Among the subscriptions:*—<sup>b</sup> Wilfridus humilis Episcopus sanctæ ecclesiæ Eboracænæ, insulæ Britanniæ, legatus venerabilis synodi per Britanniam constitutæ, in hanc suggestionem quam pro apostolica nostra fide unanimiter construximus, similiter subscripsi. [*Mansi*, XI. 292; *Labbe*, VI. 685, 697.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is quoted by William of Malmesbury (*G. P. I.* ed. *Savile*, 112) in the idea that the council which had been delayed for Theodore's arrival was that of Constantinople itself. This is of course a mistake. It appears from the text that Agatho expected Theodore to attend in person at his council at Rome, and that consequently Wilfrid was not the representative either of Theodore or of the English Church on the occasion, but was merely there, happening to be at Rome. And being there he declared the fact of the orthodoxy of the Church to which he belonged. Indeed the other assumption recoils

upon itself; for Wilfrid claims to represent the Scottish and Irish as well as the English Churches, and of the latter only the northern portion. Probably Wilfrid remained at Rome in order to await this expected visit of Theodore, which however came to nothing. Eddius (*XXXII.*) says merely that he remained there, "multis diebus secundum apostolicum imperium et totius sanctæ synodi jussu."

<sup>b</sup> The form of this subscription shows it to be the invention of the notary who drew up the acts of the council, for it is contradicted by both Eddius and Bede.

A.D. 680, Sept. 17. *Council of Hatfield*<sup>a</sup>.

Declares the orthodoxy of the English Church respecting the Monothelite heresy, especially with a view to the œcumenical council (6th) of Constantinople held the same year. Accepts also the first five general councils and the canons of the Lateran council of A.D. 649.

BÆD. *H. E. IV.* 17, 18.—His temporibus audiens Theodorus fidem ecclesiæ Constantinopoli per hæresim Eutychetis multum esse turbatam, et Ecclesias Anglorum quibus præerat ab hujusmodi labe immunes perdurare desiderans, collecto venerabilium sacerdotum doctorumque plurimorum cœtu, cujus essent fidei singuli sedulus inquirebat, omniumque unanimem in fide catholica reperit consensum: et hunc synodalibus literis ad instructionem memoriamque sequentium commendare curavit, quarum videlicet literarum istud exordium est:

"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris, imperantibus dominis piissimis nostris Ecgfrido rege Hymbronensium, anno decimo regni ejus, sub die quintadecima kalendas Octobres, indictione octava; et Ædilredo rege Mercinensium, anno sexto regni ejus; et Aldulfo rege Estranglorum, anno decimo septimo regni ejus; et Hlothario rege Cantuariorum, regni

[COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

ejus anno septimo: præsidente Theodoro, gratia Dei Archiepiscopo Britanniae insulae, et civitatis Doruvernis; una cum eo sedentibus cæteris Episcopis Britanniae insulae viris venerabilibus, præpositis sacrosanctis evangeliiis, in loco qui Saxonico vocabulo Haethfelth nominatur, pariter tractantes, fidem rectam et orthodoxam exposuimus; sicut Dominus noster Jesus Christus incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis, qui præsentialiter viderunt et audierunt sermones ejus, atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum, et generaliter omnes sancti et universales synodi, et omnis probabiliū Catholicæ Ecclesiae doctorum chorus. Hos itaque sequentes nos pie atque orthodoxe, juxta Divinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum professi credimus consonanter, et confitemur secundum sanctos patres, proprie et veraciter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum Trinitatem in Unitate consubstantialē, et Unitatem in Trinitate, hoc est, unum Deum in tribus subsistentiis vel personis consubstantialibus, æqualis gloriæ et honoris." Et post multa hujusmodi quæ ad rectæ fidei confessionem pertinebant, hæc quoque sancta synodus suis literis addit: "Suscepimus sanctas et universales quinque synodos beatorum et Deo acceptabilium patrum; id est, qui in Nicæa congregati fuerunt trecentorum decem et octo, contra Arium impiissimum et ejusdem dogmata; et in Constantinopoli centum quinquaginta, contra vesaniam Macedonii et Eudoxii et eorum dogmata; et in Epheso primo ducentorum, contra nequissimum Nestorium et ejusdem dogmata; et in Chalcedone sexcentorum et triginta, contra Eutychem et Nestorium, et eorum dogmata; et iterum in Constantinopoli quinto congregati sunt concilio in tempore Justiniani minoris, contra Theodorum, et Theodreti et Ibæ epistolas et eorum dogmata contra Cyrillum." Et paulo post: "Et synodum quæ facta est in urbe Roma, in tempore Martini Papæ beatissimi, indictione octava, imperante Constantino<sup>b</sup> piissimo anno nono, suscepimus. Et glorificamus Dominum nostrum Jesum, sicut isti glorificaverunt; nihil addentes vel subtrahentes: et anathematizamus corde et ore quos anathematizarunt; et quos susceperunt, suscepimus: glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium ejus unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante sæcula, et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter, sicut prædicaverunt hi quos memoravimus supra, sancti apostoli, et prophetæ, et doctores. Et nos omnes subscripsimus, qui cum Theodoro Archiepiscopo fidem catholicam exposuimus."

[COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

Mission of John the Precentor, from the Pope to the council, and from the council again to the Pope.

Intererat huic synodo, pariterque Catholicæ fidei decreta firmabat vir venerabilis Johannes archicantator ecclesiæ sancti apostoli Petri, et abbas monasterii beati Martini, qui nuper venerat a Roma per jussionem Papæ Agathonis, duce reverentissimo abbate Biscopo, cognomine Benedicto, cujus supra meminimus. Cum enim idem Benedictus construxisset monasterium Britannia, in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis, juxta ostium fluminis Uiuri, venit Romam cum cooperatore ac socio ejusdem operis Ceolfrido, qui post ipsum ejusdem monasterii abbas fuit, quod et ante sæpius facere consueverat, atque honorifice a beatæ memoriæ Papa Agathone susceptus est: petiitque, et accepit ab eo in munimentum libertatis monasterii quod fecerat, epistolam privilegii ex auctoritate apostolica firmatam; juxta quod Ecgfridum regem voluisse, ac licentiam dedisse noverat, quo concedente et possessionem terræ largiente, ipsum monasterium fecerat.

Accepit et præfatum Johannem abbatem Britanniam perducendum; quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret: egitque abba Johannes ut jussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem videlicet, ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce præfati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum posebat, etiam literis mandando: quæ hactenus in eodem monasterio servata, et a multis jam sunt circumquaque transcripta. Non solum autem idem Johannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, verum de omnibus pene ejusdem provinciæ monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confluebant. Sed et ipsum per loca in quibus doceret, multi invitare curabant.

Ipsæ autem excepto cantandi vel legendi munere, et aliud in mandatis ab apostolico Papa acceperat, ut cujus esset fidei Anglorum ecclesia, diligenter edisceret, Romamque rediens referret. Nam et synodum beati Papæ Martini, centum quinque Episcoporum consensu non multo ante Romæ celebratam, contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et voluntatem prædicabant, secum veniens attulit; atque in præfato religiosissimi abbatis Benedicti monasterio transscribendam commodavit. Tales namque eo tempore, fidem Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ multum conturbaverunt; sed Domino donante proditi jam tunc et victi sunt. Unde volens Agatho Papa, sicut in aliis provinciis, ita etiam in Britannia qualis esset status

[COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

ecclesiæ, quam ab hæreticorum contagiis castus, ediscere; hoc negotium reverentissimo abbati Johanni Britanniam destinato injunxit. Quamobrem collecta pro hoc in Britannia synodo quam diximus, inventa est in omnibus fides inviolata catholica: datumque illi exemplar ejus Romam perferendum.

Verum ille patriam revertens, non multo postquam oceanum transiit, arreptus infirmitate, ac defunctus est: corpusque ejus ab amicis propter amorem sancti Martini cujus monasterio præerat, Turonis delatum, atque honorifice sepultum est. Nam et benigno ecclesiæ illius hospitio, cum Britanniam iret, exceptus est, rogatusque multum a fratribus, ut Romam revertens, illo itinere veniret, atque ad eam diverteret ecclesiam. Denique ibidem adjutores itineris et injuncti operis accepit: qui etsi in itinere defunctus est, nihilominus exemplum Catholicæ fidei Anglorum Romam perlatum est, atque ab apostolico Papa omnibusque qui audiere vel legere, grantantissime susceptum. [*M. H. B.* 227-229; *S. I.* 168, 169; *W. I.* 51, 52.]

<sup>a</sup> This date is cited by Kemble (*C. D.* p. lxxx.) as proving that the Anglo-Saxons used the pontifical indiction ending Dec. 25. The 8th indiction, according to the Cæsarean rule ending the year Sept. 24, would, he says, push the year of the council on to A.D. 681. But this is not correct. The year of the 8th indiction was either from Sept. 24, 679, to Sept. 24, 680; or from Dec. 25, 679, to Dec. 25, 680: and in both cases includes Sept. 17, 680. Baronius, beginning the indiction Sept. 1, actually dates the council in A.D. 679 (see

*Ussher's note*, ap. *Wilkins*). The kingdom of Wessex was at this time (A.D. 676-685) divided among its under-kings (*B. IV.* 12), or at the best in a very disturbed state.

<sup>b</sup> "Corrige, *Constante*, qui filius fuit Constantini filii Heraclii, pater Constantini Pogonati, cujus anno nono A.D. 649, habita est hæc synodus. Sed error fuit in ipsa Actorum redactione, quorum in titulo Constantini annus nonus assignatur, vice Constantis. Vid. *Mansi*, X. 863."—Hussey *ad locum* Bædæ.

## APPENDIX

### TO THE COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.

I. *Canons of the Lateran Council of A.D. 649, under Pope Martin I., which were brought from Rome by John the Precentor, and adopted by the Council of Hatfield.*

SANCTA SYNODUS dixit:—Licet auctores novitatis, ut jam nobis ex omnibus approbatum est, utpote non solum sermonibus eorum ab invicem confusis, sed et hæreticorum doctrinis per omnia consonantibus eis, necnon paternis ac synodalibus prædicationibus catholicæ ecclesiæ ab eis extraneatis, non intellexerunt omnino, sicut per propheticum vaticinium dictum est, quoniam “obscurati sunt, ne videant oculis suis, et intelligant cordibus suis,” venerabilium patrum nostrorum sana decreta et definitiones, quas posuerunt in conservatione orthodoxæ fidei. Sed et nos “corde credentes in justitiam, ore autem confitentes in salutem,” consonanter et absque ulla novitate, sicut ab eis percepimus, ita intransgressibiliter credimus unum eundemque Filium Dominum nostrum et Deum Jesum Christum, perfectum eundem in Deitate, et eundem perfectum in humanitate, Deum vere, et hominem vere eundem, ex anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum Deitatem, et consubstantialem nobis eundem secundum humanitatem, per omnia nobis similem absque peccato: ante sæcula quidem de Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, in novissimis diebus autem eundem propter nostram salutem ex Maria virgine Dei genitrice secundum humanitatem, unum eundemque Christum Filium Dominum unigenitum, in duabus naturis inconfuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter agnoscendum, nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unionem, magisque salva indiminate proprietate utriusque naturæ, et in unam personam atque subsistentiam concurrente, non in duas personas partitum atque divisum, sed unum et eundem Filium unigenitum, Deum Verbum, Dominum Jesum Christum, et duas ejusdem sicuti naturas unitas inconfuse, indivise, ita et duas naturales voluntates Divinam et humanam, et duas naturales operationes Divinam et humanam, in approbatione perfecta et indiminuta, eundem veraciter esse perfectum Deum, et hominem perfectum secundum veri-

## [APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

tatem, eundem atque unum Dominum nostrum et Deum Jesum Christum, utpote volentem et operantem Divine et humane nostram salutem, sicut superius prophetæ de eo, et ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus docuit nos, atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum, et generaliter omnes sanctæ et universales synodi, et omnis probabiliū catholicæ ecclesiæ doctorum chorus. His itaque nobis pie atque orthodoxe, juxta Divinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum, professis, consonanter dicimus omnes.

1. *De Trinitate.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et veraciter Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum Trinitatem in unitate, et unitatem in Trinitate, hoc est, unum Deum in tribus subsistentiis consubstantialibus, et æqualis gloriæ, unam eandemque trium Deitatem, naturam, substantiam, virtutem, potentiam, regnum, imperium, voluntatem, operationem, inconditam, sine initio, incomprehensibilem, immutabilem, creatricem omniū et protectricem, condemnatus sit.

2. *De Filio.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem ipsum unum sanctæ et consubstantialis et venerandæ Trinitatis Deum Verbum e cælo descendisse, et incarnatum ex Spiritu Sancto, et Maria semper virgine, et hominem factum, crucifixum carne, propter nos sponte passum sepultumque, et resurrexisse tertia die, et ascendisse in cælos, atque sedentem in dextra Patris, et venturum iterum cum gloria Paterna cum assumpta ab eo atque animata intellectualiter carne ejus, judicare vivos et mortuos, condemnatus sit.

3. *De B. Virgine.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem Dei genitricem sanctam semperque virginem et immaculatam Mariam, utpote ipsum Deum Verbum specialiter et veraciter, qui a Deo Patre ante omnia sæcula natus est, in ultimis sæculorum absque semine concepisse ex Spiritu Sancto, et incorruptibiliter eam genuisse, indissolubili permanente et post partum ejusdem virginitate, condemnatus sit.

4. *De duabus Christi naturis.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem ipsius et unius Domini nostri et Dei Jesu Christi duas natiuitates, tam ante sæcula ex Deo et Patre incorporaliter et sempiternaliter, quamque

[APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

de sancta virgine semper Dei genitrice Maria corporaliter in ultimis sæculorum, atque unum eundemque Dominum nostrum et Deum Jesum Christum consubstantialem Deo et Patri secundum Deitatem, et consubstantialem homini et matri secundum humanitatem, atque eundem passibilem carne, et impassibilem Deitate, circumscriptum corpore, incircumscriptum Deitate, eundem inconditum et conditum, terrenum et cælestem, visibilem et intelligibilem, capabilem et incapabilem, ut toto homine eodemque et Deo totus homo reformaretur, qui sub peccato cecidit, condemnatus sit.

5. *De humanitate Christi.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem unam naturam Dei Verbi incarnatam, per hoc quod incarnata dicitur nostra substantia perfecte in Christo Deo et indiminate, absque tantummodo peccato, significata, condemnatus sit.

6. *De unitis Christi naturis.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem ex duabus et in duabus naturis substantialiter unitis, inconfuse et indivise unum eundemque esse Dominum et Deum Jesum Christum, condemnatus sit.

7. *De differentia naturarum.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem substantialem differentiam naturarum inconfuse et indivise in eo salvatam, condemnatus sit.

8. *De unione naturarum inconfuse.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem naturarum substantialem unionem indivise et inconfuse in eo cognitam, condemnatus sit.

9. *De proprietatibus naturarum.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem naturales proprietates Deitatis ejus et humanitatis indiminate in eo et sine deminoratione salvatas, condemnatus sit.

10. *De duabus voluntatibus Christi.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum

[APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

veritatem duas unius ejusdemque Christi Dei nostri voluntates cohærenter unitas, Divinam et humanam, ex hoc, quod per utramque ejus naturam voluntarius naturaliter idem consistit nostræ salutis, condemnatus sit.

11. *De duabus operationibus Christi.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem duas unius ejusdemque Christi Dei nostri operationes cohærenter unitas, Divinam et humanam, ab eo quod per utramque ejus naturam operator naturaliter idem existit nostræ salutis, condemnatus sit.

12. *Hæreticum est dicere unam in Christo voluntatem, unam operationem.*

Si quis secundum scelerosos hæreticos unam Christi Dei nostri voluntatem confitetur et unam operationem, in peremptionem sanctorum patrum confessionis, et abnegationem ejusdem Salvatoris nostri dispensationis, condemnatus sit.

13. *De eodem.*

Si quis secundum scelerosos hæreticos in Christo Deo in unitate substantialiter salvatis, et a sanctis patribus nostris pie prædicatis duabus voluntatibus et duabus operationibus, Divina et humana, contra doctrinam patrum, et unam voluntatem atque unam operationem confitetur, condemnatus sit.

14. *De eodem.*

Si quis secundum scelerosos hæreticos cum una voluntate, et una operatione, quæ ab hæreticis impie confitetur, et duas voluntates pariterque et operationes, hoc est, Divinam et humanam, quæ in ipso Christo Deo in unitate salvantur, et a sanctis patribus orthodoxe in ipso prædicantur, deneget et respuit, condemnatus sit.

15. *De eodem et θεανδρική.*

Si quis secundum scelerosos hæreticos Deivirilem operationem, quod Græci dicunt *θεανδρικήν*, unam operationem insipienter suscipit, non autem duplicem esse confitetur secundum sanctos patres, hoc est, divinam et humanam, aut ipsam Deivirilis, quæ posita est, novam vocabuli dictionem unius esse designativam, sed non utriusque mirificæ et gloriosæ unitiois demonstrativam, condemnatus sit.



16. *Hæreticum est negare Christum Deum esse et hominem naturaliter.*

Si quis secundum scelerosos hæreticos in peremptione salvatis in Christo Deo essentialiter in unitione, et sanctis patribus pie prædicatis duabus voluntatibus et duabus operationibus, hoc est, Divina et humana, dissensiones et divisiones insipienter mysterio dispensationis ejus innectit, et propterea evangelicas et apostolicas de eodem Salvatore voces non uni eidemque personæ et essentialiter tribuit eidem ipsi Domino et Deo nostro Jesu Christo secundum beatum Cyrillum, ut ostendatur Deus esse et homo idem naturaliter, condemnatus sit.

17. *Hæreticum est non credere quæ tradit catholica ecclesia et quinque synodi.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem omnia, quæ tradita sunt et prædicata sanctæ, catholicæ et apostolicæ Dei ecclesiæ, perindeque a sanctis patribus et venerandis universalibus quinque conciliis, usque ad unum apicem verbo et mente, condemnatus sit.

18. *Hæreticum est non respuere quæ respuit, etc. ecclesia.*

Si quis secundum sanctos patres consonanter nobis pariterque fide non respuit et anathematizat anima et ore omnes, quos respuit et anathematizat nefandissimos hæreticos, cum omnibus impiis eorum conscriptis usque ad unum apicem sancta Dei ecclesia catholica et apostolica, hoc est, sanctæ et universales quinque synodi, et consonanter omnes probabiles ecclesiæ patres, id est, Sabellium, Arium, Eunomium, Macedonium, Apollinarem, Polemonem, Eutychem, Dioscorum, Timotheum Ælurum, Severum, Theodosium, Colluthum, Themistium, Paulum Samosatenum, Diodorum, Theodorum, Nestorium, Theodulum Persam, Origenem, Didymum, Evagrium, et compendiose omnes reliquos hæreticos, qui a catholica ecclesia reprobati atque abjecti sunt, quorum dogmata diabolicæ operationis sunt genimina, et eos qui similia cum his usque ad finem obstinate sapuerunt aut sapiunt, vel sapere sperantur, cum quibus merito, utpote similes eis parique errore præditos, ex quibus dogmatizare noscuntur, proprioque errori vitam suam determinantes, hoc est, Theodorum quondam Episcopum Pharanitanum, Cyrum Alexandrinum, Sergium Constantinopolitanum, vel ejus successores Pyrrhum et Paulum, in sua perfidia permanentes, et omnia impia illorum conscripta, et eos, qui similia cum illis usque ad finem obstinate sapuerunt, aut sapiunt, vel sapere sperantur, hoc est, unam voluntatem et unam opera-

[APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

tionem Deitatis et humanitatis Christi; et super hæc impiissimam Ecthesin, quæ persuasione ejusdem Sergii facta est ab Heraclio quondam imperatore adversus orthodoxam fidem, unam Christi Dei voluntatem, et unam ex concinnatione definientem operationem venerari, sed et omnia, quæ pro ea impie ab eis scripta vel acta sunt, et illos qui eam suscipiunt, vel aliquid de his, quæ pro ea scripta vel acta sunt; et cum illis denuo scelerosum Typum, qui ex suasionem prædicti Pauli nuper factus est a serenissimo principe Constantino imperatore contra catholicam ecclesiam, utpote duas naturales voluntates et operationes, Divinam et humanam, quæ a sanctis patribus in ipso Christo Deo vero, et Salvatore nostro pie prædicantur, cum una voluntate et operatione, quæ ab hæreticis impie in eo veneratur, pariter denegare et taciturnitate constringi promulgantem, et propterea cum sanctis patribus et scelerosos hæreticos ab omni reprehensione, et condemnatione injuste liberari definientem, in amputationem catholicæ ecclesiæ definitionum seu regulæ: si quis igitur, juxta quod dictum est, consonanter nobis omnia hæc impiissima hæreseos illorum dogmata, et ea quæ pro illis aut in definitione eorum a quolibet impie conscripta sunt, et denominatos hæreticos, Theodorum dicimus, Cyrum et Sergium, Pyrrhum et Paulum non respuit et anathematizat, utpote catholicæ ecclesiæ rebelles existentes, aut si quis aliquem de his, qui ab illis vel similibus eorum in scripto vel sine scripto quocunque modo vel loco aut tempore temere depositi sunt aut condemnati, utpote similia eis minime credentem, sed sanctorum patrum nobiscum confitentem doctrinam, uti condemnatum habet aut omnino depositum, sed non arbitratur hujusmodi quicunque fuerit, hoc est, sive Episcopus, aut presbyter, vel diaconus, sive alterius cujuscunque ecclesiastici ordinis, aut monachus, vel laicus pium et orthodoxum, et catholicæ ecclesiæ propugnatorem, atque in ipso firmius consolidatum, in quo vocatus est a Domino ordine, illos autem impios atque detestabilia eorum pro hoc judicia, vel sententias vacuas et invalidas atque infirmas, magis autem profanas et execrabiles vel reprobabiles arbitratur, hujusmodi condemnatus sit.

19. *Hæreticum est hæreticorum promovere dogmata, et calumniare Quinque universales synodos.*

Si quis ea, quæ scelerosi hæretici sapiunt, indubitanter professus atque intelligens, per inanem proterviam dicit hæc pietatis esse dogmata, quæ tradiderunt ab initio speculatores et ministri verbi, hoc est dicere, sanctæ et universales quinque synodi, calumnians utique ipsos sanctos patres, et memoratas sanctas quinque synodos, in deceptione simplicium, vel susceptione suæ profanæ perfidiæ, hujusmodi condemnatus sit.

20. *Hæreticum est vellicare quæ posuere V. universales synodi.*

Si quis secundum scelerosos hæreticos quocunque modo, aut verbo, aut tempore, aut loco terminos removens illicite, quos posuerunt firmiter sancti catholicæ ecclesiæ patres, id est, sanctæ et universales quinque synodi, novitates temere exquirere, et fidei alterius expositiones, aut typos, vel leges, aut definitiones, aut libellos, aut epistolas, aut conscripta, aut subscriptiones, aut testimonia falsa, aut synodos, aut gesta monumentorum, aut ordinationes vacuas et ecclesiasticæ regulæ incognitas, aut loci servaturas incongruas et irrationabiles, et compendiose, si quid aliud impiissimis hæreticis consuetum est agere, per diabolicam operationem tortuose et callide agit contra pias orthodoxorum catholicæ ecclesiæ, hoc est dicere, paternas ejus et synodales prædicationes, ad eversionem sincerissimæ in Dominum Deum nostrum confessionis, et usque in finem sine pœnitentia permanet, hæc impie agens, hujusmodi in sæcula sæculorum condemnatus sit, et dicat omnis populus: fiat, fiat.

His itaque a nobis pie promulgatis, et cum omni subtilitate, secundum Dominicam præceptionem, zizania quidem et omnes facientes scandala, cum paleato et hæretico intellectu eorum, igni canonicæ sententiæ ex apostolica auctoritate projicientes, triticum autem orthodoxæ et apostolicæ fidei nostræ Christianorum in horreum, id est, catholicam ecclesiam per ventilabrum paternæ doctrinæ firmiter congregantes, victrices ei cum propheta Sophonia canimus hymnos: "Gaude nimis, O filia Sion, prædica filia Hierusalem, lætare et exulta ex toto corde tuo filia Hierusalem. Abstulit Dominus a te iniquitates adversariorum tuorum, liberavit te de manu inimicorum, Dominus in medio tui, non videbis mala ultra:" omni explosa novitate hæretica, et omni confirmata in te orthodoxa fide, in possessione vitæ æternæ. Per ipsum Christum Dominum Salvatorem animarum nostrarum, cui gloria, honor, veneratio, imperium cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu nunc et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. *Et subscriptiones;*

Martinus, gratia Dei Episcopus sanctæ, catholicæ atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ urbis Romæ, huic definitioni confirmationis orthodoxæ fidei, et damnationi Sergii Constantinopolitani quondam Episcopi, Cyri Alexandriæ Antistitis, Theodori item Episcopi, Pyrrhi atque Pauli item Constantinopolitani Episcopi cum hæreticis eorum scriptis, statuens subscripsi.

Maximus, episcopus sanctæ Aquileiensis ecclesiæ, etc. [*Labbe, VI. 349; Mansi, X. 1151-1162; W. I. 52-56; S. I. 171-175.*]

II. *Decree of Theodore respecting the division of Bishoprics, purporting to be passed in the Council of Hatfield<sup>a</sup>. [Spurious.]*

✠ Regnante in perpetuum Deo et Domino nostro Jhesu Christo qui cœlestia simul et terrestria imperio Patris cunctaque Sancti Spiritus gratia in æquitate disponit! Atque per ejusdem Dei prædestinationem hoc synodus congregatum fuerat in loco celeberrimo ubi nominatur Hethfeld, anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis .DC.LXXX. indictio .IX. præsidente autem Theodoro gratia Dei Episcopo cæterisque Episcopis et Dei sacerdotibus per universam Britanniam, pariter cum regibus Anglorum, Ægfrido regi Humbrontium et Æthelredo regi Marcentium, cum consensu Halduulfi regis Easter-Anglorum atque Clotherio regi Cantuariorum, de multis necessitatibus tractantes maxime de statu æcclesiarum Dei quorum ab olitanis temporibus in primordia Christianitatis tocius Britannæ constituta atque firmata noscuntur, quomodo vel qualiter secundum normam rectitudinis his temporibus vel futuris ad servandum disposuimus, cum communi consilio omnium nostrorum Regum, Episcoporum, vel etiam tocius gentis Anglorum hanc discretionem statuimus atque decrevimus nostrisque successoribus id ipsum in posterum præcipimus; huic duobus metropolitans a primitibus locis quæ sunt universæ Britannæ capita constituta prima, ut in Dorovernia civitate principali honor Archiepiscopi et indumento pallii habeatur, sicut Archiepiscopo Augustino priscis jam temporibus at nunc usque detenta est a sui juris ditioni per singula loca .XII. Episcopi seu omnis nationes Anglorum et Brittonum in australibus partibus usque ad confinia Northanhumborum; alia vero in Eboraca civitate fundata similiterque sui juris ditioni .XII. Episcopi semper in futurum subjugati et partes aquilonales sicut disposuit prædecessoribus nostris pater noster Gregorius illis duobus sedibus ad servandum imperpetuum, ut ex illis præmemoratis civitatibus omnis ordo æcclesiastici officii servatur atque inde ministratur, tam ordinatio Episcoporum vel etiam unctio regum, quamque canonicas institutiones quæ suis exhortationibus et assiduis sollicitudinibus ad regimen Christianitatis pertineant. Et nunc ego iterum ad memoriam retracti per dominum apostolicum Agathonem Papam ita inrefragabilis et inviolabilis a nobis nostrisque successoribus utrorumque prænominatorum civitatum perpetuo stabilitate firmavi. Si quis vero, quod non optamus, obstinata contumacia his salubribus statutis obpugnando contraire temptaverit, quisquis ille sit, sciat canonica subjacere sententia et a synodi hujus communione esse damnatum vel a participatione corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi separatum.

✠ Ego [Ægfridus] rex Humbrensium his synodalibus et canonicis constitutis consentiens subscribo. ✠ Ego [Æthelredus] rex Merciorum his

## [APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

synodalibus et canonicis constitutis consentiens subscribo. ✠ Ego Aldulf rex East[e]r-Anglorum his synodalibus et canonicis constitutis consentiens subscribo. ✠ Ego [Clotherius] rex Cantuariorum his synodalibus et canonicis constitutis consentiens subscribo. ✠ Ego Theodorus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus Britanniae et civitatibus Doroverniae consentiens subscribo. [*K. C. D. DCCCCXCI.*, from *Cod. Winton.* MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 13,350.]

\* The council of Hatfield was called not only to certify to the Pope the adhesion of the English Church to the Catholic faith, to be reported to the council of Constantinople, but also, in accordance with the decree, if it be genuine, of the council of Rome under Agatho, (the first, p. 131, above), respecting the arrangement of the English sees. The alleged decree of Theodore is drawn up on this

assumption, but adheres to the original scheme of Gregory for two Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops, whereas Agatho had cut down the number to one Archbishop and twelve Bishops. Theodore's further subdivision of Northumbria in A.D. 681, is noticed by Johnson as completing precisely the number of sees decreed by Agatho; but it raised them really to fourteen.

III. *Privilege granted by Pope Agatho to the monastery of Peterborough, and said to have been brought from Rome and presented to the Council of Hatfield by Wilfrid.* [*Spurious.*]

✠ *Gloriosissimo filio regi Merciorum Æthelredo, fratribus quoque et coepiscopis Theodoro Dorobernensi et Saxulfo Mediterraneorum Anglorum vel Merciorum Episcopo, cæterisque consacerdotibus,* AGATHO SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, in Domino salutem. 'Dominus regnavit, exultet terra, lætentur insulae multae,' reges terræ et omnes populi et cætera omnia laudent nomen Domini, quia exaltatum est nomen ejus solius! Gratia Domini nostri Jhesu Christi regis omnium sæculorum, feliciter cotidie adimpletur hæc prophetica exhilaratio, quando reges et gentes orbis terrarum et præcipue juxta Divinum oraculum reges insularum multarum adorant et colunt ipsum Jhesum Christum unicum Dominum et Regem suum; unde etiam sanctum nomen ejus specialius benedicimus, quod vos præcellentissime fili cum vestris piæ memoriæ fratribus non solum dampnosa sculptilia dæmoniorum cum paternis erroribus exterminantes, verum Salvatorem agnovistis et veræ Divinitatis effecti estis cultores, verumetiam ad vertendos subjectos vobis reges et populos fidei balteo ut boni ministri Christi vos accinxistis; cumque in æcclesiis et baptisteriis extruendis quibus populus acquisitionis Dei multiplicetur, devote laboretis, hanc caritatis vestræ flagrantiam familiarius amplectimur, quod de æcclesia beati Petri quam a Deo primitivam abbatiam censetis in regione vestri imperii, quæ est Mediterraneorum Anglorum, in loco qui appellatur Medeshamstede præclaram, tam benevola vota nobis regia scilicet legatione mandaveritis. Hanc quippe, ut perhibetis, antecessores vestri et fratres Christianissimi per venerabilem virum,

[APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

nuper abbatem nunc sacerdotem, Saxulfum regaliter condidere et amore beati Petri præcipue coluere, hanc regia largitate necnon et libertate regia cum privilegii descriptionibus gloriosius extulere; hanc et vos clarissimi filii non minori fervore regalis industriæ vultis Romana et apostolica auctoritate contra omnes impetus procellosi mundi perpetuo muniri, immo et jam quantum est in vobis prompta vestri benevolentia Romanam et apostolicam eam facere, ubi beatum Petrum, nobis quidem corpore, vobis vero spiritu, semper præsentem possideatis, ubi et a vobis et a toto regno vestro ac si Romæ requiratur et piis veneretur votis fidelium. Apparet nimirum vos esse intimum filium hujus quæ totius orbis mater est principalis æcclesiarum, et ipsum ejus præsidium affectare patronum qui clavigeri potestate vobis aperiat regna cælorum. Quapropter non solum voluntarie sed et maxime gratias agentes annuimus piæ vestræ petitioni; quatinus prædicta æcclesia in Medeshamstede, sicut regia auctoritate regia, ita apostolica confirmatione sit apostolica; sit ab omni servitute sæculari libera, ita videlicet ut quemadmodum vos dictastis, nec Rex, nec Episcopus, nec præses aliquis abbati ipsius post electionem æcclesiæ et regis assensum quicquam terreni oneris injungat, non census, non tributum, non militia, non aliqua unquam servitutis occasio de omnibus rebus ad ipsam æcclesiam pertinentibus vel in magno vel in minimo ab ullo exigatur, quatinus sub rege suo defensore non tyranno libere Christo soli deserviat. Episcopus quoque dioceseos non typo prælationis sed officio caritatis huic se impendat, abbatemque ipsius, ac si Romanum legatum et comministrum evangelii habeat, et secundum sibi socium æstimet non subjectum. Nullum vero potentatum in hoc monasterium præripiat, nec ordinationem ibi nec quodlibet officium sine abbatis favore arroget, sed neque ab ipsius intimis et peculiaribus locis aut parochiis vel in omni privilegio ipsius, juris quicquam præter ejusdem abbatis assensum accipiat vel faciat, ne qua scilicet abusione pacem perturbet gregis Dominici, quales scandalizare est cum mola asinaria in profundo dimergi. Ubi autem electus ab ipsa congregatione abbas ordinandus erit, ab Archiepiscopo Dorobernensi, Romani pontificis vicario, aut a quo ipse modo inefficacior jusserit, rege favente ordinetur, nec parochianus pontifex sive ipse sive aliquis alius prædicta dumtaxat auctoritate ordinaverit, quicquam in eum præter fraternitatis obsequium præripiat. Hanc autem æcclesiam cæteris imperii vestri monasteriis quæ modo assurgunt, vel deinceps in omnem posteritatem nascentur, tanquam religionis primicias excipimus, quatinus apostolica gratia sui que Petri vestræque promotionis prærogativa præstet cæteris a Tamense fluvio in aquilonem, sicut et orta perhibetur mater primaria; abbas quoque ejus aliquis arctoæ plagæ prior habeatur et in omnibus conventibus anterior sedeat, ita dumtaxat ut ad sacræ fidei, religionis, caritatis, et concordiæ compaginem, loco primogeniti

## [APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

et vice Romana affectuose præluceat confratribus non imperet, sed et in aula regia et regalibus consiliis sicut et monasterii præstantia laudamus, ut primus vel inter primos adhæreat, et exemplo Saxulfi omnes successores opportune seu importune regem frequentent religiosa conversatione, a terrenis revocent, ad cœlestia erigant, ad pietatem, ad justitiam, ad Dei cultum, hortatu crebro accendant. Hanc quoque ad vestrum votum, non solum voluntarie verumetiam necessarie concedimus benedictionem huic apostolicæ æcclesiæ, quatinus tam vos quam cæteri populi vestri imperii totius quoque Britanniæ sed et proximorum regnorum nationes, quicumque, vel viæ longinquitate vel varia necessitudine præpediti, Romæ beatum Petrum in urbe sua revisere non sufficitis, hic eum spiritu nobis cohabitantem plena fide requiratis, hic vota persolvatis, hic absolutionem peccatorum et apostolicam benedictionem per ipsum ligandi ac solvendi principem fideliter speretis, et justa desideria cum precibus exaudiri ac cœli januam vobis aperiri credatis. Hæc igitur etc. quæcumque sunt tam a vobis quam a fratribus et antecessoribus vestris huic monasterio in æternam libertatem hæreditatemque perpetuam donata, ac privilegiorum sanctionibus perenniter commendata, quæcumque etiam in posterum aut a vobis aut a successoribus vestris vel a quibuslibet personis usque in finem jure tradentur, omnia, scilicet, secundum vestram postulationem apostolica beati Petri auctoritate confirmamus, et ita hæc observanda ab omnibus regibus et principibus Britanniæ contestamur, sicut ipsum cœli janitorem timent offendere. Si quis autem hæc in aliquo, quod absit, violare præsumperit, cujuscumque potestatis aut ordinis sit, excommunicatorio ipsius sancti Petri gladio, nisi emendaverit, excidatur. Qui vero custodierit, quique res æcclesiæ amplificare maluerit, ipsius clavigeri gratia suscipiatur, et sicut infernus raptoribus, ita defensoribus ejus paradisis aperiatur. Huic ergo definitioni regia dignitas vestra, ut vestram majestatem decet, indelebiter subscribat. Tua, quoque, devotio, reverentissime frater Theodore, quem tam Græcis quam Romanis institutionibus atque eruditionibus præstantissimum, in lucem totius Britanniæ, beatæ memoriæ Vitalianus prædecessor meus destinavit; hanc quæso regiam et apostolicam sæpeditæ æcclesiæ libertatem vobiscum corroborare, et omnem perversorum injuriam Divina animadversione recidere satagat; sed et cætera aquilonalia a Tamense monasteria hoc sibi cum abbate suo paterna auctoritate præstare unanimi corpore foveant. Similiter et tua caritas, frater Saxulfe, sicut et obnixè petisti hanc confirmationem perseverabiliter cum coepiscopis et amicis subscribi, ut, videlicet, nec tu nec quisquam successorum Episcoporum quicquam hujus æcclesiæ usurpet præter abbatis præsentis voluntatem, ne qua contentionis oriatur occasio. Sic vos omnes cum vestro rege filio nostro karissimo in pace custodiat Dei gratia. Hoc privilegium a sancto Papa Agathone,

[APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

assentiente concilio centum .XXV. Episcoporum, per reverentissimum Episcopum Wilfridum destinatum, ego Æthelredus Dei dono rex anno Domini .DC.LXXX. meique regni .VI. suscipiens, approbante etiam domino Archiepiscopo Theodoro cum concilio celebrato in campo Estfeld, tam gratanter regali subscriptione confirmo, quam ipse desideriosus in hoc exactor extiti, ut scilicet dilectum nobis monasterium beati Petri in Medeshamstede per industriam spiritualis patris nostri Saxulfi alienigena carnis genitore præeunte, benignissimæ memoriæ fratres mei Peada regaliter instituit, Wlferus regali opulencia et privilegio principaliter nobilitavit; ego quoque tam pro meæ animæ quam ipsorum fratrum salute, necnon et pro sacratissimis sororibus meis, beatissimæ scilicet memoriæ Kyneburga, et quæ adhuc superstes sacrata Christo virginitate deservit Kyneswida, et rebus augere et Divina auctoritate munire curavi. Proinde trado beato Petro in hoc loco Medeshamstede has terras et possessiones cum omnibus rebus ad eas pertinentibus, hoc est Bredune, Hrepinges, Cedenac, Swineshafed, Heanbyrig, Lodeshale, Scuffanhalth, Costesford, Stratford, Watleburne, Lusgard, Æthelhuniglond, Bardunig. Hæc, inquam, beato Petro regaliter habita regaliter concedo habenda in perpetuam hæreditatem atque liberrimam æcclesiæ proprietatem, obsecrans per ipsum apostolorum principem et per apostolicam sententiam præsumptam, ne quis unquam succedentium tam de hiis quam de omnibus rebus ad ipsam æcclesiam appendentibus quicquam detrahat. Quod si quis fecerit omnibus Episcopis dampnantibus et hiis præsentialiter subscribentibus apostolico gladio animadvertatur.

✠ Ego Theodorus, Romana legatione in hos fines terræ destinatus et licet indignus vice beatæ memoriæ Augustini Dorobernensi cathedra inthronizatus, juxta apostolicum Papæ Agathonis mandatum privilegium monasterii Medeshamstede subscriptione nostra confirmo, cujus inviolatores dampno et excommunico, defensores vero gratifico et benedico. ✠ Ego humilis Saxulfus regali beneficio ejusdem monasterii fundator, ita ipsius in omnibus libertatem et prærogativam corroborare gaudeo, sicut ei specialius optima omnia cupio, ut nichil usurpem vel de rebus vel officiis ipsius monasterii præter voluntatem et postulationem abbatis, nec ego nec successores mei; ego quoque omnem violentiæ abusionem anathemate hinc excludo. ✠ Ego Wilfridus apostolico favore repetens sedem Eboracensem testis et relator hujus sanctionis votivæ assentior. ✠ Ego Ostrich regina Æthelredi regis prompto animo hiis annuo. ✠ Ego Adrianus apostolicus legatus et comes et suffraganeus reverentissimo Theodoro hæc approbo. ✠ Ego Johannes Romanus legatus conlaudo. ✠ Ego Putta Rofensis Episcopus ultro subscribo. ✠ Ego Waldhere Lundoniensis Episcopus confirmo. ✠ Ego abbas Cuthbaldus ejusdem monasterii



Medeshamstede successor venerabilis Saxulfi speciali amore amplector, ut quisquis hæc servaverit valeat, quisquis prævaricatus fuerit, quod absit, omnium Episcoporum ac sacerdotum excommunicatione disperat. Amen.

*Anglo-Saxon version of the same, differing in many points from the Latin.*

Ic Agatho Papa of Rome grete wel seo wurðfulle Æðelred Myrcene kyning and se Ærcebiscep Theodorum of Cantwarbyrig. and seo Myrcene biscop Saxulf seo ær wæs abbot. and alle þa abbotes þa sindon on Englalande Godes gretinge and minre bletsunge. Ic haue geheord seo kyninges Æðelredes geornunge and þes Ærcebiscepes Theodorus. and þes Biscopes Saxulfes. and þes Abbotes Cuthbaldes. and ic hit wille þæt hit on ælle wise beo. swa swa ge hit sprecon hauen. And ic bebede of Godes half and S' Petres. and ealra halgan. and ealre hadode heafde. þæt ne kyning ne biscop ne eorl. ne nan man ne haue nan onsting. ne gafe ne geold ne feording ne nanes cinnes ðeudom ne nime man of þæt abbotrice of Medeshamstede.

Ic beode æc þæt þe scyrbiscop ne seo swa dystrelece þæt he ne hading ne haleging ne do on þis abbotrice buton seo abbot hit him bidde. ne biscopwite ne sinað ne nanes kinnes þing na haue þær nan onsting.

And ic wille þæt seo abbot beo gehealden for legat of Rome ofer eal þæt iglande. and hwilc abbot þe beþ þær coren of þe munecan þæt he beo gebletsad of þan Ærcebiscep of Cantwarbyrig.

I, Agatho, Pope of Rome, greet well the worshipful Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and the Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and the Bishop of the Mercians Saxulf, who before was abbot; and all the abbots that are in England: with God's greeting and my blessing. I have heard the yearning of King Ethelred and of the Archbishop Theodore, and of the Bishop Saxulf, and of the Abbot Cuthbald; and I will that it be in all wise as ye have spoken it. And I command on behalf of God and of S. Peter and of all Saints, and of all ordained persons, that neither King nor Bishop, nor earl, nor any man, have any authority, or gabel, or tax, or military service; nor let any man take any service of any kind from the abbacy of Medeshamstede.

I command also that the shire-bishop be not so bold that he perform any ordination or consecration in this abbacy, unless the abbot request it of him; nor have "biscop-wite" or synod or authority there of any kind.

And I will that the abbot be holden as legate of Rome, over all the island; and that every abbot who shall be there chosen by the monks be blessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

Ic wille and tyðe þæt hwilc man swa haueð behaten to faren to Rome and he ne muge hit forðian. ouðer for untrumnisse. ouðer for lauerdes neode. ouðer for haueleste. ouðer for hwilces cennes oðer neod he ne muge þær cumon. beo he of Englelande ouðer of hwilc oðer igland beo he. cume to þæt mynstre on Medeshamstede. and haue þæt ilce forgiueneesse of Criste and S' Peter. and of þone abbot and of þone muneca þæt he scolde hauen gif he to Rome fore.

Nu bidde ic þe broðer Theodorus þæt þu lete bedon geond æl Englelande þæt seo sinað wurðe gaderod. and þis write wurðe geredd and gehealdon. Al swa ic beode þe Saxulf biscop þæt swa swa þu hit geornest. þæt seo mynstre beo freo. swa ic forbeode þe and ealle þe biscopas þe æfter ðe cumon of Criste and of ealle his halgan þæt ge nan onsting ne hauen of þæt mynstre buton swa micel swa þone abbot wile.

Nu wille ic hit segge mid worde þæt hwa swa halt þis write and þis bode. þa wurðe he efre wuniende mid God Ælmihti on heuenrice. and hwa swa hit to breceð. þa wurðe he amansumed and aniðrod mid Iudas and mid ealle deofle on helle buton he cume to dedbote. Amen.

Ðas writ seonde seo Papa Agatho and an hundred and fif and twenti biscopes bi Wilfrid Ærcebishop of Eoferwic to Englelande. þis wæs gedon æfter ure Drihtnes acenned-

I will and grant that every man who hath promised to go to Rome, and cannot perform it, either from infirmity or his lord's need, or from lack of means, or from need of any other kind he cannot go thither, be he of England, or of whatsoever other island he be, let him come to the monastery of Medeshamstede, and have the same forgiveness of Christ and S. Peter, and of the abbot and of the monks, that he should have if he went to Rome.

I now pray thee, brother Theodore, that thou let be commanded throughout all England, that a synod be gathered, and this writ be read and observed. In like manner, I command thee, Bishop Saxulf, that so as thou yearnest that the monastery be free, so I forbid thee, and all the Bishops who shall come after thee, from Christ and from all his saints, from having any authority over the monastery, save as much as the abbot may allow.

I will now say by word, that whoso holds this writ and this order, may he be ever dwelling with God Almighty in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso violates it, be he excommunicated and cast down with Judas and with all the devils into hell, unless he come to repentance. Amen.

This writ Pope Agatho and a hundred and twenty-five; Bishops sent to England by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. This was done after the birth of our Lord DCLXXX,

## [APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

nesse DCLXXX. þes kiniges VI. the sixth year of King Ethelred.  
gear Æðelredes.

Ða heot seo kining þone Ærcebiscop Theodorus þæt he scolde setton ealle gewitenemot æt þone stede þæt man cleopeð Heatfelde. Ða hi wæron þær gegaderod. þa leot he rædon þa gewrite þe seo Papa þider seonde. and ealle hit getton and fulfeostnodon.

Ða seide se kining. Ealle þa þing þe min brøðer Peada. and min brøðer Wulfere. and mine swuster Kineburh and Kynesuith geafon and getton Sçe Peter and þone abbot þa wile ic þæt stande. and ic wile on min dæi hit æcon for here sawle. and for minre sawle.

Nu gife ic Sçe Peter to dæi into his minstre Medeshamstede þas landes. and eal þæt þær to liggeð. þet is

Bredune.  
Hrepingas.  
Cedenac.  
Swineshæfed.  
Heanbyrig.  
Lodeshac.  
Scuffanhalch.  
Costesford.  
Stretford.  
Wætelleburne.  
Lufgeard.  
Æþelhuniglond.  
Barþanig.

Ðas landes ic gife Sçe Peter eal swa freolice swa ic seolf hit ahte. and swa þæt nan min æftergengles þær nan þing of ne nime. Gif hwa hit doð. þes Papa curs of Rome and ealre biscope curs he habbe. and

Then the King commanded the Archbishop Theodore that he should appoint a meeting of all the *witan* at the place which is called Hatfield. When they were there gathered, he caused the writ to be read which the Pope had sent thither, and they all assented to and fully confirmed it.

Then said the King, "All the things which my brother Peada, and my brother Wulfere, and my sisters Kyneburh and Kyneswith, gave and granted to S. Peter and the abbot, I will that they stand; and I will in my day increase it, for their souls and for my soul.

I now give to-day to S. Peter, for his monastery at Medeshamstede, these lands and all thereto adjacent:

Bredune,  
Hrepingas,  
Cedenac,  
Swineshæfed,  
Heanbyrig,  
Lodeshac,  
Scuffanhalch,  
Costesford,  
Stretford,  
Wætelleburne,  
Lufgeard,  
Æthelhuniglond,  
Barthanig.

These lands I give to S. Peter as freely as I myself possessed them, and so that none of my successors take anything therefrom. If any one do it, may he have the curse of the Pope of Rome and the curse of all

## [APPENDIX TO COUNCIL OF HATFIELD.]

here ealre þe her be gewitnesse. and þis ic festnie mid Cristes tacne. ✠

Ic Theodorus Ærcebiscop of Cantwarbyrig am witnesse of þas gewrite of Medeshamstede. and ic festnie mid min gewrite. and ic amansumie ealle þa þær anþing of breke. and ic bletsie ealle þa þe hit healden. ✠

Ic Wilfrid Ærceb' of Æferwic ic eam witnesse of þas gewrite. and ic gæte þæs ilce curs. ✠

Ic Saxulf þe wæs first abbot and nu eam biscop ic gife hi min curs and ealle min æftergengle þe þis to breket.

Ic Ostriðe Æðelredes cwen hit tyðe.

Ic Adrianus legat hit iete.

Ic Putta Biscop of Rofecestre ic hit write.

Ic Waldhere Biscop of Lundene hit festnie.

Ic Cuðbald abbot hit geate swa þet hwa swa hit breket. ealre biscope cursunge and eal Cristene foces he hafe. Amen.

Bishops, and of all those that are here witnesses; and this I confirm with the sign of Christ. ✠

I, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this writ of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my writing; and I excommunicate all who shall violate anything thereof, and I bless all who shall hold it. ✠

I, Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, I am witness to this writing, and I assent to the same curse. ✠

I, Saxulf, who was first abbot and now am Bishop, I give them my curse and that of all my successors who shall violate this.

I, Osthryth, Ethelred's queen, grant it.

I, Adrian, legate, assent to it.

I, Putta, Bishop of Rochester, subscribe it.

I, Waldhere, Bishop of London, confirm it.

I, Cuthbald, Abbot, assent to it, so that whoso shall violate it, have he the cursing of all Bishops and of all Christian folk. Amen.

[*K. C. D. DCCCCXC.*; *S. I.* 164; *W. I.* 48-50. The Latin from *Reg. penes Dec. et Cap. Petriburg*; the Anglo-Saxon from the *Chronicle ad ann. 675* (ed. *Earle*, pp. 37-39); dating it however generally in Ethelred's time. The translation is mainly Thorpe's.]

<sup>a</sup> Wilfrid probably enough left Rome after Easter A.D. 680, and might have reached England before September. But when he landed there, he proceeded at once to Northumbria (*Edd. XXXIII.*), and was there cast into prison for nine months, ending in A.D. 681. It is not possible that he should have been at the council of Hatfield at all, much less as the recognized Bishop, still less Archbishop, of York. The document moreover

was "found" A.D. 963, under very suspicious circumstances (*A. S. C. ad an.*), and must share therefore the condemnation of the charter of Wulfhere and of the privilege of Vitalian granted to the same monastery. A privilege of Agatho to Ripon and Hexham jointly, brought by Wilfrid apparently at this time, is mentioned by Eddius (*XLV.* and *XLIX.*).

[PAPAL PRIVILEGES TO S. PAUL'S AND CHERTSEY.]

A.D. 678 × 681. *Privilege of Agatho to the Church of S. Paul, London.*  
[*Corrupt and spurious.*]

*Dilectissimo nobis Erkenwaldo Episcopo monasterii S. Pauli*, AGATHO PAPA SERVUS SERVORUM DEI. Quæ ad securitatem et refugium fideliter Deo servientium pertinent, sollerti cura speculatoris oportet perspicere vigilantiam, ut dum immunitati devote Deo servire cupientium prospexerit, plurimos ad bonæ conversationis indolem provocet. Rogas pro hoc privilegio ex Apostolica auctoritate concesso, sub tuitionem hujus ac regulam perhenniter conservari. Hujus postulationis probabilem ac spiritualem judicantes intentum, quod etiam maximos præsules et doctores Ecclesiæ fecisse meminimus, statuimus atque decernimus venerabile monasterium in Londonia civitate, quod dedicatum est in nomine S. Pauli Apostoli, gentium doctoris, cujus Divina dignatio prece nos voluit ita, videlicet, ut nihil de rebus ecclesiæ vel materiis in ejus nomine oblati ac consecratis, ab jure venerabilis monasterii, a tua reverentia subtrahatur. Hic pacifico tempore a Deo concesso, qui ad Episcopatus ministerium delatus fuerit se ipsum apostolicis repræsentet obtutibus, ut ex hoc illibatam firmitatem obtineat. Si vero presbyterum ob missarum solempnia sibi proposerint consecrari, dum vero ad percipiendam laborum vicissitudinem de hoc migraverit sæculo, eligendi Episcopum licentiam soli congregationi ejusdem venerabilis monasterii concedimus. Si quis vero hanc libertatem augere voluerit, adaugeat Omnipotens Deus sibi longævam in hoc sæculo vitam, et post finem istius vitæ cælestis regni jocunditatem: si quis vero quod non optamus hujus decreti syncrasian infringere temptaverit, aut aliter quam a nobis statutum est mutare studuerit, sit a consortio Christi et Ecclesiæ et a collegio omnium Sanctorum in hoc et in futuro sæculo segregatus<sup>a</sup>. [*Dugdale, Hist. Eccl. Cath. S. Pauli*, ed. *Ellis*, p. 289, from MSS. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's.]

<sup>a</sup> It will be easily seen that this document is an awkward and corrupt fabrication, founded on the language of that which follows it.

A.D. 678 × 681. *Privilege of Agatho to the Monastery of Chertsey.*  
[*Probably a forgery of the time of Edgar*<sup>a</sup>.]

*Dilectissimo nobis Erkenwaldo Episcopo nunc abbati monasterii de Certe-*  
*seg*, AGATHO EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI. Quæ ad securitatem  
VOL. III.

[PAPAL PRIVILEGE TO CHERTSEY.]

et refugium fideliter Deo servientium pertinent sollerti cura speculatoris oportet prospicere vigilantiam, ut dum immunitati devote Deo servire cupientium prospexerit, plurimos ad bonæ conversationis indolem provocet. Iccirco tuæ reverentiæ obsecrationem effectui mancipantes, rogantis post multas ecclesiasticæ dispensationis sollicitudines diversosque labores et corporales molestias, ob corporis inbecillitatem et senium, licentiam tibi a nobis concedi ut venerabilis monasterii cuius nuper dispensationem facere noscebaris contentus latibulo, Divino servitio sedule deditus, ejusdem tantum regularem dispensationem et disciplinam exerceas, ad deserviendum adtentius Deo nullis negotiis sæcularibus saltemve ecclesiasticis sollicitudinibus et curis occupatus; rogasque per hoc privilegium ex apostolica auctoritate concedi; hujus postulationis probabilem ac spiritalem judicantes affectum, quod etiam maximos præsules et doctores ecclesiæ fecisse meminimus; statuímus atque decernimus venerabile monasterium quod appellatur Certeseya, situm in regione Surreyæ, juxta fluvium quod appellatur Tamisa; in quo et oratorium in nomine beati Petri apostolorum principis dedicatum est, a tua reverentia in omnibus dispensari sub tuitionem videlicet ac regulam hujus apostolicæ sedis cujus divina dignatio præesse nos voluit; ita videlicet ut nihil de rebus ecclesiæ vel materiis in ejus nomine oblatis ac consecratis ad jus memorati venerabilis monasterii a tua reverentia subtrahatur. Propterea nulli aditum licentiamve concedimus cuilibet dispensationi ejus se ipsum immiscere saltemve introeundi non rogatum a religioso abbate qui pro tempore fuerit facultatem habere vel disciplinæ monachicæ semet ipsum inserere, seu de numero Episcoporum quisquam sit, sive presbyterorum vel diaconorum vel quiqui ecclesiastici ordinis fuerint, similiter etiam laicorum; sed totius dispensationis summam et regularis disciplinæ custodiam tuæ reverentiæ vel qui pro tempore huic monasterio ex apostolica auctoritate præfuerint tantum concedimus. Dum vero ad percipiendam laborum vicissitudinem de hoc migraverit sæculo, eligendi abbatis licentiam soli congregationi ejusdem venerabilis monasterii concedimus; et dum inter eos convenerit de probitate vitæ atque sollertia abbatis electi consona postulatione eligentis et electi, simul Episcopum vicinum expostulent electum abbatem Episcopali benedictione consecrare. Tuncque pacifico tempore a Deo concesso, qui ad abbatis ministerium delatus fuerit, semet ipsum apostolicis representet obtuitibus, ut ex hoc illibatam firmitatem optineat. Si vero

## [PAPAL PRIVILEGE TO CHERTSEY.]

presbyterum ob missarum sollempnia sibi poposcerint consecrari, prius apud semet ipsos tam religiosus abbas quamque ejus congregatio electionem faciant dignæ personæ, et quem voluerint venerabilium Episcoporum vicinum expostulent. Cumque rogatus fuerit, canonicam de eo sollicite inquisitionem efficiat, et dum inoffensum invenerit ad sacerdotium promoveat. Similiter autem et si diaconem sibi fieri poposcerint. Neque tamen ex hoc quod ordinationem presbyteri vel diaconi erga eorum postulationem hunc facere præcepimus, facultatem ullam prensandi vel usurpandi dominium in qualibet re vel materia ei concedere noscitur; nulli licentiam concedentes quæquæ Deo seu a Christianis et sublimibus regibus sive a quocunque fidelium aut infidelium, eidem venerabili monasterio oblata sunt vel dicata, vel post hoc quacunque obvenerint, utpote Divinæ majestati semel consecrata, de iis aliquid segregandi atque usurpandi quocunque modo vel tempore; sed tantum luminariis venerabilis monasterii, ibique Deo servientium sustentationi proficiant, illud Ananiæ et Saphiræ eis opposcentes exemplum. Qui vero obstinatis mentibus contra hujus privilegii apostolica auctoritate suffulti dispositionem venire tentaverit, ex auctoritate apostolica cujus Dei nutu ministerio fungimur decernentes sancimus, si quidem Episcopus fuerit, presbiter vel diaconus, ab ordine quo intra ecclesiam fungebatur, se noverit esse dejectum; similiter de numero clericorum cujuslibet ordinis fuerit; sin vero laicus qui tam profanam præsumptionem proruperit, primum quidem sciat se ante Deum cum Judex advenerit æterna condemnatione percelli, quod res ei a Christianis oblatas atque ejus nomini dedicatas humano ambitu vel ineffrænata cupiditate usurpare temptaverit, ita quoque a participatione sacratissimi Corporis et Sanguinis Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi, ex apostolica auctoritate se noverit alienum. Culpas denique delinquentium servorum Dei apostolicæ sedis reservamus judicio erga canonicam sanctionem plectendas. Cum omni denique districtione sollertia tua invigilet ac reverenda religiosaque sedulitas, tam in Psalmorum sollempniis statutis temporibus deferendis, quam in disciplina conversationis monachicæ laudabiliter conservanda, ut exemplum atque hortamen et incentiva virtutum tua tuæque congregationis probitas censeatur. Ad cujus decretalis privilegii firmitatem apostolica auctoritate suffulti manus nostræ subscriptionem impressimus, bullamque nominis nostri adnecti præcepimus. ✠ Bene valete. ✠ [MSS. Cotton. Vitellius, A. XIII. fo. 24.]

## [GLASTONBURY ENGLISH.]

\* There can be little doubt as to the spuriousness of this and the preceding document, which is indeed a clumsy adaptation of it to another church; but they are valuable as

showing the amount of independence desired or claimed by the two houses at the time they were drawn up.

Before A.D. 680. *Anglo-Saxon re-foundation of the Abbey of Glastonbury* <sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 680, July 6. *Grant of Land by Bishop Heddi of Wessex to Hemgislus, abbot.*

Regnante ac gubernante nos Domino nostro Jesu Christo! mense Julio, pridie nonas, Indictione V., anno incarnationis ejusdem DCLXXX. Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, verum nec auferre possumus; ideo terrenis cælestia et caducis æterna comparanda sunt. Qua propter ego Eddi Episcopus terram quæ dicitur Lantocal, tres cassatos, Hemgislo abbati libenter largior: necnon terram in alio loco, duas manentes, hoc est in insula quæ giro cingitur hinc atque illinc pallude, cujus vocabulum est Ferramere. Denique solerter peto, ut nullus post obitum nostrum hoc donativum in irritum facere presumat. Siquis vero id temptaverit, sciat se Christo rationem redditurum.

✠ Ego Eddi Episcopus subscripsi. [MS. Bodl. Wood I., as printed in *K. C. D. XIX.*; *Mon. Angl. I. 47.*]

<sup>a</sup> Glastonbury must have been British territory until between A.D. 652 and 658; and there seems little doubt that the West Saxon Christians at the time of its conquest allowed the monastery which they found there to continue. A spurious charter of Cenwalch to Abbot Brihtwald, A.D. 670, is in *K. C. D.*; and next comes this of Heddi, which Kemble allows to be genuine. See also below under

A.D. 723. The account of William of Malmesbury (*De Antiquitate Glastoniæ*) is founded mainly upon the charters, fictitious as well as genuine, and can count for nothing more than the twelfth-century tradition of the monastery itself. Hemgis heads the list of the abbots of Glastonbury given in the MS. *Tiberius B. V.*, which contains a tenth-century list of the English Bishops.

A.D. 680. *Northumbrian Witenagemot, at which Agatho's decree restoring Wilfrid is rejected.*

EDD. V. *Wilf. XXXIII.*—Deinde longa spatia terrarum peragrans, Dei adjutorio in navigio maris magnitudinem superans, inlæsus cum omnibus evasit ad regionem propriam, in subditorum suorum tædio languentium, et ad Deum cum lacrymis clamantium, gaudium maximum, vita comite veniens, vexillum victoriæ ferens, hoc est apostolicæ sedis judicium secum deportans, pacifice salutans regem adiit, regique

The Northumbrians refuse to receive Wilfrid; and he is thrown into prison for nine months.



## [REJECTION OF PAPAL SENTENCE FOR WILFRID.]

humiliter scripta apostolicæ sedis judicia cum totius synodi consensu et subscriptione ostendens, cum bullis et sigillis signatis reddidit: deinde omnibus principibus ibidem habitantibus, nec non servis Dei in locum synodalem accersitis, ad audienda salutifera consilia, ab apostolica sede causa pacis Ecclesiarum transmissa. Postquam vero quædam difficilia sibi, et suæ voluntati contraria lecta audiverunt, contumaciter quidam ex eis respuerunt. Insuper (quod exsecrabilis erat) diffamaverunt in animarum suarum perniciem, ut pretio redempta essent scripta, quæ ad salutem observantium ab apostolica sede destinata sunt. Tum vero jussione regis et ejus consiliatorum, cum consensu Episcoporum, qui ejus Episcopatum tenebant, in custodiam ducere, et novem menses sine ullo honore custodire censuerunt. [Ed. *Gale*, p. 69, collated with MS. Fell 1; *W. I.* 55.]

A.D. 681. *Further subdivision of part of Northumbria, viz. of Bernicia, by Theodore.*

Division of the Bernician diocese between Lindisfarne and Hexham, and establishment of a see at Abercorn.

BÆD. *H. E. IV.* 12.—Qui (Theodorus) etiam post tres abscissionis Wilfridi annos (679-681) horum (Episcoporum Nordanhymbrorum) numero duos addidit antistites, Tunberctum ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem, remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem, et Trumvini ad provinciam Pictorum<sup>a</sup>, quæ tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subjecta. Eadhædum de Lindissi reversum, eo quod Ædilred provinciam recepisset, Hrypensi Ecclesiæ<sup>b</sup> præfecit. [*M. H. B.* 222.]

<sup>a</sup> Oswy, King of Northumberland, conquered the Picts south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde about A.D. 655 (*B. III.* 24); and A.D. 685 the Angles were driven away again (*B. IV.* 26). Trumwini's residence was at Abercorn on the Firth of Forth, whence he fled in A.D. 685 (*B. IV.* 26). Florence (*Catal. M. H. B.* 626) describes his see as "Candida Casa," or Whitherne, which is sim-

ply a blunder.

<sup>b</sup> If Ripon then became a Bishop's see, which is possible, it at any rate ceased to be so and was merged again in York on Wilfrid's first restoration, in A.D. 686. See below, p. 169. The King wished to make it one in A.D. 691, and Florence expressly calls Eadhæd "Episcopus Rhipensium" (*Catal. M. H. B.* 625).

A.D. 684. *Council of T'wyford (on the Alne in Northumberland), which elects Cuthbert to the See of Lindisfarne<sup>a</sup>.*

Elects Cuthbert to the see of Hexham on Tunberct's deposition; but at

BÆD. *H. E. IV.* 28.—Cum ergo multis ibidem annis Deo solitarius serviret (i. e. Cuthbert in his cell at Farne), \* \* \* contigit ut congregata synodo non parva sub præsentia regis Ecgrifi juxta fluvium Alne, in loco qui dicitur

[COUNCIL OF TWYFORD.]

his own desire transfers Cuthbert to Lindisfarne, and Eata of Lindisfarne to Hexham.

Adtuifyrði, quod significat, *ad duplex vadum*, cui beatæ memoriæ Theodorus Archiepiscopus præsidebat, uno animo omniumque consensu ad Episcopatum Ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis eligeretur. Qui cum multis legatariis ac literis ad se præmissis, nequaquam suo monasterio posset erui; tandem rex ipse præfatus, una cum sanctissimo antistite Trumuine, nec non et aliis religiosis ac potentibus viris insulam navigavit. Conveniunt et de ipsa insula Lindisfarnensi in hoc ipsum multi de fratribus, genuflectunt omnes, adjurant per Dominum, lacrimas fundunt, obsecrant; donec ipsum quoque lacrimis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris, atque ad synodum pertrahunt. Quo dum perveniret, quamvis multum renitens, unanimes cunctorum voluntate superatur, atque ad suscipiendum Episcopatus officium collum submittere compellitur: eo maxime victus sermone, quod famulus Domini Boisil, cum ei mente prophetica cuncta quæ eum essent superventura patefaceret, antistitem quoque eum futurum esse prædixerat. Nec tamen statim ordinatio decreta, sed peracta hieme quæ imminebat, in ipsa solemnitate Paschali completa est Eburaci sub præsentia præfati Regis Ecgfridi, convenientibus ad consecrationem ejus septem Episcopis in quibus beatæ memoriæ Theodorus primatum tenebat. Electus est autem primo in Episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ pro Tunbercto qui ab Episcopatu fuerat depositus: sed quoniam ipse plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiæ in qua conversatus fuerat, dilexit præfici; placuit ut Eata reverso ad sedem ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis cui regendæ primo fuerat ordinatus, Cudberct ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet. [*M. H. B.* 244; see also *B. H. E. IV.* 26 and 27, and *V. Cuthberti*, XXIV.; *W. I.* 55, 56.]

\* Cuthbert was consecrated at York by Theodore and seven Bishops at Easter, March 26, A.D. 685 (*B. IV.* 28). The charter of Ecgfrid purporting to be granted to Cuthbert at Twyford, which gives the subscriptions of Theodore and seven Bishops (*K. C. D. XXV.*), and from which Wilkins took his account of the council, is a clear forgery. It dates the synod, as well as the consecration, in A.D. 685; and of the Bishops named in addition to Theodore, only Eata and Trumwini (the two mentioned by Bede), and Bosa the third Northumbrian Bishop, are correctly described. Cedd, of London, died in A.D. 664; Chad, of Lichfield, in A.D. 672; Saxulf (who succeeded Chad, with Winfrid between them) signs the charter along with Chad, and was in

A.D. 684 Bishop of Lichfield only, not of the Mercians generally; Eadhæd had ceased to be Bishop of Lindsey since A.D. 679; and Agatho, in whose time the charter purports to be written, died in A.D. 682. The gift of land, however, mentioned in the charter is spoken of also by Simeon of Durham (*Hist. Dun. I.* 9, ap. *Twysden.* 5); and Luguballia or Carlisle, which is part of the gift, is connected with S. Cuthbert by Bede (*IV.* 29). Further, "Rex Ecgfridus et Theodorus Archiepiscopus dederunt Sancto Cudbercto in civitate Eburaca totam terram a muro ecclesiæ Sancti Petri usque magnam portam versus occidentem, et a muro ipsius ecclesiæ usque murum civitatis versus austrum." *Sim. Dun. I.* 9, quoted by Smith, *ad loc. Bæd.*, and by Wilkins.

A.D. 681–686. *Conversion of the South Saxons by Wilfrid<sup>a</sup>, and of the Isle of Wight by Priests sent by him (A.D. 686) during his exile.*

Sussex.

BÆD. H. E. IV. 13.—Divertens (Wilfrid) ad provinciam Australium Saxonum, quæ post Cantuarios ad austrum et ad occidentem usque ad Occidentales Saxones pertingit, habens terram familiarum septem millium, et eo adhuc tempore paganis cultibus serviebat; hinc verbum fidei et lavacrum salutis ministrabat. Erat autem rex gentis ipsius Ædilvalch, non multo ante baptizatus in provincia Merciorum, præsentem ac suggerentem Rege Vulphere, a quo etiam, egressus de fonte, loco filii susceptus est: in cuius signum adoptionis, duas illi provincias donavit, Vectam videlicet insulam, et Meanvarorum provinciam in gente Occidentalium Saxonum. Itaque Episcopus, concedente, immo multum gaudente rege, primos provinciæ duces ac milites sacrosancto fonte abluebat; verum presbyteri Eappa, et Padda, et Burghelm, et Oiddi, cæteram plebem, vel tunc vel tempore sequente baptizabant. Porro Regina nomine Eabæ in sua, id est, Huicciorum provincia, fuerat baptizata. Erat autem filia Eanfridi, fratris Eanheri, qui ambo cum suo populo Christiani fuere. Cæterum, tota provincia Australium Saxonum divini nominis et fidei erat ignara.

Scottish mission  
already there.

Erat autem ibi monachus quidam de natione Scotto-  
rum; vocabulo Dicul, habens monasteriolum permodicum in loco qui vocatur Bosanhamm, silvis et mari circumdatum, et in eo fratres quinque sive sex, in humili et paupere vita Domino famulantes. Sed provincialium nullus eorum vel vitam æmulari, vel prædicationem curabat audire.

Mission. See of  
Selsey not formally  
established until A.D.  
709.

Evangelizans autem genti Episcopus Vilfrid, non solum eam ab ærumna perpetuæ damnationis, verum et a clade infanda temporalis interitus eripuit. Siquidem tribus annis ante adventum ejus in provinciam, nulla illis in locis pluvia ceciderat, unde et fames acerbissima plebem invadens impia nece prostravit. Denique ferunt quia sæpe quadraginta simul aut quinquaginta homines inedia macerati procederent ad præcipitium aliquod sive ripam maris, et junctis misere manibus, pariter omnes aut ruina perituri, aut fluctibus absorbendi deciderent. Verum ipso die, quo baptisma fidei gens suscepit illa, descendit pluvia serena sed copiosa, refluoruit terra, rediit viridantibus arvis annus lætus et frugifer. Sicque abjecta prisca superstitione, exsufflata idolatria, cor

[CONVERSION OF SOUTH SAXONS.]

omnium et caro omnium exultaverunt in Deum vivum: intelligentes, eum, qui verus est Deus, et interioribus se bonis et exterioribus cælesti gratia ditasse. Nam et antistes cum venisset in provinciam, tantamque ibi famis pœnam videret, docuit eos piscando victum quærere. Namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant; sed piscandi peritia genti nulla nisi ad anguillas tantum inerat. Collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et Divina se juvante gratia mox cepere pisces diversi generis trecentos: quibus trifariam divisit, centum pauperibus dederunt, centum his a quibus retia acceperant, centum in suos usus habebant. Quo beneficio multum antistes cor omnium in suum convertit amorem, et libentius eo prædicante cælestia sperare cœperunt, cujus ministerio temporalia bona sumpserunt.

Quo tempore Rex Ædilvalch donavit reverentissimo antistiti Vilfrido terram octoginta septem familiarum, ubi suos homines qui exules vagabantur, recipere posset, vocabulo Selæseu, quod dicitur Latine Insula Vituli Marini. Est enim locus ille undique mari circumdatus præter ab occidente, unde habet ingressum amplitudinis quasi jactus fundæ: qualis locus a Latinis peninsula, a Græcis solet cherronesos vocari. Hunc ergo locum cum accepisset Episcopus Vilfrid, fundavit ibi monasterium, ac regulari vita instituit, maxime ex his quos secum adduxerat fratribus: quod usque hodie successores ejus tenere noscuntur. Nam ipse illis in partibus annos quinque, id est, usque ad mortem Ecgfridi regis, merito omnibus honorabilis, officium Episcopatus et verbo exercebat et opere. Et quoniam illi rex cum præfata loci possessione, omnes qui ibidem erant, facultates cum agris et hominibus donavit, omnes fide Christi institutos, unda baptismatis abluit; inter quos, servos et ancillas ducentos quinquaginta: quos omnes ut baptizando a servitute dæmonica salvavit, etiam libertate donando humanæ jugo servitutis absolvit. [*M. H. B.* 223, 224; *S. I.* 178, 179; *W. IV. App.* 742.]

Isle of Wight. *BÆD. H. E. IV.* 16—Postquam ergo Cædualla regno potitus est Geuissorum, cepit et insulam Vectam, quæ eatenus erat tota idolatriæ dedita; tragica cæde omnes indigenas exterminare, ac suæ provinciæ homines pro his substituere contendit, voto se obligans, quamvis necdum regeneratus, ut ferunt, in Christo, quia, si cepisset insulam, quartem partem ejus, simul et prædæ, Domino daret. Quod ita solvit, ut hanc Vilfrido Episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua superveniens aderat, utendam pro Domino offerret. Est autem men-

## [SYNOD OF BURFORD.]

sura ejusdem insulæ, juxta æstimationem Anglorum, mille ducentarum familiarum: unde data est Episcopo possessio terræ trecentarum familiarum. At ipse partem quam accepit, commendavit cuidam de clericis suis, cui nomen Bernuini, et erat filius sororis ejus, dans illi presbyterum nomine Hiddila, qui omnibus qui salvari vellent, verbum ac lavacrum vitæ ministraret. \* \* \* \* Hoc ergo ordine, postquam omnes Britanniarum provinciæ fidem Christi susceperant, suscepit et insula Vecta, in qua tamen ob ærumnam externæ subjectionis, nemo gradum ministerii ac sedis Episcopalis ante Danihelem, qui nunc Occidentalium Saxonum est Episcopus, accepit. [M. H. B. 226; S. I. 180, 181; W. IV. App. 743.]

<sup>a</sup> Wilfrid, set free at the request of Egfrid's wife and mother, fled to Mercia, was driven thence by King Ethelred to please Egfrid, and fled to Kentwin in Wessex; driven again from Wessex, he took refuge with King Ethelwalch, then lately converted (B. IV. 13), in Sussex, which was still pagan (Edd. XXXVIII.-XL.). In A.D. 684 or 685 Wilfrid appears to have

appealed again to the Pope, Benedict II., and according to his biographer's statement, to have obtained a sentence, but a fruitless one, in his favour (Edd. XLIX. L.). Cædwalla of Wessex, a heathen, or at least not baptized (B. V. 7), took up his cause on his accession to the West-Saxon throne in A.D. 685.

A.D. 685, July 30. *A Mercian Synod at Berghford (Burford, Oxon), witnesses a grant of land made by King Berhtwald to Aldhelm and the Abbey of Malmesbury, according to a questionable charter of that date<sup>a</sup>.* [K. C. D. XXVI.]

<sup>a</sup> Berhtwald, the grantor, was an under-king of Ethelred of Mercia, the same that gave refuge to Wilfrid until Ethelred forced him away (Edd. XXXIX.). The deed purports to have been "actum publice in synodo juxta vadum Berghford, mense Julio, tricesima die mensis ejusdem, Indictione XIII<sup>o</sup>, anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo XXXV<sup>o</sup>;" and it

records the assent of Ethelred, King of Mercia. Kemble seems to remove all ground of suspicion from it by suggesting that an L has been dropped in writing the date, and reading "sexcentesimo LXXXV<sup>o</sup>." This, as he says, would reconcile the indiction with the year, and account for the mention of Ethelred.

A.D. 686, June. *Theodore witnesses a Charter of Eadric, King of Kent, to S. Peter's (S. Augustin's) Monastery at Canterbury.* [K. C. D. XXVII.]

A.D. 686. *Theodore, reconciled to Wilfrid, procures his restoration, but to the Bishopric of York only<sup>a</sup>, as limited by Theodore's divisions of A.D. 678 and 681; those divisions remaining intact.*

I. *Interview at London between Theodore and Wilfrid, in the presence of Erkenwald, Bishop of London.*

Theodore, according to Edd. V. *Wilfr. XLII.*—Eodem quoque tempore Theodorus, gratia Dei Archiepiscopus, auctoritatem apostolicæ

[FIRST RESTORATION OF WILFRID.]

dius, acknowledges himself in the wrong, promises to seek Wilfrid's restoration, and offers to procure him the Archbishopric of Canterbury on his own death.

sedis, a qua missus erat, metu agitante honorificans, cum beato Wilfrido Episcopo nostro diu exule spoliato vere amicitiam inire diutius moratus non distulit. Nam cum Theodorus Archiepiscopus in senecta uberi frequenti infirmitate anxius est, ad Lundoniam civitatem Wilfridum, et Erconwaldum suos Episcopos ad se invitavit: venientibus autem illis Archiepiscopus sapienter totius vitæ suæ cursum cum confessione coram Domino pure revelavit, dicens: "Et hoc maxime scrupulum me premit, quod in te, sanctissime Episcope, commisi, consentiens Regibus, sine causa peccati, propriis substantiis spoliatis te, et, mœrentibus subjectis tuis, in longum exilium exterminantibus (heu pro dolor) omnis, omnis mali. Et nunc confiteor Domino et Sancto Petro Apostolo; et vos, Coepiscopi mei, testes estote, ut cunctos amicos meos regales et principes eorum ubique ad amicitiam tuam, pro remissione peccati mei, per omnem modum volentes nolentesque constringens adtraho. Scio enim post hunc annum, appropinquantem vitæ meæ terminum secundum Domini revelationem, et ideo adjuro te per Deum, et sanctum Petrum, mihi consentire, ut in sedem meam Archiepiscopalem superstitem et hæredem vivens te constituam: quia veraciter in omni sapientia et in judiciis Romanorum eruditissimum te vestræ gentis agnovi." Tunc sanctus Wilfridus Episcopus dixit: "Det tibi Dominus et Sanctus Petrus remissionem omnis controversiæ in me commissæ, et ero pro tua confessione orans pro te amicus in perpetuum: et modo primum mitte nuntios cum litteris ubique ad amicos tuos, ut nostram reconciliationem in Domino, et me olim innoxium exspoliatum agnoscant; et mihi per tuam adjurationem in Domino secundumque præceptum Apostolicæ sedis partem aliquam substantiæ meæ restituant; et postea, Deo volente, quis dignus sit sedem Episcopalem post te accipere, cum consensu tuo in majori consilio consiliemur."

Deinde Archiepiscopus, post pactum veræ pacis initum, ad Aldfrithum Regem Aquilonalium misit litteras, per quas adjuravit eum, ut propter timorem Domini, præceptisque apostolicæ sedis præsulum, et pro redemptione animæ Ecfriithi Regis, qui primus Episcopum nostrum privatum omnibus de patria innocentem exterminavit, reconciliari sub fœdere pacis ad multorum salutem cum eo dignatus sit. Non solum autem hunc regem Archiepiscopus ad concordiam excitavit: sed sibi ubique amicos, quasi prius inimicos, facere diligenter excoGITAVIT. Nam ad Ælflædam sanctam Virginem et abbatissam

## [FIRST RESTORATION OF WILFRID.]

suas litteras emittens, in quibus commendans secundum auctoritatem apostolicæ sedis, ut pacem cum sancto Wilfrido Episcopo sine dubio iniret: nec non Ethelredum Regem Merciorum adjurans, et in sua et Christi caritate, secundum quod prius in mente habebat, suscipere eum his sequentibus dictis præcepit. [Ed. *Gale*, p. 73; see *W. I.* 64.]

<sup>a</sup> The Bishopric of York which Wilfrid governed from A.D. 669 to 678, and that to which he was restored in A.D. 686, were by no means the same: and in accepting the latter he gave up the whole question of the division of the bishopric, and accepted the limits laid down by Theodore in A.D. 678 and 681. 1. Lindsey had been cut off, by the result of its recovery by Mercia, as well as by the division of A.D. 678; and 2. Abercorn in the same way, by its reconquest by the Picts, as well as by the act of A.D. 681. 3. Lindisfarne remained in Cuthbert's hands, and was merely administered for a year by Wilfrid, on Cuthbert's death, until a successor was consecrated; and 4. Hexham, to which Eata had been transferred from Lindisfarne in A.D. 685, was, upon Eata's death in A.D. 686, held by Wilfrid for a year only (much as he just afterwards held Lindisfarne), until John of Beverley

was consecrated to it (*B. IV.* 2) in A.D. 687 (*B. V.* 7). Florence indeed (*ad an.* 686) affirms Wilfrid to have been restored, on this his first restoration, to Hexham only; but Eddius is the best authority on such a point, and Florence seems simply to have confounded the first with the second restoration. He dates the death of Bosa, and the translation of John from Hexham to York, in A.D. 686; and omits the second restoration in A.D. 705 altogether. John of Beverley was certainly Bishop of Hexham in A.D. 691 (*B. V.* 24). William of Malmesbury, indeed, asserts that both Bosa was expelled from York and John from Hexham to make way for Wilfrid (*G. P. III.*); but John's consecration, as calculated by the specified duration of his pontificate, only dates from A.D. 687. Hexham was vacant in A.D. 686, by the death of Eata.

II. A.D. 686. *Letter of Theodore<sup>a</sup> to Ethelred, King of Mercia, on Wilfrid's behalf.*

“*Gloriosissimo et excellentissimo Ethelredo Regi Merciorum* THEODORUS, GRATIA DEI ARCHIEPISCOPUS, IN DOMINO PERENNEM SALUTEM. Cognoscat itaque, fili mi dilectissime, tua miranda sanctitas, pacem me in Christo habere cum venerando Episcopo Wilfrido, et idcirco te carissime, paterna dilectione ammoneo, et in Christi caritate tibi præcipio, ut ejus sanctæ devotioni, quantum vires adjuvant, præstante Deo patrocinium, sicut semper fecisti, quamdiu vivas, impendas: quia longo tempore propriis orbatus substantiis inter paganos in Domino multum laboravit. Et idcirco ego Theodorus, humilis Episcopus, decrepita ætate hoc tuæ beatitudini suggero: quia apostolica hoc velut sanctis commendat auctoritas, ut vir ille supra nominatus sanctissimus in patientia sua, sicut dicit Scriptura, possideat animam suam, et injuriarum sibi injuste inrogatarum [immemor] humilis et mitis caput suum Dominum Salvatorem sequens, et medicinam expetens, et si inveni gratiam in conspectu tuo, licet tibi pro longinquitate itineris durum esse videatur, oculi mei faciem tuam jocundam videant, et benedicat tibi anima mea, antequam moriar. Age ergo,

[FIRST RESTORATION OF WILFRID.]

fili mi, fili mi, taliter de illo suprafato viro sanctissimo, sicut te deprecatus sum. Quod si patri tuo non longe de hoc sæculo recessuro obedieris, multum tibi proficiet ad salutem. Vale in pace, vive in Christo, dege in Domino, Dominus sit tecum."

Ethelred yields. Quid plura dicam? Postquam Ethelredus Rex propter auctoritatem beatissimorum pontificum, Agathonis scilicet et Benedicti Sergiique, percipientium dignitatem Apostolicæ sedis, canonice et libenter pontificem nostrum suscipiens, multa monasteria, et regiones proprii juris reddens, habensque illum in summo honore dignitatis, usque ad finem vitæ fidelis amicus indesinenter perseveravit<sup>b</sup>. [*Edd. XLII.*, ed. *Gale*, p. 74; and from him, *W. Malm. G.P. III.*; see *W. I.* 64.]

<sup>a</sup> The other letters, mentioned above by Eddius, to Ealdfrith of Northumbria and to the Abbess Ælfleda, are not preserved.

<sup>b</sup> Eddius is guilty of an oversight in mentioning Sergius, who was Pope from A.D. 687 to 701, unless he means that Ethelred (k. 675-704, d. 716) in the latter part of his life paid respect to the judgment of

Sergius as well as of the other Popes mentioned. Wilfrid appeals to the decisions of the three Popes here named, in the subsequent council of Onestrefeld, A.D. 702; and in his petition to John IV., A.D. 704 (see below). Eddius may have got into the habit of naming the three together in this matter.

### III. A.D. 686. Restoration of Wilfrid by King Ealdfrith to the See of York, as limited by Theodore, and to his other possessions<sup>a</sup>.

Wilfrid restored, first to Hexham, vacant by the death of Eata, which he holds only for a year; then to the Bishopric of York and the Monastery of Ripon; and for one year, A.D. 687-688, between Cuthbert's death and the consecration of his successor Eadbert, to Lindisfarne.

EDD. V. *Wilfr.* XLIII.—Aldfrithus Rex . . . sanctum Wilfridum Episcopum nostrum de exilio, secundo anno regni sui, venerabiliter secundum præceptum Archiepiscopi ad se invitavit; et primum Cœnobium cum possessionibus adhærentibus in Hagustaldesie indulgens, et post intervallum temporis, secundum beatissimi Agathonis Apostolicæ sedis præsulis, et sanctæ synodi iudicium, propriam sedem Episcopalem in Eboraca civitate, et monasterium in Hrypis cum redditibus suis reddidit, expulsis de ea alienis Episcopis<sup>b</sup>. [Ed. *Gale*, p. 74; see also *B. V.* 19; *W. I.* 65.]

BÆD. H. E. IV. 29.—Episcopatum ecclesiæ illius (Lindisfarne) anno uno servabat venerabilis antistes Vilfrid, donec eligeretur qui pro Cuthbercto antistes ordinari deberet. [*M. H. B.* 246.]

<sup>a</sup> The beginning of the reign of Cædwalla of Wessex (*Edd. XLII.*), who began to reign A.D. 685 (*A. S. C.*), and the mention of the second year of Ealdfrith of Northumbria, who also began to reign in A.D. 685 (*B. IV.* 26),

fix the date of this the first restoration of Wilfrid.

<sup>b</sup> The expelled Bishops were Bosa of York, and Eadhad, who, since A.D. 679, had ruled the monastery of Ripon.



[THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

## PENITENTIALE THEODORI.

PRÆFATIO<sup>1</sup>.IN NOMINE DOMINI<sup>2</sup>.

INCIPIT PRÆFATIO LIBELLI QUEM PATER THEODORUS DIVERSIS INTERROGANTIBUS AD REMEDIUM TEMPERAVIT PENITENTIÆ<sup>3</sup>. DISCIPULUS UMBRENSIUM UNIVERSIS ANGLORUM<sup>4</sup> CATHOLICIS PROPRIÆ ANIMARUM MEDICIS SANABILEM SUPPLEX IN DOMINO CHRISTO SALUTEM.

[The following pages contain what may, with the utmost confidence, be affirmed to be the work known during the early middle ages as the Penitential of Theodore. It claims for itself the character of an original treatise: it expressly (in one MS.) describes itself as written, "consiliante Theodoro Archiepiscopo Angelorum;" and again, as the "Libellus quem Pater Theodorus diversis interrogantibus ad remedium temperavit," &c.; it contains, with very insignificant exceptions and those easily accounted for, every penitential sentence ascribed in the most ancient and independent collections to Theodore: and it contains them in a systematic form and arrangement, which confirm its claim to originality.

But although drawn up under the eye, and published with the authority of Theodore, it is not in the modern view a direct work of the great Archbishop. According to the preface, it is a collection of answers given by him to persons questioning him on the subject of penance: to which in Book II. are added answers on the whole range of ecclesiastical laws and discipline: most of them received by a priest named Eoda, "of blessed memory," from Theodore himself, and edited by a person who gives himself the title of "Discipulus Umbrensiū," meaning thereby either a native of Northumbria who had been a disciple of Theodore, or more probably an Englishman of southern birth who had studied under the northern scholars. Theodore's answers had been illustrated by Eoda (according to the probable meaning of a very corrupt sentence in the preface), by a comparison with a similar *libellus* of Scottish origin.

Of the questioner, Eoda, nothing whatever

is known, nor can any probable theory be conjectured which would identify him with any of the persons known by similar names such as Heddi, Headda, Etha, Eata, Eadhæd, or Aidanus. Nor is there any clue to the identification of the "Discipulus Umbrensiū." It is evident, however, that the former was dead when the work was drawn up; but there is nothing to make it improbable that it was drawn up with the sanction of Theodore himself, or under his eye: rather it may be said that the verses found at the end of the treatise, in which Theodore commends himself to the prayers of Bishop Hæddi, make it certain that this was the case.

The authority for the statement that Theodore himself drew up a Penitential is as old as the latter half of the eighth century, when the "Liber Pontificalis" (ed. *Vignol. Rom.* 1724, tom. I. p. 270, cited by Wasserschleben), and after it Paul Warnefrid, assert that he "peccantium iudicia, quantos scilicet annos pro unoquoque peccato quis pœnitere debeat, mirabili et discreta consideratione descripsit." The same assertion is made in Irish and French Penitentials from this date downwards; by Rabanus Maurus, who was a pupil of Alcuin, by Regino of Prüm and others.

Against this evidence may be set: 1. The silence of Bede, who could scarcely have failed to notice such a work, had it been current under Theodore's name in his time. 2. The fact that the English historians until a comparatively late period make no addition to Bede on this subject. Ralph de Diceto, A.D. 1200 (c. 440), copied the statement of Paul Warnefrid, whose words are given *in extenso* by Elmham (15th century) as his authority for the assertion. 3. The fact that the work

<sup>1</sup> The Preface is found entire in MS. *a.* only; part of it is in *d.*; the MS. from which the present text is taken contains only a mutilated fragment.

<sup>2</sup> Incipit nom. *a.*

<sup>3</sup> Libelli—penitentia] om. *d.*

<sup>4</sup> Anglorum] Angelorum, *d.*

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

before us might easily be mistaken by later and less learned scholars than Bede, for a direct work of Theodore.

1. But this negative argument must be carefully restricted as to its bearing on the main question. At the utmost it could be only applied to show that Bede either did not know the book or did not consider Theodore as the immediate author. It may not have been extensively published during Bede's life; or he may have regarded it primarily as the work of the "Discipulus Umbrensius." The verses addressed by Theodore to Hæddi, however, seem to imply that it was communicated by him to his Bishops, and this would seem conclusive against the supposition of Bede's ignorance: on the other hand, it should be stated that Bede nowhere quotes Theodore by name in his own genuine work on the subject of penance, nor can he be shown to have used the present book, although there is a good deal of matter common to both.

2. That Theodore's work was forgotten in England in the 12th century proves nothing. The sweeping destruction of native learning and learned men by the Danes, and the utter ignorance of the Church in the time of Alfred, amply account for the fact that later historians had to learn from foreign writers much concerning early history; especially on such a point as this, which through the exertions of the Scottish monks in the cause of asceticism, and the multiplication of penitential MSS. on the Continent, was better known there than at home.

3. But it cannot be considered a mistake that this work should be regarded as Theodore's. Archbishop Egbert of York, whose pontificate extended from A.D. 734 to A.D. 766, and whose memory must have covered at least twenty or thirty years earlier than the former date, twice in his genuine Penitential quotes Theodore by name (c. V. § 11 and preface); in the latter case reckoning Theodore with Paphnutius, Jerome, Augustin, and Gregory, as the chief authorities on the subject; in the former quoting *verbatim* lib. I. c. viii. § 6 of the present work. The Codex Canonum Hibernicorum, one MS. of which at least is of the 8th century (A.D. 763 × 790), also quotes the present work under the name of Theodore. And this being so, the technical question as to the direct authorship is simply answered; the "Discipulus Umbrensius" becomes the accredited reporter of Theodore's Determinations.

In the general obscurity arising from uncertainty of authorship, and literary communism, which complicates all questions of Penitential literature, it is not to be wondered at that various extracts from and reconstructions

of the original treatise should have passed in the middle ages, sometimes as the genuine work of Theodore, and sometimes as the composition of other writers. There is no evidence that the original was largely copied or directly known to any wide extent; its influence seems to have spread by means of extracts and by its partial incorporation with other similar codes. Hence has arisen the multiplication of works to which Theodore's name is prefixed, perhaps without any intention to deceive, and merely as claiming to represent his general views and authority. Several MSS. exist, as noted below, which have had their claims to be the original work asserted in their titles: and the same uncertainty has long prevailed as to the completeness and genuineness of the works published under this name.

1. The first attempt to discover and publish the Penitential of Theodore was made by Spelman who in the first volume of the *Concilia* (published A.D. 1639), gives a list of 78 chapters of a work which he found in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with the title "Pœnitentiale Theodori Archiepiscopi." He describes it as too long to be inserted whole, and adds that there was a difficulty about getting permission to transcribe it (S. I. 154). This is the MS. C. C. C. 190, which was printed, although not wholly, by the Record Commission in A.D. 1840, in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of the Anglo-Saxons*, under the editorship of Mr. Benjamin Thorpe.

2. In A.D. 1669, D'Achery in the ninth volume of the *Spicilegium* published from MSS. 120 "Capitula Selecta" ascribed to Theodore; these are reprinted by Wasser-schleben, arranged as forming 171 canons.

3. In A.D. 1671, D'Achery's Capitula were reprinted by Labbe and Cossart in the *Concilia*, VI. 1875.

4. In A.D. 1677, Jacques Petit published at Paris, under the title of "Theodori Pœnitentiale," a work in 14 chapters, which he found so described in two MSS. of the Library of De Thou. To these he added the Capitula of D'Achery and a quantity of other illustrative material, including a collection of 60 Capitula ascribed to Theodore and communicated to him from MSS. by Nicolas Favier, an advocate in the Parliament of Paris. The work in 14 chapters forms the second book of the Penitential as given in the present text.

5. In A.D. 1723, the new edition of D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, edited with the notes of Baluze and Martene by L. F. J. De la Barre (I. 486), contained the *Capitula Theodori*, increased by the care of Martene to 168. Of these the last twenty belong to Adamnan not

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

to Theodore. The rest are a re-arrangement of D'Achery's 120, in 148 canons.

6. In A.D. 1840, Mr. Benjamin Thorpe edited for the Record Commission the MS. which Spelman had believed to contain the true Penitential.

7. In A.D. 1844, Mr. Thorpe's Penitential was re-edited by Dr. Friedrich Kunstmann, at Mainz, in his work entitled "Die Lateinischen Pönentialbücher der Angelsachsen," with a careful historical introduction. Kunstmann also printed for the first time from a MS. at Ratisbon, a collection of 193 canons under the title of *Canones Gregoriani*, which are merely taken without any sort of arrangement from Theodore's genuine work. And some of these appear again in company with matter from wholly different sources in a Merseburg Penitential of much later date, and are described by Wasserschleben under the title of *Canones Merseburgenses*.

8. In A.D. 1851, Migne re-printed Petit's Penitential with a large part of the illustrative matter, in vol. 99 of the *Patrologia*.

9. In the same year 1851, at Halle, Dr. F. W. H. Wasserschleben, Professor of Law in the University of Halle, in his learned work, entitled "Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche;" published from a comparison of several continental MSS which are enumerated below, the work of the "Discipulus Umbrensius" which is to be found in the text.

In these nine editions are to be distinguished four distinct books bearing the name of Theodore; the *Capitula Selecta* of D'Achery and Martene, and those of Kunstmann called *Canones Gregorii*; the *Capitula* of Favier, printed in Petit; the Penitential of the Record Commission; and the work of the "Discipulus Umbrensius," published partly by Petit and wholly by Wasserschleben.

Two of these are eliminated at first sight: the *Capitula* of D'Achery and Martene and those of Kunstmann are a disorderly congeries of articles, all of which, with one or two exceptions to be noted below, are to be found in the work of the *Discipulus*. The *Capitula* of Favier, on the other hand, are a collection of Canons of much later date than Theodore, ranging down to the 10th century, and containing very little that in form is akin to the other works bearing Theodore's name. The *Capitula* of D'Achery are extracts from the genuine Penitential; those of Favier are an entirely different work.

For the Record edition of the Penitential Mr. Thorpe used the following MSS.:

1. The MS. C. C. C. C. 190, which he adopted as the text.

2. The MS. Cotton. Vesp. D. 15, which is an ancient selection of 14 chapters from the genuine work, with the addition of one from Vinniaus, and is entitled "Incipit iudicium de Pœnitentia Theodori Episcopi."

3. The MS. C. C. C. C. 320 containing the work of the "Discipulus Umbrensius," and described by Mr. Thorpe in the list of MSS. prefixed to the volume, as Cotton. Tib. A. 3, obviously by mistake.

The two latter MSS. seem to have been used only to furnish various readings, the first being received unhesitatingly as the genuine text. But an examination of the treatise itself shows that it is but a portion of a Frankish Penitential of the 9th century, containing much that is Theodore's, and much more that is of later date. Nor is the MS. of this work fully reproduced, six chapters at the beginning and twenty-two at the end are omitted, as are other portions which would have shown definitely that the date of the work was later than the time of Bede. It contains in fact portions of a date as late as A.D. 820 (see above in the preface to vol. I. p. xiii.). It is difficult to understand how any one who had read this MS. could mistake it for the Penitential of Theodore. In favour of such a conclusion there could be only the quite modern title endorsed upon it, and Spelman's impression derived only from a hasty glance at the MS. and from its list of contents.

The rejection of these spurious or imperfect works leaves the ground open for the Treatise of the "Discipulus Umbrensius," which is here printed from the Corpus MS. with the additional light thrown upon the subject by the edition of Wasserschleben. The Editors think it due to themselves to state that, before the edition of Wasserschleben was known to them, they had arrived at the conclusions adopted by that eminent scholar, from a study of the English MSS. But the whole subject is so largely indebted to Wasserschleben's learning and acuteness that their obligations to him cannot be overrated. He had not, however, seen the C. C. C. C. MS., and knew it only from a not very exact transcript in the Cod. Sangerman. nr. 940. The following is the list of the MSS. used by or known to him:

"a. Cod. Vindobon. nr. 2195 (Salisb. 324), fol. sæc. IX. X. fol. 2-40.

"b. Cod. Vindob. Jur. Can. nr. 116. 8vo. sæc. VIII. IX. fol. 1-16.

"c. Cod. Sangerman. nr. 940 (ol. 912), Apographum Codicis Biblioth. Corp. Christi in Acad. Cantabrig. Anglic. 1670.

"d. Cod. Herbipol. Theol. nr. 32. 4to. sæc. VIII. IX." containing only the first book, although the Index embraces both.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

The following MSS. contain only the second book:

"e. Cod. Paris. nr. 1603. 8vo. sæc. VIII. fol. 92-103.

"f. Cod. Paris. nr. 3846 (ol. Regius 3665. Teller. Remens. 262.) fol. sæc. IX. X.

"g. Cod. Paris. nr. 1455. fol. (ol. Colbert. 3368. Reg. 3887) sæc. IX.

"b. Cod. Sangerm. nr. 366. 4to. sæc. IX.

"i. Cod. Darmst. nr. 91. 4to. sæc. IX. fol. 84."

Wasserschleben used for illustration, also,

"k. Cod. Sangerm. nr. 1365. 4to. sæc. X. XI.," and "*l. m.* Duo Codices Thuan.," the basis of Petit's edition.

Of these MSS. only *c*, the transcript from the Corpus MS., contains the arrangement of the chapters in two books. Wasserschleben's text was printed from MS. *b*. The sub-divi-

sions of the chapters in our text are adopted from Wasserschleben, who introduced them to facilitate reference to the chapters of D'Achery and Martene.

The text of the present edition is taken from the C. C. C. C. MS. 320. The various readings are from Wasserschleben, and are distinguished by the letters prefixed above to the MSS. referred to. The C. C. C. C. MS. is far the most ancient of the whole, not being later probably than the 8th century; although the reference to another copy found in lib. II. c. xii. § 5 seems to preclude the idea that it is the original. It has, however, lost its first folio, which should contain the title and first half of the preface. These are here supplied from Wasserschleben, who used for them MSS. *a*. and *d*.]

<sup>1</sup>Primum quidem, karissimi, beatitudinis vestræ dilectioni, unde hujus fomenta quod sequitur medicaminis congressi, satis esse dignum pandere putavi, ne per librariorum ut solet antiquitatem vel negligentiam confuse vitiose lex illa duraret, quam<sup>2</sup> figuraliter olim Deus per primum ejus latorem, de secundo mandavit patribus, ut notam facerent eam filiis suis, ut cognoscat<sup>3</sup> generatio altera, scilicet penitentiam, quam<sup>4</sup> præ<sup>5</sup> omnibus suæ nobis initiatus<sup>6</sup> instrumentum doctrinæ Dominus Jhesus medicamenta<sup>7</sup> male habentibus prædicavit dicens, "Penitentiam agite" et reliqua<sup>8</sup>. Quia ad vestræ felicitatis meritum a beata ejus sede, ad quem dicitur, "Quæcumque solveris super terram erunt soluta et in cælis;" eum dirigere dignatus est, a quo hæc utilissima curatio cicatricum temperetur, "Ego enim," inquit apostolos, "accepi a Domino;" et ego, inquam, carissimi, accepi a vobis Domino favente, quod et tradidi vobis. Horum igitur maximam partem fertur fame veriloquo beate memoriæ Eoda presbiter cognomento Christianus a venerabili antistite Theodoro sciscitans accipisse. In istorum quoque adminiculum est, quod manibus vilitatis nostræ divina gratia similiter prævidit, quæ iste vir ex Scotorum libello sciscitasse quod diffamatum est, de quo talem senex fertur dedisse sententiam, ecclesiasticus homo libelli ipsius fuisse conscriptor.

Multi quoque non solum viri, sed etiam feminæ de his ab eo

<sup>1</sup> Here *a*. has, by an error of the transcriber, "Explicit præfatio. Incipit prologus sancti Gregorii papæ urbis Romæ." <sup>2</sup> quam] quo, *d*. <sup>3</sup> cognoscat] cognoscant, *d*. <sup>4</sup> quam] quo, *d*. <sup>5</sup> præ] pro, *d*. <sup>6</sup> initiatus] iniciatur, *d*. <sup>7</sup> medicamenta] medicamen, *d*. <sup>8</sup> et reliqua] *d*. continues the quotation, "ad propinquavit enim regnum cælorum," and omits the rest of the Preface.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

inextinguibili feruore accensi sitim hanc ad sedandam ardenti cum desiderio frequentari hujus nostri nimirum sæculi singularis<sup>9</sup> scientiæ hominem festinabant, unde et illa diversa confusaque degestio<sup>10</sup> regularum illarum cum statutis<sup>11</sup> causis libri secundi conscripta inventa est<sup>12</sup> apud diversos, propter quod obsecro carissimi<sup>13</sup> benignissimam nostræ<sup>14</sup> pacis almitatem per eum, qui crucifixus est, et sui sanguinis rore quod prædicavit forte vivens confirmavit, ut si quid pro hujus utilitatis obtentu temeritatis vel ignorantia delicti in hoc perpetravero, vestræ<sup>15</sup> intercessionis merito me apud eum defendatis. Testor enim<sup>16</sup> eum universorum auctorem quantum in me conscius sum causa regni ejus de quo prædicavit hæc egisse; et si quid nimirum, ut vereor<sup>17</sup>, supra modulum meum facio, benivolentia<sup>18</sup> tunc<sup>19</sup> operis tam pernecessarii vobis patrocinantibus veniam apud eam facinoris mei<sup>20</sup> impleret. Quibus communiter<sup>21</sup> omnibus absque invidia prout possum, laboro ex cunctis quæ<sup>22</sup> utiliora invenire potui, et singillatim titulos<sup>23</sup> præponens congessi. Credo enim hæc eos bono<sup>24</sup> animo tractare, de quibus dicitur, "In terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis."<sup>25</sup>

*Explicit.*

## INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS.

I. *De Crapula et Ebrietate.*

1. Si quis Episcopus<sup>25</sup> aut aliquis ordinatus in consuetudine vitium habuerit ebrietatis, aut desinat aut deponatur.
2. Si monachus pro ebrietate vomitum facit, XXX. dies peniteat.
3. Si presbiter aut diaconus pro ebrietate<sup>26</sup>, XL. dies peniteat.
4. Si vero pro infirmitate aut quia longo tempore se abstinuerit, et in consuetudine non erit ei multum bibere vel manducare, aut pro gaudio in Natale Domini aut in Pascha aut pro alicujus Sanctorum commemoratione faciebat, et tunc plus non accipit quam decretum est a senioribus, nihil nocet. Si Episcopus juberit<sup>27</sup>, non nocet illi<sup>28</sup>, nisi ipse similiter faciat.
5. Si laicus fidelis pro ebrietate vomitum facit, XV.<sup>29</sup> dies peniteat.

<sup>9</sup> With this word the fragment of the preface contained in the MS. C. C. C. 320. begins.  
<sup>10</sup> degestio] digestio, W.      <sup>11</sup> cum statutis] constitutis, W.      <sup>12</sup> inventa est] inventæ sunt, W.      <sup>13</sup> carissimi] fratres, W.      <sup>14</sup> nostræ] vestræ, W.      <sup>15</sup> vestræ] vestre, W.  
<sup>16</sup> enim] om. W.      <sup>17</sup> vereor] verear, W.      <sup>18</sup> benivolentia] benevolentia, W.      <sup>19</sup> tunc] tamen, W.      <sup>20</sup> facinoris mei] facinoribus meis, W.      <sup>21</sup> communiter] commoniter, W.  
<sup>22</sup> quæ] que, W.      <sup>23</sup> titulos] titulis, W.      <sup>24</sup> The rest of the preface is lost, in the MS. C. C. C. 320.  
<sup>25</sup> Episcopus] aut diaconus, add. W. om. C. (MS. C. C. C. 320) *i. a. c.*  
<sup>26</sup> pro ebrietate] vomitum facit, add. W.      <sup>27</sup> Episcopus juberit] Episcopus illi jubet, W. juberit, *a. C.*      <sup>28</sup> illi] om. W.      <sup>29</sup> XV.] XII. *b.*

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

6. Qui vero inebriatur contra Domini interdictum, si votum sanctitatis habuerit VII. dies in pane et aqua, LXX. sine pinguedine peniteat; laici sine cervisa<sup>30</sup>.

7. Qui per nequitiam inebriat alium, XL. dies peniteat.

8. Qui pro satietate vomitum facit, IIIbus. diebus<sup>31</sup> peniteat.

9. Si cum sacrificio cummonionis<sup>32</sup>, VII. dies peniteat; si infirmitatis causa, sine culpa<sup>33</sup>.

## II. De Fornicatione.

1. Si quis fornicaverit cum virgine, I. anno peniteat. Si cum marita<sup>34</sup>, III. annos, II. integros, II. alios in XLmis. IIIbus., et III. dies in ebdomada peniteat.

2. Qui sepe cum masculo aut cum pecude<sup>35</sup> fornicat, X. annos ut peniteret iudicavit.

3. Item aliud. Qui cum pecoribus coerit<sup>36</sup>, XV. annos peniteat.

4. Qui coerit<sup>36</sup> cum masculo post XX. annum, XV. annos peniteat.

5. Si masculus cum masculo fornicaverit, X. annos peniteat.

6. Sidomitæ<sup>37</sup> VII. annos peniteat<sup>38</sup>; molles<sup>39</sup> sicut adultera<sup>40</sup>.

7. Item hoc; virile scelus semel faciens III. annos peniteat; si in consuetudine fuerit, ut Basilius<sup>41</sup> dicit. Si sine XV. Sustinens unum<sup>42</sup> annum ut mulier. Si puer sit, primo IIbus. annis<sup>43</sup>; si iterat III.

8. Si in femoribus, annum I. vel III. XLmas.

9. Si se ipsum coinquinat, XL. dies<sup>44</sup>.

10. Qui concupiscit fornicari<sup>45</sup> sed non potest, XL. dies vel<sup>46</sup> XX. peniteat. Si frequentaverit, si puer sit, XX. dies, vel vapuletur.

11. Pueri qui fornicantur inter se ipsos iudicavit ut vapulentur.

12. Mulier cum muliere fornicando<sup>47</sup>, III. annos peniteat.

13. Si sola cum se ipsa coitum habet, sic peniteat.

14. Una penitentia est viduæ et puellæ. Majorem meruit quæ virum habet, si fornicaverit.

15. Qui semen in os miserit, VII. annos peniteat: hoc pessimum malum. Alias ab eo<sup>48</sup> iudicatum est ut ambo usque in finem vitæ peniteant; vel XXII. <sup>49</sup> annos, vel ut superius VII.

<sup>30</sup> cervisa] cervisia, W. <sup>31</sup> IIIbus. diebus] III. dies, W. <sup>32</sup> cummonionis] communionis, W. <sup>33</sup> culpa] est, add. W. <sup>34</sup> marita] maritata, *a.* and Cap. Theod. 84; which proceeds "III. annis, I. integrum" etc. <sup>35</sup> pecude] pecode, W. <sup>36</sup> coerit] coiret, W. <sup>37</sup> Sidomitæ] Sodomitæ, W. <sup>38</sup> peniteat] peniteant, W. <sup>39</sup> molles] et mollis, W. <sup>40</sup> adultera] adultera, W. <sup>41</sup> Basil. Ep. III. ad Amphil. c. 58, 62, 63. <sup>42</sup> This is the reading of the MSS. and is unintelligible. W. conjectures "si in consuetudine fuerit, ut Basilius dicit, XV. Si sine, sustinens" etc. <sup>43</sup> IIbus annis] II. annos, W. <sup>44</sup> dies] peniteat, add. W. <sup>45</sup> fornicari] fornicare, W. <sup>46</sup> XL. dies vel] om. *b.* <sup>47</sup> Mulier—fornicando] Si mulier cum muliere fornicaverit, W. MS *a* agrees with the text. <sup>48</sup> eo] aliterque, ins. W. <sup>49</sup> XXII.] XII. *a.* XV. W.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

16. Si cum matre quis fornicaverit, XV. annos peniteat, et nunquam mutat<sup>50</sup> nisi Dominicis diebus: et<sup>51</sup> hoc tam profanum incertum<sup>52</sup> ab eo similiter alio modo dicitur ut cum peregrinatione perenni VII. annos peniteat.

17. Qui cum sorore fornicatur<sup>53</sup>, XV. annos peniteat, eo modo quo superius de matre dicitur; sed et istud XV. alias in canone confirmavit<sup>54</sup>; unde non absorde XV. anni ad matrem transeunt qui scribuntur<sup>55</sup>.

18. Qui sepe fornicaverit, primus canon iudicavit X. annos penitere; secundus canon VII.; sed pro infirmitate hominis, per consilium dixerunt III. annos penitere.

19. Si frater cum fratre naturali fornicaverit per commixtionem carnis, XV. annos ab omni carne absteineat.

20. Si mater cum filio suo parvulo fornicationem imitatur, III. annos se absteineat a carne, et diem unum jejundet in ebdomada, id est<sup>56</sup>, usque ad vesperum.

21. Qui inludetur fornicaria cogitatione, peniteat usque dum cogitatio superetur.

22. Qui diligit feminam mente, veniam petat ab eo<sup>57</sup>, id est, de amore et amicitia si dixerit si<sup>58</sup> non est susceptus ab ea, VII. dies peniteat.

III. *De Avaritia Furtiva.*

1. Si quis laicus de monasterio monachum duxerit furtim, aut intret in monasterium Deo servire aut humanum subeat servitium.

2. Pecunia ecclesiis furata sive rapta reddatur quadruplum; sæcularibus dupliciter.

3. Qui sepe furtum fecerit VII. annis<sup>59</sup> penitentia ejus est, vel quo modo sacerdos iudicaverit, id est, juxta<sup>60</sup> quod conponi possit quibus nocuit. Et qui furtum faciebat, penitentia ductus semper debet reconciliari ei quem offendebat, et restituere juxta quod ei nocuit: et multum breviavit<sup>61</sup> penitentiam ejus. Si vero noluerit aut non potest, constitutum tempus penitentiaë manet<sup>62</sup> per omnia.

<sup>50</sup> mutat] mutet, W.      <sup>51</sup> Et] at, W.      <sup>52</sup> incertum] So also MS. *a*. incestum, W.  
<sup>53</sup> fornicatur] fornicaverit, W. fornicatus, *a*.      <sup>54</sup> Sed—confirmavit] Sed et istud alias in  
canone XII. annos confirmavit, W. MS. *a* agrees with the text.      <sup>55</sup> absorde] absurde, W.  
transeunt qui scribuntur, om. *b*.      <sup>56</sup> id est] om. W.      <sup>57</sup> ab eo] a Deo, W.  
<sup>58</sup> id est—si] Si hæc dixerit, i. e. de amore et amicitia, sed—, W. MS. *a* agreeing with the text.  
<sup>59</sup> annis] annorum, W.      <sup>60</sup> juxta] om. *b*.      <sup>61</sup> breviavit] breviabit W. MS. *a* agrees  
with the text.      <sup>62</sup> penitentiaë manet] peniteat, W. penit. manet, C.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Et cui furata<sup>63</sup> det tertiam partem pauperibus; et qui thesaurizat superflua, pro ignorantia tribuat tertiam partem pauperibus.

5. Furatus consecrata, III. annos peniteat sine pinguedine et tunc communicet.

IV. De Occisione Hominum<sup>64</sup>.

1. Si quis pro ultione propinqui hominem occiderit, peniteat sicut homicida, VII. vel X. annos. Si tamen reddere vult propinquis pecuniam æstimationis, levior erit penitentia, id est, dimidio spatii<sup>65</sup>.

2. Qui occiderit hominem pro vindicta fratris, IIIbus. annis<sup>66</sup> peniteat: in alio loco X. annos dicitur penitere.

3. Homicida autem X. vel VII. annos.

4. Si laicus alterum occiderit odii meditatione, si non vult arma relinquere, peniteat VII. annos, sine carne et vino III. annos.

5. Si quis occiderit monachum vel clericum, arma relinquat et Deo serviat vel VII. annos peniteat. In iudicio Episcopi est. Qui autem Episcopum vel presbiterum occiderit regis iudicium est de eo.

6. Qui per jussionem domini sui occiderit hominem, XL. diebus absteineat se ab ecclesia, et qui occiderit hominem in puplico<sup>67</sup> bello XL. dies peniteat.

7. Si per iram III. annos; si casu I. annum; si per poculum vel artem aliquam IIII.<sup>68</sup> annos aut plus; si per rixam X.<sup>69</sup> annos peniteat.

## V. De his qui per Heresim decipiuntur.

1. Si quis<sup>70</sup> ab hereticis ordinatus fuerit, iterum debet ordinari, si inreprehensibilis fuerit; sin minus, deponi oportet.

2. Si quis a catholica æcclesia ad heresim transierit<sup>71</sup>, et postea reversus, non potest ordinari nisi post longam abstinentiam, et pro magna necessitate. Hunc Innocentius Papa nec post penitentiam clericum fieri canonum auctoritate adserit permitti<sup>72</sup>. Ergo<sup>73</sup> hoc Theodorus ait, pro magna tantum necessitate ut dicitur consultum

<sup>63</sup> cui furata] qui furata monet, W. Wasserscheleben gives *cui* as a reading of *c.*, and *manet* as read by *a* and *c*; but probably there has been some confusion between this and the preceding line in the MSS., as *manet* clearly is not found in this place in the MS. C. from which *c* was copied. <sup>64</sup> De Homicidio, W. MS. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>65</sup> dimidio spatii] de medio spatio, *a*, *b*. dimidio spatio, W. Cap. Theod. 156 has instead of "VII. vel X. annos" "III. annis."

<sup>66</sup> IIIbus. annis] III. annos, W. <sup>67</sup> puplico] publico, W. <sup>68</sup> IIII.] VII., W. *a* agreeing with the text. <sup>69</sup> X.] IIII. *b*. <sup>70</sup> Si quis] De his qui, W. <sup>71</sup> transierit] transiret, *a*. <sup>72</sup> adserit] om. W.; for *permitti*, *a* and *b* have *per inita*. <sup>73</sup> Ergo] si, add. W.



## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

permisit; qui numquam Romanorum decreta mutari a se sepe jam dicebat voluisse.

3. Si quis contempserit Nicenæ Concilium et fecerit Pascha cum Judæis XIII. luna, exterminabitur ab omni æcclesia nisi penitentiam egerit ante mortem.

4. Si quis oraverit cum illo quasi cum clerico catholico, septimanam peniteat; si vero neglexerit, XL. dies peniteat prima vice.

5. Si quis hortari<sup>74</sup> voluerit heresim eorum, et non egerit penitentiam, similiter et ille exterminabitur, Domino dicente, "Qui mecum non est, contra me est."

6. Si quis baptizatur<sup>75</sup> ab heretico qui recte Trinitatem non crediderit, iterum baptizetur. Hoc Theodorum dixisse non credimus contra Nicenæ concilium et senodi<sup>76</sup> decreta, sicut de Arrianis conversis Trinitatem non recte credentibus confirmatur.

7. Si quis dederit aut acciperit communionem de manu heretici, et nescit quod æcclesiæ catholicæ<sup>77</sup> contradicit, postea intellegens<sup>78</sup> annum integrum peniteat. Si autem scit et neglexerit et postea penitentiam egerit, X. annos peniteat: alii judicant VII., et humanius V. annos peniteat.

8. Si quis permiserit hereticum missam suam celebrare in æcclesia catholica et nescit, XL. dies<sup>79</sup> peniteat. Si<sup>80</sup> pro reverentia ejus, annum integrum peniteat<sup>81</sup>.

9. Si pro dampnatione æcclesiæ catholicæ et consuetudine Romanorum, projiciatur ab æcclesia sicut hereticus, nisi habeat penitentiam; si habuerit, X. annos peniteat.

10. Si recesserit ab æcclesia catholica in congregationem hereticorum, et alios persuaserit, et postea penitentiam egerit, XII. annos peniteat; IIII. annos<sup>82</sup> extra æcclesiam, et VI. inter auditores, et II. adhuc extra communionem. De his in synodo dicitur, X<sup>o</sup>. anno communionem sive oblationem recipiant.

11. Si Episcopus aut abbas jusserit monacho suo<sup>83</sup> pro hereticis mortuis missam cantare, non licet et non expedit obædire ei.

12. Si presbitero contigerit ubi missam cantaverat<sup>84</sup>, et alius recitavit nomina mortuorum, et simul nominavit<sup>85</sup> hereticos cum catholicis,

<sup>74</sup> hortari] ortare, W. and Can. Greg. 49; *a* agrees with the text. <sup>75</sup> baptizatur] baptizatus, W. <sup>76</sup> senodi] sinodi, W. <sup>77</sup> æcclesiæ catholicæ] ecclesiam catholicam, W. *a* agrees with the text. MS. *b* begins a new chapter with this clause; headed *De Eucharistia*. <sup>78</sup> intellegens] intellexit, W. <sup>79</sup> dies] diebus, W. <sup>80</sup> si] vero, ins. W. <sup>81</sup> peniteat] om. W. <sup>82</sup> annos] horum, W. <sup>83</sup> suo] om. W. <sup>84</sup> cantaverat] cantaverit, W. <sup>85</sup> nominavit] nominaverit, W. who reads also *recitaverit* for *recitavit*.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

post missamque intellexerit, ebdomadam peniteat. Si frequenter fecerit, annum integrum peniteat.

13. Si quis autem pro morte heretici missam ordinavit, et pro religione sua reliqua<sup>86</sup> sibi tenuerit, quia multum jejunavit et nescit deferentiam<sup>87</sup> catholicæ fidei, et postea intellexerit, penitentiamque egerit, reliquias debet igni concremare, et annum peniteat. Si autem scit et neglegit<sup>88</sup>, penitentia commotus X. annos peniteat.

14. Si quis a fide Dei discesserit sine ulla necessitate, et postea ex toto animo penitentiam accipit, inter audientes juxta Nicene Concilium<sup>89</sup>, III. annos extra æcclesiam et VII. annos peniteat in æcclesia inter penitentes, et II. annos adhuc extra communionem.

VI.<sup>a</sup> De Perjurio.

1. Quis<sup>90</sup> perjurium facit in æcclesia XI. annos peniteat.
2. Qui vero necessitate coactus sit III. XLmas.
3. Qui autem<sup>91</sup> in manu hominis jurat, apud Grecos nihil est.
4. Si vero juraverit in manu Episcopi vel presbiteri aut diaconi, seu in alteri<sup>92</sup>, sive in cruce consecrata, et mentitus est, III. annos peniteat. Si vero in cruce non consecrata, I. annum peniteat.
5. Perjurii IIIbus. annis peniteat<sup>93</sup>.

VII. De multis vel diversis malis et quæ non nocent necessaria<sup>b</sup>.

1. Qui multa mala fecerit<sup>94</sup>, id est, homicidium, adulterium cum muliere et cum pecude, et furtum; eat<sup>95</sup> in monasterium et peniteat<sup>96</sup> usque ad mortem.

2. De pecunia quæ in aliena provincia ab hoste superato rapta fuerit, id est, rege alio superato, tertia pars<sup>97</sup> ad ecclesiam tribuatur vel pauperibus; et XL. diebus agatur penitentia, quia jussio regis erat.

3. Qui sanguinem aut semen biberit, IIIbus. annis<sup>98</sup> peniteat.

4. Malorum cogitationum indulgentia est si opere non impleantur<sup>99</sup> nec<sup>1</sup> consensu.

<sup>86</sup> reliqua] reliquias, W.

<sup>87</sup> deferentiam] differentiam, W.

<sup>88</sup> neglegit] neglexerit, W.

<sup>89</sup> Nicene Concilium] Niceno senodo, b.

<sup>90</sup> Quis] Qui, W.

<sup>91</sup> autem] vero, W.

<sup>92</sup> alteri] altari, W.

<sup>93</sup> Wasserscheleben reads, "Perjurii III. annorum penitentia," giving *Perjurium* as the reading of *a* and *c*. The Penitential known as "Pseudo-Beda," Wassersch. 280, has this chapter with an addition from the *Synodus Lucii Victoriae* (see vol. i. p. 118) under the title of *Judicium Theodori*.

<sup>94</sup> fecerit] fecerint, W.

<sup>95</sup> eat] eant, W.

<sup>96</sup> peniteat] peniteant, W.

<sup>97</sup> pars] ejus, add. W.

<sup>98</sup> IIIbus. annis] III. annos, W.

<sup>99</sup> opere non impleantur] opera non impleatur, b.

<sup>1</sup> nec] vel, W. *a* agrees with the text.

<sup>a</sup> VII. b.

<sup>b</sup> om. b.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

5. Item XII. triduana pro anno pensanda, Theodorus laudavit. De egressis<sup>2</sup> quoque pretium viri vel ancillæ pro anno, vel dimidium omnium quæ possidet dare, et si quem<sup>3</sup> fraudaret reddere quadruplum, ut Christus iudicavit. Ista testimonia sunt de eo quod in præfatione diximus de libello Scottorum<sup>4</sup>, in quo, ut in ceteris, illa<sup>5</sup> aliquando inibi fortius firmavit de pessimis, aliquando vero lenius<sup>6</sup>, ut sibi videbatur, modum inposuit pusillanimis.

6. Qui manducat carnem immundam<sup>7</sup> aut morticinam delaceratam<sup>8</sup> a bestiis, XL. dies peniteat. Si enim necessitas cogit famis, non nocet, quoniam aliud est legitimum, aliud quod necessitas cogit<sup>9</sup>.

7. Si casu quis immunda manu cibum tangit, vel canis, vel pilax musæ<sup>10</sup>, aut animal immundum quod sanguinem edit, nihil nocet; et qui pro necessitate manducat animal quod immundum videtur, vel avem, vel bestiam, non nocet.

8. Surrex si ceciderit in liquorem tollatur inde, et aspargatur aqua sancta, et sumatur si vivens sit; si vero mortua, omnis liquor projiciatur foras, nec homini detur, et mundetur vas.

9. Item alias. Si multis<sup>11</sup> sit cibus ille liquidus in quo mus vel mustela<sup>12</sup> immersa moritur, purgetur et aspargatur aqua sancta et sumatur, si necessitas sit.

10. Si aves stercorant in quemcunque liquorem, tollatur ab eo stercus, et sanctificetur aqua, et mundus erit cibus.

11. Sanguinem inscius sorbere cum saliva<sup>13</sup> non est peccatum.

12. Quod sanguine vel quocunque immundo polluitur, si nescit qui manducat, nihil est; si autem scit, peniteat juxta modum pollutionis<sup>14</sup>.

VIII.<sup>15</sup> *De diverso lapsu servorum Dei.*

1. Sacerdos si tangendo mulierem aut osculando coinquinabitur, XL. dies peniteat.

2. Presbiter si osculatus est feminam per desiderium, XX.<sup>16</sup> dies peniteat.

3. Presbiter quoque si per cogitationem semen fuderit, ebdomadam jejundet.

<sup>2</sup> egressis] ægris, W. <sup>a</sup> agrees with the text. <sup>3</sup> quem] aliquem, W. <sup>a</sup> agrees with the text. <sup>4</sup> Scottorum] Scorum, b. <sup>5</sup> illa] om. W. <sup>6</sup> lenius] lentius, a. <sup>7</sup> immundam] immundum, C. MS. b. begins a new chapter with this clause. <sup>8</sup> delaceratam] dilaceratam, W. <sup>9</sup> cogit—cogit] cogit, nihil est, b. <sup>10</sup> musæ] mus, W. <sup>11</sup> multis] multus, W. <sup>12</sup> vel mustela] mustelave, W. <sup>13</sup> saliva] salivo, b. sabbolo, a. <sup>14</sup> pollutionis] pollutionis, W. <sup>15</sup> VIII.] VIII. *De violationibus fornic. b.* <sup>16</sup> XX.] XL. b.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Si tangit manu, III. ebdomasas jejundet.

5. Si quis presbiter penitentiam morientibus abnegaverit, reus erit animarum, quia Dominus dicit "quacunq; die conversus fuerit peccator, vita vivet, et non morietur." Vera enim conversio in ultimo tempore potest esse, quia Dominus non solum temporis sed et<sup>17</sup> cordis inspector est, sicut latro in hora ultima confessione<sup>18</sup> unius momenti<sup>19</sup> meruit esse in Paradiso.

6. Monachus vel sacra virgo fornicationem faciens, VII. annos peniteat.

7. Qui sepe post<sup>20</sup> violentiam cogitationis semen fuderit, peniteat XX. dies.

8. Qui semen dormiens in ecclesia fuderit, III.<sup>21</sup> dies jejundet.

9. Si excitat ipse, primo XX. dies, iterans XL. dies peniteat; si plus, addantur jejunia.

10. Si in femoribus, I. annum vel III. XLmas.

11. Qui se ipsum coinquat XL. dies peniteat: si puer sit, XL.<sup>22</sup> dies aut vapuletur. Si cum ordine, III. XLmas., vel annum, si frequentaverit.

12. Si quis renunciaverit seculo, postea reversus in secularem habitum, si monachus esset et post hæc penitentiam egerit, X. annos peniteat, et post primum triennium, si probatus fuerit in omni penitentia, in lacrimis et<sup>23</sup> orationibus, humanius circa eum Episcopus potest facere.

13. Si monachus non esset<sup>24</sup> quando recesserit ab æcclesia, VII. annos peniteat.

14. Basilius iudicavit puero licentiam nubere ante XVI. annum si se abstinere non potuisset, quamvis monachus ante fuisset, et inter bigamos esse, et<sup>25</sup> I. annum peniteat.

IX.<sup>26</sup> *De his qui degraduntur vel ordinari non possunt.*

1. Episcopus, presbiter, aut diaconus, fornicationem facientes degradari debent, et penitere<sup>27</sup> iudicio Episcopi; tamen commonicent. De gradu perditio<sup>28</sup> penitentia mortua est, anima vivit.

<sup>17</sup> et] etiam, W. <sup>18</sup> confessione] conversione, W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>19</sup> momenti] momenti, C. <sup>20</sup> post] per, W. <sup>21</sup> III.] VII. W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>22</sup> XL.] XX. W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>23</sup> et] in. ins. W. <sup>24</sup> esset] est, W. <sup>25</sup> et] om. W. <sup>26</sup> IX.] X. *De fornicatione. b.* <sup>27</sup> penitere] peniteant, W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>28</sup> perditio] prædicto, *a.* The Pœnitentiale Valicellanum I., of Wasserschleben (p. 548), has this article with additions from Gildas (see vol. i. p. 105)—as *judicium Theodori.*

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

2. Si quis postquam se voverit Deo, secularem<sup>29</sup> habitum acciperit, iterum ad aliquem gradum accedere omnino non debet.

3. Nec mulier meruit velari; multo magis ut non dominaretur<sup>30</sup> in ecclesia.

4. Si quis presbiter aut diaconus uxorem extraneam duxerit, in conscientia populi, deponatur.

5. Si adulterium perpetraverit cum illa et in conscientia devenit populis<sup>31</sup>, projiciatur extra æcclesiam et peniteat inter laicos quamdiu vixerit.

6. Si quis concubinam habet, non debet ordinari.

7. Quicumque enim presbiter in propria provincia aut in aliena, vel ubicumque inventus fuerit, commendatum sibi infirmum baptizare nolle vel pro intentione itineris, et sic sine baptismo moritur, deponatur.

8. Similiter autem<sup>32</sup> qui occiderit hominem, seu fornicationem fecerit, deponatur.

9. Puerum monasterii non licet ordinare ante XXV. annos<sup>33</sup>.

10. Si quis viduam<sup>34</sup> accipit<sup>35</sup> ante baptismum vel post baptismum, non potest ordinari sicut bigami.

11. Si quis baptizat per temeritatem<sup>36</sup> non ordinatus, abiciendus est ab æcclesia et nunquam ordinetur<sup>37</sup>.

12. Si quis ordinatus est per ignorantiam antequam baptizetur, debent baptizari qui ab illo gentili baptizati fuerint, et ipse non ordinetur.

Hoc iterum a Romano Pontifice sedis Apostolicæ aliter judicatum esse adseritur, ita ut non homo qui baptizat, licet sit paganus, sed Spiritus Dei subministret gratiam baptismi: sed et illud de presbitero pagano, qui se baptizatum estimat, fidem catholicam operibus tenens, aliter quoque judicatum est: alias hæc judicia habent, id est, ut baptizetur et ordinetur.

X.<sup>38</sup> *De Baptizatis bis, qualiter peniteant.*

I. Qui bis ignorantes baptizati sunt, non indigent pro eo penitere, nisi quod secundum canones non possunt ordinari, nisi magna aliqua necessitas cogat.

<sup>29</sup> secularem] Wassersleben gives *regularem* as the reading of *a* and *c*. <sup>30</sup> dominaretur] dominaret, W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>31</sup> conscientia—populis] conscientiam—populi, W. <sup>32</sup> autem] om. *b*. <sup>33</sup> annos] annum, W. <sup>34</sup> viduam] bigamam, *a*. <sup>35</sup> accipit] acceperit, W. <sup>36</sup> per temeritatem] pro temeritate, W. <sup>37</sup> abiciendus—ordinetur] abjiciendus est ordinans, *b*. <sup>38</sup> X.] XI. *b*.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

2. Qui autem non ignari iterum baptizati sunt, quasi iterum Christum crucifixerint, peniteant VII. annos, III. feria et VI.; et in IIIbus. XLmis., si pro vitio aliquo fuerit. Si autem pro mundantia<sup>39</sup> licitum putaverint, IIIbus. annis<sup>40</sup> sic peniteant.

XI.<sup>41</sup> *De his qui damnant Dominicam et indicta jejunia ecclesie Dei.*

1. Qui operantur die Dominico<sup>42</sup>, eos Greci prima vice arguunt, secunda tollunt aliquid ab eis, tertia vice partem tertiam de rebus eorum, aut vapulent<sup>43</sup>, vel VII. diebus peniteant.

2. Si quis autem in Dominica die pro negligentia jejunaverit, ebdomadam totam debet abstinere; si secundo, XX. dies peniteat; si postea, XL. dies.

3. Si pro dampnatione diei jejunaverit, sicut Judeus abhominetur<sup>44</sup> ab omnibus æcclesiis catholicis.

4. Si autem contempserit indictum jejunium in æcclesia et contra decreta seniorum fecerit sine XLma., XL. dies peniteat. Si autem in XLma., annum peniteat; si quis autem contempserit XLmam., XL. dies peniteat<sup>45</sup>.

5. Si frequenter fecerit, et in consuetudine erit ei, exterminetur<sup>46</sup> ab æcclesia, Domino dicente "Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis"<sup>47</sup> et rel.

XII.<sup>48</sup> *De communione Eucharistie vel Sacrificio.*

1. Greci omni Dominico<sup>49</sup> communicant cleri et laici, et qui III. Dominicis non communicaverint excommunicentur<sup>50</sup>, sicut canones habent.

2. Romani similiter communicant qui volunt, qui autem noluerint non excommunicantur.

3. Greci et Romani IIIbus. diebus abstinere se<sup>51</sup> a mulieribus ante panes propositionis, sicut in lege scriptum est.

4. Penitentes secundum canones non debent communicare<sup>52</sup> ante

<sup>39</sup> mundantia] munditia, W.

<sup>40</sup> IIIbus. annis] III. annos, W.

<sup>41</sup> XI.] *De die*

*Dominica, b.*

<sup>42</sup> Dominico] Dominica, W.

<sup>43</sup> vapulent] vapulant, W.

<sup>44</sup> abhominetur] abhominabitur, W. *a* agrees with the text.

<sup>45</sup> Si quis—peniteat]

om. W. *a* agrees with the text.

<sup>46</sup> exterminetur] exterminabitur, W. *a* agrees with the text.

<sup>47</sup> istis] qui in me credunt, ins. W.

<sup>48</sup> XII.] XIII. b.

<sup>49</sup> Dominico]

Dominica, W.

<sup>50</sup> communicant,—communicaverint, excommunicentur] communicant

—communicaverit, excommunicatur, W.

<sup>51</sup> se] om. *a.*

<sup>52</sup> communicare] commu-

nicare, W.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

consummationem penitentiæ; nos autem pro misericordia post annum vel menses sex licentiam damus.

5. Qui acciperit sacrificium post cibum, VII. dies peniteat: in iudicio Episcopi est illius<sup>53</sup>. Hoc<sup>54</sup> in quibusdam non additur esse in iudicio Episcopis<sup>55</sup>.

6. Omne sacrificium sordida vetustate corruptum igni comburendum est.

7. Confessio autem Deo soli agatur licebit si necesse est. Et hoc *necessarium* in quibusdam codicibus non est.

8. Qui sacrificium perdit<sup>56</sup> feris vel avibus devorandum, si casu, ebdomadas jejundet, si negligens, III. XLmas.

XIII.<sup>57</sup> *De Reconciliatione.*

1. Romani reconciliant hominem intra absidem; Greci autem nolunt.

2. Reconciliatio penitentium in Coena Domini, tantum est ab Episcopo, et consummata penitentia.

3. Si vero Episcopo difficile sit, presbitero potest necessitatis causa prebere potestatem, ut impleat.

4. Reconciliatio ideo in hac provincia puplice<sup>58</sup> statuta non est, quia et publica penitentia non est<sup>59</sup>.

XIV.<sup>60</sup> *De Penitentia Nubentium specialiter.*

1. In primo conjugio presbiter debet missam agere<sup>61</sup> et benedicere ambos et postea abstineant se ab æcclesia XXX. diebus; quibus peractis peniteant XL. diebus, et<sup>62</sup> vacent orationi; et postea communicent cum oblatione<sup>63</sup>.

2. Digamus peniteat I. annum, IVta. feria et VIta, et in IIIbus. XLmis. abstineat se a carnibus; non separentur<sup>64</sup>, non dimittat tamen uxorem.

3. Trigamus et supra, id est, in quarto aut<sup>65</sup> quinto<sup>66</sup> vel plus, VII. annos IIII. feria et in VI.; et in tribus XLmis abstineant se a car-

<sup>53</sup> in iudicio—illius] om. a.    <sup>54</sup> Hoc] locis, præf. W. a agrees with the text.    <sup>55</sup> Episcopis] Episcopi, W.    <sup>56</sup> perdit] perdidit, W. a agrees with the text.    <sup>57</sup> XIII.] XIII. b.    <sup>58</sup> puplice—publica] publice—publica, W.    <sup>59</sup> This chapter appears in those MSS. which contain only the second book, as *cap. XV.* of that book. These are, MSS. e, f, g, b, i, l, m.—W.    <sup>60</sup> XIV.] XV. *De uxoris dimissis*, b.    <sup>61</sup> agere] cantare, W. a agrees with the text.    <sup>62</sup> et] ut, a.    <sup>63</sup> oblatione] ablatione, C.    <sup>64</sup> non separentur] om. W. a agrees with the text.    <sup>65</sup> aut] et in, W.    <sup>66</sup> quinto] et sexto, add. W. a agrees with the text.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

nibus; non separentur tamen<sup>67</sup>. Basilius hoc iudicavit; in canone autem III. annos peniteat.

4. Si quis vir uxorem suam invenerit adulteram, et noluit dimittere eam, sed in matrimonio suo adhuc habere<sup>68</sup>, annis IIbus peniteat, II. dies in ebdomada et jejunia religionis aut quamdiu ipsa peniteat, abstineat se a matrimonio ejus, quia adulterium perpetravit illa.

5. Si quis maritus aut mulier votum habens virginitatis, jungitur matrimonio, non demittat<sup>69</sup> illud, sed peniteat III. annos.

6. Vota stulta et inportabilia frangenda sunt.

7. Mulieri non licet votum vovere sine consensu viri; sed et si voverit dimitti potest et peniteat iudicio sacerdotis.

8. Qui dimiserit uxorem suam, alteri conjungens se, VII. annos cum tribulatione peniteat, vel XV. levius<sup>70</sup>.

9. Qui maculat uxorem proximi sui III. annos absque uxore propria jejundet, in ebdomada II. dies et<sup>71</sup> IIIbus. XLmis.

10. Si virgo sit, unum annum peniteat sine carne vinoque et medone<sup>3</sup>.

11. Si puellam Dei maculaverit, III. annos peniteat, sicut supra diximus, licet pariat an non pariat filium ex ea.

12. Si ancilla ejus sit, liberet eam et VI. menses peniteat<sup>72</sup>.

13. Si ab aliquo sua discesserit uxor, I. annum peniteat ipsa, si inpulluta<sup>73</sup> revertatur ad eum, ceterum III.<sup>74</sup>; ipse unum, si aliam duxerit.

14. Mulier adulteria<sup>75</sup> VII. annos peniteat. Et de hoc in canone eodem modo dicitur.

15. Mulier quæ se more fornicationis<sup>76</sup> adulterio<sup>77</sup> conjunxerit III. annos peniteat sicut fornicator.

Sic et illa quæ semen viri sui in cibo miscens ut inde plus amoris accipiat<sup>78</sup> peniteat.

16. Uxor quæ sanguinem viri sui pro remedio gustaverit, XL. dies<sup>79</sup>, plus<sup>80</sup> minusve jejundet.

17. Mulieres autem menstruo tempore non intrent in æcclesiam,

<sup>67</sup> non—tamen] non dimittat tamen uxorem, W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>68</sup> habere, annis IIbus] habuerit, annos II. W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>69</sup> demittat] dimittat, W. <sup>70</sup> levius] jejuniis, *b*. <sup>71</sup> et] in, ins. W. <sup>72</sup> peniteat] jejundet, W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>73</sup> inpulluta] inpolluta W. <sup>74</sup> III.] annos, ins. W. <sup>75</sup> adulteria] adultera, W. <sup>76</sup> more fornicationis] morte —nicationis, C. <sup>77</sup> adulterio] ad alteram, W. adulteram, *b*. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>78</sup> accipiat] capiat, *a*. <sup>79</sup> dies] vel LX., add. W. <sup>80</sup> plus] om. W. *a* agrees in both places with the text.

<sup>a</sup> The "Pœnitentiale Bigotianum" of Waserschleben (p. 450), ascribes to Theodore a canon ordering four years of penitence in this

case: founded probably on a misreading of this article.



## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

neque commonicent<sup>81</sup>, nec sanctimoniales, nec laicæ: si presument, IIIbus. ebdomadibus jejurent.

18. Similiter peniteant, quæ intrant æcclesiam ante mundum sanguinem post partum, id est, XL. diebus<sup>82</sup>.

19. Qui autem nupserit his temporibus, XX. dies peniteat.

20. Qui nubit<sup>83</sup> die Dominico, petat a Deo indulgentiam, et I. vel IIbus. vel IIIbus. diebus<sup>84</sup> peniteat.

21. Si vir cum uxore sua retro nupserit, XL. dies peniteat primo.

22. Si in tergo nupserit, penitere debet quasi ille qui cum animalibus.

23. Si menstruo tempore coierit<sup>85</sup> cum ea, XL. dies jejuret.

24. Mulieres qui abortivum faciunt antequam animam habeat, I.<sup>86</sup> annum vel III. XLmas. vel XL. diebus<sup>87</sup>, juxta qualitatem culpæ peniteant; et<sup>88</sup> postea, id est post XL. dies accepti seminis, ut homicidæ peniteant, id est, III. annos, in IIII. feria et VI., et in III. Xlms. Hoc secundum canones decennium judicatur.

25. Mater si occiderit filium suum, si homicidium facit, XV. annos peniteat; et nunquam motat<sup>89</sup>, nisi in die Dominico.

26. Mulier paupercula, si occidit<sup>90</sup> filium suum, VII. annos peniteat. In canone dicitur, si homicida sit, X. annos peniteat.

27. Mulier quæ concepit et occidit infantem suum in utero ante XL. dies, I. annum peniteat; si vero post XL. dies, ut homicida peniteat.

28. Infans infirmus et paganus commendatus presbitero, si moritur, deponatur presbiter.

29. Si neglegentia sit parentum, I. annum peniteant; et si moritur infans trium annorum sine baptismo, III. annos peniteat<sup>91</sup>, pater et mater. Hoc quodam tempore quo contigit ad eum delatum, sic judicavit.

30. Qui necat filium suum sine baptismo, in canone X.<sup>92</sup>, sed per consilium VII. annos peniteat.

XV.<sup>93</sup> *De Cultura Idolorum.*

1. Qui immolant demonis<sup>94</sup> in minimis, I. annum peniteat<sup>95</sup>; qui vero in magnis, X. annos peniteat<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> commonicent] communicent, W.      <sup>82</sup> diebus] dies, W.      <sup>83</sup> nubit] nupserit, W.  
<sup>84</sup> IIbus. vel IIIbus. diebus] II. vel III. dies, W.      <sup>85</sup> coierit] coiret, W.      <sup>86</sup> I.] om. W.  
<sup>87</sup> diebus] dies, W.      <sup>88</sup> et] si, add. W.      <sup>89</sup> motat] mutet, W.      <sup>90</sup> occidit] occiderit, W.  
<sup>91</sup> peniteat] peniteant, W.      <sup>92</sup> X.] annos, add. W.      <sup>93</sup> XV.] XVI. *De his qui immolant demonibus, b.*      <sup>94</sup> demonis] demonibus, W.      <sup>95</sup> peniteat] peniteant, W.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

2. Mulier si qua ponit filiam suam supra tectum vel in fornacem pro sanitate febris VII.<sup>96</sup> annos peniteat.

3. Qui ardere facit grana, ubi mortuus est homo, pro sanitate viventium et domus, V. annos peniteat.

4. Si mulier incantationes vel divinationes diabolicas fecerit, I. annum, vel III. XLmas., vel XL.<sup>97</sup> juxta qualitatem culpæ peniteat. De hoc in canone dicitur; qui auguria, auspicia<sup>98</sup> sive<sup>99</sup> somnia vel divinationes quaslibet secundum mores gentilium observant, aut in domus suas hujusmodi homines introducunt, in exquirendis aliquam artem maleficiorum, penitentes isti, si de clero sunt, abiciantur; si vero seculares, quinquennio peniteant.

5. Qui cibum immolatum comederit, deinde confessus fuerit, sacerdos considerare debet personam, in qua ætate vel quo modo edoctus<sup>1</sup>, aut qualiter contigerit; et ita auctoritas sacerdotalis circa infirmum moderetur: et hoc in omni penitentia semper, et confessione omnino, in quantum Deus adjuvare dignetur, cum omni diligentia conservetur<sup>2</sup>.

## INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

I.<sup>3</sup> De Ecclesiæ ministerio vel Reædificatione ejus.

1. Æcclesiam licet ponere in alium locum, si necesse sit<sup>4</sup>, et non debet iterum sanctificare, tantum<sup>5</sup> presbiter aqua aspergere debet et in loco altaris crux debet conponi.

2. In unoquoque altari duas missas facere conceditur in uno die, et qui non communicat<sup>6</sup> non accedat ad panem<sup>7</sup> neque ad osculum in missa; et qui prius manducat, ad hoc osculum non permittitur.

3. Ligna æcclesiæ non debent ad aliud opus jungi nisi ad æcclesiam aliam, vel igni comburenda, vel ad profectum in monasterio fratribus, vel coquere cum eis panes licet, et talia in laicato opere<sup>8</sup> non debent procedere.

4.<sup>9</sup> In æcclesia in qua mortuorum cadavera<sup>10</sup> infidelium sepe-liuntur, sanctificare altare non licet; sed si apta videtur ad consecrandum, inde evulsa<sup>11</sup> et rasis vel lotis lignis ejus reædificetur.

<sup>96</sup> VII.] V. W. and Can. Greg. 117. *a* agrees with the text.

<sup>97</sup> XL.] dies, add. W.

<sup>98</sup> auspicia] vel aruspicia, W.

<sup>99</sup> sive] vel, W.

<sup>1</sup> edoctus] eductus, *b*.

<sup>2</sup> conservetur] servetur, W. *a* agrees with the text.

<sup>3</sup> I.] XVI. *a, b*.

<sup>4</sup> sit] est, W.

<sup>5</sup> tantum] tamen, *a*.

<sup>6</sup> communicat] communicat, W.

<sup>7</sup> panem] pacem, W. *b* agrees with the text.

<sup>8</sup> laicato opere] laicata opera, W. *a* agrees with the text. <sup>9</sup> Here Petit's version, and the MSS. *d, e, f, g, b, l, m*, begin with the title De ecclesia vel quæ intus geruntur.

<sup>10</sup> cadavera] corpora, *a, b*.

<sup>11</sup> evulsa] corpora, add. *e*.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

5. Si autem<sup>12</sup> consecratum<sup>13</sup> prius fuit, missas in eo<sup>14</sup> celebrare licet, si religiosi ibi sepulti sunt; si vero paganus sit<sup>15</sup>, mundari et jactari<sup>16</sup> foras melius est.

6. Gradus non debemus facere ante altare<sup>17</sup>.

7. Reliquiæ sanctorum venerandæ sunt.

8. Si potest fieri candela ardeat ibi per singulas noctes, si autem<sup>18</sup> paupertas loci non sinit, non nocet eis.

9. Incensum Domini incendatur in natale Sanctorum pro reverentia diei, quia ipsi sicut lilia dederunt odorem suavitatis et asperserunt æcclesiam Dei sicut incensu aspergitur æcclesia primitus juxta altare<sup>19</sup>.

10. Laicus non debet in æcclesiis<sup>20</sup> lectionem recitare, nec Alleluia dicere; sed psalmos tantum et responsoria sine Alleluia.

11. Aqua benedicta domus suas aspergent<sup>21</sup> quotiens voluerint, qui habitent<sup>22</sup> in eis; et quando consecraveris aquam primum orationem facis.

II.<sup>23</sup> *De tribus Gradibus Æcclesiæ principalibus.*

1. Episcopo licet in campo confirmare si necesse sit<sup>24</sup>.

2. Similiter presbitero missas<sup>25</sup> agere si diaconus vel<sup>26</sup> presbiter ipse calicem et oblationem<sup>27</sup> manibus tenuerit.

3. Episcopus non debet abbatem cogere ad synodum ire, nisi etiam aliqua rationabilis causa sit.

4. Episcopus dispensat causas pauperum usque ad L. solidos, rex vero si plus est.

5. Episcopus et abbas hominem sceleratum servum possunt habere, si pretium redimendi non habet.

6. Episcopo<sup>28</sup> licet votum solvere, si vult.

7. Presbitero<sup>29</sup> licet missas facere et populum<sup>30</sup> benedicere in Parasceue, et crucem sanctificare.

8. Presbitero<sup>31</sup> decimas dare non cogitur.

9. Presbitero non licet peccatum Episcopi prodere quia super eum est.

<sup>12</sup> autem] hoc, W.      <sup>13</sup> consecratum] hæc consecrata, e, l, m.      <sup>14</sup> eo] ea, e, l, m.  
<sup>15</sup> sit] sic, W.      <sup>16</sup> mundari et jactari] mundare et jactare, W.      <sup>17</sup> altare] ubi, add. l, m,  
joining this paragraph with the next.      <sup>18</sup> autem] hoc, a, b.      <sup>19</sup> sicut—altare] sicut  
incensum [incensum, f, g, m.] aspergit ecclesiam, e, f, g, m.      <sup>20</sup> æcclesiis] ecclesia, W.  
<sup>21</sup> aspergent] aspergant, W. aspergerent, b.      <sup>22</sup> habitent] inhabitant, W.      <sup>23</sup> II.]  
XVII., a, b.      <sup>24</sup> sit] est, W.      <sup>25</sup> missas] om. a, b, g, l, m.      <sup>26</sup> vel] aut, W.  
<sup>27</sup> et oblationem] om. e, f, g.      <sup>28</sup> Episcopo] Episcopum, e.      <sup>29</sup> Presbitero] soli, add. W.  
<sup>30</sup> populum] pro populo, e. MS. i begins with the word *benedicere*.      <sup>31</sup> Presbitero] Pres-  
biter, W., with Cap. Theod. 45, and Can. Greg. 156.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

10. Sacrificium non est accipiendum de manu sacerdotis, qui orationes vel lectiones secundum ritum implere non potest.

11. Presbiter si responsoria cantat in missa, vel quicunque<sup>32</sup>, cappam suam non tollat, sed evangelium legens super humeros ponat.

12. Presbiter fornicans si, postquam compertum<sup>33</sup> fuerit, baptizaverit, iterum baptizentur illi quos baptizavit.

13. Si quis presbiter ordinatus deprehendit se non esse baptizatum, baptizetur et ordinetur iterum, et omnes quos prius baptizavit baptizentur<sup>34</sup>.

14. Diacones cum Grecis non frangunt panem sanctum, nec collectionem dicunt vel *Dominus vobiscum* vel completas<sup>35</sup>.

15. Non licet diacono laico penitentiam dare, sed Episcopus aut presbiter<sup>36</sup> dare debent.

16. Diacones<sup>37</sup> possunt baptizare et cibum et potum<sup>38</sup> benedicere, non panem dare; similiter monachi et clerici possunt benedicere cibum.

III.<sup>39</sup> *De Ordinatione diversorum.*

1. In ordinatione Episcopi debet missa cantari ab ipso Episcopo ordinante.

2. In ordinatione presbiteri sive diaconi oportet Episcopum missas celebrare, sicut Greci solent in electione abbatis agere vel abbatissæ.

3. In monachi vero ordinatione abbas debet missam agere et III. orationes super caput ejus implere<sup>40</sup>, et VII. dies velat<sup>41</sup> caput suum cuculla<sup>42</sup> sua, et septima die abbas tollat velamen, sicut in baptismo presbiter solet velamen infantum auferre; ita et abbas debet monacho, quia<sup>43</sup> secundum baptismum est juxta iudicium patrum, in quo omnia peccata dimittuntur, sicut in baptismo.

4. Presbiter potest abbatissam consecrare cum missæ celebratione.

5. In abbatis vero ordinatione episcopus debet missam agere, et

<sup>32</sup> quicunque] quæcunque, W.      <sup>33</sup> compertum] apertus, b.      <sup>34</sup> baptizentur] rebaptizentur, e.      <sup>35</sup> completas] completum, e. completa, i. completam, l, m.      <sup>36</sup> Episcopus aut presbiter] Episcopo aut presbitero, b. Episcopi aut presbiteri, W. e agrees with the text.      <sup>37</sup> Diacones] diaconi, W.      <sup>38</sup> et potum] potumque, W.      <sup>39</sup> III.] XVIII. *De ordinationibus*, a, b.      <sup>40</sup> implere] complere, W.      <sup>41</sup> velat] velet, W.      <sup>42</sup> cuculla] cocula, b. quoculla, i. coculla, W.      <sup>43</sup> quia] qui, e.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

eum benedicere inclinato capite cum duobus vel tribus testibus de fratribus suis, et dat ei baculum et pedules.

6. Sanctemoniales autem et basilicæ cum missa semper debent consecrari.

7. Greci simul benedicunt viduam et virginem et utramque abbatissam eligunt<sup>44</sup>. Romani autem non velant viduam cum virgine.

8. Secundum Grecos presbitero licet virginem sacro velamine consecrare et reconciliare penitentem et facere oleum exorcizatum<sup>45</sup> et infirmis crismam si necesse est. Secundum Romanos autem non licet nisi Episcopis solis.

IV.<sup>46</sup> *De Baptismate et Confirmatione*<sup>47</sup>.

1. In baptismate peccata dimittuntur, non conjunctiones mulierum, quia filii qui ante baptismum sic et post eorum fiunt<sup>48</sup>.

2. Si vero<sup>49</sup> non putatur uxor esse, quæ ante baptismum ducta erat<sup>50</sup>, ergo nec filii ante generati pro filiis habentur, nec inter se fratres vocari vel hereditatis consortes fieri possunt.

3. Si quis gentilis elemosinam facere<sup>51</sup> et abstinentiam haberet et alia bona, quæ enumerare non possumus, numquid ea in baptismo perdidit? Non, nam bonum aliquod non perdet<sup>52</sup>, sed malum abluet<sup>53</sup>. Hoc Innocentius Papa de caticumino<sup>54</sup> Corneli<sup>55</sup> gesta pro exemplo ponens adfirmavit.

4. Gregorius Nazazenus dicit<sup>56</sup> secundum baptismum esse lacrimarum.

5. Nullum perfectum credimus in baptismo sine confirmatione Episcopi, non desperamus<sup>57</sup> tamen.

6. In Nicena synodo crisma fuit constitutum.

7. Pannus crismatis<sup>58</sup> iterum super alium baptizatum inponi non est absurdum.

8. In caticumino et<sup>59</sup> baptismate et confirmatione unus potest esse pater, si necesse est, non est tamen in consuetudine<sup>60</sup>, sed per singulas<sup>61</sup> singuli suscipiunt.

9. Non licet alium suscipere, qui non est baptizatus vel confirmatus.

<sup>44</sup> eligunt] elegunt, W.      <sup>45</sup> exorcizatum] exorcizatus, b. exorcizato, e, i.      <sup>46</sup> IV.] XIX., a, b.  
<sup>47</sup> De indulgentia baptismatis, b. De baptismatis confirmatione, e, f, g, i.  
<sup>48</sup> fiunt] sunt, a, b.      <sup>49</sup> vero] viro, e.      <sup>50</sup> erat] om. W.      <sup>51</sup> facere] faceret, W.  
<sup>52</sup> perdet] perdit, e.      <sup>53</sup> abluet] abluit, e.      <sup>54</sup> caticumino] catecumino, W.      <sup>55</sup> Corneli] Cornili, a, i. Cornilio, e. Cornillii, W.      <sup>56</sup> dicit] dixit, W.      <sup>57</sup> desperamus] desperamus, W.  
<sup>58</sup> Pannus crismatis] pannos crismatos P. crismatus, b, e, i.      <sup>59</sup> et] de, W.      <sup>60</sup> in consuetudine] consuetudo, W.      <sup>61</sup> singulas] singula, W.

[THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

10. Viro autem licet feminam suscipere in baptismo, similiter et feminæ virum suscipere.

11. Non licet baptizatis cum caticuminis manducare neque osculum eis dare, quanto magis gentilibus.

V.<sup>62</sup> *De Missa defunctorum.*

1. Secundum Romanam ecclesiam<sup>63</sup> mos est monachos vel homines religiosos defunctos<sup>64</sup> æcclesiam portare, et cum crisma unguere peccata eorum<sup>65</sup>, ibique pro eis missas celebrare; deinde cum cantatione portare ad sepulturas; et cum positi fuerint in sepulcro<sup>66</sup>, funditur pro eis oratio<sup>67</sup>, deinde humo vel petra operiuntur.

2. Prima et tertia et nona nec non et tricesima die pro eis missa agatur, et<sup>68</sup> exinde<sup>69</sup> post annum si voluerint servatur<sup>70</sup>.

3. Pro defuncto monacho missa agatur die sepulturæ ejus et III. die, postea quantas<sup>71</sup> voluerit abbas.

4. Missæ<sup>72</sup> quoque monachorum fieri per singulas septimanas et nomina recitare mos est.

5. Missæ vero secularium mortuorum III. in anno, tertia die et nona die<sup>73</sup> et XXX., quia resurrexit Dominus tertia die et nona hora spiritum emisit, et XXX. dies Moysen planxerunt filii Israhel.

6. Pro laico bono tertia die<sup>74</sup> missa fuit<sup>75</sup>; pro penitente XXXma. die, vel septima post jejunium, quia<sup>76</sup> et propinquos ejus oportet jejunare VII. dies et oblationem offerre ad altare, sicut in Jesu filio Sirach legitur et pro Saul filii Israhel jejunaverunt<sup>77</sup>; postea quantos<sup>78</sup> voluerit presbiter<sup>79</sup>.

7. Multi dicunt non licere pro infantibus missas facere ante VII. annum, sed tamen licet.

8. Dionisius Ariopagita dicit blasphemias Deo facere qui missas offert<sup>80</sup> pro malo homine.

9. Agustinus<sup>81</sup> dicit pro omnibus Christianis esse faciendam<sup>82</sup> quia vel eis proficit aut offerentibus aut petentibus<sup>83</sup> consulatur<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> V.] XX., a, b. *De sepulcris defunctorum, b.*

MSS. e, f, g, b, and *Petit* agree with the text.

om. W.

<sup>66</sup> sepulcro] sepulcra, W.

<sup>67</sup> funditur—oratio] funderint

—orationem, e.

<sup>68</sup> et] om. W.

<sup>69</sup> exinde] inde, b.

<sup>70</sup> servatur] servetur, W.

<sup>71</sup> quantas] quantum, W.

<sup>72</sup> Missæ] Missas, W.

<sup>73</sup> die] om. W.

<sup>74</sup> die] vel septima

post jejunium, add. e, i, *Pet.*

<sup>75</sup> missa fuit] missas facit, W.

<sup>76</sup> post jejunium, quia] om.

e, i, *Pet.*

<sup>77</sup> jejunaverunt] et, add. W.

<sup>78</sup> quantos] quantas, W.

quam diu, e, i, *Pet.*

<sup>79</sup> voluerit presbiter] voluerit sacerdos, W.

voluerint presbyteri, g, *Pet.*

<sup>80</sup> offert] offert, a, b.

offerret, i.

<sup>81</sup> Agustinus] Augustinus, W.

<sup>82</sup> esse faciendam] orandum, W.

g, i, and *Pet.* have *faciendum.*

<sup>83</sup> petentibus] penitentibus, e, i.

<sup>84</sup> consulatur] consulatur, W.

om. *Pet.*

<sup>63</sup> Romanam ecclesiam] Romanos, W.

<sup>64</sup> defunctos] in, ins. W.

<sup>65</sup> eorum]

<sup>66</sup> sepulcro] sepulcra, W.

<sup>67</sup> funditur—oratio] funderint

—orationem, e.

<sup>68</sup> et] om. W.

<sup>69</sup> exinde] inde, b.

<sup>70</sup> servatur] servetur, W.

<sup>71</sup> quantas] quantum, W.

<sup>72</sup> Missæ] Missas, W.

<sup>73</sup> die] om. W.

<sup>74</sup> die] vel septima

post jejunium, add. e, i, *Pet.*

<sup>75</sup> missa fuit] missas facit, W.

<sup>76</sup> post jejunium, quia] om.

e, i, *Pet.*

<sup>77</sup> jejunaverunt] et, add. W.

<sup>78</sup> quantos] quantas, W.

quam diu, e, i, *Pet.*

<sup>79</sup> voluerit presbiter] voluerit sacerdos, W.

voluerint presbyteri, g, *Pet.*

<sup>80</sup> offert] offert, a, b.

offerret, i.

<sup>81</sup> Agustinus] Augustinus, W.

<sup>82</sup> esse faciendam] orandum, W.

g, i, and *Pet.* have *faciendum.*

<sup>83</sup> petentibus] penitentibus, e, i.

<sup>84</sup> consulatur] consulatur, W.

om. *Pet.*

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

10. Non est licitum missas<sup>85</sup> celebrare presbitero vel diacono cui non licet vel<sup>86</sup> non vult communionem accipere.

VI.<sup>87</sup> *De Abbatibus et Monachis vel Monasterio.*

1. Abbas potest pro humilitate cum permissione Episcopi, locum suum derelinquere; tamen fratres eligant sibi abbatem de ipsis, si habent; sin autem, de extraneis.

2. Nec Episcopus debet violenter retinere abbatem in loco suo esse.

3. Congregatio debet sibi eligere abbatem post mortem ejus; aut eo vivente, si ipse discesserit vel peccaverit.

4. Ipse non potest aliquem ordinare de suis propinquis, neque alienis, neque alio abbati<sup>88</sup> dare sine voluntate fratrum<sup>89</sup>.

5. Si vero peccaverit abbas, nec Episcopo licet tollere possessionem monasterii, quamvis peccaverit abbas, sed mittat eum in aliud monasterium in potestatem alterius abbatis.

6. Non licet abbati neque Episcopo terram æcclesiæ vertere ad aliam, quamvis ambæ in potestate ejus sint. Si motare<sup>90</sup> vult terram æcclesiæ, faciat cum consensu ambarum<sup>91</sup>.

7. Si quis vult monasterium suum in alium locum ponere, faciat cum consilio Episcopi et fratrum suorum, et dimittat in priori loco presbiterum ad ministeria æcclesiæ.

8. Non licet<sup>92</sup> viris feminas habere monachas neque feminis viros; tamen nos non destruamus illud quod consuetudo est in hac terra<sup>93</sup>.

9. Monacho non licet votum vovere sine consensu abbatis: sin minus, frangendum est.

10. Abbas si habuerit monachum dignum Æpiscopatu<sup>94</sup>, debet dare si necesse est.

11. Puero non licet jam nubere<sup>95</sup>, prelato<sup>96</sup> ante monachi voto<sup>97</sup>.

12. Si quis monachus<sup>98</sup>, quem elegerit congregatio ut ordinetur eis in gradum presbiterii<sup>99</sup>, non debet dimittere priorem conversationem suam.

13. Si autem postea inventus fuerit aut superbus, aut inobædiens,

<sup>85</sup> missas] om. W.      <sup>86</sup> vel] qui, ins. *Pet.*      <sup>87</sup> VI.] XXI. *De ordinatione abbatis, a, b.*  
<sup>88</sup> abbati] abbate, W.      abbatem, *i.* alium abbatem, *Pet.*      <sup>89</sup> fratrum] suorum, add. *e.*  
<sup>90</sup> motare] mutare, W.      <sup>91</sup> ambarum] amborum, W.      <sup>92</sup> Non licet] Apud Grecos  
non est consuetudo, *b.*      <sup>93</sup> tamen—terra] tamen consuetudinem istius provinciæ non  
destruamus, W. from MS. *b.*      <sup>94</sup> Æpiscopatu] Episcopatu, *a.* Episcopo, W.      <sup>95</sup> nubere]  
novere, *g, i.*      <sup>96</sup> prelato] perlato, *b.* prolato, *e.* prælatu, *i.*      <sup>97</sup> voto] votum, *e, i.*  
<sup>98</sup> monachus] sit, ins. W.      <sup>99</sup> presbiterii] presbyteri, W.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

vel vitiosus, et in meliore gradu pejorem vitam querit, deponatur et in ultimum locum constitutus aut satisfactione emendaverit.

14. In potestate et libertate est monasterii susceptio infirmorum in monasterium<sup>1</sup>.

15. In libertate quoque monasterii est lavandi pedes laicorum, nisi in Cœna Domini non coguntur.

16. Nec non libertas monasterii est penitentiam secularibus judicandam<sup>2</sup>, quia proprie clericorum est.

VII.<sup>3</sup> *De Ritu Mulierum vel Ministerio in Ecclesia.*

1. Mulieres non velant altare cum corporali nec, oblationes super altare nec calicem ponant, neque stent inter ordinatos in ecclesia, neque in convivio sedeant inter sacerdotes<sup>4</sup>.

2. Mulieri non est licitum alicui penitentiam indicere, quia in canone nulli licitum est nisi solis sacerdotibus<sup>5</sup>.

3. Mulieres possunt sub nigro velamine accipere sacrificium ut Basilius judicavit.

4. Mulier potest oblationes facere secundum Grecos, non secundum Romanos.

VIII.<sup>6</sup> *De moribus Grecorum et Romanorum.*

1. In Dominico<sup>7</sup> Greci et Romani navigant et æquitant, panem non faciunt, neque in curru pergunt nisi ad ecclesiam tantum, nec balneant se.

2. Greci in Dominica non scribunt publice<sup>8</sup>; tunc<sup>9</sup> pro necessitate seorsum in domu<sup>10</sup> scribunt<sup>11</sup>.

3. Greci et Romani dant servis suis vestimenta et laborant sine Dominico die.

4. Grecorum monachi servos non habent; Romanorum habent.

<sup>1</sup> monasterium] monasterio, e, Pet.    <sup>2</sup> judicandam] judicandum, W.    <sup>3</sup> VII.] XXII. a, b.

*Clericas monialibus*, b.    <sup>4</sup> Mulieres—sacerdotes] Mulieribus, id est, Christi famulabus licitum est in suis ecclesiis lectiones legere et implere ministeria quæ conveniunt ad confessionem sacrosancti altaris, nisi ea tantummodo quæ specialiter sacerdotum et diaconum sunt, W. from the MSS. But, a, e, g, i, and Pet. confirm the text.    <sup>5</sup> Mulieri—sacerdotibus] Episcopum et sacerdotum est secundum canones penitentiam indicere ipsum licitum est, W. from the other MSS. Here again the text is confirmed by a, e, g, i, and Pet., which read, however, *judicare* for *indicere*.

<sup>6</sup> VIII.] XXIII., a. MS. b joins this and the preceding chapter.    <sup>7</sup> Dominico] Dominica, W.    <sup>8</sup> publice] publice, W.    <sup>9</sup> tunc] tamen, W.    <sup>10</sup> domu] domo, W.

<sup>11</sup> MS. f has here the first paragraph of lib. I. cap. 11 in the margin; and MS. g has the same introduced into the text. Wasserschleben remarks that the MS. used by Cummeanus must have had the same.



## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

5. In illa die ante Natale Domini hora nona, expleta missa, id est, vigilia Domini, manducant Romani, Greci vero dicta vespera et missa cenant.

6. De peste mortalitatis Greci et Romani dicunt ipsos infirmos visitare debere, ut ceteros infirmos, sicut<sup>12</sup> Dominus precipit.

7. Greci carnem morticinorum non dant porcis, pelles tamen vel coria ad calciamenta licent et lana et cornua accipere licet non in aliquod sanctum.

8. Lavacrum capitis potest in Dominica esse, et in lexiva<sup>13</sup> pedes lavare licet, sed consuetudo Romanorum non est hæc lavatio pedum.

IX.<sup>14</sup> *De communione Scottorum et Brittonum<sup>15</sup> qui<sup>16</sup> in Pascha et tonsura catholici non sunt<sup>17</sup>.*

1. Qui ordinati sunt a Scottorum vel Brittonum<sup>18</sup> Episcopis, qui in Pascha vel<sup>19</sup> tonsura catholici<sup>20</sup> non sunt, adunati æcclesiæ non sunt, sed<sup>21</sup> iterum a catholico Episcopo manus impositione confirmentur.

2. Similiter et æcclesiæ quæ ab ipsis Episcopis ordinantur<sup>22</sup>, aqua exorcizata aspergantur et aliqua collectione confirmentur.

3. Licentiam quoque non habemus, eis poscentibus, crismam vel Eucharistiam dare, nisi ante confessi fuerint velle<sup>23</sup> nobiscum esse in unitate æcclesiæ. Et qui ex horum<sup>24</sup> similiter gente vel quicumque de baptismo suo dubitaverit, baptizetur.

X.<sup>25</sup> *De vexatis a diabulo.*

1. Si homo vexatus est a diabulo et nescit aliquid nisi ubique discurrere, et occidit semetipsum, quacunque causa potest<sup>26</sup>, ut oretur pro eo, si ante religiosus erat.

2. Si pro desperatione aut pro timore aliquo aut pro causis incognitis<sup>27</sup>, Deo relinquemus hoc iudicium et non ausi sumus orare pro eo.

3. Qui semetipsum<sup>28</sup> occiderit propria voluntate, missas pro eo facere non licet, sed tantum orare et elemosinas largire.

<sup>12</sup> sicut] secundum quod, a.      <sup>13</sup> lexiva] lisciva. g. lexi vix, a. b.      <sup>14</sup> IX.] XXIV., a. XXIII. De bis qui ordinati sunt a Scottorum et Brittonum, b.      <sup>15</sup> Brittonum] Brittanorum, g, i.      <sup>16</sup> qui] om. g.      <sup>17</sup> non sunt] om. g.      <sup>18</sup> Brittonum] Brittonum, W. Britanorum, e.      <sup>19</sup> vel] et, W.      <sup>20</sup> catholici] catholicæ, W.      <sup>21</sup> non sunt sed] om. W.      <sup>22</sup> ordinantur] consacrantur, i.      <sup>23</sup> velle] se, add. e.      <sup>24</sup> horum] aurum, e. orum, i.      <sup>25</sup> X.] XXV., a. XXIV. De bis qui vexati sunt a demoniacis, b.      <sup>26</sup> potest] prodest, Pet.      <sup>27</sup> incognitis] se occiderit. W. after a and b. W. reads also *desperatione* and *relinquimus*.      <sup>28</sup> semet ipsum] se, W. e agrees with the text.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Si quis Christianus<sup>29</sup> subita<sup>30</sup> temptatione mente sua excederit, vel post inasinam<sup>31</sup> se ipsum occiderit, quidam pro eo missas faciunt.

5. Demonium sustinenti licet petras et holera habere sine incantatione<sup>32</sup>.

XI.<sup>33</sup> *De Usu vel Abjectione Animalium.*

1. Animalia quæ a lupis seu canibus lacerantur non sunt comedenda, nec cervus, nec capra, si mortui inventi fuerint, nisi forte ab homine adhuc viva occidentur prius<sup>34</sup>, sed porcis et canibus dentur.

2. Aves vero et animalia cetera si in retibus strangulantur, non sunt comedenda hominibus; nec si accipiter oppresserit, si mortua inveniuntur, quia in quarto capitulo<sup>35</sup> Actus<sup>36</sup> Apostolorum precipitur<sup>37</sup> abstinere a fornicatione a sanguine et soffocato<sup>38</sup> et idolatria.

3. Pisces autem licet comedere, quia alterius naturæ sunt.

4. Equum non prohibent, tamen consuetudo non est comedere.

5. Leporem licet comedere et bonum<sup>39</sup> est pro desintiria<sup>40</sup>, et fel ejus miscendum est cum piperō<sup>41</sup> pro dolore.

6. Apes si occidunt hominem, ipsæ<sup>42</sup> quoque occidi debent festinanter, mel tamen manducetur<sup>43</sup>.

7. Si casu porci comedent<sup>44</sup> carnem morticinorum aut sanguinem hominis, non abiciendos<sup>45</sup> credimus, nec gallinas; ergo porci, qui sanguinem hominis gustant, manducantur.

8. Sed qui cadavera mortuorum lacerantes manducaverunt, carnem eorum manducare non licet, usque dum macerentur, et post anni circulum.

9. Animalia<sup>46</sup> coitu<sup>47</sup> hominum pulluta<sup>48</sup> occiduntur<sup>49</sup>, carnesque canibus proiciantur; sed quod generant sit in usu, et coria adsumentur; ubi autem dubium est, non occiduntur.

<sup>29</sup> Christianus] om. *e.*      <sup>30</sup> subita] subitanea, *W.* *e* agrees with the text; *W.* reads *excederit* for *excederit*.  
<sup>31</sup> post inasinam] per insaniam, *W.*      <sup>32</sup> Demonium—incantatione] Found only in *a*, *b*, and *c*.  
<sup>33</sup> XI.] XXVI., *a*. XXV. *De bis qui immundas bñ*, *b*. The whole chapter is omitted in *f*, *g*, *b*, and *Petit*.      <sup>34</sup> prius] om. *W.*      <sup>35</sup> in quarto capitulo] IV. capitula, *W.*      <sup>36</sup> Actus] Actuum, *W.* ita, add. *W.*      <sup>37</sup> precipitur] præcipiunt, *W.*  
<sup>38</sup> soffocato] suffocato, *W.*      <sup>39</sup> bonum] bonus, *W.*      <sup>40</sup> desintiria] desinteria, *W.*  
<sup>41</sup> piperō] pipere, *W.* *a* and *e* agree with the text.      <sup>42</sup> ipsæ] ipsi, *W.*      <sup>43</sup> manducetur] comedetur, *W.* *e* and *i* agree with the text.      <sup>44</sup> comedent] comedunt, *e.* comedant, *W.*  
<sup>45</sup> abiciendos] habiciendos, *W.*      <sup>46</sup> animalia] autem, ins. *W.*      <sup>47</sup> coitu] cetu, *e.* coetu, *i.*  
<sup>48</sup> pulluta] polluta, *W.*      <sup>49</sup> occiduntur] occiduntur, *W.*

XII.<sup>50</sup> *De Quæstibus Conjugiorum.*

1. Qui in matrimonio sunt, III. noctes abstineant se conjunctione antequam communicent.

2. Vir abstineat se ab uxore XL. dies<sup>51</sup> ante Pascha usque<sup>52</sup> octavas Paschæ. Inde ait Apostolus, "Ut vacetis orationi."

3. Mulier tres menses debet se abstinere<sup>53</sup> a viro suo quando<sup>54</sup> concepit, ante partum et post tempore<sup>55</sup> purgationis, hoc est XL. diebus et noctibus, sive masculum sive feminam genuerit.

4. Mulieri quoque licet per omnia ante communicare quando<sup>56</sup> debet peperire<sup>57</sup>.

5. Si cujus uxor fornicata fuerit<sup>58</sup>, licet dimittere eam et aliam accipere; hoc est, si vir dimiserit uxorem suam propter fornicationem, si prima fuerit, licitum est ut aliam accipiat uxorem; illa vero, si voluerit penitere peccata sua, post V. annos alium virum accipiat.

6. Mulieri non licet virum dimittere licet sit fornicator, nisi forte pro monasterio. Basilius hoc judicavit.

7. Legitimum conjugium non licet frangi<sup>59</sup> sine consensu amborum.

8. Potest tamen alter alteri licentiam dare accedere ad servitutum Dei in monasterium et sibi nubere, si in primo conubio erit<sup>60</sup>, secundum Grecos; et tamen non est canonicum; sin autem in secundo, non licet<sup>61</sup> vivente viro vel uxore.

Maritus si se ipsum in furtu aut fornicatione servum facit vel quocunque peccato, mulier si prius non habuit conjugium, habet potestatem post annum alterum accipere virum; digamo<sup>62</sup> non licet.

9. Muliere<sup>63</sup> mortua licet viro post mensem alteram accipere, mortuo viro post annum licet mulieri alterum tollere<sup>64</sup> virum.

10. Mulier si adultera est et vir ejus non vult habitare cum ea, si vult illa monasterium<sup>65</sup> intrare, quartam partem suæ hereditatis optineat; si non vult, nihil habeat.

<sup>50</sup> XII.] XXVII., a. XI., *Pet. f, g, b* XXVI. *De matrimonio et de uxoribus dimissis, b.* *De questionibus conjugiorum, W.* <sup>51</sup> dies] diebus, *W.* <sup>52</sup> usque] in, *ins. W.* <sup>53</sup> debet se abstinere] abstineat se, *e, i.* <sup>54</sup> quando] postquam, *e, Pet.* <sup>55</sup> tempore] tempus, *g, Pet.* <sup>56</sup> quando] quam, *W.* *c, g, i, k, Pet.* agree with the text. <sup>57</sup> peperire] peperere, *W. parere, g, k, Pet.* <sup>58</sup> fornicata fuerit] fornicaverit, *W. e, i,* and *Pet.* agree with the text. <sup>59</sup> frangi] separari, *W.* <sup>60</sup> erit] erat, *e, i, Pet.* fuerit, *k.* <sup>61</sup> licet] tertium, *add. W. tertio, e, g, i, Pet.* <sup>62</sup> digamo] autem, *ins. W.* <sup>63</sup> Muliere] Mulier, *a, e.* <sup>64</sup> tollere] accipere, *e, i, k.* <sup>65</sup> monasterium] monasterio, *e.*

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

11. Quæcunque mulier adulterium perpetravit<sup>66</sup>, in potestate viri est, si velit<sup>67</sup> reconciliare<sup>68</sup> mulieri adulteræ. Si reconciliavit, in clero non proficit vindicta illius, ad proprium virum pertinet.

12. Vir et mulier in matrimonio, si ille voluerit Deo servire et illa noluerit, aut illa voluerit et ille noluerit; vel ille infirmatus seu illa infirmata fuerit<sup>69</sup>; tamen omnino cum consensu amborum separentur.

13. Mulier quæ vovit, ut post mortem viri ejus non accipiat alterum, et mortuo illo prævaricatrix accipiet<sup>70</sup> alium, iterumque nupta, cum ea<sup>71</sup> penitentia mota implere vult vota sua, in potestate viri ejus est, utrum pleat an non.

14. Ergo uni licentiam dedit Theodorus, quæ confessa est votum, post XI. annos nubere cum illo viro.

15. Et si quis in seculari habitu votum voverit sine consensu Episcopi, ipse Episcopus habet potestatem<sup>72</sup> mutare sententiam, si vult.

16. Legitimum conjugium æqualiter licet in die et in nocte, sicut scriptum est, "Tuus est dies et tua est nox."

17. Si quis dimiserit gentilis<sup>73</sup> gentilem uxorem, post baptismum in potestate eis<sup>74</sup> erit, habere eam vel non habere.

18. Simili modo, si unus<sup>75</sup> eorum baptizatus erit, alter gentilis, sic ut Apostolus dixit<sup>76</sup>, "Infidelis, si discedat, discedat," ergo<sup>77</sup> cujus uxor est infidelis et gentilis et non potest converti, dimittatur.

19. Si mulier discesserit a viro suo despiciens eum, nolens revertere et reconciliari viro, post V. annos cum consensu Episcopi aliam accipere licebit uxorem.

20. Si in captivitate per vim ducta redimi<sup>78</sup> non potest, post annum alteram<sup>79</sup> accipere.

21. Item si in captivitate ducta fuerit, vir ejus V. annos expectet; similiter autem et mulier si viro talia contingerint<sup>80</sup>.

22. Si igitur vir alteram duxerit uxorem, priorem de captivitate reversam recipiat<sup>81</sup>, posteriorem dimittat: similiter autem illa, sicut superius diximus, si viro talia contingerint<sup>82</sup>, faciat.

23. Si cujus uxorem hostis abstulerit, et ipse eam iterum adipisci

<sup>66</sup> perpetravit] perpetraverit, W.      <sup>67</sup> velit] vellet, e.      <sup>68</sup> reconciliare] reconciliari, W.  
<sup>69</sup> fuerit] om. W.      <sup>70</sup> accipiet] accipiat, W.      <sup>71</sup> ea] eo, W.      <sup>72</sup> potestatem]  
eius, add. W.      <sup>73</sup> gentilis] om. e, i, Pet.      <sup>74</sup> eis] ejus, W.      <sup>75</sup> unus] quis. e, i, Pet.  
<sup>76</sup> dixit] dicit, W.      <sup>77</sup> ergo] si, add. W.      <sup>78</sup> ducta redimi] ductam redimere, W.  
<sup>79</sup> alteram] potest alterum, W.      <sup>80</sup> contingerint] contigerint, W.      contingerent, e.  
<sup>81</sup> recipiat] accipiat, W.      <sup>82</sup> contingerint] contigerint, W.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

non potest, licet aliam accipere<sup>83</sup>; melius est sic facere quam fornicationes<sup>84</sup>.

24. Si iterum post hæc uxor illa venerit<sup>85</sup> ad eum, non debet recipi ab eo, si aliam habet; sed illa tollat alium virum sibi, si unum ante habuerat. Eadem sententia stat de servis transmarinis.

25. In tertia propinquitate carnis licet nubere secundum Grecos, sicut in lege scriptum est, in quinta, secundum Romanos: tamen in quarta<sup>86</sup> non solvunt, postquam factum fuerit. Ergo in quinta generatione conjungantur; quarta, si inventi<sup>87</sup> fuerint, non separentur<sup>88</sup>.

26. In tertia<sup>89</sup> propinquitate non licet uxorem alterius accipere post obitum ejus.

27. Æqualiter vir conjungitur in matrimonio eis qui sibi consanguinei sunt, et uxoris suæ consanguineis post mortem uxoris.

28. Duo quoque fratres duas sorores in conjugio possunt habere, et pater filiusque matrem et filiam.

29. Maritus qui cum uxore sua dormierit, lavet se ante quam intret<sup>90</sup> æcclesiam.

30. Maritus quoque<sup>91</sup> non debet uxorem suam nudam videre.

31. Si quis nuptias habet vel matrimonia non licita, tamen licitum est escam quam habent manducare, quia propheta dixit, "Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus."

32. Si vir et mulier conjunxerint se in matrimonio, et postea dixerit mulier de viro, non posse nubere cum ea<sup>92</sup>, si quis poterit probare quod verum sit, accipiat alium.

33. Puellam disponsatam non licet parentibus dare alteri viro nisi illa omnino resistat; tamen ad monasterium licet ire, si voluerit.

34. Illa autem desponsata, si non vult habitare cum eo viro cui est desponsata, reddat ei pecunia, quam pro ipsa dedit, et tertia pars addatur; si autem ille<sup>93</sup> noluerit, perdat pecuniam quam pro illa dedit.

35. Puella autem XVI.<sup>94</sup> annorum sui corporis potestatem habet.

36. Puer usque ad XV. annos<sup>95</sup> sit in potestate patris sui; tunc<sup>96</sup> ipsum potest monachum facere, puella vero XVI. vel XVII. annorum,

<sup>83</sup> accipere] tollere, W.

<sup>84</sup> fornicationes] fornicari, W. *e* and *i* agree with the text.

<sup>85</sup> venerit] si veniet, *e*. si veniat, *i*.

<sup>86</sup> quarta] tertia, *e*, *i*, *Pet*.

<sup>87</sup> inventi] inventa, C.

<sup>88</sup> separentur] tertia separentur, add. W.; but *c*, *k*, and *Pet*. agree with the text.

<sup>89</sup> tertia] tamen, add. W.

<sup>90</sup> intret] in, ins. W.

<sup>91</sup> quoque] om. *e*, *i*, *Pet*.

<sup>92</sup> ea] eo, *Pet*.

<sup>93</sup> ille] illa, *Pet*.

<sup>94</sup> XVI.] XIV., W. XIII., *Pet*. XVII., *a*. *k* agrees with the text.

<sup>95</sup> annos] annum, W.; but *e*, *i*, and *Pet*. agree with the text.

<sup>96</sup> tunc] se, ins. W.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

quæ ante in potestate parentum erat<sup>97</sup>. Post hanc ætatem patri filiam suam contra ejus voluntatem non licet in matrimonium<sup>98</sup> dare.

XIII.<sup>99</sup> *De Servis et Ancillis.*

1. Pater filium suum<sup>1</sup> necessitate coactus potestatem habet tradere<sup>2</sup> in servitum<sup>3</sup> VII.<sup>4</sup> annorum<sup>5</sup>, deinde sine voluntate filii licentiam tradendi<sup>6</sup> non habet.

2. Homo XIII.<sup>7</sup> se ipsum potest servum facere.

3. Non licet homini a servo<sup>8</sup> tollere pecuniam, quam ipse labore suo adquisierit.

4. Si servum et ancillam dominus amborum in matrimonium conjunxerit, postea liberato servo vel ancilla, si non potest redimi qui<sup>9</sup> in servitio est, libero licet ingenuo<sup>9</sup> conjugere.

5. Si quis liber ancillam in matrimonio acciperit, non habet licentiam dimittere eam<sup>10</sup>, si ante cum consensu amborum conjuncti sunt.

6. Si pregnantem mulierem quis liberam comparat, liber est ex ea generatus.

7. Qui ancillam pregnantem liberat, quem generat, sit servitutis<sup>11</sup>.

XIV.<sup>12</sup> *De diversis Questionibus.*

1. Jejunia legitima tria sunt in anno pro populo<sup>13</sup>; XL. ante Pascha, ubi decimas anni solvimus; et XL. ante Natalem Domini, et post Pentecosten XL. dies et noctes.

2. Qui pro homine mortuo jejunat, se ipsum adjuvat. De mortuo autem Dei solius est notitia.

3. De promissione sua laici non debent moram facere, quia mors non tardat.

4. Servo Dei nullatenus licet pugnare, multorum licet sit concilio<sup>14</sup> servorum Dei.

5. Infans pro infante potest dari ad monasterium Deo, quamvis alium vovisset; tamen melius est votum implere.

<sup>97</sup> erat] sunt, W.      <sup>98</sup> matrimonium] matrimonio, e, W.      <sup>99</sup> XIII.] XXVIII., a. XXVII. *De potestate patris et de inlic.*, b.      <sup>1</sup> suum] om. e, i. *Pet.*      <sup>2</sup> tradere] tradere, b. <sup>3</sup> servitum] servitium, W.      <sup>4</sup> VII.] XIV., W.      But e, i. Can. Greg. 183, and *Pet.* agree with the text.      <sup>5</sup> annorum] annos, W.      <sup>6</sup> tradendi] om. W.      <sup>7</sup> XIII.] XIII., e, f, g, i, *Pet.*      <sup>8</sup> annorum, add. W.      <sup>8</sup> servo] suo, add. W.      <sup>9</sup> qui—ingenuo] quæ—ingenuam, *Pet.*      <sup>10</sup> eam] om. W.      <sup>11</sup> servitutis] servus, *Pet.*      <sup>12</sup> XIV.] XXVIII., a. XXVIII. *De jejuniiis legitimis*, b.      <sup>13</sup> pro populo] per populum, W.      <sup>14</sup> concilio] consilio, W.      *consilium*, e, f, g, i.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

6. Similiter pecora æquali pretio possunt mutari, si necesse sit.
7. Rex si alterius regis terram habet, potest dare pro anima sua<sup>15</sup>.
8. Inventio in via tollenda est; si inventus fuerit possessor, redatur ei.
9. Tributum ecclesiæ sit, sicut consuetudo provinciæ, id est, ne tantum pauperes inde<sup>16</sup> in decimis aut in aliquibus rebus vim patientur<sup>17</sup>.
10. Decimas<sup>18</sup> non est legitimum dare nisi pauperibus et peregrinis, sive laici suas ad ecclesias<sup>19</sup>.
11. Pro reverentia regenerationis in albis Pentecosten orandum est, ut in quinquagesima oratur.
12. Oratio potest sub velamine esse cum<sup>20</sup> necessitas cogit.
13. Infirmis licet omni hora cibum et potum sumere, quando desiderant vel possunt, si opportune non possunt.

FINIT<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>22</sup>Hæc consiliente venerabili Theodoro Archiepiscopo Angelorum nostri ut diximus scripserunt. Si quis vero sibi competentius melius est ve has utrasque regulas penes se tenere videantur, bene suis uti in Deum et nostris nec careant optamus, in quibus que incorrupta videntur vitio utique scriptorum interpretumque viri nimirum barbarum deputant ab omnibus ita ut a quibusdam vel hab eo eruditis illa depravata incorrectaque illa esse iudicia merito abnegantur, ac quibus

<sup>15</sup> Here MS. *b* alone has the following article, which is no. 8. in Wasserschleben: "Si quis de seculo ad servitum Dei conversus speciem quamlibet regalem habeat a rege acceptum, ipsa in potestate regis est illius; sin vero a priore quovis rege defuncto, quam accipiebat, sit ut aliæ res ejus Deo secum tradere licitum." <sup>16</sup> inde] om. W. <sup>17</sup> patientur] patiantur, W.

<sup>18</sup> decimas] decunnas, C. <sup>19</sup> ad ecclesias] ad ecclesiam, W. suis ecclesiis, *g*. <sup>20</sup> cum] si, W.

<sup>21</sup> The MSS. which contain only the second book, have here the 13th chapter of the first, as in Petit's edition. MS. C. has after FINIT, (1) the Questions of Augustin with the Answers of Gregory as given above from Bede, but including the one about the relics of S. Sixtus which is regarded as spurious. (2) The verses—

"Te nunc sancte speculator  
Verbi Dei digne dator  
Hæddi pie presul precor,  
Pontificum ditum decor,  
Pro me tuo peregrino  
Preces funde Theodoro."

<sup>22</sup> The following epilogue is found only in MS. *b*, where it follows the Questions of Augustin and Answers of Gregory. It is here printed from Wasserschleben without emendation.

## [THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

non pauca cum passim a pluribus mixtimque tenentur, pariter posuimus, ut Christo Domino iuvente sequentibus libris ex eis precipua lux modulum nostrum corrigamus. Sed adhuc de illa dubitantes opere aliqua in quibusdam hujus necessaria opusculis adnectamus et maxime libello penitentie que ad prudenti posse facile reor adverti. Restat igitur super hujus ad defensionem patres nostri Theodori dilectioni vestitum quantam possumus satisfacere, quorum in aliorum catholicorum dictis plenam non inuenientes expositionem eum ideo frequentastis. De quibus non immerito omnibus vos qui horum karissime causa baludicantes difficilia extitistis, ut me in illorum agone Christo pro nobis agonotheta certantem meritis vestris contra imminente <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This epilogue, and indeed the same may be said of the prologue, owes its obscurity possibly to the corruptness of the copy, but certainly in great measure to the barbarous character of the Latin. The writer's meaning, as traceable by the aid of a few conjectural emendations, seems to be this:—

“The above sentences were written, as we have said, by our authorities, under the advice of the venerable Theodore, Archbishop of the English (*Anglorum* for *Angelorum*). If there be any (*qui* for *quis*) who seem to themselves to possess these two [books of] rules in a better and more satisfactory form, our desire is that they should make a good use of them, to the glory of God, yet not be without the aid of our version also. Amongst these, the passages which seem to be corrupted (reading *corrupta* for *incorrupta*) by the fault of copyists and interpreters, men set down as forsooth barbarous; by all as by some even instructed by Theodore himself those judgments are deservedly rejected as unsound and incorrect. [Or, reading *virorum nimirum barbarorum deputantur ab omnibus, ita ut a quibusdam* etc., we may construe, “those passages which seem to be corrupted by the fault of copyists and interpreters, barbarians no doubt, are by all condemned (*deputantur* = *abjudicantur*, are ascribed to other hands) even as” etc. etc.]

Many of these, since they are widely known but in a confused form, we have put together, that by the Lord Christ's help (*iuvente* for *iuvente*) we may in future books correct the most important of them according to (*juxta* or *secundum* for *lux*) our standard. But still having doubts about them (*illis* for *illa*) we add to our work (*operi* or *operæ* for *opere re*) a few necessary helps in certain small works (i. e. the further documents contained in the MS.), and especially a form of penitence (*libellum* for *libello*), all which we think will be readily intelligible to a wise reader. It remains therefore that we do our best (*quantum* for *quantam*) in defence of our father (*patris* for *patres*) Theodore, to satisfy you, beloved (*vestræ* for *vestitum*), who (*qui* for *quorum*) not finding in the sayings of other catholic divines a full answer to your questions, were on that account in the habit of applying to him.

“For all which reasons [I entreat], beloved (*karissimi* for *karissime*), not without deserving it, that you who have been balancing (*dijudicantes*, or *abjudicantes*, rejecting, for *baludicantes*) these difficult places, will by your merits assist (supply *adjuvetis*) me in the struggle in which I am engaged, before Christ the awarder of the prize, against the enemy (*inimicum* for *imminente*).”



## APPENDIX

TO

## THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.

I. Collation of the "Capitula Theodori" as printed by D'Achery, De la Barre, and Wasserschleben, with the corresponding passages of the Genuine Penitential.

[D=D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, vol. IX. p. 52, ed. 1669. B=The second edition of D'Achery, edited by L. F. J. de la Barre, Paris, 1723, vol. I. p. 486. W=Wasserschleben's *Bussordnungen*, p. 145. T=The Genuine Penitential as printed above.]

D.	B.	W.	T.	D.	B.	W.	T.
1	1	1	II. 3, 2.	10	17	22	II. 11, 4.
2	2	2	II. 3, 3.	10	18	23	II. 11, 7, 8.
2	3	3	II. 3, 4.	11	19	24	II. 8, 6.
3	4	4	II. 3, 5.	12	20	25	I. 12, 1, 2.
3	5	5	II. 3, 6.	12	21	26	I. 12, 4.
3	5	6	II. 3, 7.	12	22	27	I. 2, 14.
4	6	7	II. 4, 5.	13	23	28	II. 12, 17.
—	6	8	II. 4, 6.	13	24	29	II. 12, 25.
5	7	9	II. 2, 10.	13	25	30	II. 12, 26.
5	8	10	II. 2, 14.	14	26	31	I. 14, 2.
6	9	11	I. 10, 1, 2.	—	27	32	I. 14, 3.
7	10	12	II. 8, 1.	15	28	33	I. 8, 6.
7	10	13	II. 8, 2.	16	29	34	I. 14, 1.
7	11	14	I. 11, 1.	17	30	35	II. 13, 4.
8	12	15	II. 8, 3.	—	31	36	II. 12, 23, 24.
8	13	16	II. 8, 4.	18	32	37	I. 14, 5.
9	14	17	II. 1, 3.	18	32	38	I. 14, 6.
9	15	18	II. 1, 1.	18	33	39	I. 14, 7.
10	16	19	II. 8, 7.	19	34	40	II. 5, 3, 6.
10	16	20	II. 11, 7.	20	35	41	II. 3, 8.
10	17	21	II. 11, 1, 3.	21	36	42	I. 14, 17, 18.

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

D.	B.	W.	T.	D.	B.	W.	T.
22	37	43	II. 14, 5, 6.	60	79	90	I. 15, 5.
23	38	44	II. 8, 8.	61	80	91	I. 14, 26.
24	39	45	II. 2, 8.	62	81	92	I. 3, 1.
25	40	46	II. 1, 7.	63	82	93	II. 10, 3.
25	40	47	II. 1, 8.	64	83	94	II. 10, 4.
25	41	48	II. 1, 9.	—	84	95	II. 2, 12.
26	42	49	II. 14, 8.	65	85	96	I. 4, 6.
27	43	50	II. 1, 10.	66	86	97	II. 8, 5.
28	44	51	II. 7, 4.	67	87	98	II. 9, 3.
29	45	52	II. 8, 5.	68	88	99	II. 1, 4, 5.
30	46	53	II. 14, 9.	68	88	100	II. 1, 1.
31	47	54	II. 11, 9.	69	89	101	II. 5, 7.
32	48	55	II. 1, 2.	70	90	102	I. 17, 2.
33	49	56	II. 12, 2.	71	91	103	See below, p.211.
34	50	57	See below, p.211.	—	92	104	II. 12, 5, 11.
35	51	58	I. 12, 7.	—	93	105	II. 12, 8.
36	52	59	See below, p.211.	72	94	106	II. 12, 9.
37	53	60	II. 5, 5.	73	95	107	I. 14, 8.
38	54	61	II. 6, 15.	74	96	108	II. 13, 6.
—	55	62	I. 7, 4.	74	97	109	II. 13, 7.
39	56	63	II. 14, 3.	75	98	110	II. 12, 28.
40	57	64	I. 2, 17.	76	99	111	II. 12, 12.
41	58	65	I. 8, 1.	77	100	112	II. 14, 2.
42	59	66	II. 14, 4.	78	101	113	I. 14, 24, 27.
43	60	67	II. 2, 15.	79	102	114	II. 13, 1.
44	61	68	II. 12, 30.	—	103	115	II. 12, 15.
44	62	69	II. 14, 13.	80	104	116	II. 9, 1.
45	63	70	II. 12, 18.	80	104	117	II. 9, 2.
46	64	71	See below, p.211.	81	105	118	II. 12, 34.
46	64	72	II. 6, 1.	82	106	119	II. 12, 36.
46	64	73	II. 6, 2.	83	107	120	I. 7, 6.
46	64	74	II. 6, 3.	84	108	121	II. 12, 25.
46	64	75	II. 6, 4.	85	109	122	II. 12, 3.
47	65	76	II. 6, 5.	86	110	123	II. 4, 11.
48	66	77	II. 6, 6.	87	111	124	II. 9, 3.
48	67	78	II. 6, 7.	87	111	125	II. 2, 12, 13.
49	68	79	II. 2, 7.	88	112	126	I. 9, 7.
50	69	80	I. 12, 5.	88	113	127	I. 9, 8.
51	70	81	I. 4, 5.	89	114	128	II. 2, 5.
52	71			90	115	129	II. 5, 1.
53	72	82	I. 4, 4, 7.	90	115	130	II. 5, 2.
54	73	83	I. 3, 2.	91	116	131	I. 9, 10.
55	74	84	I. 2, 1.	92	117	132	See below, p.211.
56	75	85	II. 5, 8.	93	118	133	Note a.
56	75	86	II. 5, 9.	94	119	134	
57	76	87	I. 14, 15.	95	120	135	
58	77	88	I. 8, 6.	96	121	136	
59	78	89	I. 3, 3.	97	122	137	
			I. 4, 1.	97	122	138	

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

D.	B.	W.	T.	D.	B.	W.	T.
97	123	139	Note a.	111	138	156	I. 4, 1.
97	124	140		112	139	157	II. 12, 25.
98	125	141		112	139	158	II. 12, 7, 8.
99	126	142		113	140	159	II. 12, 19.
100	127	143		113	140	160	II. 12, 20.
101	128	144	See below, p.211.	114	141	161	See below, p.211.
102	129	145	II. 12, 33.	115	142	162	I. 9, 9.
103	130	146	II. 1, 11.	116	143	163	II. 12, 5.
104	131	147	I. 15, 4.	116	143	164	II. 12, 6.
105	132	148	I. 7, 11.	117	144	165	II. 13, 3.
106	133	149	See below, p.211.	118	145	166	II. 12, 36.
106	133	150	I. 12, 7.	118	146	167	II. 6, 9.
107	134	151	II. 10, 5.	119	146	168	II. 11, 2.
108	135	152	I. 6, 5.	—	146	169	II. 11, 5.
108	135	153	I. 2, 6.	120	147	170	II. 2, 9.
109	136	154	II. 14, 1.	121	148	171	I. 8, 14.
110	137	155	II. 2, 11.				

<sup>a</sup> Chapters 133-143 of the so-called *Capitula Theodori*, inclusive, are from the Apostolic Canons; 133 is Can. Ap. 8; 134, 9; 135, 10; 136, 14; 137, 21; 138, 22; 139, 23; 140, 24;

141, 25; 142, 30; 143, 38. The last 20 chapters in D'Achery, p.491 (second edition), numbered 149 to 168, are from the Canons of Adamnan.

II. *Collation of the "Canones Gregorii" as printed by Kunstmann and Wasserschleben, with the corresponding passages of the Genuine Penitential.*

[K = Kunstmann, *Die Lateinischer Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, p. 129. W = Wasserschleben, pp. 160-180. T = The Genuine Penitential as printed above.

K.	W.	T.	K.	W.	T.
1	1	II. 3, 2.	14	14	II. 6, 1.
2	2	II. 3, 3.	14	15	II. 6, 3.
3	3	II. 3, 5.	14	16	II. 6, 4.
4	4	II. 4, 6.	15	17	II. 2, 10.
5	5	II. 3, 4.	16	18	II. 2, 14.
6	6	II. 3, 6.	17	19	II. 2, 7.
7	7	II. 3, 7.	18	20	II. 6, 6.
8	8	II. 3, 8.	19	21	II. 2, 3.
9	9	II. 7, 3.	20	22	II. 6, 6.
10	10	II. 6, 8.	21, 22, 23		I. 9, 12.
11	11	II. 3, 7.	23	24	I. 10, 1.
12	12	II. 4, 5.	24	25	II. 4, 1.
13	13	II. 6, 2.	25	26	I. 5, 1.

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

K.	W.	T.	K.	W.	T.
26	27	I. 5, 6.	66	75	II. 12, 17.
27	28	I. 5, 2.	67	76	II. 12, 18.
28	29	I. 9, 6.	68	77	II. 12, 18.
29	30	I. 9, 7.	69	78	II. 12, 25, 26.
		I. 14, 28.	70	79	II. 12, 31.
30	31	II. 6, 12, 13.	71	80	II. 12, 3.
31	32	I. 9, 11.	72	81	II. 12, 4.
31	33	I. 10, 2.	73	82	II. 12, 5.
32	34	II. 4, 3.	74	83	II. 12, 13, 14.
33	35	I. 9, 10.	74	84	II. 12, 8.
33	36	I. 9, 9.	75	85	I. 14, 2.
34	37	I. 8, 5.	75	86	II. 12, 33.
35	38	I. 12, 7.	76	87	II. 2, 9.
36	39	I. 3, 3.	77	88	I. 8, 6.
37	40	I. 1, 1.	77	89	I. 2, 17.
38	41	II. 7, 2.	78	90	I. 2, 16.
39	42	II. 7, 1.	79	91	I. 2, 2, 4.
40	43	II. 12, 36.	80	92	I. 2, 18.
41	44	II. 6, 9.	81	93	I. 2, 3, 2.
42	45	I. 5, 14.	82	94	I. 3, 3.
43	46	I. 8, 12, 13.	83	95	I. 2, 12.
44	47	I. 9, 2.	84	96	I. 2, 18.
45	48	I. 5, 3, 4.	85	97	I. 2, 13.
46	49	I. 5, 5.	86	98	I. 7, 1.
47	50	I. 5, 7.	87	99	I. 2, 11.
48	51	I. 5, 8, 9, 10.	88	100	I. 2, 15.
49	52	I. 5, 11.	89	101	I. 2, 6.
50	53	I. 5, 12, 13.	90	102	I. 14, 25.
51	54	II. 8, 1, 2.	91	103	I. 14, 26.
51	55	I. 11, 1.	92	104	I. 14, 29.
51	56	II. 8, 3, 4.	93	105	I. 14, 30.
51	57	I. 11, 2.	94	106	I. 14, 27.
51	58	I. 11, 3.	95	107	I. 14, 21, 22, 23.
51	59	I. 12, 1, 2.	96	108	I. 4, 5.
52	60	I. 11, 4, 5.	96	109	I. 4, 6.
53	61	II. 14, 1.	96	110	I. 4, 7.
54	62	I. 14, 1.	96	111	I. 4, 2.
55	63	I. 14, 5.	96	112	I. 4, 4, 7, 6.
55	64	I. 14, 6.	96	113	II. 14, 4.
56	65	II. 12, 7.	97	115	I. 6, 3, 4.
57	66	II. 12, 5.	98	116	I. 15, 1.
58	67	II. 12, 6.	98	117	I. 15, 2, 3.
59	68	I. 14, 4.	99	118	I. 8, 1-4.
60	69	I. 14, 7.	99	119	I. 8, 7, 9.
61	70	II. 12, 19.	100	120	I. 9, 4, 5.
62	71	II. 12, 28.	101	121	I. 3, 2, 5.
63	72	II. 12, 23, 24.	102	122	I. 3, 4.
64	73	II. 13, 4.	103	123	I. 12, 4.
65	74	II. 12, 27.	104	124	I. 2, 14.

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

K.	W.	T.	K.	W.	T.
105	125	I. 14, 17.	121	160	II. 1, 10.
105	126	I. 14, 18, 19.	122	161	I. 14, 28.
106	127	I. 14, 20.	122	162	I. 14, 29.
106	128	I. 7, 11.	123	163	II. 14, 5.
107	129	II. 4, 11.	124	164	II. 13, 3.
108	130	II. 5, 4.	125	165	II. 1, 7, 8.
109	131	II. 5, 3, 6.	126	166	I. 3, 2.
110	132	II. 2, 6.	126	167	I. 9, 1.
111	133	II. 1, 1, 3.	127	168	II. 2, 16.
111	134	II. 1, 3.	128	169	I. 7, 4.
111	135	II. 1, 1.	129	170	II. 8, 8.
112	136	II. 8, 7.	130	171	I. 8, 14.
112	137	II. 11, 7.	131	172	II. 8, 5.
112	138	II. 11, 1, 8.	132	173	II. 9, 3.
112	139	II. 11, 9.	133	174	II. 2, 11.
112	140	II. 11, 1.	134	175	II. 12, 8.
112	141	II. 11, 6.	135	176	II. 12, 9.
112	142	II. 11, 1, 3.	135	177	I. 14, 2.
112	143	II. 11, 2.	136	178	II. 13, 6.
112	144	II. 11, 4.	136	179	II. 13, 5.
112	145	II. 11, 5.	137	180	II. 4, 10.
112	146	I. 7, 8.	137	181	II. 12, 1.
112	147	I. 7, 6.	138	182	II. 12, 29.
113	148	II. 14, 13.	139	183	II. 13, 1.
114	149	II. 1, 4, 5.	140	184	II. 13, 2.
114	150	II. 1, 5.	141	185	II. 12, 10.
115	151	II. 5, 5.	142	186	II. 12, 36.
116	152	II. 10, 1, 2.	143	187	II. 9, 1, 2.
117	153	II. 14, 7.	144	188	I. 6, 1, 2.
117	154	I. 7, 2.	145	189	II. 9, 3.
118	155	II. 2, 1.	146	190	I. 14, 16.
119	156	II. 2, 8.	147	191	I. 14, 15.
119	157	II. 14, 10.	148	192	I. 3, 1.
119	158	II. 14, 9.	149	193	I. 12, 5.
120	159	II. 5, 10.			

### III. *Canons ascribed in ancient Collections to Theodore, but not found in the Genuine Penitential.*

[Of the following Canons the larger portion is drawn from the "Capitula Theodori" of D'Achery; one is from the "Canones Gregorii" of Kunstmann, the remainder from the other ancient Penitentials which are published in a collected form by Wasserschleben. The "Capitula Theodori" and "Canones Gregorii" are, in Wasserschleben's opinion, more ancient than the genuine Penitential, and may have been among the *diversæ confu-*

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

*sæque digestiones* of Theodore's judgments to which the compiler of the Penitential refers, and which he intended his orderly and systematic edition to supersede. This, although very probable, must remain a matter of opinion. The former collection assumes to be Theodore's, but (1) it contains eleven Canons (Apostolic) known not to be his; (2) in De la Barre's edition, it includes twenty known to be Adamnan's; and (3) in one case the compiler has thought it necessary to specify Theodore as the author of a particular Canon. Several of the "Capitula" vary considerably from the text of the Penitential; *e. g.* 55, 56, 159; and it is probable that the compiler of the genuine work intended to give a correct version of them, and to exclude the few others which are not found in the Penitential at all. The following are all which are wanting in the genuine work, not being known to belong to other authors, or which vary from it in any material point not already noticed among the various readings of the Penitential, or to be referred, as in some cases of variation in numerical figures, to the mistakes of copyists. They are given here not as Theodore's, but with the presumption against their genuineness derivable from the circumstances stated above. If they are older than the genuine Penitential, they must have been rejected by the compiler of it; if they are later in date, they are wanting in the authority which alone could compel their reception.

The "Canones Gregorii" do not pretend to be Theodore's, yet all but one are found in the Penitential; the presumption therefore is that the collector held that one to be of the same origin. It is possible that they received the name from having attached to them a copy of Gregory's Responsiones; or if they are of later date, they may have been drawn from a MS. which, like Wasserschleben's *a*, attributed the Prologue and perhaps the Penitential itself to one of the Gregories.]

1. Ingenuus cum ingenua conjungi debet.

[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 35. See Theod. Penit., II. xiii. 4.*]

2. In uno altari duas facere missas conceditur secundum Græcos, secundum Romanos quinque, propter quinque cruces quæ imponit Episcopus quando consecrantur. Et ille qui prius manducare probatur ad osculum non admittitur.

[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 55. From Theodore's Penit., II. i. 2, with the addition secundum Græcos—consecrantur.*]

3. Vir abstineat se ab uxore sua XL. dies ante Pascha et in prima ebdomada post Pascha, post Pentecosten una ebdomada.

[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 56. From Theod. Penit., II. xii. 2, with the addition of the last clause.*]

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Infantes monasterii XIV. annis carnem manducant.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 57.*]
5. Gentiles mortui de locis sanctorum ejiciendi sunt.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 59. See Theod. Penit., II. i. 4.*]
6. Abbati si licet monasterium suum alii dare in potestatem, nec post obitum nec eo vivente sine voluntate monachorum, nec propinquo nec alieno, sed ipsi elegant sibi abbatem. Si prior obierit aut discesserit, similiter simili modo.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 71. See Theod. Penit., II. vi. 4.*]
7. Qui homicidium vel furtum commiserit et non composuit illis quibus nocuit, quando confessus fuerit Episcopo vel presbytero peccata sua, debet illis aut propria reddere vel componere, si vero non habuerit substantiam unde componere potest vel nescierit quibus nocuit, pœnitentia plus augetur.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 89. See Theod. Penit., I. iii. 3 and I. iv. 1.*]
8. In ecclesia sanctificata nulli mortui sepelientur. Si vero ibi mortui, antequam fuerit sanctificata, sepulti sunt, non sanctificentur.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, 99. See Theod. Penit., II. i. 4, 5.*]
9. Si inde mutata fuerit in altero loco, vel laventur tabulæ; quæcunque enim ecclesia mutata fuerit in alio loco, iterum sanctificetur. Si vero in ipso loco et ei mutata fuerit, aqua aspergetur sancta.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 100. See Theod. Penit., II. i. 1, which is contradicted by this version.*]
10. Si servus, si et ancilla domini servum illum liberum non vult cum illa nubere, dimitte accipere, si illa non potuerit ad eum.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 103. See Theod. Penit., II. xiii. 4.*]
11. Non communicet vir cum muliere adultera, similiter et uxor cum adultero viro non ineat pacem communem.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 132.*]
12. Qui carnes immundas manducaverint, et olera quæ cum carnes coquuntur, cessare debent a ministerio.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 144.*]
13. Episcopus, presbyter, diaconus confiteri debent peccatum suum.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 149.*]
14. Stando orandum est pro reverentia Dei.  
[*Cap. Th. ed. Wasserschleben, n. 161.*]

## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

15. Si quis clericus parvenerit ad firmum paganum, melius est baptizari eum in Nomine Trinitatis cum aqua signata.  
 [*Can. Greg. ed. Wassersleben, n. 30*; and see *Theod. Penit., I. ix. 7, I. xiv. 28.*]
16. *Theodorus*.—Si quis patri aut matri expulserit, impius vel sacrilegus judicandus est et pœniteat æquali tempore quamdiu in impietate extiterit.  
 [*Pœnit. Cummeani, IV. 10, ed. Wassersleben, p. 476.* It is also in the *Pœnit. Paris., c. 45, ibid., p. 416*; but not there ascribed to Theodore.]
17. *Theodorus*.—Si quis per semetipsum propriis membris violaverit I. ann. pœn. Si quis virginem aut viduam rapuerit vel violentio, III. ann. pen. i. p. e. a.  
 [*Pœnit. Valicellanum, II. c. xxxvi. ed. Wassersleben, p. 561.*]

[Besides these there is found in several Penitentials a chapter on Commutation of Penance, ascribed to Theodore by mistake. This is probably of Frankish origin, and was attributed to Theodore simply from the fact of a reference occurring in it to his genuine work. It is found apparently in its most ancient form in Cummeanus. See *Cummeanus, in Prolog. De modis Pœnitentiæ; Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti, c. II.; Pœnit. Remense, c. II. Pseudo-Theod. ad calcem*; and compare *Egbert, Pen. XIII. 11, XIV. XVI.*

Of the collection of Fragments of Theodore printed in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, pp. 307–319, from various sources, every article is either contained in the genuine Penitential, or is found in earlier collections (such as the Capitularies of Ansegis, and the Corrector Burchardi) without the ascription to Theodore, which in every case may either be referred to accident, or shown to be without authority.

There exists in several collections a form of the Benediction of an Abbess, which seems to claim the authorship of Theodore. It is found in the *Ordo Romanus* (ap. *Hiltorp. De Divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Officiis, ed. 1624, cc. 164, 165*); in *Gerbert, Monumenta Veteris Liturgiæ Alemannicæ, p. alt. pp. 99–100*; “ex Cod. monast. Murensis, olim monasterii in Nidermunster. Ratisb., sæc. XI. circ.,” and in *Collier’s History of the Church of England, vol. II. App. p. 23*. These versions, although containing a good deal of matter in common, differ widely in other respects, nor would it be easy to analyze them so as to reproduce an original text. But the heading of the Article, which is in Gerbert “*Ordinatio Abbatissæ monasticam regulam profitentis, capitulum ex canone Theodori Archiepiscopi Anglorum,*” may merely mean that the form was drawn up in conformity with a canon of Theodore: and this will appear more probable if the rubrics of the form be compared



## [APPENDIX TO THEODORE'S PENITENTIAL.]

with the article of the Penitential which regulates the benediction of an abbot. The rubrics are, 1. "*In ordinatione Abbatissæ Episcopus debet missam celebrare (or cantare), et eam benedicere hoc modo. Post Antiphonam ad Introitum et datam orationem et reliquum officium Missæ usque ad Evangelium prosternat se electa ante altare retro Episcopum, cum duabus vel tribus de sororibus suis, fiantque ibi litanix,*" etc. 2. "*Precibus finitis, benedicat eam Episcopus inclinato capite, ita dicens,*" etc. The words in Italics are taken from the article of the Penitential referred to: but they there belong to the benediction not of an abbess, but of an abbot. Theodore also (*Pen. II.* 3, 4) allows an abbess to receive benediction from a priest, for which there is no order given in the form as it now stands.]

A.D. 690, *Sept.* 19. EPITAPHIUM SANCTI THEODORI.BÆD. *H. E.*, V. 8.

Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul  
 Quam nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga vocat ;  
 Princeps pontificum, felix, summusque sacerdos  
 Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.

\* \* \* \* \*

Namque diem nonam decimam Septembris habebat  
 Cum carnis claustra spiritus egreditur :  
 Alma novæ scandens felix consortia vitæ  
 Civibus angelicis junctus in arce poli.

[*M. H. B.* 255; Bede omits 26 lines in the middle.]

## SEE OF CANTERBURY VACANT,

A.D. 690, SEPT. 19—A.D. 693, JUNE 29.

A.D. 688 × 693, or probably A.D. 690. *Laws of Ine King of Wessex, made at a West-Saxon Witenagemot; so far as they relate to the Church<sup>a</sup>.*

## BE INES DOMUM.

Ic Ine, mid Godes gife, Wes-seaxena kyning, mid geþeahhte and mid lare Cenredes mines fæder, and Heddes mines Biscepes, and Eorcenwoldes mines Biscepes, mid eallum minum ealdormonnum, and þæm ieldstan witum minre þeode, and eac micelre gesomnunge Godes þeowa, wæs smeagende be þære hælo urra sawla, and be þam staðole ures rices; þæt te ryht æw and ryhte cyne-domas þurh ure folc gefæstnode and getrymede wæron; þæt te nænig ealdormonna, ne us under-geþeodedra, æfter þam wære awendende þas ure domas.

## BE GODES ðEOWA REGOLE.

1. Ærest, we bebeodað þæt te Godes þeowas hiora ryht-regol on

## OF THE DOOMS OF INE.

I, Ine, by God's grace, King of the West-Saxons, with the counsel and with the teaching of Cenred my father, and of Hedde my Bishop, and of Eorcenwold my Bishop, with all my 'ealdormen,' and the most distinguished 'witan' of my people, and also with a large assembly of God's servants, have been considering of the health of our souls, and of the stability of our realm; so that just law and just kingly dooms might be settled and established throughout our folk; so that none of the 'ealdormen,' nor of our subjects, should hereafter pervert these our dooms.

## OF THE RULE OF GOD'S SERVANTS.

1. First, we command that God's servants rightly hold their

## [LAWS OF INE, TOUCHING THE CHURCH.]

ryht healdan. Æfter þam, we  
bebeodað þæt te ealles folces æw  
and domas þus sien gehealdene.

lawful rule. After that, we com-  
mand that the law and dooms of  
the whole folk be thus held.

## BE CILDUM.

II. Cild, binnan þritegum nihta,  
sie gefulwad. Gif hit swa ne sie,  
xxx. scill. gebete. Gif hit þonne  
sie dead butan fulwihte; gebete  
he hit mid eallum þam þe he  
age.

## OF CHILDREN.

2. Let a child, within thirty  
days, be baptized. If it be not  
so, let him make 'bōt' with xxx.  
shillings. But if it die without  
baptism; let him make 'bōt' for  
it with all that he has.

## BE SUNNAN-DÆGES WEORCUM.

III. Gif þeowmon wyrce on  
Sunnan-dæg be his hlafordes  
hæse, sie he frioh; and se hlaford  
geselle xxx. scill. to wite. Gif  
þonne se þeowa butan his gewit-  
nesse wyrce, þolie his hyde [oþþe  
hyd-gyldes]. Gif þonne se frigea  
þy dæge wyrce butan his hlafordes  
hæse, þolie his freotes [oþþe sixtig  
scillingas; and preost si twy-scil-  
dig].

## OF SUNDAY WORKINGS.

3. If a 'theowman' work on  
Sunday by his lord's command,  
let him be free; and let the lord  
pay xxx. shillings as 'wite.' But  
if the 'theow' work without his  
knowledge, let him suffer in his  
hide, or in 'hide-gild.' But if a  
freeman work on that day with-  
out his lord's command, let him  
forfeit his freedom, or sixty shil-  
lings: and be a priest doubly  
liable.

## BE CIRIC-SCEATTUM.

IV. Ciric-sceattas sin agifene  
be Sēe Martines mæssan. Gif  
hwa þæt ne gelæste, sie he scyldig  
lx. scill. and be XII. fealdum  
agife þone ciric-sceat.

## OF CHURCH-SCOTS.

4. Let church-scots be ren-  
dered at Martinmas. If any one  
do not perform that, let him for-  
feit lx. shillings, and render the  
church-scot twelve-fold.

## BE CIRIC-SOCNUM.

v. Gif hwa sie deaðes scyldig,  
and he cirican geierne, hæbbe his  
feorh, and bete swa him ryht  
wisie. Gif hwa his hyde for-  
wyrce, and cirican geierne, sie  
him sio swingelle forgifen.

## OF CHURCH-'SOCNS.'

5. If any one be guilty of  
death, and he flee to a church,  
let him have his life, and make  
'bōt' as the law may direct him.  
If any one put his hide in peril,  
and flee to a church, be the  
scourging forgiven him.

## [LAWS OF INE, TOUCHING THE CHURCH.]

## BE GEFEOHTE.

vi. Gif hwa gefeohte on cyninges huse, sie he scyldig ealles his ierfes, and sie on cyninges dome hwæðer he lif age þe nage. Gif hwa on mynstre gefeohte, hund-twelftig scill. gebete. Gif hwa on ealdormonnes huse gefeohte, oþþe on oðres geþungenes witan, LX. scill. gebete he, and oðer LX. geselle to wite. Gif he þonne on gafol-geldan huse, oþþe on gebures gefeohte, cxx. scill. to wite geselle, and þam gebure vi. scill. And þeah hit sie on middum felda gefohten, hund-twelftig scill. to wite sie agifen. Gif þonne on gebeor-scipe hie geciden, and oðer hiora mid geþylde hit forbere, geselle se oðer xxx. scill. to wite.

## BE ÐAM ÐE HIORA GEWITNESSA BEFORAN BISĊ. ALEOGAÐ.

xiii. Gif hwa beforan Biscepe his gewitnesse and his wed aleoge, gebete mid cxx. scill.

## BE HERIGE.

xv. Seþe here-teama betygen sie, he hine be his wergilde aliese, oþþe be his were geswicne. Se að sceal bion healf be husl-gengum. Ðeof, siþþan he

## OF FIGHTING.

6. If any one fight in the king's house, let him be liable in all his property, and be it in the king's doom whether he shall or shall not have life. If any one fight in a minster, let him make 'bōt' with one hundred and twenty shillings. If any one fight in an 'ealdorman's' house, or in any other distinguished 'wita's,' let him make 'bōt' with LX. shillings, and pay a second LX. shillings as 'wite.' But if he fight in a 'gafol-gelda's' house, or in a 'gebur's,' let him pay cxx. shillings as 'wite,' and to the 'gebur' vi. shillings. And though it be fought on mid-field, let one hundred and twenty shillings be given as 'wite.' But if they have altercation at a feast, and one of them bear it with patience, let the other give xxx. shillings as 'wite.'

## OF THOSE WHO BELIE THEIR TESTIMONIES BEFORE A BISHOP.

13. If any one before a Bishop belie his testimony and his 'wed,' let him make 'bōt' with cxx. shillings.

## OF 'HERGE.'

15. He who is accused of 'he-reteam,' let him redeem himself with his 'wer-gild,' or clear himself according to his 'wēr.' The oath shall be half of communi-

## [LAWS OF INE, TOUCHING THE CHURCH.]

bið on cyninges bende, nah he þa swicne.

cants. A thief, after he is in the king's custody, shall not have the clearance.

## BE CYNINGES GENEATE.

XIX. Cyninges geneat, gif his wer bið twelf hund scill. he mot swerian for syxtig hida gif he bið husl-gengea.

## OF A KING'S 'GENEAT.'

19. A king's 'geneat,' if his 'wēr' be twelve hundred shillings, he may swear for sixty hides, if he be a communicant.

## BE ELÐEODIES MONNES SLEGE.

XXIII. Gif mon elþeodigne, ofslea, se cyning ah twædne dæl weres, þridan dæl sunu oþþe mægas. Gif he þonne mægleas sie, healf kyningc, healf se gesið. Gif hit þonne abbod sie oþþe abbodesse, dælen on þa ilcan wisan wið þone kyning.

## OF SLAYING A FOREIGNER.

23. If a foreigner be slain, the king has two parts of the 'wēr,' a third part his son or kinsmen. But if he be kinless, half the king, half the 'gesith.' If, however, it be an abbot or an abbess, let them divide in the same wise with the king.

Wealh gafol-gelda cxx. scill.; his sunu c.; ðeowne lx. Somhwelcne fiftægum: Weales hyd twelfum.

A 'Wealh gafol-gelda,' cxx. shillings; his son, c.; a 'theow,' lx.; some with fifty: a 'Wealh's' hide with twelve.

## BE BURG-BRYCE.

XLV. Burg-bryce mon sceal betan cxx. scill. kyninges, and Biscopes, þær his rice bið. Ealdormonnes lxxx. scill.; Cyninges þegnes lx. scill.; Gesiðcundes monnes land-hæbbendes, xxxv. scill.: and bi þon ansacan.

## OF 'BURG-BRYCE.'

45. 'Bōt' shall be made for the king's 'burg-bryce,' and a Bishop's, where his jurisdiction is, with cxx. shillings; for an ealdorman's, with lxxx. shillings; for a king's thane's, with lx. shillings; for a 'gesithcund' man's having land, with xxxv. shillings: and according to this make the legal denial.

## BE CIRIC-SCEATTE.

LXI. Ciric-sceat mon sceal agifan to þam healme and to þam

## OF CHURCH-SCOT.

61. Church-scot shall be rendered according to the 'healm'

## [LAWS OF INE, TOUCHING THE CHURCH.]

heorðe þe se mon on bið to mid-  
dum wintra.

and to the hearth that the man  
is at at mid-winter.

BE ÐON GIF MON OÐRES GOD-SUNU  
SLEA OÐÐE HIS GOD-FÆDER.

IN CASE A MAN SLAY ANOTHER'S GOD-  
SON OR HIS GODFATHER.

LXXVI. Gif hwa oðres god-sunu  
slea oþþe his god-fæder, sie sio  
mæg-bot and sio man-bot gelic.  
Weaxe sio bot be þam were, swa  
ilce swa sio man-bot deð þe þam  
hlaforde sceal. Gif hit þonne  
kyninges god-sunu sie, bete be  
his were þam cyninge swa ilce  
swa þære mægðe. Gif he þonne  
on þone geonbyrde þe hine slog,  
þonne ætfealle sio bot þæm god-  
fæder swa ilce swa þæt wite þam  
hlaforde deð. Gif hit Biscop-  
sunu sie, sie be healfum þam.

76. If any one slay another's  
godson or his godfather, let the  
'mæg-bōt' and the 'man-bōt' be  
alike. Let the 'bōt' increase  
according to the 'wēr,' in like  
manner as the 'man-bōt' does,  
which is due to the lord. But if  
it be a king's godson, let him  
make 'bōt' to the king according  
to his 'wēr,' in like manner as  
to the kindred. If, however, he  
strive against him who slew him,  
then let the 'bōt' to the god-  
father decrease in like manner  
as the 'wite' to the lord does.  
If it be a Bishop-son<sup>b</sup>, let it be  
half of this.

[*Thorpe, Ancient Laws*, pp. 45-65, from *Textus Roffensis*; *S.*, I. pp. 182-188; *W.*, I. 58, 59, and *IV. App.* pp. 744, 745; *Lambarde's Archaionomia*, p. 1; *Wilkins, Ll. Anglo-Sax.* pp. 14-27; *Schmid*, pp. 20-57; see also *W. Malm., G. R.*, I. 2, f. 7, Savile.]

<sup>a</sup> Ine succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex A.D. 688 (*Flor. Wig., A. S. C.*), and Bishop Erkenwald of London died A.D. 693 (*B. IV.* 11, and *Smitb ad loc.*). The absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury needs no accounting for, as the assembly was a provincial Witenagemot of Wessex only; but, not to resort to the fact that there was a fierce war between Kent and Wessex, A.D. 687-694, which would have prevented a Kentish prelate from entering the latter kingdom (cf. *Johnson, Eng. Canons*, I. p. 130, editor's note \*); 1. it is most probable that Ine's laws were made after he had become a little settled in his kingdom, and therefore hardly before Theodore's death in A.D. 690; and 2. after that date there was, during Erkenwald's life, no Archbishop to come to him. Erkenwald's presence, and the description of him by Ine, as "his Bishop," seem to imply that the East-Saxons were at

this time subject to Wessex; as in A.D. 666, when Wini bought the see of London from Wulfhere, and again generally after the present date, they were to Mercia. It is true that Mercia usually ruled over at least London and Middlesex (*W. Malm., G. R.*, I. f. 18, Savile), and East-Saxons were usually subject to "aliis regibus et maxime Mercis;" but Ine is represented as ravaging both Kent (A.D. 688-694) and East-Anglia (*W. Malm., G. R.*, I. f. 7, Savile), which seems to imply at least a temporary supremacy over Essex, which lay right in his path. The letter of Waldhere Bishop of London, A.D. 704 x 705 (see below), shows that such supremacy had been then followed by violent quarrels, which a conference at Brentford was to settle. If Erkenwald's life be prolonged until a later date than A.D. 693, the omission of Ine in the letter of Pope Sergius to the English

## [WILFRID'S SECOND EXILE.]

kings in behalf of Brihtwald in A.D. 693 may be the counterpart to the omission of Brihtwald himself from Ine's Witenagemot and laws, and the same reason may account for both. Perhaps the vacancy of the see of

Canterbury, and Erkenwald's connexion with Surrey as founder of Chertsey, are enough.

<sup>b</sup> That is, Confirmation-son: Thorpe translates incorrectly "Bishop's-son."

A.D. 691<sup>a</sup>. *Wilfrid again expelled from Northumbria.*

Wilfrid and King Ealdfrith quarrel. 1. on account of certain property of S. Peter's, York, secularized by the King; 2. of the attempt to establish a Bishopric at Ripon; 3. of a demand made upon Wilfrid to obey Theodore's decrees.

EDD. V. *Wilfr.* XLIV.—Nam antiquæ inimicitiae suarum, quasi de sopore somni excitati, mare hujus seculi in gaudio serenum, procella flante turbinis, invidiæ folliculo ad triste naufragium moventes, et facem dissensionis extinctam resuscitavere. Quippe inter Regem sapientissimum, et sanctum virum prædictum aliquando pax et securitas, et pene omnis boni gaudium abundavit: aliquando vero aliquod spatium olla fervente nequitiae plures deterioravit; et sic iterum in concordia, atque iterum in discordia, alternatim per multos annos in tali vicissitudine viventes manebant, usque dum postremo maxima flamma inimicitiae exardescente, de regione Ultra-

Humbrensiū sanctus homo Dei a Rege Alfritho expulsus recessit. Nam prima causa est dissensionis eorum de antiqua origine descendens, quia ecclesia, quæ sancto Petro Apostolo dedicata est, territorii et possessionibus suis injuste privatur. Secunda causa est, ut monasterium supradictum, quod in privilegium nobis donabatur, in Episcopalem sedem transmutatur; et libertatem relinquere, quam sanctus Agatho, et quinque Reges censuerunt fixe ac firmiter possidere. Tertia deinde causa est, ut jussionibus et decretis Theodori Archiepiscopi ab Apostolica sede missi oportere cogebat obedire, non illa significans canonica statuta, quæ in principio Episcopatus sui apud nos degens, aut in novissimis temporibus vitæ suæ constituit, quando omnes Ecclesias nostras ad canonicam pacem unanimiter vocavit: sed magis ea decreta, quæ mediis temporibus suis, quando discordia inter nos in Brytania exorta fuerat, statuit.

Wilfrid flies to Mercia, and becomes Bishop of Leicester, Saxulf being just dead.

Ideo sanctus Pontifex noster hæc renuens, ad amicum fidelem Ethelredum regem Merciorum accessit, qui eum cum magno honore propter reverentiam Apostolicæ sedis suscepit; et in multa reverentia episcopatus ejus, quem reverentissimus Sexwlfus Episcopus vita obeunte ante regebat, sub protectione Dei et illius degens mansit. [Ed. *Gale*, p. 75, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell. 1; see *B. H. E.*, V. 19; *W.*, I. 65.]

## [FIRST FOREIGN MISSIONS.]

<sup>a</sup> Wilfrid consecrated Offfor Bishop of Worcester in A.D. 691, whilst administering the see of the Mediterranei Angli (*B, IV. 23*), *i. e.* Leicester; in the vacancy of Canterbury between Theodore and Brihtwald. Wilfrid and Hedda both sign a charter of Ethelred, a relation of Sebba King of the East Saxons, in March, A.D. 692 or 693 (*K., C. D. XXXV.*). Hedda

had succeeded to the see of Lichfield on Sexulf's death, Sexulf having reunited the sees of Leicester and Lichfield on the death of Cuthwin. Bosa appears to have resumed the see of York on Wilfrid's departure, holding it until A.D. 705, when he died, and was succeeded by John of Beverley, Bishop of Hexham.

A.D. 692. *Mission of Willibrord, with eleven others, to Frisia; and of the two Hewalds to the mother country of the Saxons immediately afterwards. Consecration of Suidbert to the Bishopric of the Frisians by Wilfrid, then in exile in Mercia; Brihtwald being abroad for consecration, but not yet consecrated, to the see of Canterbury: A.D. 693. June x August.*

BÆD. *H. E., V. 9, 10, 11.*—Eo tempore venerabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Christi et sacerdos Ecgberct, quem in Hibernia insula peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in cœlis patria retulimus; proposuit animo pluribus prodesse; id est, in toto opere apostolico, verbum Dei aliquibus earum quæ nondum audierant gentibus evangelizando committere: quarum in Germania plurimas noverat esse nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a vicina gente Brittonum corrupte Garmani nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, Antiqui Saxones, Bo-ruactuari<sup>a</sup>: sunt alii perplures hisdem in partibus populi paganis adhuc ritibus servientes, ad quos venire præfatus Christi miles circumnavigata Britannia disposuit, si quos forte ex illis ereptos Satanæ ad Christum transferre valeret; vel si hoc fieri non posset, Romam venire ad videnda atque adoranda beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi limina cogitavit.

Sed ne aliquid horum perficeret, superna illi oracula simul et opera restiterunt. Siquidem electis sociis strenuissimis et ad prædicandum verbum idoneis, utpote actione simul et eruditione præclaris, præparatisque omnibus quæ navigantibus esse necessaria videbantur, venit die quadam mane primo ad eum unus de fratribus, discipulus quondam in Britannia, et minister Deo dilecti sacerdotis Boisili, cum esset idem Boisil præpositus monasterii Mailrosensis sub abbate Eata, ut supra narravimus, referens ei visionem quæ sibi eadem nocte apparuisset: "Cum expletis," inquit, "hymnis matutina-



libus in lectulo membra posuissem, ac levis mihi somnus obrepsisset, apparuit magister quondam meus et nutritor amantissimus Boisil, interrogavitque me, an eum cognoscere possem. Aio, 'Etiam: tu es enim Boisil.' At ille: 'Ad hoc,' inquit, 'veni, ut responsum Domini Salvatoris Ecgbercto adferam, quod te tamen referente oportet ad illum venire. Dic ergo illi quia non valet iter quod proposuit, implere: Dei enim voluntatis est ut ad Columbæ monasteria magis pergat docenda.'" Erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianæ transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem, primusque fundator monasterii quod in Hii insula multis diu Scottorum Pictorumque populis venerabile mansit. Qui videlicet Columba nunc a nonnullis composito a 'Cella' et 'Columba' nomine Columcelli vocatur. Audiens autem verba visionis Ecgberct, præcepit fratri qui retulerat ne cuiquam hæc alteri referret, ne forte inlusoria esset visio. Ipse autem tacitus rem considerans, veram esse timebat: nec tamen a præparando itinere, quo ad gentes docendas iret, cessare volebat.

At post dies paucos rursus venit ad eum præfatus frater, dicens quia et ea nocte sibi post expletos matutinos Boisil per visum apparuerit: dicens, "Quare tam negligenter ac tepide dixisti Ecgbercto quæ tibi dicenda præcepi? At nunc vade, et dic illi quia, velit nolit, debet ad monasteria Columbæ venire, quia aratra eorum non recte incedunt: oportet autem eum ad rectum hæc tramitem revocare." Qui hæc audiens denuo præcepit fratri, ne hæc cui patefaceret. Ipse vero tametsi certus est factus de visione, nihilominus tentavit iter dispositum cum fratribus memoratis incipere. Cumque jam navi imposuissent quæ tanti itineris necessitas poscebat, atque opportunos aliquot dies ventos expectarent, facta est nocte quadam tam sæva tempestas, quæ perditis nonnulla ex parte his quæ in navi erant rebus, ipsam in littus jacentem inter undas relinqueret: salvata sunt tamen omnia quæ erant Ecgbercti, et sociorum ejus. Tum ipse quasi propheticum illud dicens, 'Quia propter me est tempestas hæc,' subtraxit se illi profectio, et remanere domi passus est.

At vero unus de sociis ejus, vocabulo Victberct, cum esset et ipse contemptu mundi ac doctrinæ scientia insignis, nam multos annos in Hibernia peregrinus anachoreticam in magna perfectione vitam egerat, ascendit navem, et Fresiam perveniens duobus annis continuis genti illi ac regi ejus Rathbedo<sup>b</sup> verbum salutis prædicabat, neque aliquem tanti laboris fructum apud barbaros invenit auditores. Tunc reversus ad dilectæ locum peregrinationis, solito in silentio vacare

[MISSIONS TO THE FRISIANS AND OLD SAXONS.]

Domino cœpit; et quoniam externis prodesse ad fidem non poterat, suis amplius ex virtutum exemplis prodesse curabat.

Ut autem vidit vir Domini Ecgerbet, quia nec ipse ad prædicandum gentibus venire permittebatur, retentus ob aliam sanctæ ecclesiæ utilitatem de qua oraculo fuerat præmonitus; nec Victberct illas deveniens in partes, quicquam proficiebat: tentavit adhuc in opus verbi mittere viros sanctos et industrios, in quibus eximius Vilbrord<sup>c</sup> presbyterii gradu et merito præfulgebat. Qui cum illo advenissent, erant autem numero duodecim<sup>d</sup>, divertentes ad Pippinum ducem Francorum, gratanter ab illo suscepti sunt: et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam, expulso inde Rathbedo rege, ceperat, illo eos ad prædicandum misit<sup>e</sup>; ipse quoque imperiali auctoritate juvans, ne qui prædicantibus quicquam molestiæ inferret; multisque eos qui fidem suscipere vellent beneficiis adtollens: unde factum est, opitulante gratia divina, ut multos in brevi ab idolatria ad fidem converterent Christi.

Horum secuti exempla duo quidam presbyteri de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia multo tempore pro æterna patria exulaverant, venerunt ad provinciam antiquorum Saxonum, si forte aliquos ibidem prædicando Christo acquirere possent. Erant autem unius ambo, sicut devotionis, sic etiam vocabuli: nam uterque eorum appellabatur Hewald; ea tamen distinctione, ut pro diversa capillorum specie unus Niger Hewald, alter Albus Hewald diceretur: quorum uterque pietate religionis imbutus, sed Niger Hewald magis sacrarum litterarum erat scientia institutus. Qui venientes in provinciam, intraverunt hospitium cujusdam villici, petieruntque ab eo, ut transmitterentur ad satrapam qui super eum erat, eo quod haberent aliquid legationis et causæ utilis, quod deberent ad illum perferre. Non enim habent regem iidem Antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas plurimos suæ genti præpositos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt æqualiter sortes, et quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant; peracto autem bello, rursus æqualis potentiæ omnes fiunt satrapæ. Suscepit ergo eos villicus, et promittens se mittere eos ad satrapam qui super se erat, ut petebant, aliquot diebus secum retinuit.

Qui cum cogniti essent a barbaris quod essent alterius religionis, nam et psalmis semper atque orationibus vacabant, et quotidie sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerebant, habentes secum vascula sacra et tabulam altaris vice dedicatam, suspecti sunt habiti, quia si

pervenirent ad satrapam et loquerentur cum illo, averterent illum a diis suis et ad novam Christianæ fidei religionem transferrent; sicque paulatim omnis eorum provincia veterem cogeretur nova mutare culturam. Itaque rapuerunt eos subito, et interemerunt: Album quidem Hewaldum veloci occisione gladii, Nigellum autem longo suppliciorum cruciatu et horrenda membrorum omnium dissectione: quos interemptos in Rheno projecerunt. Quod cum satrapa ille quem videre volebant audisset, iratus est valde quod ad se venire volentes peregrini non permetterentur; et mittens occidit vicinos illos omnes, vicumque incendio consumpsit. Passi sunt autem præfati sacerdotes et famuli Christi, quinto nonarum Octobrium die.

Nec martyrio eorum cœlestia defuere miracula. Nam cum perempta eorum corpora amni, ut diximus, a paganis essent injecta, contigit ut hæc contra impetum fluvii decurrentis, per quadraginta fere millia passuum, ad ea usque loca ubi illorum erant socii, transferrentur. Sed et radius lucis permaximus atque ad cœlum usque altus omni nocte supra locum fulgebat illum ubicumque ea pervenisse contingeret, et hoc etiam paganis qui eos occiderant intuentibus. Sed et unus ex eis in visione nocturna apparuit cuidam de sociis suis, cui nomen erat Tilmon, viro illustri, et ad sæculum quoque nobili, qui de milite factus fuerat monachus; indicans quod eo loci corpora eorum posset invenire, ubi lucem de cœlo terris radiasse conspiceret. Quod ita completum est. Inventa namque eorum corpora juxta honorem martyribus condignum recondita sunt, et dies passionis vel inventionis eorum congrua illis in locis veneratione celebratur. Denique gloriosissimus dux Francorum Pippin, ubi hæc comperit, misit et adducta ad se eorum corpora condidit cum multa gloria in ecclesia Colonia civitatis, juxta Rhenum. Fertur autem quia in loco in quo occisi sunt fons ebullierit, qui in eodem loco usque hodie copiosa fluenti sui dona profundat.

Primis sane temporibus adventus eorum in Fresiam mox ut comperit Vilbrord datam sibi a principe licentiam ibidem prædicandi, acceleravit venire Romam, cujus sedi apostolicæ tunc Sergius papa præerat, ut cum ejus licentia et benedictione, desideratum evangelizandi gentibus opus iniret: simul et reliquias beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi ab eo se sperans accipere, ut dum in gente cui prædicaret destructis idolis ecclesias institueret, haberet in promptu reliquias sanctorum quas ibi introduceret; quibusque ibidem depositis,

[MISSIONS OF WILLIBROD AND SUIDBERT.]

consequenter in eorum honorem quorum essent illæ, singula quæque loca dedicaret. Sed et alia perplura quæ tanti operis negotium quærebat, vel ibi discere, vel inde accipere cupiebat. In quibus omnibus cum sui voti compos esset effectus, ad prædicandum rediit.

Quo tempore fratres qui erant in Fresia verbi ministerio mancipati, elegerunt ex suo numero virum modestum moribus et mansuetum corde Suidberctum<sup>f</sup> qui eis ordinaretur antistes, quem Britanniam destinatum ad petitionem eorum ordinavit reverentissimus Vilfrid Episcopus, qui tunc forte patria pulsus in Merciorum regionibus exulabat. Non enim eo tempore habebat Episcopum Cantia, defuncto quidem Theodoro, sed necdum Berctualdo successore ejus qui trans mare ordinandus ierat, ad sedem Episcopatus sui reverso.

Qui videlicet Suidberct accepto Episcopatu, de Britannia regressus, non multo post ad gentem Boructuarorum secessit, ac multos eorum prædicando ad viam veritatis perduxit. Sed expugnatis non longo post tempore Boructuaris a gente antiquorum Saxonum, dispersi sunt quolibet hi qui verbum receperant; ipse antistes cum quibusdam Pippinum petiit, qui interpellante Blithrydae conjuge sua, dedit ei locum mansionis in insula quadam Rheni, quæ lingua eorum vocatur 'In littore.' in qua ipse, constructo monasterio quod hactenus hæredes ejus possident, aliquandiu continentissimam gessit vitam, ibique diem clausit ultimum.

Postquam vero per annos aliquot in Fresia, qui advenerant docuerunt, misit Pippinus, favente omnium consensu, virum venerabilem Vilbrordum Romam cujus adhuc pontificatum Sergius habebat, postulans ut eidem Fresonum genti Archiepiscopus ordinaretur. Quod ita ut petierat impletum est anno ab Incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo nonagesimo sexto. Ordinatus est autem in ecclesia sanctæ martyris Cecilie, die natalis ejus, imposito sibi a papa memorato nomine Clementis: ac mox remissus ad sedem Episcopatus sui, id est, post dies quatuordecim, ex quo in urbem venerat.

Donavit autem ei Pippin locum cathedræ Episcopalis in castello suo inlustri, quod antiquo gentium illarum verbo Viltaburg, id est, Oppidum Viltorum, lingua autem Gallica Trajectum vocatur; in quo ædificata ecclesia, reverentissimus pontifex longe lateque verbum fidei prædicans, multosque ab errore revocans, plures per illas regiones ecclesias, sed et monasteria nonnulla construxit. Nam non multo post alios quoque illis in regionibus ipse constituit antistites ex eorum numero fratrum qui vel secum, vel post se illo ad

## [MISSION OF WILLIBRORD.]

prædicandum venerant; ex quibus aliquanti jam dormierunt in Domino. Ipse autem Wilbrord, cognomento Clemens, adhuc superest longa jam venerabilis ætate<sup>h</sup>, utpote tricesimum et sextum in Episcopatu habens annum, et post multiplices militiæ cœlestis agones ad præmia remunerationis supernæ tota mente suspirans. [M.H.B. 256-260.]

<sup>a</sup> The Bructeri in Westphalia.

<sup>b</sup> Radbod is stated, in the life of S. Wulfram, Bishop of Sens (ascribed to Jonas a monk of Fontenelles, but of questionable authenticity), to have rejected baptism at the hands of that Saint (*Mab. AA. SS. sæc. III. part I. p. 345*). His war with Pipin seems to have begun about A.D. 689 (*Cont. Fredegar. ap. Bouquet, II. 453*). He was defeated by him, according to the *Annales Metenses* (*Ibid. 680*), in A.D. 692, 693, 697, etc., which agrees with the statement of Bede; but his whole life was a long struggle against the Franks: his daughter however was married to Grimoald the son of Pipin. He died A.D. 719 (*Ann. Franc., ap. Bouquet, II. 639, 641, 642, etc.*).

<sup>c</sup> The life of Willibrord was written by Alcuin in both verse and prose (*Opp., ed. Froben., part II. pp. 183, 196*). He was the son of S. Wilgis, the possessor of a little monastic settlement on the Yorkshire coast, which afterwards was inherited by Alcuin himself. He was in his thirty-third year when he began his missionary work.

<sup>d</sup> The names are given in the spurious or interpolated Life of S. Suidbert (*Surius, AA. SS., II. 3, ed. Ven. 1581*), as Willibrord, Swidbert, Acca, Wigbert, Willibald, Winibald, Lebwin, the two Hewalds, Werenfrid, Marcellinus the author of the Life, and Adalbert a son of the King of Deira. But this is inconsistent with the statement of Bede about the Hewalds, and the whole work is so corrupt as to be utterly worthless. See *Mabillon, AA. SS., sæc. III. part I. pp. 234, etc.* And the list appears to be simply a list of the early missionaries who are either connected with S. Willibrord or recorded to have preached to the Frisians. Acca merely visited Frisia on his way with Wilfrid to Rome (*B., III. 13*); Wigbert retired from the work before Willibrord undertook it (*B., V. 9*); Willibald, Bishop of Eichstaedt, and his brother Wunibald, abbot of Heidenheim, belong to a generation at least later than Willibrord; the Hewalds preached in Saxony, not in Frisia; Lebwin, who died A.D. 773, and was buried at Deventer (*Surius, VI. 88*), Werenfrid (*AA. SS. Boll., 27 Aug., vol. VI. pp. 102-105*) of Elst in Guelders, and Adalbert of Egmond (died about A.D. 740, *Mab., AA. SS., sæc.*

*III. part I. pp. 586, etc.*), were all historical persons. Whether Marcellinus, or Mercelmus as it may be read, was also, may be doubted.

<sup>e</sup> Hussey quotes the *Annales Xantenses* (*Pertz, II. 220*), under the year 690: "Sanctus Willibrordus tunc presbyter, miræque sanctitatis vir Adalbertus confessor, cum aliis decem de Britannia gentis Anglorum ob gratiam Evangelii in Gallias transeuntes ad Pipinum Francorum ducem pervenerunt;" and under A.D. 694: "Pippinus dux Ratbodum ducem Fresonum bellando vicit, Fresiamque sibi subjugavit, et sanctum Willibrordum a beato Sergio Papa Archiepiscopum consecratum, illuc ad prædicandum verbum Dei direxit. Sanctus vero Adalbertus in loco qui dicitur Ekmunda usque ad tempus exitus sui apud quendam Eggonem mansit, et plurimum corda ad fidei salutem erexit."

<sup>f</sup> The life of Suidbert by Marcellinus is so full of anachronisms that no credit can be given to any of its statements: according to it, however, Suidbert was a son of a Northumbrian earl Sigebert, and was a monk of Bardney: he was consecrated in A.D. 693 by Wilfrid, because Egbert Archbishop of York (who did not become a Bishop until A.D. 733) was ill. But the whole seems to be a fabrication. Besides what is known of him from Bede, the *Annales Francorum* give A.D. 713 as the date of his death (*Bouquet, II. 641*): his seat was Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, which has been confounded with Verdun, and even with Verdun. The list of authors who have written on his history may be seen in Potthast, *Bibl. Med. Ævi*, p. 897.

<sup>g</sup> Alcuin makes the consecration of Willibrord take place in S. Peter's (*Opp., part II. p. 186*).

<sup>h</sup> According to Alcuin, Willibrord died after attaining his eighty-first year, and before the death of Charles Martel (*Opp. II. 192, 199*), on the 6th of November. Boniface ascribes to him loosely fifty years of preaching (*Ep. 107 ed. Jaffé, 105 ed. Würdtwein*). If he were thirty-two in A.D. 690, in which year the Frisian Mission was being organized, he would be eighty-one in A.D. 739, which is the latest year that can be assigned to his death, and is generally accepted as the true date.

## [JUDICIUM CLEMENTIS.]

## APPENDIX TO THE MISSION OF WILLIBRORD.

## JUDICIUM CLEMENTIS.

[This fragment, which is of considerable interest as illustrating the Penitential system and literature of the Anglo-Saxons, was printed first by Kunstmann, *Die Lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, pp. 176, 177: and after him by Wasserscheleben, *Die Bussordnungen der Abendl. Kirche*, p. 433; from an Augsburg MS. (No. 153) containing a collection of 77 chapters of canons, etc., of which this is the 28th chapter. With this MS. Wasserscheleben collated one of Heiligenkreuz, the variations of which he marks under the signature *a*. Kunstmann identifies the writer with the Anglo-Saxon Clement, that is, Willibrord: but Wasserscheleben seems to doubt this. That Willibrord was known commonly by the name of Clement appears from S. Boniface's letter to Pope Stephen (*Ep.* 107 ed. Jaffé).]

## INCIPIT JUDICIUM CLEMENTIS.

1. Si quis per potestatem aut quolibet ingenio res alienas malo ordine invaserit, III. annos pœniteat, unum ex his in pane et aqua, et multas elemosinas faciat.
2. Si quis de ministerio sanctæ ecclesiæ quolibet modo fraudaverit, VII. annos pœniteat, III. ex his in pane et aqua.
3. Si quis pro mercede jejunat et aliena peccata suscipit in se, non est dignus nominari Christianus, jejunat pro se ipso quantum promisit pro alio jejunare, et quod accepit det pauperibus.
4. Si quis habens sponsam vitium ei intulerit, et sororem ejus uxorem ducit, illa vero, quæ vitium passa est, si<sup>1</sup> se ipsam occidit, omnes qui hujus facti consensi sunt X. annos pœniteant.
5. Si quis sacerdos aut clericus se aut alium inebriaverit, si pro humanitate XL. dies pœniteat, laicus VII. dies; et si per odium hoc fecerit, ut homicida judicetur.
6. Si quis dederit alicui nesciens potum aut cibum, in quo surix aut familiaris bestia mortua fuerit, III. superpositiones faciat.
7. Si quis in Dominica per negligentiam opera facit aut se balneat aut se tondit aut lavat caput, VII. dies pœniteat; si iterum facit XL. dies pœniteat et si per dampnationem facit hoc diei et non emendabitur<sup>2</sup>, expellatur ab ecclesia catholica sicut Judæus.
8. Si quis ante horam legitimam sine infirmitate aut necessitate, per gulam prandit, II. dies in pane et aqua pœniteat.

<sup>1</sup> forte, add. *a*.<sup>2</sup> emendabit, *a*.

## [JUDICIUM CLEMENTIS.]

9. Si quis manducat et postmodum communicat, VII. dies pœniteat in pane et aqua, parvuli de hoc vapulent.
10. Si quis Deum negat sine necessitate et iterum revertitur, X. annis pœniteat, III. ex his in pane et aqua.
11. Secundum canones pœnitentes non debent communicare ante completam pœnitentiam, nos autem propter misericordiam post annum I. aut post VII. mensibus licentiam damus.
12. Si quis vexatus est a diabolo et semet ipsum occidit, licet orare pro eo.
13. Non licet mulieri oblatam nec sindonem, nec calicem ponere super altare, insuper nec infra cancellis ad altare ingredi.
14. Si quis uxorem legitimam dimittit et aliam ducit, excommunicetur a Christianis, etiamsi illa prior uxor consentiat.
15. Non licet legitimo conjugio separari, nisi amborum consensus fuerit, ut innupti maneat.
16. Non licet laico in ecclesia lectionem legere nec Alleluia cantare, nisi psalmos et responsoria sine Alleluia.
17. Non suscipiatur in ecclesia de prœda, antequam ille pœnitentiam agat, qui prœdavit.
18. Si quis vexatur a diabolo, non licet eum sacra mysteria contingere, si per Dei misericordiam et jejunium mundatus fuerit, per<sup>3</sup> X. annos suscipiatur in officio clericorum non sacerdotum.
19. Si cujus uxorem hostes rapuerint et non potuerit eripere eam, post annum integrum licet ei aliam ducere, et si postea redierit, licet eam alio viro ducere.
20. Si quis in quacunque festivitate ad ecclesiam veniens pallat<sup>4</sup> foris, aut saltat, aut cantat orationes<sup>5</sup> amatorias, ab Episcopo aut presbytero aut clerico excommunicetur et, dum pœnitentiam non agit, excommunicetur.

<sup>3</sup> post, *a.*<sup>4</sup> spallit, *a.*<sup>5</sup> cantationes, *a.*

[BRIHTWALD ARCHBISHOP.]

VIII. BRIHTWALD OR BERCHTWALD<sup>a</sup>,

A.D. 693–A.D. 731.

[“Arcebiscope of Kantwarebyri” (*A. S. C.* A.D. 694). “Bretonne Heahbiscop” (*Conc. Bergbamst.* A.D. 696). “Britanniarum Primas” (*Bull. Constantini Papæ* A.D. 709 [spurious], and *Bull. ejusd. de Privil. Eccl. Cant.* A.D. 713). “Totius Britanniae gubernacula regens” (*Waldb. ep. ad Berchtw.* A.D. 704 × 705). “Cantiae sedis præsul totiusque Britanniae primus pontifex” (*Sergius Papa ad Berchtw.* A.D. 693 [questionable]). “Cantuariae provinciae præsul” (*Id. ad Episc. Angl.* A.D. 693 [questionable]); but “primatum omnium ecclesiarum Britanniae sortitus” (*Id. ib.*).

A.D. 693. June 29. Consecrated at Lyons (*B. H. E., V. 8*).

A.D. 693. Claims for the supremacy of Canterbury confirmed (?).

A.D. 694, 696. Church laws in Kent.

A.D. 691–705. Second exile of Wilfrid; his personal appeal to Rome and restoration on a compromise.

A.D. 697. July. Brihtwald witnesses a grant of Wihtred, King of Kent (*K., C. D. XLIII.* and *XLVII.*; two copies of the same charter.)

A.D. 704 or 705. Letter of Waldhere, Bishop of London, illustrating the effect of the divisions of the several states in hindering the united action of the Church.

A.D. 705. Attempt on the part of Aldhelm, representing the clergy of Wessex, to bring over the Cornish Church to the Roman Paschal rule.

A.D. 705. Division of the Bishopric of Wessex, the one large diocese hitherto undivided.

A.D. 704–716. Reconciliation, in the matter of Easter, of all the Scottish and Irish Churches, the Welsh continuing unchanged; viz. the Northern Irish A.D. 704 (*B., V. 15, 22*); (the Southern Irish yielded c. A.D. 633, see above, in vol. II.); the Picts A.D. 710 (*B., V. 21*); the Monks of Hii A.D. 716<sup>b</sup> (*B. III. 4, V. 22, 24*).

A.D. 716, 718. Mission of S. Boniface.

A.D. 731. Jan. 13. Death of Brihtwald<sup>c</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> Brihtwald was a monk of the Kentish monastery of Reculver (*B., V. 8*). There is a grant of land in Kent, by Hlothere, King of

Kent, to Berchtwald, abbot of Reculver, dated May, A.D. 679 (*K., C. D. XVI.*). William of Malmesbury makes Brihtwald abbot of Glas-



## [CONSECRATION OF BRIHTWALD.]

tonbury (*De Antiq. Glasc. Abb.* ed. Gale, pp. 308, 324); but the abbot of Glastonbury whose name has caused the confusion was Beorwald, not Brihtwald, and was abbot long after Brihtwald became Archbishop (*Epp. Bonif.*, ed. Jaffé, VII. p. 48, below, p. 284): nor does the name of Brihtwald occur in the most ancient list of the abbots (*MS. Cott. Tib. B. V.*). Equally historical is the statement that Archbishop Brihtwald received a pall from Pope Vitalian (*Gerv. ap. Twysden*, c. 1640).

<sup>b</sup> Adamnan, whose preaching caused the change, died the year following (*B.*, V. 15), having failed to persuade his own monks of Hii, on his return from Ireland (*ib.*): his death is placed in A.D. 705 by the *Ann. Lauresbam.*, *Pertz*, I. 22; and in A.D. 704 by the *Ann. Cambr.*, *M. H. B.* p. 833.

<sup>c</sup> Brihtwald was buried inside the church of S. Peter at Canterbury, for the same reason as Theodore (*B.*, II. 3).

A.D. 693. June 29. *Consecration of Brihtwald.*

BÆD. H. E., V. 8.—Electus est quidem in episcopatum anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo nonagesimo secundo, die primo mensis Julii, regnantibus in Cantia Victredo et Suæbhardo; ordinatus autem anno sequente tertio die kalendarum Juliarum, Dominica, a Goduine metropolitano Episcopo Galliarum<sup>a</sup>: et sedit in sede sua pridie kalendarum Septembrium Dominica (Aug. 31, A.D. 693). [*M. H. B.* 255.]

<sup>a</sup> Gebmund, Bishop of Rochester, outlived Brihtwald's consecration; for both of them attest a charter in A.D. 693; below, p. 232. Brihtwald therefore did not go abroad for lack of consecrators close at hand, at home, but probably in order to obtain greater weight

as consecrated by the Primate of a neighbouring Church. Ralph de Diceto (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 680) says that he was consecrated by "Bregwino, alias Godwino, Metropolitano Walliarum."

A.D. 693. *Supremacy of Canterbury over all Britain.*I. *Letter of Pope Sergius<sup>a</sup> to Ethelred King of Mercia, Ealdfrith King of Northumbria, and Ealdwulf King of East-Anglia.* [Questionable.]

Bids them receive Brihtwald as Primate.

SERGIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Ethelredo, Alfredo, Aldulfo regibus Anglorum.* Donum gratiæ spiritualis Sancti Spiritus illustratione fidelium corda succendit, et reparando reficit, et virtutis mirificæ constantia roborat, et cœlestium beneficiorum instituit perenniter promereri suffragia, et labentium rerum exitia nihilominus præcavere. Quo usi munere pietatis Dei sancti Patres, ut quædam astrorum cœlestium splendifera luminaria mundi totius per ambitum renitentes gloriose, post præsentis vitæ felicia gaudia inter numerum electorum meruere ascribi. Porro vos gens sancta, genus electum, populus acquisitionis, filii lucis, stirps regia, fidei propago ac incrementa virtutum, gaudete

[LETTERS OF POPE SERGIUS.]

in Domino et exsultate quod vestri non immemor studii egregius ac primus apostolorum Petrus fidei firmissima petra, dum mentis ac conscientiæ vestræ censu lætatur, nominum quoque vestrorum reminiscitur et agnoscit. Confidimus nempe quod et aditum regni cœlestis aperiat, quibus tantum inter gentes, quibus Deo auspice præpolletis, favorem contulit dignitatis. Et vos igitur Christianissimi ac dilectissimi filii, ejus auctoritate collatum vobis antistitem Bertwaldum Cantiae sedis præsulem totiusque Britanniae primum pontificem, alacri pectore menteque devota suscipite, scientes quod mercedem prophetæ accipiet, si quis hunc ut prophetam accipiat, et si spernere illum forsân, quod absit! fastu quisquam prosiliat, non eum sed a quo missus est spernet. Qui juxta Dominicam vocem absque ullo adminiculo condemnabitur. Procul ergo a vobis longeque talis absit infanda temeritas, ne diram hostis antiquus inobediendiæ faciem in vobis inveniât, quos sancta Dei Ecclesia in gremio filiorum adoptionis sociare dignata est. Optamus autem, quo misericordia solita Dominus noster Jhesus Christus faciat vos ineffabiliter ministerii ac regii culminis honore sublimari, et in examine futuri judicii reservari. [*W. Malm. G. P., I. ed. Hamilton, pp. 52, 53.*]

2. *Letter of Pope Sergius<sup>a</sup> to all the Bishops of Britain.*

[Questionable.]

Same in tenour  
with the pre-  
ceding.

*Dilectissimis fratribus universis Episcopis per Britanniam constitutis* SERGIUS. Sicut nobis quibus curam officii pastoralis beati Petri apostolorum principis supernæ dignatio miserationis, regimenque concessit, fratris incogniti reverendam advexit præsentiam, ita quoque vestri religiosissimi præsulatus collegii agnita salus geminum attulit tripudii munus. Nam omnium auctori bonorum Domino Deo nostro immensas peregrimus gratias, reperta fratrum fidelium in sinu sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ unanimi devota constantia et amore fervente inter se dilectionisque consortio. Sic enim sagaci sollertia Deum complacare noscuntur, offerentes ei pura libamina, cum in ara pectoris splendorem veri luminis refoventes nullis illecebris mentem illudant, nullis fratrum stimulis corda percellant, nullis proximos nocentibus mentibus annuant; sed ut Dei ministri speculum se subjectis vitæ morumque probitate exhibeant. Hinc sibi Deum prosperantem inveniunt in

[LETTERS OF POPE SERGIUS.]

adversis, nec quidquam poterunt hostis insidiæ eis nocendo surripere, etenim ubi præsto est Domini adjutorium, cuncta fugatur spirituum malignorum adversitas. Cum ita sit, paternis affatibus collætantes vestræ fraternæ dilectionis unanimi religiositati, insinuamus vobis, quod præsens dilectissimus frater Berthwaldus Cantuariorum provinciæ præsul qui in sedem reverendæ memoriæ Theodori quondam Archiepiscopi subrogatus est, juxta ritum prisçæ consuetudinis, quæ a tempore sanctæ ac venerandæ memoriæ domini et prædecessoris nostri Gregorii Romani pontificis nunc usque sua Ecclesia detinuit, a nobis, immo a beato Petro apostolorum principe primatumque omnium ecclesiarum Britanniæ sortitus, cum sacro usu pallii ac venerabilis dalmaticæ, illic demandatus est. Quod non incommode, fratres carissimi, indeptus promeruit, cum nequaquam fastu sive tumore jactantiæ, sed mente subnixa ac humili corde tantum munus dignus obtinuit. Quocirca hortamur fratres vestrum a Deo dicatum consortium salubrique consilio commonemus, ut propter Dei amorem atque futuræ vicissitudinis spem, eidem fratri vestræ regionis Archiepiscopo, ac si nobis debitum ministerii honorem exsolvere, et ut præsuli primatum gerenti efficaciter sciatis obedire, non ignari quid vas electionis insinuet: "Obedite præpositis vestris;" et rursus: "Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit." Ideoque, fratres, vos admonemus universosque ordinum gradus, præcipientes ex hac apostolica auctoritate, ut nullus sit qui præsumat contra hæc, quæ ab hac apostolica sede olim sunt constituta præsentibus vel futuris temporibus contraire, sed semper præmemorata Ecclesiæ concessæ potestates illibata serventur in perpetuum. Et quia vos, annuente Divina clementia, hæc peracturos indubitata mente confidimus quæ commonere statuimus fraternitatis vestræ religiosum propositum, ineffabilem Salvatoris nostri potentiam exoramus, ut pia vos semper religione pollentes, perenni tribuat lætitia gratulari, et fraternis affectibus collætantes sanctorum meritis in æterna beatitudine sociari. Deus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi fratres. [*W. Malm. G. P., I.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 53-55.]

<sup>a</sup> These two letters are two of the Malmesbury series before mentioned, p. 65, and like the rest are of questionable genuineness, although there is nothing to cause suspicion in the particular letters. If genuine, the omission

of the name of Ine from the Kings addressed in the first of them may possibly have arisen from the war then raging between Wessex and Kent, in which the Kentish people were forced to yield A.D. 694.

[MERCIAN WITENAGEMOT.]

A.D. 693<sup>a</sup>. *A Mercian Witenagemot attests a grant of land by Oshere, Underking of the Hwiccas, for a nunnery at Penitanbam (Worcestershire).*

[K. C. D. XXXVI., from MS. Harl. 4660].—The grant is witnessed first by Oshere himself, by his four sons and by another layman; and by “Oftoforis Episcopus,” *sc.* of Worcester or the Hwiccas. It is then witnessed by Ethelred King of Mercia, by the Archbishop and seven other Bishops, and by two laymen. The Bishops’ signatures are—

✠ Ego Berchtuualdus Archiepiscopus consentiens subscripsi. [Canterbury.]

✠ Ego Uuilfridus Epîs. consentiens subscripsi. [Leicester, since A.D. 691.]

✠ Ego Headda Epîs. consentiens subscripsi. [Lichfield, since A.D. 691.]

✠ Ego Tyrtel Epîs. consentiens subscripsi. [Hereford, since A.D. 688.]

✠ Ego ..... de Epîs. consentiens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Beduuin Epîs. consentiens subscripsi. [Elmham, since A.D. 673.]

✠ Ego Gelmund Epîs. consentiens subscripsi. [Rochester, since A.D. 678.]

✠ Ego Alricus Epîs. consentiens subscripsi.

<sup>a</sup> The date is determined by the facts that Oftfor was Bishop of Worcester only from A.D. 691 or 692 to A.D. 693; and that Brihtwald did not return to England after his consecration until August 693. The signatures are important as proving that Gebmund survived until A.D. 693; and that Wilfrid joined in at least one act, though an unimportant one, with Archbishop Brihtwald at this time. Of the signatures it may be observed that those of the Mercian Bishops immediately follow that of the Archbishop, as was natural in a Mercian witenagemot; and that of the others one is illegible or defaced, another is of a Bishop unknown. Excluding the Bishops of Northumbria and the Bishop of Wessex, there remain at this time, besides those whose signatures are identified, the Bishop of Dunwich [Ætiti in A.D. 673, succeeded by Astwulf and Eardred (*Flor. Catal., M. H. B.* 618), but at unknown dates]; of London [Walthere probably succeeded Erkenwald in this year];

of Lindsey [Ethelwin A.D. 679, succeeded by Eadgar before A.D. 706]; and if there was a Mercian see at Dorchester at this date, then of that see also [Ætla in A.D. 679; successor, if any, unknown]. The position of the names in the list seems to indicate that the blank signature should be filled up with that of a Mercian Bishop, possibly of Lindsey, possibly of Dorchester, or even of London; while Alric would be a Bishop consecrated since A.D. 678 (the date of Gebmund’s consecration), and probably of Dunwich; the names of the Bishops of that see being extremely obscure, and most of them being written in several different ways. That it was customary to invite Bishops of other kingdoms to attend such meetings, appears from Walthere’s letter, below, p. 274. But in general it is impossible to reduce all the episcopal signatures to charters to any rule of order, either of consecration, or of locality.

A.D. 696. <sup>a</sup>*Ecclesiastical Laws of Wihtræd, King of Kent, made at a Kentish Witenagemot held at Berghamstede*<sup>b</sup>.

DIS SYND WIHTRÆDES DOMAS CANTWARA CYNINGES.

Dam mildestan cyninge Cantwara Wihtræde rixigendum þe fiftan wintra his rices, þy niguðan gebanne, sextan dæge Rugernes, in þære stowe þy hatte Berghamstyde, þær wæs gesamnad eadigra geþeahendlic ymcyme: þær wæs Birhtwald Bretone heah-biscop, and se ærnæmda cyning; eac þan Hrof-ceastre bisceop, se ilca Gybmund wæs haten, andweard wæs; and cwæð ælc had ciricean þære mægðe anmodlice mid þy hersuman folcy. Ðær þa eadigan fundon mid ealra gemedum þas domas, and Cantwara rihtum þeawum æcton, swa hit hyr efter segeð and cwýð.

I. Ciricean freolsdome gafola<sup>a</sup>, and man for cyning gebidde, and hine buton neadhæse heora willum weorðigen.

II. Ciricean mund-byrd sie L. scill. swa cinges.

<sup>a</sup> Thorpe in a note confesses that the text seems to have been, 'Ciricean freols dome and gafole.' The natural and grammatical meaning of these words would be, "To the Church

THESE ARE THE DOOMS OF WIHTRÆD, KING OF THE KENTISH-MEN.

In the reign of the most clement King of the Kentish-men, Wiht-ræd, in the fifth year of his reign, the ninth indiction, the sixth day of Rugern, in the place which is called Berghamstyde, where was assembled a deliberative convention of the great men: there was Birhtwald Archbishop of Britain, and the fore-named King; also the Bishop of Rochester, the same was called Gybmund, was present; and every degree of the Church of that province spoke in unison with the obedient people. There the great men decreed, with the suffrages of all, these dooms, and added them to the lawful customs of the Kentish-men, as it hereafter saith and declareth.

1. To the Church freedom from imposts<sup>a</sup>, and that the King be prayed for, and that they revere him of their own will, without command.

2. That the 'mund-byrd' of the Church be L. shillings, as the King's.

freedom in jurisdiction and revenue." Compare, in Magna Charta, "Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit, et habeat jura sua integra et libertates suas illasas."

[LAWS OF WHITRED.]

III. Unriht-hæmede mæn to rihtum life mid synna hreowe to-fon, oþþe of ciricean gemanan ascadene sien.

IV. Ælþeodige mæn gif hio hiora hæmed rihtan nyllað, of lande mid hiora æhtum and mid synnum gewiten. Swæse mæn in leodum ciriclicæs gemanan ungestrodyne þoligen.

V. Gif þæs geweorðe, gesið-cundne mannan, ofer þis gemot, þæt he unriht hæmed genime, ofer cingæs bebod, and biscopes and boca dom, se þæt gebete his dryhtne c. scill. an eald reht. Gif hit ceorlisc man sie, gebete L. scill. and gehwæðer þæt hæmed mid hreowe forlæte.

VI. Gif priost læfe unriht hæmed, oþþe fulwihðe<sup>1</sup> untrumes forsitte, oþþe to þon druncen sie, þæt he ne mæge, sio he stille his þegnungæ, oð biscopes dom.

VII. Gif bescoren man steorleas gange him<sup>b</sup> an gest-liðnesse gefe him man ænes, and þæt ne geweorðe, buton he leafnesse hæb-

3. That men living in illicit intercourse take to a righteous life, with repentance of their sins; or that they be separated from communion with the Church.

4. That foreigners, if they will not correct their fornication, depart from the land, with their goods and with their sins. Let natives among the people forfeit communion with the Church, without expulsion.

5. If it happen that a 'gesithcund' man, after this 'gemot,' take to illicit intercourse, contrary to the King's command, and the Bishop's and the books' doom; let him make a 'bõt' for it to his lord of c. shillings, according to ancient usage. If it be a 'ceorlish' man, let him make a 'bõt' of L. shillings; and let either with penitence desist from his fornication.

6. If a priest allow of illicit intercourse; or neglect the baptism of a sick person, or be drunk to that degree that he cannot do it; let him abstain from his ministry until the doom of the Bishop.

7. If a shorn man go wandering about<sup>b</sup> for hospitality, let it be given him once; and, unless he have leave, let it not

<sup>1</sup> L. fulwihhte.

<sup>b</sup> 'Steorleas,' not sufficiently expressed in Thorpe's translation, means, *in neglect of rule*.

'Gange him' is an idiom in itself equivalent in this connexion to "go about."

## [LAWS OF WHTRED.]

be, þæt hine man læng feor-  
mige.

VIII. Gif man his mæn an  
wiofode freols gefe, se sie folc-  
fry; freols-gefa aga his erfe, ænde  
wer-geld, and munde þare hina,  
sie ofer mearce þær he wille.

IX. Gif esne ofer dryhtnes hæse  
þeow-weorc wyrce, an sunnan  
æfen, efter hire setl-gange oð  
monan æfenes setl-gang, LXXX.  
scill. se dryhtne gebete.

X. Gif esne deð his rade þæs  
dæges VI.<sup>d</sup> se wið dryhten gebete,  
oþþe sine hyd.

XI. Gif friman þonne an þane  
forbodenan timan, sio he heals-  
fange scyldig, and se man, se þæt  
arasie, he age healf þæt wite, and  
þæt weorc.

XII. Gif ceorl buton wifes wis-  
dome deoflum gelde, he sie ealra  
his æhtan<sup>2</sup> scyldig, and heals-  
fange. Gif butwu deoflum gel-  
dað, sion hio heals-fange scyldigo,  
and ealra æhtan<sup>2</sup>.

XIII. Gif þeow deoflum geldað,  
VI. scill. gebete, oþþe his hyd.

XIV. Gif mon his heowum in  
fæsten flæsc gefe, frigne ge

be that any one entertain him  
longer.

8. If any one give freedom to  
his man at the altar, let him be  
folk-free; let the freedom-giver  
have his heritage, and 'wergeld,'  
and the 'mund' of his family, be  
he over the march wherever he  
may be.

9. If an 'esne' do any servile  
labour, contrary to his lord's com-  
mand, from sunset on Sunday-eve  
till sunset on Monday-eve, let  
him make a 'bôt' of LXXX. shil-  
lings to his lord.

10. If an 'esne' so do of his  
own accord on that day, let him  
make a 'bôt' of VI.<sup>d</sup> to his lord,  
or his hide.

11. But if a freeman [so do] at  
the forbidden time, let him be  
liable in his 'heals-fang;' and the  
man who detects him, let him have  
half the 'wite,' and the work.

12. If a husband, without his  
wife's knowledge, make an offer-  
ing to devils, let him be liable  
in all his substance and his  
'heals-fang.' If both make offer-  
ing to devils, let them be liable  
in their 'heals-fang,' and all their  
substance.

13. If a 'theow' make an  
offering to devils, let him make a  
'bôt' of VI. shillings, or his hide.

14. If a man during a fast  
give flesh-meat to his family, let

<sup>2</sup> I. æhta.

<sup>o</sup> That is, from sunset on Saturday until sunset on Sunday. Note in *Ancient Laws*. <sup>d</sup> scill. ?

## [LAWS OF WHTRED.]

þeowne hals-fange alyse.

xv. Gif þeow ete his sylfes  
ræde vi. scill. oþþe his hyd.

xvi. Biscopesword and cyninges  
sie unlægne, buton aðe.

xvii. Mynstres aldor hine cænne  
in preostes canne.

xviii. Preost hine clænsie,  
sylfæs soðe, in his halgum hrægle,  
ætforan wiofode, þus cweðende:  
'Ueritatem dico in Xþo non  
mentior.' Swylce diacon hine  
clænsie.

xix. Cliroc, feowra sum hine  
clænsie, his heafod-gemacene, and  
ane his hand on wiofode, oðre  
æt-standen að abycgan.

xx. Gest hine clænsie sylfes  
aðe, on wiofode: swylce cyninges  
þeng.

xxi. Ceorlisc man hine feowra  
sum his heafod-gemacene on weo-  
fode, and þissa ealra að sie un-  
legnæ. Ðanne is cirican canne  
riht.

xxii. Gif man biscopes esne  
tihte oþþe cyninges, cænne hine  
an gerefan hand: oþþe hine ge-  
refa clensie, oþþe selle to swin-  
ganne.

xxiii. Gif man <sup>3</sup>Gedes-þeowne  
esne in heora gemange tihte, his

him redeem free or bond with his  
'hals-fang.'

15. If a 'theow' eat of his own  
will, vi. shillings, or his hide.

16. Let the word of a Bishop  
and of the King be, without an  
oath, incontrovertible.

17. Let the 'aldor' of a 'min-  
ster' clear himself with a priest's  
'canne.'

18. Let a priest clear himself  
by his own sooth, in his holy gar-  
ment before the altar, thus say-  
ing: 'Veritatem dico in Christo,  
non mentior.' In like manner,  
let a deacon clear himself.

19. Let a clerk clear himself  
with four of his fellows, and he  
alone with his hand on the altar,  
let the others stand by, make the  
oath.

20. Let a stranger [clear him-  
self] with his own oath at the altar:  
in like manner, a King's thane.

21. Let a 'ceorlish' man clear  
himself with four of his fellows at  
the altar; and let the oath of all  
these be incontrovertible: then is  
the church 'canne' right.

22. If any one make plaint  
against a Bishop's 'esne' or the  
King's, let him clear himself by  
the person of the reeve; either  
let the reeve clear him, or give  
him up to be scourged.

23. If any one make plaint  
against a priest's<sup>c</sup> 'esne' in their

<sup>3</sup> Godes?

<sup>c</sup> Rather, a monastic 'esne.' J. B.



## [LAWS OF WHITRED.]

dryhten hine his ane aðe geclæn-  
sie, gif he husl-genga sie, gif he  
husl-genga nis, hæbbe him in aðe  
oðirne æwdan godne, oþþe gelde,  
oþþe selle to swinganne.

XXIV. Gif folces-mannis esne  
tihte cirican-mannes esne, oþþe  
cirican-mannes esne tihte folces-  
mannes esne, his dryhten hine  
ane his aðe geclensige.

XXV. Gif man leud ofslea an  
þeofðe, licge butan wyr-gelde.

XXVI. Gif man frigne man æt  
hæbbendre handa gefo, þanne  
wealde se cyning þreora ænes:  
oþþe hine man cwelle, oþþe ofer  
sæ selle, oþþe hine his wer-gelde  
alese. Seþe hine gefo and ge-  
gange, healfne hine age: gif hine  
man cwelle, geselle heom man  
LXX. scill.

XXVII. Gif þeuw stele and hi  
man alese, LXX. scill. swa hweðer  
swa cyning wille, gif hine man  
acwelle, þam agende hi man  
healfne agelde.

XXVIII. Gif feorran-cumen man,  
oþþe fræmde, buton wege gange,  
and he þonne nawðer ne hryme,  
ne he horn ne blawe, for þeof he  
bið to profianne, oþþe to sleanne  
oþþe to alysenne.

[*Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes*, pp. 16-19; from *Textus Roffensis*; *Schmid*, 15-19; *S.*, I. 194-198; *W.*, I. 60, 61.]

congregation, let his lord clear  
him with his sole oath, if he be  
a communicant; if he be not a  
communicant, let him have with  
him in the oath another good  
'æwda;' or let him pay, or give  
him up to be scourged.

24. If a layman's 'esne' make  
plaint against a churchman's  
'esne,' or a churchman's 'esne'  
make plaint against a layman's  
'esne;' let his lord clear him  
with his sole oath.

25. If any one slay a layman  
while thieving; let him lie with-  
out 'wer-geld.'

26. If any man seize a free-  
man with stolen goods upon him,  
then let the King have power of  
one of three things: either that  
he be slain, or sold beyond sea,  
or redeemed with his 'wer-geld.'  
Whoever shall seize and secure  
him, let him have half of him; if  
any one slay him, let him be paid  
LXX. shillings.

27. If a 'theow' steal, and he  
be redeemed, LXX. shillings as the  
King may choose; if any one slay  
him, let half his value be paid to  
the owner.

28. If a man come from afar,  
or a stranger, go out of the [high]  
way, and he then neither shout  
nor blow a horn; he is to be ac-  
counted a thief, either to be slain,  
or to be redeemed.

## [PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

<sup>a</sup> Whether the monks of Canterbury are right in alleging Tobias to have been Bishop of Rochester as early as A.D. 694, or the *Textus Roffensis* in continuing Gebmund until A.D. 696, cannot be determined beyond question. A grant of Wihtred to Minster, in Thanet, dated Febr., in the 5th year of his reign and 9th Indiction (*i. e.* Feb. A.D. 696),

at "Berkamystede" (*K., C.D. XXXIX.*), likewise has Gebmund as Bishop of Rochester, and some other charters, the genuineness of which turns on the subscription by Gebmund, may be in a measure rehabilitated, by dating his death after A.D. 696. See below, p. 241, note <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Bersted, near Maidstone. See Charter of Eardulf of Kent, cir. A.D. 747 (*K., C.D. MV.*).

<sup>a</sup> A.D. 696 × 716. *Privilege granted to the Churches and Monasteries of Kent by King Wihtred at a Kentish Witenagemot at Baccancelde [Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, in Kent].*

✠ <sup>b</sup> In nomine Domini Dei nostri et Salvatoris Jesu Christi, congregatum est magnum concilium in loco ubi nominatur Baccancelde. Præsidente autem eodem concilio Wihtredo clementissimo Rege Cantuariorum, necnon Berntuualdo reverentissimo Archiepiscopo Britanniae, simulque Tobie Episcopo Hrofensis Ecclesiae <sup>c</sup>, ceterisque abbatibus, abbatissis, presbiteris, diaconibus, ducibus, satrapis in unum glomeratis: pariter tractantes, anxie examinantes de statu Ecclesiarum Dei vel monasteriorum intra Cantiam, quae a fidelibus regibus prædecessoribus meis et propinquis Deo omnipotenti in propriam hæreditatem condonata fuerunt, quomodo vel qualiter secundum normam æquitatis stare, quidve servare a modo et usque finem sæculi, constituimus.

Ideo ego Wihtred Rex terrenus a Rege regum compunctus, zelo rectitudinis accensus, ex antiqua traditione sanctorum patrum et mandatis didici non esse licitum alicui ex laico habitu sibi ipsi usurpare, vel ad se trahere, quasi suam propriam possessionem, quod ante fuerat Domino concessum, et cruce Christi firmatum atque dedicatum: quia scimus et veraciter extat, ut si quid semel acceperit homo de manu alterius in propriam potestatem, nullatenus sine ira et ultione illud dimiserit impunitus.

Ideo horrendum est hominibus exspoliare Deum vivum, et scindere tunicam Ejus et hæreditatem Ejus, quotquot ex aliquo concessum Ei fuerit de terrenis substantiis ad id, ut eo facilius promereri valeant æternam retributionem percipere in cœlis: quia manifeste declaratur quanto incautius adplicaverit se homo sæcularis in hæreditatem Regis æterni quæ ad ejus imperium trahere desiderat; tanto districtius ab eodem Deo in igne inextinguibili puniatur.

Pro hac re firmiter statuimus atque decernimus, et in nomine omnipotentis Dei omniumque Sanctorum præcipimus omnibus suc-

## [PRIVILEGE OF WHITRED.]

cessoribus nostris, regibus, principibus, vel omnibus qui in habitu laico constituti sunt, ut nullus unquam habeat licentiam accipere alicujus ecclesiæ vel familiæ monasterii dominium, quæ a meipso vel antecessoribus meis priscis temporibus tradita erant in perpetuam hæreditatem, Jesu Christo et sanctis Apostolis, etiamque Maria Virgine [matri] Domini nostri sacrata. Sed magis, sicut decet, et in canonibus præcipitur, servandum est: quando quis evenerit ex numero dominorum obigere de sæculo<sup>d</sup> abbas vel abbatissa: propterea immittatur<sup>e</sup> propriæ parochiæ Episcopus, et cum ejus consilio vel consensu, quisquis dignus inveniatur et ejus vita atque munditia ab Episcopo examinatur: talis eligatur et ab Episcopo benedicatur, sanctificetur dominus spiritalis gradui, Dei servitiæ et tonsuræ, seu sacro velamine mancipatus: et nullo modo sine consultu et licentiâ Archiepiscopi in diocesi sua abbas vel abbatissa eligatur.

Si quis per insipientiam aliter faciat, pro nichilo habeatur, citiusque abiciatur, neque de hac re aliquid pertineat ad regis sæcularis imperium: quia illius personis est, principes, præfectos, seu duces sæculares statuere: metropolitani Episcopi est ecclesias Dei regere, gubernare, atque abbates, abbatissas, presbiteros, diacones, elegere, statuere, et sanctificare, firmare et ammonere, ne quis ovis de ovibus æterni pastoris erret.

Hoc præceptum statuimus hiis monasteriis quorum nomina hæc sunt adnotata; Primus, primi apostolorum principis Petri, id est, Upmynster, Raculf, Suðmynster, Dofras, Folcanstan, Limming, Scepeis et Hoef. Hæc omnia interdicimus, sicut ante diximus, ut nullus habitus ex numero laicorum ad se pertrahat vel suscipiat ullum monasterium de hiis prænominatis.

Hæc lex supradicta per ævum completa, permaneat: adhuc addimus majorem libertatem.

Inprimis Christi ecclesiæ cum omnibus agris ad eam pertinentibus, similiter Hrofensi ecclesiæ cum suis, cæterisque prædictis omnibus ecclesiis Dei nostri, subjiciantur pro salute animæ meæ, meorumque prædecessorum, et pro spe cœlestis regni ex hac die, et deinceps concedimus et donamus ab omnibus difficultatibus sæcularium servitutis, a pastu Regis, principum, comitum, nec non ab operibus, majoribus minoribusve gravitatibus: et ab omni debitu vel pulsione regum tensus liberis eos esse perpetua libertate statuimus: nisi sua spontanea voluntate, ex largitate beneficiorum, quid facere velint: tamen hoc in posterum non servetur nec habeatur in malam con-

[PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

suetudinem: sed magis securi possint pro nobis Deo omnipotenti hostias dignas offerre, et immaculatis muneribus nostra abluere peccata, ut per eorum intercessionem, mereamur audire felicem sententiam, "Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi &."

Si quis autem Rex unquam post nos elevatus in regnum, aut Episcopus, aut abbas, vel comes, seu ulla potestas hominum contradicat huic kartulæ, aut infringere temptaverit: sciat se sequestratum a Corpore et Sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, seu etiam sic excommunicatum, sicut qui non habet remissionem neque in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro, nisi ante pleniter emendaverit iudicio Episcopi; manente tamen hac cartula, irrefragabilis sua firmitate, muniatur, servetur et habeatur semper ad ecclesiam Salvatoris quæ sita est in civitate Dorobernia, ubi metropolitanum capud habetur, ad exemplum atque defensionem omnibus Ecclesiis Dei quæ in hac Cantia morantur <sup>h</sup>.

Hæc lex inviolabilis usque ad consummationem sæculi permaneat, quia nulli homini terreno data sunt: sed hæc omnia in manus Dei omnipotentis Sanctorumque Ejus concedimus et donamus.

✠ Ego Wihtredus auxilio Christi Rex hiis legibus constitutis pro me et Werburga<sup>1</sup> regina, itemque filio nostro Aluico subscripsi.

✠ Ego Berthuuald gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hiis legibus a nobis constitutis subscripsi <sup>k</sup>.

✠ Signum manus Æthelberhti pro se et fratre suo Eadberto.

✠ Signum manus Tobie Episcopi.

✠ Signum manus Mildriðæ Abbatissæ.

✠ Signum manus Ætheldriðæ Abbatissæ.

✠ Signum manus Actte Abbatissæ.

✠ Signum manus Wilnoðæ Abbatissæ.

✠ Signum manus Hereswyðæ Abbatissæ.

✠ Signum manus Redempti Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Æscwaldi Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Eatfriði Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Botredi Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Hyssan Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Kynheri Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Aldwlf Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Walh Presbiteri.

✠ Signum manus Bonna Presbiteri.

[MS. *Lambeth*, 1212, p. 385; S., I. 189, sq.; W., IV. App. 745, 746.]

## [PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

<sup>a</sup> The best version of this Act is undated: that given in the *A. S. C.*, under A.D. 694, has no decisive sign of date, but is placed loosely at the beginning of Wihtred's reign. The other version, below, p. 242, borrows its date from the *A. S. C.* The question turns on the dates of Bishop Tobias and Queen Werburga; see notes <sup>c</sup> and <sup>i</sup>. If the authority of the *Textus Roffensis*, as to Gebmund, be preferred to that of the *A. S. C.*, the present Act must fall between A.D. 696, when Gebmund was still Bishop, and A.D. 716, when it was confirmed at Clovesho.

<sup>b</sup> Of the various forms under which this Privilegium appears, that in the text, from an early Cartulary of Christ Church, Canterbury, claims the most respect. It was copied, about A.D. 1220, "de codicellis primariis sive cartis terrarum antiquitus dictis *Land boc*." It says nothing about the appointment of Bishops, but only of abbots, abbesses, priests, and deacons; nothing of England generally, but of Kent alone and expressly, and limits its grant to Kentish churches and abbeys specified by name; while it is signed by Kentish Bishops, abbesses, and priests, and by those of no other kingdom. The Latin form in Wilkins's text (App. 1, p. 242 below), on the contrary, gives up all royal authority in the nomination of Bishops, as well as abbots and the rest, and is written as if Wihtred were King of the whole Heptarchy, not of one of the least of its kingdoms. The abridgment in the *A.-S. Chronicle* (App. 2, p. 244 below), is of the former of the two, with the exception that it extends its sweep to include Bishops.—The form in the text must have escaped the notice of Kemble, who does not give it in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, although he used the MS. in which it is found, for the collation of the second version (*K. C. D.*, *DCCCCXCVI.*). Spelman had seen two copies of it, but the reference to the Canterbury Register A. fo. 80, which he annexes to it, is a mistake. That Register, which is of the fourteenth century, and in many respects extremely valuable, does not appear to contain this form. It has the second form at fo. 88, as printed by Spelman, p. 191. The various readings given by Spelman seem to be the readings of the Lambeth MS. 1212, p. 385; and it is not known what other MS. he used. His reading of *Botredi episcopi* instead of *Botredi presbiteri*, among the attestations, has thrown unnecessary doubt on the authenticity of the document; see Wake, *State of the Church*, p. 142.—In the Lambeth MS. it is followed by a confirmation in synod at Clovesho, under Ethelbald of Mercia in A.D. 716.—The Cotton MS. (Domitian A. VIII.) of the *Chronicle*, which contains a contemporary Latin translation of the Anglo-

Saxon text, departs in this case from its usual plan, and gives this Act of Wihtred very nearly at length. This version seems to have originally corresponded almost exactly with the text given above; but an attempt has been made, very early, to bring it by interpolation and erasure into close conformity with the second version, below, p. 242; so far as to extend its application to Bishops as well as Abbots, and to eliminate all special references to Kent except the first "intra Cantiam." The existence of this copy, although mutilated, gives us an authority two centuries earlier than we should otherwise have for the preferred text. It is printed, with a careful collation, by Wake, whose criticisms upon it, as against Atterbury, are very weak; *State of the Church*, App. p. 1; and see, also, *Rights, etc., of Convocation*, by Atterbury, p. 280, and Wake, *State, etc.*, pp. 140-143.—Spelman held this Act of Wihtred to be the most ancient English Charter, and accounted for the difference of the versions by supposing them to be translations. See Spelman, *Conc.*, I. 125; *Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ*, p. 8; and against him, Hicke, *Diss. Epistol.*, p. 79.

<sup>c</sup> All the MSS. of both forms, and the *A.-S. Chronicle*, agree in making Tobias now Bishop of Rochester, and therefore Gebmund (who was alive in A.D. 693) now dead; the *Chronicle* places the death of Gebmund in A.D. 693, while the laws of the Witenagemot of Berghamstede, A.D. 696 (see above, *in au.*), taken from the *Textus Roffensis*, still retain Gebmund as Bishop of Rochester; and the abridged form of Wihtred's Privilegium itself, as repeated in a (spurious) charter of A.D. 699, does the same. Charters unfortunately do not decide the question, the last signature of Gebmund to any unquestioned one dating A.D. 693 (*K. C. D.*, *XXXVI.*), and the earliest of Tobias A.D. 706 (*K. C. D.*, *LVI.*), but in several cases the authenticity is affected by this very question. Bede (*V.* 8) only mentions the consecration of Tobias in the room of Gebmund as one of the acts done by Brihtwald after he was consecrated. It is more probable that the writers of the *A. S. C.* have misunderstood the words of Bede, than that all the other authorities, the *Textus Roffensis*, the Canterbury Cartulary, and the other Charters should have been forged or garbled.—The Domitian MS. has, after the mention of Tobias, "cum cæteris Episcopis," the last word being an interpolation between the lines.

<sup>d</sup> The Domitian MS. has here "Episcopüs" interlined.

<sup>e</sup> The Domitian MS. has for *immitatur*, "invitetur;" the other version has "intimetur Archiepiscopo."

## [PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

<sup>f</sup> Of these monasteries, Sheppey, Lyminge, Folkstone, and Suthmynster (Minster in Thanet) were under abbesses. Hoe (otherwise Hogh, or Hoo) was under an abbot. Upmynster is perhaps S. Peter's in Thanet. The paragraph is erased in MS. Dom. A. VIII.

<sup>g</sup> The words from *ut per* to *mundi* are erased in MS. Dom. A. VIII.

<sup>h</sup> The words *quæ—morantur* are erased in MS. Dom. A. VIII.

<sup>i</sup> The Queen Werburga, in the signatures to the document in the text, and to that preferred by Wilkins, is not identical with the Æthelburga, Queen of Wihtred, who signs genuine charters in A.D. 696, although Kyngytha, in a spurious charter of A.D. 694 (*S.*, I. 192; *W.*, IV. *App.* 746; *K. C. D.*, XXXVII.), may be set aside. Werburga is apparently the mother of Alric, Wihtred's youngest son, and

therefore a later wife than the other, who was probably mother of the two elder sons. This helps to fix the date of the Act later than A.D. 696. If we could fix the date of the death of S. Mildred who signs as abbess, we should get another limit. It is commonly given loosely, cir. A.D. 700.—However, the source whence the documents come, S. Saviour's, Canterbury, is not above suspicion; and the variety of forms, some of them manifest fictions, under which it appears, throws a doubt upon all of them. That there really was such a Privilege may appear to be proved by the references made to it in acts of Councils at Clovesho of A.D. 716 and A.D. 742; but those Councils are not beyond question. See below, under those years.

<sup>k</sup> The signatures that follow are omitted in the MS. Dom. A. VIII.

## APPENDIX TO THE PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.

1. *Form of the Privilege given by Wilkins from MS. Cant. Eccles.*

A. 88.

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCXCIV<sup>o</sup>. Wihtredus gloriosus Rex Cantix cum reverentissimo Archiepiscopo Brihtwaldo, præcepit congregari concilium in loco, qui nominatur Baccancelde, præside eodem concilio jam nominato clementissimo Rege Cantuariorum Wihtredo et eodem venerando patre et primate totius Britannix, simulque Tobia Episcopo Roffensis ecclesix, cum abbatibus, abbatissis, presbiteris, diaconibus, ducibus, satrapis, pariter tractantes de statu ecclesiarum Dei in Anglia, et de hiis quæ a fidelibus regibus, prædecessoribus ejus et propinquis, Athelberto videlicet posterisque ejus Deo omnipotenti in propriam hæreditatem data fuerunt, qualiter secundum veram justitiam stare et permanere valeant, vel quomodo ea servare oporteat a modo, et usque in finem seculi constituentes.

Ego, inquit, Wihtredus Rex terrenus, a Rege regum compunctus, zelo rectitudinis accensus, ex antiqua traditione sanctorum patrum didici non esse licitum alicui homini in laico habitu constituto, usurpare sibi quasi propriam possessionem, quod ante fuerat Domino concessum et cruce Christi firmatum. Scimus enim et veraciter constat, quia quod semel acceperit homo donatione alterius in propriam potestatem, nullatenus sine injuria illud iterum dimittet.

Horrendum est itaque hominibus Deum vivum exspoliare, tunicamque Ejus et hæreditatem scindere. Cum ergo Deo oblatum [aliquid fuerit de

## [PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

terrenis substantiis, ad hoc, ut facilius promereri valeant offerentes æternam retributionem percipere in cælis, manifeste declaratur, quod quanto incautius homo secularis applicuerit se in hæreditate Regis æterni, tanto districtius a Deo punietur.

Pro qua re firmiter decernimus, et in nomine omnipotentis Dei omniumque sanctorum præcipimus omnibus successoribus nostris, regibus, principibus, et omnibus in laico habitu constitutis, ut nulli unquam liceat alicujus ecclesiæ vel monasterii dominium habere, quæ a me vel ab antecessoribus meis, priscis temporibus tradita sunt Deo in perpetuam hæreditatem et sanctis Ejus.

Magis autem, sicut in canonibus præcipitur, servandum est, ut quando aliquis de prælatis defungitur, Episcopus, abbas, vel abbatisa; intimetur Archiepiscopo propriæ parochiæ, et cum ejus consilio et consensu, vita ac munditia ejus examinata, qui dignus invenitur, eligatur, et nullo modo sine consensu et consultu Archiepiscopi promoveatur. Neque enim de hac re, aliquid pertinet ad decretum vel imperium regis. Illius autem est comites, duces, optimates, principes, præfectos, judices seculares statuere. Metropolitanus vero Archiepiscopi est, ecclesias Dei regere, gubernare, Episcopos, abbates, abbatissas, cæterosque prælatos eligere, statuere, firmare, admonere, ne quis de ovibus Christi, scilicet æterni pastoris, aberret.

Hæc lex per ævum in regno nostro in perpetuum permaneat omnibus ecclesiis Dei nostri pro salute animæ meæ, meorumque prædecessorum, proque spe cælestis regni.

Igitur ex hac die et deinceps concedimus et donamus ecclesiis regni nostri liberas esse perpetua libertate ab omnibus difficultatibus secularis servitutis, ab omni debito vel pulsione regalium tributorum, ut possint pro nobis Deo omnipotenti hostias dignas offerre nostraque peccata abluere immaculatis muneribus.

Si quis autem rex post nos levatus in regnum, aut Episcopus, aut abbas, seu aliqua alia persona contradixerit huic concilio vel scripto iudicio concilii facto, sciat se a Corpore et Sanguine Domini sequestratum, et sic excommunicatum, sicut ille qui non habebit remissionem neque in hoc seculo, neque in futuro, nisi ante mortem secundum iudicium Archiepiscopi emendaverit.

Hoc scriptum irrefragabile sua firmitate muniatur, servetur, et semper habeatur, in ecclesia Salvatoris, quæ sita est in civitate Dorobernia, ubi primas habetur ad exemplum omnium ecclesiarum atque defensionem, quæ in Anglia habentur.

Ego Wihtredus auxilio Christi rex, hiis legibus constitutis pro me et Warburga regina, itemque filio nostro Alrico, subscripsi.

[PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

Ego Brihtuualdus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus, hiis legibus constitutis subscripsi<sup>a</sup>. [*MS. Lambeth* 1212, p. 307; *W., I.* 57, 58; *S., I.* 191; *K. C. D., DCCCCXCVI.*; *Thorn*, ed. Twysden, 2208.]

<sup>a</sup> Of this edition of the Privilege there are several copies; one in the Register A. 1 (fo. 88) of the Prior and Convent of Canterbury, a MS. of the fourteenth century; this was used by Spelman and Wilkins, and also by Kemble in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, who seems to have preferred its readings to those of the Lambeth

MS. 1212, which is a full century older. Another copy, in a sixteenth century hand, is to be found in the Harleian MS. 1757, fo. 170; another in MS. C. C. C. C. 189, of the fourteenth century, from which Twysden printed; and it exists in a Norman-French Translation in the *Polistoire* of Canterbury, MS. Harl. 636.

2. *Account of the Privilege from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ad A.D. 694.*

And sona ðas ðe he cing was, he het gaderian mycel concilium on ðare stowe ðe ys geclypod Baccancelde. On ðare was Wihtred sitende, Cantware cing, and se arceb' of Cantuarebyri Brihtwald, and se Biscop Tobias of Hrouecestre, and mid heom abbodas and abbedessen, and manige wise menn ðar wæron gegaderade, ealle to smeagende embe Godes cyrcan-bote ða beoð innan Cent. Nu agann se cing to specende, and sæde, Ic wylle þæt ealle ða mynstra and ða cyrcan, ða wæron giuene and becweðene Gode to wyrðmynte be geleafuþra cinga dagan, minra forengengan, and be minra magan dagon, be Ægelberhtes cinges, and þara ðe him æfter fyligdan, swa belian Gode to wyrðmynte, and fæstlice standan, á to ecnesse æure ma. Forðon Ic Wihtred eorþlic cing, fram ðan heouenlice Cinge onbryrd, and mid andan ðare rihtwisnesse anæld, of uran ealdran fæderan gesetnesse ic habbe þæt geleornod, þat nan læwede man nah mid rihte to stingan hine an anre cirican, na an an ðara ðingan ðe to cyrcan belimpð. And

And as soon as he was King, he commanded a great council to be gathered at the place that is called Baccancelde (Bapchild), in which were sitting Wihtred, King of the Kentish people, and Beorhtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tobias, Bishop of Rochester; and with them abbots and abbesses, and many wise men were gathered, all to deliberate concerning the bettering of God's churches that are in Kent. Now began the King to speak, and said: "I will that all the monasteries and the churches that were given and bequeathed in glory to God, in the days of faithful Kings, my predecessors, and in the days of my kinsmen, of King Æthelberht, and those who followed after him, so remain to the glory of God, and firmly stand to all eternity for evermore. For I, Wihtred, an earthly King, stimulated by the heavenly King, and kindled with the zeal of righteousness, have learned from the institutes of our forefathers, that no layman ought with right to appropriate to himself a church, or any of the things which



## [PRIVILEGE OF WHITRED.]

forði stranglice and trywlice we ge-settað and demað, and on Godes naman þes Ealmihtiges, and on ealra halgena, we forbeodað eallon uron æftergengan, cingan, and ealdermannum, and eallan læwedan mannum, æure ægne hlauordscipe ouer circan, and ouer eallan heora ðingan, ðe ic oððe mine ylðran, on ealdon dagan, giuan Criste to loue on ece erfwyrdnesse, and ure hlæfdian Scā Marian, and ðan halgan apostolan. Ac loc hwenne hit gewurðe þæt Biscop, oððe abbod, oððe abbedesse, gewite of ðysan liue, sy hit gecydd ðan arb'. and mid his ræde and geðeahte sy gecoren swilce wurpe beo, and his lif ðe man sceal to swa gedonne ðinge cysan asece se arb'. and his clænnesse, and an ane wisan ne wurpe gecoræn nan, na to swa gedonan ðingan gehalgod, butan þes arb'. ræde. Cyngas sceolan settan eorlas and ealdormen, scirireuan and domesmenn: and arb'. sceal Godes gelaðunge wissian and rædan, and Biscopas, and abbodas, and abbedessan, preostas, and diaconas, ceosan and settan, halgian and getryman, mid godan mynegunga and forebysene, þe læste þe æni of Godes heorde dwelie and losie.

to a church belong. And therefore strongly and faithfully we appoint and decree, and, in the name of Almighty God and of all saints, we forbid to all Kings our successors, and to ealdormen, and to all laymen, ever any lordship over churches, and over any of their possessions, which I or my predecessors, in days of old, have given for the glory of Christ, and our lady, St. Mary, and the holy apostles. But be it observed, when it happens, that when a Bishop, or an abbot, or an abbess, shall depart from this life, it be announced to the Archbishop; and, by his counsel and suggestion, let such be chosen as may be worthy; and let the Archbishop inquire into his life and purity, who shall be chosen to such offices; and in no wise let any one be chosen, nor to such office hallowed, without the Archbishop's counsel. Kings are to appoint earls and ealdormen, shire-reeves and judges; and an Archbishop is to direct and counsel, and to choose and appoint Bishops, and abbots, and abbesses, priests and deacons; and to hallow and strengthen them by good admonitions and example, lest any of God's herd wander and perish.

[*M. H. B.* pp. 324, 325, from the Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII.; *W.*, l. 56, 57.]

3. *Renewed Privilege to the same effect in an abridged form.*

[Spurious.]

✠ In nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris nostri, Jesu Christi! Ego Whitredus, Rex Cantiae, consulens animae meae in posterum, hanc providentiam pro diversis calamitatibus imminentibus, ecclesiis Dei atque monasteriis, quae

[PRIVILEGE OF WIHTRED.]

in hac Cantia consistunt, una cum consensu principum meorum quorum nomina subterscribenda sunt, facere curavi; ut ab omni exactione publici tributi atque dispendio vel læsione, a præsentī die et tempore, liberæ sint; mihiq̄ue et posteris meis talem honorem vel obedientiam exhibeant, qualem exhibuerunt antecessoribus meis regibus, sub quibus eis justitia et libertas servabatur; et ut tam ego quam posteri mei in hac pia diffinitione permaneant decerno; nec per quamlibet tergiversationem, quæ a nobis et a prædecessoribus nostris recte indulta sunt concutiantur, sed ita ut jam jamque dictum est, in perpetuum abhinc et deinceps, Domino gubernante, custodiantur. Ad cujus cumulum firmitatis, manu propria signum sanctæ crucis expressi, et reverentissimum Brithwaldum Archiepiscopum atque Gemundam sanctissimum Episcopum, quam etiam venerabiles presbyteros et religiosos abbates præsentēs id idem clarissimas abbatissas, hoc est, Hirmynhildam, Irmynburgam, Æbbam et Neriendam<sup>a</sup> ut subscriberent rogavi.

Actum die VI. Idus Aprilis, anno regni mei XXVIII., Indictione secunda, in loco qui appellatur Cillinc.

✠ Ego Wihtredus rex Cantia ad omnia suprascripta et confirmata, atque a me dictata, propria manu signum sanctæ crucis, pro ignorantia litterarum, expressi.

✠ Ego Brihtuualdus Archiepiscopus, ad omnia suprascripta rogatus a Wihtredo rege, testis subscripsi.

✠ Ego Gemundus Episcopus rogatus testis subscripsi.

✠ Ego Tobias presbyter rogatus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Æna presbyter subscripsi.

✠ Ego Vinigeld presbyter rogatus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Adrianus indignus monachus rogatus testis subscripsi.

✠ Ego Ailmer abbas rogatus subscripsi.

✠ Signum manus Wihtgari.

✠ Signum manus Cyniadi.

✠ Signum manus Ecce.

✠ Signum manus Ueba.

✠ Signum manus Headda.

✠ Signum manus Suitbaldi.

✠ Signum manus Surierdi.

✠ Signum manus Ædilfridi.

✠ Signum manus Hagana.

✠ Signum manus Beornheardi.

[*Elmham*, ed. Hardwick, pp. 295-297; *W.*, I. 63; *K. C. D.*, XLIV.]

<sup>a</sup> For *Æbbam et Neriendam*, the MS. (Harl. 686, which is a late transcript of *Elmham*) used by Kemble reads *et Æbbam reverendam*,

and omits the subscriptions, from that of Tobias downwards, substituting the words "cum aliis pluribus in codicello annotatis."

4. *A similar Privilege of Ine to Wessex Churches or Monasteries granted at Eburleah [Everley, Wiltshire], May 26, 704; not however specifying liberty of election except in general terms. [K. C. D., L.]*

(Mentioned here by way of illustration. It is not genuine, and is not worth printing at length in its chronological place. It may be found in *William of Malmesbury, G. P., V.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 380, 381; *Anglia Sacra, II.* 22.)

5. *A similar Privilege of Ethelbald<sup>a</sup> to Mercian Churches and Monasteries, A.D. 719; limited however to fiscal privileges.*

✠ Cum plerumque contingere soleat, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine ut ea, quæ multarum et fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerunt, per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta simulationis fraudulentæ, et sine ulla consideratione rationis, in animarum suarum periculo dissipentur, nisi auctoritate literarum, et testimonio chirographorum in perpetuam memoriam fuerint consignata. Quapropter ego Æthilbaldus rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ, et pro redemptione animæ meæ, studendum esse providi, ut eam per bona opera liberam efficerem ab omni vinculo delictorum. Dum enim mihi Omnipotens, per misericordiam clementiæ Suæ absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptrum regni largitus est, ideo libenter, ex eo, quod dedit, retribuo. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem meam me vivente concedo, ut omnia monasteria et æcclesiæ regni mei a publicis vectigalibus, operibus et oneribus absolvantur, nisi in instructione arcium vel pontium, quæ nunquam ulli possunt laxari. Præterea habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in proficuo sylvarum, in fructu agrorum, in captura piscium: nec munuscula præbeant regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi serviant Domino in contemplatione pacifica per totum regnum meum, usque in ævum. [*K. C. D., LXX.,* from MS. Arundel 178, and MS. Reg. 13. D. 2.]

<sup>a</sup> See a genuine act of the same King to the same effect, below, under A.D. 749.

[LETTER OF POPE SERGIUS TO CEOLFRID.]

A.D. c. 701. *Letter of Pope Sergius to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, desiring a monk of his house to be sent to Rome.*

SERGIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Ceolfrido religioso abbati presbyteroque salutem.* Quibus verbis et modis clementiam Dei nostri atque inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, et dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis circa nos Ejus beneficiis persolvere? Qui in tenebris et umbra mortis positos ad lumen Sux scientiæ producit, errantes etiam in viam veritatis convertit, incipientes perficit rectum propositum gerere, atque circa commissorum sollicitudinem tribuit amoris dilectionem; ut tam ille, qui in eis est, quamque etiam ipse, qui pro eis excolitur, piæ sedulitatis consonantiam reddant, et ne iterum (quod absit) in labe seculi devolvantur, custodit; ut expedire salutem nostræ præscivit, miseratus dispensat; et quos nimirum in seculo, ut subsisterent, condidit, ad vitam eos æternam possidendam invitat. Hac de re, religiosissime fili, Domini atque Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi doctrinam, qua beatos apostolos Suos ad seculi contemptum instituit puro corde assequere, inquentis: “si quis diligit patrem aut matrem, fratres vel sorores, plus quam Me, non est Me dignus.” Et iterum: “si quis dereliquerit patrem aut matrem, fratres aut sorores propter nomen Meum, centuplum accipiet, et cætera usque possidebit.” Possessura itaque vitam æternam non diffidat religio tua obedientiam, quam per nostram exhortationem assumpsit, et in sanctis Suis evangeliiis dicit: “qui vos audit, Me audit:” per quam proculdubio et confidentiam magnam habemus, eam esse usque in finem servaturam. In hoc etenim Dominus noster Jesus Christus conlaudatur, ubi Christianitatis concordia fratrum comprobatur, et fides illibata monstratur; et dum glorificatur ac benedicitur Deus per fidelium Suorum studia, hæc facientem, sicut scriptum est, consequatur. Dicit enim: “benedictus homo per quem Deus benedicitur.”

Benedictionis interea gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portitorem tua misit devota religio, libenti et hilari animo, sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse cognosce; et pro ejus nimirum conscientie puritate Dominum Ejusque apostolos deprecamur, ut per cujus prædicationem ad lumen veritatis accessimus, tribuat pro parvis magna et cælestis regni perpetua beneficia condonari concedat. Opportunis ergo ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ sollicitudinis petitionibus artissima

[LETTER OF POPE SERGIUS TO CEOLFRID.]

devotione faventes, hortamur Deo dilectam bonitatis tuæ religiositatem, ut quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artium literatura imbuti; sicut decet devotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris universalis Ecclesiæ, obedientem devotionem huic nostræ exhortationi non desistas accommodare; sed absque aliqua remoratione religiosum famulum Dei N. venerabilis monasterii tui, ad veneranda limina apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli, amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non moraris dirigere. Quem favente Deo, tuisque sanctis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire; peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate. Erit enim ut confidimus etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Ecclesiæ generali devoto sancto collegio claruerit præstantissime impertitum. [MS. Tiberius, A. 15. fo. 50. of the eleventh century; printed by *W.*, I. 63, from a transcript of Ussher's; see also *Hardy*, *Cat. Mat.*, I. 387, and *Stevenson*, Preface to Bede, p. xiii.]

*Extracts from the same Letter, as given by William of Malmesbury<sup>a</sup>.*

SERGIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Ceolfrido religioso abbati, salutem.* Quibus verbis ac modis clementiam Dei nostri, atque inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, et dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis circa nos ejus beneficiis persolvere, Qui in tenebris et umbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiæ perducit! *Et infra:* Benedictionis interea gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portitorem tua misit devota religio, libenti et hilari animo. sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse cognosce. Opportunis ergo ac dignis amplectandæ sollicitudinis tuæ petitionibus arcissima devotione faventes, hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuæ bonitatem, ut, quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum arte litteraturæ imbuti, sicut decet devotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris universalis Ecclesiæ, obedientem devotionem huic nostræ hortationi non desistas accommodare, sed absque aliqua immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilis monasterii tui presbyterum, ad limina apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli, amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ

[NORTHUMBRIAN WITENAGEMOT.]

mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere, quem, favente Domino sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire, peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solemnitate. Erit enim, ut confidimus, etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum quidquid ecclesiæ generali claruerit per ejus præstantiam impertitum. [*W. Malm. G. R., I. p. 86, ed. Hardy; W., IV. App. p. 743.*]

<sup>a</sup> The MS Tiberius, A. XV. fo. 50 (see above), which is older than William of Malmesbury, reads, for *Dei famulum Bedam venerabilis monasterii tui presbyterum*, "famulum Dei N. venerabilis monasterii tui;" the word *presbyterum* being interlined in a modern hand and scored through. The name of Bede therefore rests upon Malmesbury's authority, weakened on the one hand by his inserting also the word *presbyterum*, whereas the letter cannot be dated later than A.D. 701, when Sergius died, and Bede was not a *presbyter* until A.D. 702 (*B. H. E., V. 24, in fin.*); supported on the other by the external argument that the Pope could hardly have used such language except of some well-known monk of Wearmouth, and that Bede alone seems to come within its scope. And if it be said that in A.D. 701 Bede was only twenty-nine years old, and could scarcely have acquired such a reputation

as to be known at Rome and desired by the Pope as a counsellor, the reply is possible, that a continuous intercourse was kept up between Wearmouth and Rome (see *Bede, Hist. Abb.*), and that Sergius may have heard of Bede's learning and abilities from Benedict Biscop, his abbot, and others of his own monastery. That Bede did not go to Rome is certain (*B., V. 24, in fin.*). Some monks of his monastery did go there in A.D. 700 (*B., de Nat. Rer. XLVI.*), and brought back from Sergius a Privilegium for the monastery (*B., Hist. Abb. § 12*); but Bede was not one of them (*De Nat. Rer. ut supra*). And Wilkins' conjecture is probable, if we assume also that these monks brought back the letter requesting Bede's presence at Rome, namely, that the death of Sergius in A.D. 701 prevented his accepting the invitation. See below, p. 254, note <sup>a</sup>.

A.D. c. 701. *Northumbrian Synod or Witenagemot confirms the Privilegium granted by Pope Sergius to the Monastery of Wearmouth and Farrow<sup>a</sup>.*

BÆD., *Hist. Abb. § 12*.—Missis Romam monachis tempore beatæ recordationis Sergii Papæ, privilegium ab eo pro tuitione sui monasterii instar illius quod Agatho Papa Benedicto dederat, accepit, quod Britannix perlatum, et coram synodo patefactum, præsentium Episcoporum simul et magnifici Regis Aldfridi subscriptione confirmatum est. [Ed. Hussey, p. 327; see *W., I. 64.*]

<sup>a</sup> Sergius was Pope A.D. 687–701; but if the above letter of his, which obviously accompanied the Bull of Privileges, was sent by the monks who went to Rome in A.D. 701, then the Northumbrian Witenagemot also must be dated in the same year. It could hardly have

been identical with that of Onestrefeld, and was held probably in the year before it. Aldhelm brought back a similar Privilegium from the same Pope for Malmesbury and Frome (*Faric. V. Aldhelm. cap. II.* ed. Giles, p. 362).

[WILFRID CONDEMNED AND EXCOMMUNICATED.]

A.D. 702-705. *Second personal appeal<sup>a</sup> of Wilfrid to Rome, followed by his partial restoration upon a compromise.*

1. A.D. 702<sup>b</sup>. *Council of Estrefeld, Onestrefeld or Ædswinapath<sup>c</sup>, at which Wilfrid is condemned and excommunicated.*

EDD. V. *Wilfr.* XLV.—XLVII.—Igitur Aldfritho Rege, cum sancto Berhtwaldo Archiepiscopo et totius pene Britanniae Episcopis, congregata synodo, in campo qui dicitur Onestrefelda; deinde legatis ad praesentiam sancti Wilfrithi Episcopi missis, rogantes humiliter ut eorum obtutibus dignaretur praesentari, promittentes per nuntios suos statuta canonica de antiqua fraude rationem se reddituros, si ad illorum conventum venire non negaret. Quid plura dicam? postquam vero in locum, ubi synodalis disputatio debuerat esse, convenit; deinde non ita contigit, sicut promissum fuerat: sed multae et magnae altercationum quaestiones ab eis exortae emerferunt, maxime ab illis pontificibus ecclesiarum: cum voluntate tamen Aldfrithi Regis, et consensu quorundam abbatum id fecisse non dubium habetur, qui pacem ecclesiam Dei, avaritia instigante, nullatenus habere concupierunt; et multa falsa objicientes, quae nulla ratione veritatis comprobare potuerunt; insuper secundum statuta et jussiones Theodori Archiepiscopi esse censendum sanctum pontificem nostrum confirmaverunt. Ille vero intelligens quid essent argumentati, humiliter respondit, dicens [praecipis illorum consentire,] ejusque decretis secundum canonum normam censuit in omnibus libenter se velle obedire. Deinde multis et duris sermonibus eorum pertinaciam obstinationis, quia per viginti et duos annos contra apostolicam auctoritatem non timuerunt contentiose resistendo exercere, increpabat: et interrogavit eos, qua fronte auderent statutis apostolicis ab Agathone sancto, et Benedicto electo, et beato Sergio sanctissimis Papis ad Britanniam pro salute animarum directis praepone, aut eligere decreta Theodori Episcopi, quae in discordia (ut diximus) constituit. Interea dum nullus modus locutionis decenter ab illis ordinatus inventus est, unus ex ministris [Regis] pontifici nostro valde devotus, quem ille a primaevo vagientis aetatus incunabulis enutrivit; ex tentorio Regis latenter erupit, simulans alterius effigie, cohortibus se circumstantium immiscens quasi ignotus, usque ad pontificem nostrum perveniebat, pandensque ei causam iudicii illorum

[WILFRID CONDEMNED AND EXCOMMUNICATED.]

revelabat indicando, dicens: "Hac omnino fraude te moliuntur decipere, ut primitus per scriptionem propriæ manus confirmes eorum tantummodo iudicium, quodcumque constituentes diffinient succumbere; ut postquam isto alligatus fueris distractionis vinculo, de cætero in posterum permutare nullatenus queas. Ista siquidem erit illorum iudicii apertio, ut quicquid in Ultrahumbensium aliquando terra possidere visus fuisti, vel in Episcopatu, vel in monasteriis, vel in qualibet re, cuncta dimittas; et siquid in Myrciorum regno subsecutus eras sub Æthelredo rege, omnia reddendo Archiepiscopo coacte relinquant, ab ipso donando cui vult: et ad postremum temetipsum damnando, de tuo tu sanctitatis honore cum subscriptione degraderis." Hæc dicens subito subterfugiens discessit. Tunc sanctus vir, summæ virtutis et constantiæ, ista audiens, cognito deceptionis argumento, cautior de subscriptione sæpius replicata effectus est. Reddere vero responsa instanter quærebant, et aliquando minitantes arguebant, eum qui nollet mature confiteri subire arbitrium, cito se sententiam damnationis subjacere sciret. Quibus respondens ait: "Primus Archiepiscopi iudicium audiens illum consonantem statutis sanctorum patrum regulis, toto mentis annisu subjacere amplector." Ad ultimum vero diutius multis agnoscentibus causam celare non poterant; primo dixerunt pontificem nostrum sanctum famulum Dei omnibus facultatibus spoliare taliter velle, ut nec in Ultrahumbensium regno, nec in Mirciorum minimam quidem unius domunculi portiunculam haberet. Hujus autem iudicii inclementia ab Archiepiscopo, et Rege diffinita, et ipsos jam inimicos horruit, dicentes impium esse, tam famosum virum in circuitu nationibus absque ullo capitali crimine omnibus suis privare. Novissimum vero aliquid humanius pertractantes censuerunt, ut monasterium tantummodo quod construxit in Hripis, et dudum cum omnibus ad eum pertinentibus sancto Petro donans commendaverit, perceptumque privilegium a sancto Agathone Papa, abbati familiæque ibidem conversanti detulit, redderent in possessionem; ea tamen interposita dictione, ut propria manus conscriptione firmiter contestaret, quod illic quietus consederet, septa monasterii absque licentia Regis non transmearet, nec aliquid sacerdotalis officii attingeret: sed suum de semetipso (quod dictu horribile est) gradum honoris abjecerit, sub testimonio confirmationis plurimum cogentes compulerunt. Quo audito sanctus Wilfrithus Episcopus noster constanter, et intrepida voce elevata, locutus est, dicens; "Qua ex causa me compellitit,



[WILFRID CONDEMNED AND EXCOMMUNICATED.]

ut tam lugubri calamitatis miseria in memetipsum gladium diræ interfectionis, hoc est subscriptionem propriæ damnationis convertam? Nonne sine aliquo reatu suspicionis offendiculum faciam cunctis audientibus nominis mei divulgationem, quod Episcopi vocabulo, quamvis indignus, per quadraginta prope annos nuncupabar? Nec nonne et ego primus post obitum primorum procerum a sancto Gregorio directorum [curavi, ut] Scoticæ virulenta plantationis germina eradicarem; ad verumque Pascha, et ad tonsuram in modum coronæ, quæ antea posteriori capitis parte e summo abrasa vertice, secundum apostolicæ sedis rationem, totam Ultrahumbrensiem gentem permutando converterem; aut quomodo juxta ritum primitivæ Ecclesiæ consono vocis modulamine binis adstantibus choris persultare, responsoriis, antiphonisque reciprocis instruerem; vel quomodo vitam monachorum secundum regulam Benedicti Patris, quam nullus prior ibi invexit, constitueram? Et nunc contra me quomodo subitam damnationis ipse protulero, extra conscientiam alicujus facinoris, sententiam? Sed cum de hac noviter orta quæstione, qua meum sanctitatis habitum violare estis conati; fiducialiter sedem appello apostolicam: vestrum autem quisquis deponere meum dignitatis gradum præsumit, a me hodie invitatus mecum pergat illuc ad iudicium. Debent etenim diligenter scire viri Romani sapientes, pro qua culpa vos me degradare vultis, prius quam vobis solis ad ista consentiam." Hæc audientes Archiepiscopus et Rex dixerunt: "Modo utique culpabilis factus a nobis notatus damnetur, quia magis illorum, quam nostrum elegit iudicium." Et hoc promittendo Rex addebat Archiepiscopo: "Faciam enim, si jubes, absque hæsitationis mora, ut vi opprimentis exercitus mei coactus, hac vice nostrum subire iudicium paratum se fateatur." Conciliales autem cæteri dicebant Episcopi: "Recordari oportet, quod in nostram promissionis fidem huc usque perrexit, aliter non præsumens: pariter prospero itinere in pace revertamur ad domus nostras."

Post has igitur sermocinationes solvitur inutile concilium ex utraque parte, et unusquisque domi revertens secessit: et ita, Deo protegente, servus Suus liberatus de manibus inimicorum, ad fidelissimum Regem Æthelredum redibat indemnus. Noster autem Sanctus Pontifex pergens devenit ad Æthelredum Regem, denuntians ei cunctam duræ locutionis infestationem, quæ a Præsulibus contra illius præceptum illata est. Tunc interrogans quoque Regem, quomodo vel qualiter decrevisset de possessione terrarum, propriarumque faculta-

[WILFRID CONDEMNED AND EXCOMMUNICATED.]

tum, quæ ab ipso donata sunt ei; Rex vero respondit: "Majorem non addo perturbationem, destruendo monachorum vitam, quæ ad Ecclesiam Beati Petri Apostoli dedicata est: sed in eodem permanente statu, vita comite, reservabo, quæ a me Domino favente conservata est, usque quo prius tecum nuntios proprios vel scripta proprietatis ad Romam permisero, interrogare de his imminentibus causis, quomodo recta desiderans salvus inveniar." Hac responsione percepta, congaudentes divisi, unusquisque ad propria remeabat.

Inimici vero qui hæreditatem sancti pontificis nostri sibi usurpabant, annuntiantes nos esse a sorte fidelium segregatos, et eos qui nobiscum participarent; in tantum communionem nostram execraverunt, ut si quispiam abbatum, vel presbyterorum nostrorum, a fidele de plebe rogatus, refectionem suam ante se positam signo crucis Dei benediceret, foras projiciendam, et effundendam, quasi idolothytum, judicabant; et vasa de quibus vescebantur, lavari prius, quasi sorde polluta jubebant, antequam ab aliis contingerentur. [Ed. Gale, p. 75; collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell 1; see *W.*, I. 65.]

<sup>a</sup> Wilfrid had appealed with success to Sergius between A.D. 691 and 701; as before to Benedict II., by messenger; but not in person (*Edd. XLII. XLV. XLIX.*). Possibly Bede's advice (see above, pp. 248-250) was desired by Sergius about this very business.

<sup>b</sup> Twenty-two years from A.D. 680, according to Wilfrid's own words in the Council; and "quadraginta prope annos" since he

had been ordained a Bishop, A.D. 664-702.

<sup>c</sup> Onestrefeld is generally identified with Nosterfield near Ripon; but there is hardly anything else than the sound of the name to recommend the conjecture. It may quite as probably have been Austerfield near Bawtry. The Fell MS. has *Ouestrefelda*, and the Bishops in the Northumbrian synod of A.D. 705 (below, p. 265) call it *Eostrefeld*.

2. A.D. 704 (?)<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, to the Clergy of Wilfrid.*

Nuper furibunda tempestatis perturbatio, sicut experimento didicistis, fundamenta Ecclesiæ, sicut quodam immenso terræ motu, concussit; cujus strepitus per diversa terrarum spatia, velut tonitruali fragore, longe lateque percrebruit. Et iccirco vos viscerales contribulos, flexis genuum poplitibus, subnixâ exposco prece, nequaquam hujus perturbationis strofa scandalizari; ne quisquam vestrum inertis segnitiei fide torpescat, etiamsi rerum necessitas exigat cum Præsule proprio pontificatus apice privato, tellure paterna propelli, et quælibet oporteat latorum regnorum transmarina aggredi rura.

[LETTER OF ALDHELM TO WILFRID'S CLERGY.]

Quis enim, quæso, tam durus atroxve labor existens, ab illo vos Antistite separans arceat; qui vos ab ipso tirocinio rudimentorum et a primæva teneræ ætatis infantia usque adultæ pubertatis florem nutriendo, docendo, castigando, paterna provexit pietate; et quasi nutrix gerula dilectos alumnos, extensis ulnarum sinibus refocillans, sic caritatis gremio fotos clementer amplexus est? Perpendite quæso creaturarum ordinem, eisque divinitus insitam naturam; quatenus ex minimarum rerum collatione inflexibilem conversationis formam, Christo favente, capiatis; quomodo examina apum calescente cœlitus caumate, ex alveariis nectare flagrantibus certatim emergant, et earum auctore linquente brumalia mansionum receptacula, densarum catervarum cohortes rapido volatu ad æthera glomerant, exceptis duntaxat antiquarum sedium servatricibus ad propagationem sobolis futuræ relictis. Ecce, inquam, mirabilius dictu, Rex earum, spissis sodalium agminibus vallatus, cum hiberna castra gregatim egreditur et cava stipitum robora rimatur, si pulverulenta sablonis aspergine præpeditus, seu repentinis imbribus cataracta Olympi guttatim rorantibus retardatus fuerit, et ad gratam cratem sedemque pristinam revertatur; omnis protinus exercitus consueta vestibula perrumpens, prisca cellarum claustra gratulabundus ingreditur..... Si ergo taliter creatura ratione carens, quam jura naturæ indita absque legibus scriptis gubernant, reciprocis temporum successione ducuntur præcepto paret; respondete, rogo, utrum horrendæ abominationis infamia sint exprobrandi, qui concessa septiformis Spiritus gratia præditi, devotæ subjectionis fræna ritu frenetico frangunt. Cur autem diversarum rerum ratiocinationes conglobans, ad instiganda vestri pectoris præcordia stridente calamo percurram, audite. Ecce seculares divinæ scientiæ extorres, si devotum dominum quem in prosperitate dilexerunt, cessante felicitatis opulentia, et ingruente calamitatis adversitate, deseruerint, ac secunda dulcis patriæ otia exulantis domini pressuræ prætulere: Nonne execrabilis cachinni ridiculo et gannaturæ strepitu ab omnibus ducuntur? Quid ergo de vobis dicetur; si pontificem qui vos nutrit et extulit, in exilio solum dimiseritis? etc. [*W. Malm., G. P. V., ed. Hamilton, pp. 338, 339; and in Ang. Sacr., II. 5, 6.*]

<sup>a</sup> If this letter belongs, as is suggested, to this second journey of Wilfrid to Rome, it must be dated after the time of his quitting England, sc. A.D. 704 (see note <sup>a</sup>, p. 262). If rightly referred to this period,

it affords another proof of the isolation of the Wessex diocese from Canterbury and the English Church in general during this part of Brihtwald's archiepiscopate. See what is said above as to Sergius's letter (p. 231) and the

[COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

Laws of Ine (p. 218), and the letter of Waldhere (below, p. 274). William of Malmesbury introduces the letter thus: "Cum Wilfridus Episcopus ..... exsul ageretur, multi suorum abbatis fortunæ sequentes rotam, ad inimicorum favorem devolvi meditabantur; quorum justitiæ Aldhelmus diffidens, et amico

venerabili metuens, his verbis labantes nitentur erigere. Post præfationem enim congruam, Nuper, inquit, furibunda," etc. etc. Wilfrid in A.D. 679 was forty-five years old (*Flor. Wig.; Sim. Dun. ad ann. 664*); in A.D. 704 he was 70. The epithet "venerabili" seems to suit the latter age best.

3. A.D. 704<sup>a</sup>. *Council of Rome under Pope John VI. declares Wilfrid's acquittal, and commands Brihtwald to decide in an English Council respecting his Sees.*

EDD. *V. Wilfr. c. XLVIII.—L.*—Hæc miserabilis et lamentabilis ingruens calamitas a nobis comperta, ad Dominum incessabiliter die noctuque clamantes, in jejunio et fletu cum omnibus subjectis nostris congregationibus fundentes precem orationis offerebamus, quousque parati cum sancto pontifice nostro adscenderunt navem, et vehiculo navis transportati ad litora Australia, Domino præviante, pervenerunt: tunc vero pedestri gressu super terram simul gradientes, sanctis auxiliantibus apostolis, salvo spatioso itinere, ad apostolicam venientes sedem, præsentati adstiterunt, progeniculantes flexis poplitibus, obnixè obsecrantes postulabant, ut hoc illorum legationis indiculum, quamvis rusticitate magis conscriptum quam urbanitatis facundia karaxatum appareat, pro sua consuetudinaria pietatis clementia non dedignerent suscipere. "Scire enim," dicebant, "vestram dignitatem hoc volumus, ut neminem per invidiam accusandum advenimus: sed tamen, ut si quis in vestro beatissimo concilio contra nos aliunde veniens, aliquam proferre ausus sit accusationis objectionem; in quantum vestra adjuvante clementia valuerimus, aut excusare, si falsa; aut confiteri, si vera, parati sumus. Clementia ergo Conditoris nostri, et beatorum apostolorum principis protecti, ad hanc gloriosissimam sedem, quasi ad matris gremium, confugimus, sufferendo quicquid vestra beatissima imperaverit auctoritas."

Deinde itaque a beatissimo apostolico Papa Johanne sanctus pontifex noster Wilfrithus Episcopus cum reverentissimis presbyteris, et omni clero venerabili, benigna pietate susceptus, glorificæ sedis responsa expectantes, per aliquot dies requiescentes, mansione voluntarie præparata manserunt. Interim quoque legati a sancto Archiepiscopo Berhtwaldo cum suis scriptis accusationis ad apostolicam sedem directis, supplices petentes sibi præberi a gloriosissima sede auditum legationis suæ, qua fungebantur, simul pervenerunt. Tunc

[COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

vero beatissimus apostolicus Johannes Papa cum coepiscopis suis undique congregatis, et omni venerabili clero ad synodalem locum veniens, præsentato Deo amabili Wilfritho Episcopo cum fratribus suis venerabilibus, primum petitionis suæ cartula coram omni conventu relegatur hoc modo continens ;

“ *Domino apostolico terque beatissimo universali Papæ Johanni, Wilfrithus supplex et humilis servus servorum Dei Episcopus.* Cognoscat sanctitas vestra istas esse causas, pro quibus hanc sedem apostolicam, vestramque beatissimam<sup>a</sup> præsentiam de ultima terrarum parte jam vice tertia adjuvandus adveni. Primo, quia unitas apostolicorum virorum individua semper esse solet, ut quæquæ a prædecessore vestro beatissimo Agathone Papa justissimis atque clementissimis judiciis decreta sunt, vestra pia auctoritas, quia multis non dubium est ad salutem proficere, confirmet et corroboret ; et ut pietas vestra intelligere dignetur, quia in omnibus vestræ beatitudinis jussionibus, humiles et supplices subire parati sumus. Perturbationibus enim nuper in Britannia ortis ex parte eorum, qui contra decreta supradicti beatissimi Agathonis Papæ, illiusque successorum venerabilium patrum, sibimet Episcopatum et monasteria, terrasque cum omnibus meis facultatibus usurpabant, compulsus, hanc sacrosanctam apostolicam sedem appellavi, contestans eos per Omnipotentem Dominum, et beatum Petrum principem apostolorum, ut si quis aliquam contra me accusationem haberet, ad vestram mecum præsentiam judicandus conveniret, sicut beati prædecessoris vestri Sergii Papæ scripta decernebant. Et ideo petitionum parvitatæ meæ paginam vestræ gloriosissimæ præsentia pro instanti nobis notissima necessitate offerendam curavi, cum quibus vestræ solita clementia benignas aures pulsare hæc continens præsumo, ut omnia rectitudinis pietatisque, quæ a beatissimis antecessoribus vestris dominis apostolicis, sancto Agathone, et electo Benedicto, et beato Sergio, unanimiter erga meam parvitatem decreta sunt, vos largiflua pietatis benivolentia confirmare dignemini. Et vestram inflexibilem auctoritatem ex intima cordis intentione, non solum ego, sed et omnes qui mecum advenerunt fratres obsecrantes humiliter postulamus, ut si quilibet accusatores contra nos aliunde venerint, per vestram jussionem in medium producti exponant accusationis causas : et si vel minimam quidem confirmare potuerint, libenter vestri arbitrii æquitatem sustinere parati sumus. Si autem mendacia tantummodo vestræ beatissimæ auctoritati falsis commendata cartulis adferre ausi sunt ; detur nobis licentia, prout vestræ

[COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

sanctitati placuerit, ipsas accusationes expurgare. Nec non supplex et humilis vestram sanctitatem deprecor, ut eadem auctoritatis instantia Æthelredo Regi Merciorum de vitæ nostræ solatio imperare dignemini, qua prædecessores vestri beatissimi apostolici, sanctus Agatho, Benedictus, et Sergius demandabant, hoc est, ut ipsa monasteria cum cæteris ad ea pertinentibus, quæ mihi ab ipso Rege Æthelredo, ejusque fratre Wilfario, vel aliis quibuslibet, pro redemptione animarum suarum perdonata sunt, nemo per invidiam vel nefandam cupiditatem auferre et invadere, contra vestra statuta atque illius supradicti Regis voluntatem, præsumat. Et adhuc summopere vestram almitatem obnixis precibus humiliter depono, ut omnia, quæ antecessor vester sæpe memoratus, beatissimus Agatho, in hac apostolica sede cum universa synodo decreverat, ipsum Regem Alfrithum Aquilonensium adimplere, tranquillissimis monitis obsecretis. Quod si forte hoc illi durum videatur pro mea causa esse, Eboracæ civitatis Episcopatus cum cæteris quamplurimis monasteriis in vestro pendeat arbitrio, cui rectissimum gubernare censeatis. Tantum ipsa duo monasteria, quod primum dicitur Hripis, et alterum, quod Hagustaldese vocatur, quæ a sancto Agathone Papa hujus apostolicæ sedis sub uno privilegio adscripta sunt, per vestræ petitionis auxilium cum omnibus terris atque possessionibus ad ea pertinentibus nobis restituantur. Et post has petitiones hoc addam, quod juxta statuta canonum debitam venerationem cum fraterna caritate Archiepiscopo Berhtvaldo semper exhibebo: et sic me libenter facturum promitto, tantummodo si ipse prædecessorum vestrorum, beatissimi Agathonis, ejusque successorum, fundatissima erga meam parvitatem adimpleat decreta.”

Postquam petitionis nostræ series recitata est, et diligenter a gloriosissimis auscultata, ad habitaculaque nostra redire licentiam dederunt; introductis quoque ad præsentiam eorum honorabilem a sancto Berhtwaldo Archiepiscopo cum scriptis suis viris directis ad apostolicam sedem, quorum multiplices et magnas accusationes contra hominem Dei Wilfrithum Episcopum audientes, uniuscujusque capituli examinationem ambobus præsentibus, hoc est accusatoribus et excusantibus, stabiliter audire in futuro tempore per ordinem promiserunt, et jam ipsos domum redire jusserunt. Tunc beatissimus Johannes apostolicæ sedis Papa coepiscopis suis in synodali loco sedentibus dixit;

“ O sancta synodus, nostrum est primum sanctissimorum antede-

[COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

cessorum nostrorum percurrere canones, et examinare scripta, de hac eadem inimicitia fraudis ex utraque parte olim ad hanc apostolicam sedem directa; et diligenter considerare, quid ter beatissimus Agatho in his causis censuerit, et post eum electus Benedictus, nec non et prædecessor meus sanctissimus Sergius, memorialiter retinere, quid de hac eadem re Regibus et sancto Archiepiscopo faciendum sit ab apostolica sede decreverunt. Deinde facilius ex utraque parte in præsentia fraternitatis vestræ in invicem certantibus, Deo adjuvante et sancto Petro principe apostolorum, veritatis lumine, extincto mendacio et cæcato, agnoscere valeamus, et secundum normam sanctissimorum primorum prædecessorum canonicè censeamus." Et hoc tale consilium beatissimi Johannis universæ synodo complacuit, et sic fecerunt.

Itaque quadam die beatissimus Johannes apostolicæ sedis præsul, et reverentissimi coepiscopi ejus in sanctum concilium congregati, jusserunt utriusque partis accusatorum et defensorum electos viros sancto conventui præsentari, et mox ita factum est. Nam sanctus Wilfrithus Episcopus, et venerabiles presbyteri et diacones ejus præsentati sunt, humiles et supplices, honorabiles facies salutantes, promittentes se cum intimo cordis affectu illius apostolicæ sedis decreta suscipere et adimplere. Nec non et sancti Archiepiscopi nuntii secundum præceptum sanctissimorum venientes adstiterunt: quibus datum est tempus loquendi, ut unum quodcumque capitulum accusationis eligerent, primum adversum nos dicerent; postea ad alia ordinantes in conflictu accederent. Qui responderunt dicentes: "Hoc est primum capitulum nostræ accusationis, quod iste præsens Wilfrithus Episcopus judicia sancti Episcopi Berhtwaldi Cantuariorum ecclesiæ et totius Britanniæ, ab hac apostolica sede emissi, statuta coram synodo contumaciter renuens contempsit. Nos nostræ partis sententiam detulimus, vos vestram defensionem dicite."

Stans itaque sanctus Wilfrithus Episcopus noster, honorabili senio convectus, cum fratribus suis venerabilibus in conspectu totius congregationis, dixit: "Humilis et supplex excellentissimam sanctitatem vestram deprecor, ut meæ parvitatæ dignemini veritatem hujus rei gestæ a me audire. Eram enim in concilio sedens cum abbatibus meis ac presbyteris, nec non et diaconibus: unum ex numero Episcoporum illic congregatorum miserunt ad me, interrogantem sermonibus Regis, nec minus et Archiepiscopi, si ipsius solummodo Archiepiscopi iudicio consentire voluissem; et quicquid ille iudicando decrevisset,

[COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

an paratus fuissem adimplere omnibus votis, annon? Ad istud ita sciscitanti respondebam; 'quæ est illius sententia iudicii, scire prius oportet, quam confiteamur, utrum pati ea valeamus exsequendo, an aliter.' Ille autem se nescire affirmabat, nec alio modo Archiepiscopum velle revelando cuiquam nostrum patefacere iudicii exsolutionem dicebat, antequam propria manus subscriptione coram præsentis concilio fatentes confirmarem, ut ejus unicum per omnia iudicium eligentes tenere, nec ab eo ad dexteram neque ad sinistram declinantes deviamus. 'Istius tam angustam restrictionis coartationem,' dicebam, 'numquam antea a quoquam hominum coactam audivi, ut omnino juramenti nodo adstrictus fateretur decreta composita, quamvis impossibilia, persolvere, priusquam sciret vim decreti.' Attamen ibi coram senatu sponendi, 'quatenus in cunctis Archiepiscopi iudicio, in quibus consonans invenitur statutis sanctorum Patrum, regulis, et canonicis definitionibus, et non discrepans prorsus in ulla re a sancta Agathonis synodo cæterorumque orthodoxorum ejus successorum, reperiatur, toto mentis conatu subjacere parati inveniemur.'

Hanc excusationem sanctus Pontifex noster reddidit, et silendo quievit. Tunc sancta synodus respondit: "Wilfrithus Deo amabilis Episcopus canonicè protectionem suæ defensionis exposuit." Tunc inter se Græcizantes, et subridentes nos, ac celantes multa, loqui cœperunt, postremo dicentes accusatoribus: "Non ignoratis, carissimi fratres, [quod] habemus ex præcepto canonum nostrorum, quotiescumque clericis ab accusatoribus multa crimina objiciuntur; et unum ex ipsis, de quo prius egerit, probare non potuerint; ad cætera jam non admittantur. Sed tamen propter honorem sancti Archiepiscopi ab hujus apostolicæ sedis monarchia directi, et pro hujus beatissimi Wilfrithi Episcopi reverentia diu fraude spoliati, ut asseritur, Deo et sancto Petro principe apostolorum revelante et aperiente, per multos dies vel menses omnia capitula plene eventilantes, finem rei imponere desiderantes non fastidiose curabimus." Post hæc verba pontifici nostro cum fratribus suis triumphali gaudio incepto, a sancta synodo licentia data, se ad aliarum dierum conflictum præparantes, ad mansiones suas redierunt. Alii vero e contrario primo ingressu conflictionis confusi, domum suam adierunt, et nebula mendaciorum flante vento sapientiæ dispersæ; soleque veritatis per Dei adjutorium et sanctum Petrum inlucescente, per plura spatia dierum et mensium ab omni piculo scelere degradandi pure perfecteque excusatus



## [COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

probabilis sanctus Pontifex noster apparuit. Nam per IIII. menses et LXX. conciliabula sanctissimæ sedis, de fornace ignis examinandi, apostolica potestate hoc modo auxiliante purificatus, ut breviter dicam, evasit: Quia in sancto Pascha, tertia die, ter beatissimi Agathonis synodus adversum pravitates hæreticorum cum centum XXV. orthodoxis Episcopis constituta est: ex quibus unusquisque pro sua provincia et civitate veram fidem confessus est, et subscriptione sua confirmavit. Hæc coram omni populo more Romanorum clara voce legebatur, in qua scriptura inventum erat inter cætera: "Wilfrithus Deo amabilis Episcopus Eboracæ civitatis, apostolicam sedem de sua causa appellans, et ab hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus absolutus, et cum aliis CXXV. Coepiscopis in synodo iudicii sede constitutus pro omni Aquilonali parte Britannia et Hibernia insulisque, quæ ab Anglorum et Britonum, nec non Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus colebantur, veram et catholicam fidem confessus est, et cum subscriptione sua corroboravit." Itaque quo audito omnes cives Romani sapientes stupefacti sunt. Tunc Bonifacius et Sisinnius, et alii nonnulli, qui eum in diebus beatæ memoriæ Agathonis agnoscentes viderant, dicebant "istum esse præsentem Deo amabilem Wilfrithum Episcopum, quem beatissimus Agatho purificatum de accusationibus apostolica auctoritate absolutum olim ad propria remisit, et iterum nunc (proh dolor!) infestatorum insidiæ exorbitare de propria sede fecerunt, qui per XL. et eo amplius [annos] Episcopatus officia fungebatur; et tam honorabilem senem cum fratribus venerabilibus accusatores falsidici, et cum pseudographis audaci temeritate, et (ut ita dicam) unus diaconus et alii omnes sine aliquo ecclesiasticæ dignitatis gradu, in conventu apostolicæ sedis excellentissimam personam ausi sunt accusare. Et ideo digni sunt poenas luere, in ima carceris angustia usque ad finem mortis macerari." Et tunc viri Romani verum eos dixisse affirmabant. Dixit autem beatissimus Johannes apostolicæ sedis Papa: "Beatus Wilfrithus Deo amabilis Episcopus, in quo nullam criminis per tot conciliabula nostra examinando tam diligenter objectionem invenimus, beati Petri apostoli et apostolorum principis auctoritate, qui habet potestatem solvendi ligandique ab occultis delictis, exsolutus sit: et quod beatus Agatho, et electus Benedictus, sanctusque Sergius, apostolici Præsules, de eo censuerunt, nostræ quoque parvitatibus humilitas cum totius synodi consensu, Regibus, et Archiepiscopis scripta iudicia per manum beati Wilfrithi Episcopi ad eos emissa affirmare decrevit, hoc

[COUNCIL AT ROME ON WILFRID.]

modo dicens;" [Ed. *Gale*, pp. 77-81, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell 1; see *W.*, I. 65, 66.]

a Wilfrid at this Council had been a Bishop "XL. et eo amplius annos," A.D. 664-704: *Edd. LI.* It is "quadraginta prope annos" in *Bede*, V. 19. Ethelred of Mercia was a King when Wilfrid left England (*Edd. XLVI.*), but an abbot when he returned (*B. V.* 19); and Ethelred resigned his throne A.D. 704, before

June 13 (see *K. C. D.*, *LII.*: *Hickes, Thesaur. III.* 262, n. 77; and compare *Lappenberg*, ed. Thorpe, I. 223). John VI. also writes to Ethelred as still a King. Lastly, William of Malmesbury says that Wilfrid was seventy years old when he crossed the sea (634-704).

4. A.D. 704. *Letter of Pope John VI. to Ethelred King of Mercia and Ealdfrith King of Northumbria.*

*Dominis eminentissimis, Æthelredo Regi Merciorum, et Alfrido Regi Deiorum et Berniciorum, JOHANNES PAPA.* De vestræ quidem eximix religionis accessibus, gratia Dei cooperante, gaudemus; fervorem fidei cernentes in vobis, quam ex prædicatione principis apostolorum, Deo vestras animas illuminante percipistis, et efficaciter retinetis, ut gaudium nostrum melior accessus amplificet. Illud vero animos nostros afficit, et consacerdotum, at totius Ecclesiæ contristavit auditum, inextricabilis quorundam dissensio, quod et ad correctionem oportet Deo annuente perducere, ut non contemptores pontificalium decretorum sed ut obedientiæ filii ante Deum omnium judicem comprobemini esse custodes. Dudum enim sub apostolicæ memoriæ prædecessore nostro Agathone pontifice, dum Wilfrithus Episcopus ad hanc sedem apostolicam veniens appellasset; præsentibus ejus contrariis, qui a Theodoro venerandæ memoriæ Archiepiscopo sanctæ Cantuariorum Ecclesiæ ex hac apostolica sede mandato, et Hyldæ religiosæ memoriæ abbatis, ad eum accusandum huc prius advenerant, etiam hic Episcopi de diversis provinciis cum suprafato sancto pontifice congregati, quæ a partibus dicebantur, regulariter quæsierunt, et sententialiter decreverunt; eandemque sententiam successores ejus sancti pontifices prædecessores nostri secuti sunt. Nec hoc venerandæ memoriæ Theodorus Præsul, qui ab hac apostolica sede directus erat, contravenisse recognoscitur, neque accusationem aliquam postmodum ad hanc sedem apostolicam demandavit: magis autem, ut ex ejus dictis apparuit, et decretis pontificalibus obsecutus erat. Succurrendum est itaque cum Dei præsidio, ne perseveret in uno loco dissensio, dum cæteris consacerdotum ac plebium unanimitas maneat. Et hæc de præteritis memoravimus. De præsentibus quoque innotescere inclitæ vestræ Christianitati

[LETTER OF POPE JOHN VI. IN FAVOUR OF WILFRID.]

prævidimus, quod hi, qui de eadem insula Britannia huc advenerunt, accusationes contra Wilfrithum Episcopum detulerunt; ille super-  
veniens cum fratribus suis in accusatores ejus quod accusaverunt,  
retorserunt. Quorum conflictus apud conventum reverentissimorum  
Episcoporum et sacerdotum, qui hic ad præsens inventi sunt, per  
dies aliquot fieri procuravimus: apud quos omnia quæquæ in scriptis  
vel anterioribus, vel modernis, partes detulerunt, vel hic inveniri  
potuerunt, vel a partibus verbaliter dicta sunt, subtiliter inquisita,  
ad cognitionem nostram perducta sunt: donec ipsæ principales per-  
sonæ, de quibus contentio omnis exorta est, præsentés affuerint,  
quos necesse est, ut contentio omnis finem accipiat, advenire et  
consedere. Et idcirco commonemus Berhtwaldum Præsulem sanctæ  
Cantuariorum ecclesiæ, quem auctoritate principis apostolorum  
Archiepiscopum ibidem confirmavimus, reverentissimum fratrem  
nostrum, ut synodum convocet una cum Wilfritho Episcopo: et con-  
cilio regulariter celebrato, Bosam atque Johannem Episcopos in  
synodum faciat advenire, vocesque partium audiat, et consideret quid  
sibi invicem partes valeant approbare: et si quidem eo suffragante  
apud synodum hoc regulariter determinare valuerit, gratum nobis et  
partibus expedit: sin aliter acciderit, illos synodaliter moneat, ut  
commonitionibus suis et quæquæ prodesse consideret, hanc sedem  
apostolicam simul occurrant, ut in ampliori concilio flagitetur ac deci-  
datur, quod hactenus non valuit terminari; atque per gratiam Sancti  
Spiritus, qui cum discordia venerant, revertantur in pace. Scire  
autem debet quicumque de eis advenire distulerit, vel (quod est  
exsecrandum) venire contempserit, seipsum dejectioni submittat, et  
hinc abjiciendus, nec ibidem ab ullo Præsulum sive fidelium reci-  
piendus. Qui enim suo inobediens exstitit auctori, non poterit inter  
ministros ejus atque discipulos recenseri. Vestra proinde Christiana  
et regalis sublimitas pro Dei timore et Christianæ fidei reverentia et  
pace, quam Dominus Jesus Christus Suis dedit discipulis, subventum  
faciat atque concursum; ut hæc quæ a Deo inspirante perspeximus,  
ad effectum perveniant: ut pro hujusmodi religioso annisu merces  
vobis adscribatur in cælis, quatenus et in hoc seculo Christo prote-  
gente regnetis incolumes, et æterni regni Ejus beatum consortium  
habeatis. Ideo recordemini, O filii carissimi, quid de hac eadem re  
beatissimus Agatho, cæterique post eum consona voce nobiscum Præ-  
sules Romanæ ecclesiæ apostolica auctoritate sanxerunt. Quicumque  
enim cujuslibet personæ audaci temeritate contempserit, non erit a

[LETTER OF POPE JOHN VI. IN FAVOUR OF WILFRID.]

Deo impunitus, neque sine damno cælitus alligatus evadet. Incolumem eminentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat. [EDD. *V. Wilfr.* c. *LII.*, ed Gale, pp. 81, 82, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell I; see *W. Malm. G. P.*, III. ed. Hamilton, pp. 240, 241; and *W.*, I. 68, 69.]

5. A.D. 704 (?). *Letter of Pope John VI. to the Archbishop and Clergy of England.*

JOHANNES EPISCOPUS *Archiepiscopis*<sup>a</sup>, *presbyteris*, *diac-*  
*nibus, et universis clericis per Anglorum patriam constitutis.*  
 Congregatis omnibus Anglorum proceribus, qui tunc  
 ad beatum Petrum debebant apostolum, post alterutra-  
 rum partium congruas ratiocinationes, apostolicæ sententia usque  
 adeo sedis prævaluit, ut voluntarie omnes Anglorum clerici sub ipsis  
 vigiliis sancti Gregorii, laicalem et sinuosum sed et cunctum habitum  
 deponentes, talaris tunicas secundum Romanum morem induerent.  
 Hujus rei gratia, quia et vos pari modo in sanctæ Ecclesiæ nostræ  
 corpore veluti propria membra amplectimur, pro deponendis laicalibus  
 vestimentis et sumendis clericalibus infulis secundum Romanæ  
 ecclesiæ morem, auctoritate apostolica monemus. [*Baluz. Misc.*  
 ed. Mansi, I. 400; *Mansi*, XII. 165, 166<sup>b</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> There was but one Archbishop of England at this time; we should probably read, "Archiepiscopo, Episcopis," etc.

<sup>b</sup> Mansi conjectures that this letter refers to the clergy who were with Wilfrid at Rome,

in which case it will belong to John VI., not to John VII., and to the year 704; and would be brought to England by Wilfrid and his company.

6. A.D. 705. *Northumbrian Synod on the Nidd in the reign of Osred of Northumbria, in which Archbishop Brihtwald takes part, and at which the business of Wilfrid is finally compromised*<sup>a</sup>.

EDD. *V. Wilfr. LVIII.*—In primo anno Osredi Regis, Wilfrid restored to the abbey of Ripon, and to the see and abbey of Hexham. Berhtwaldus Cantuariorum ecclesiæ et pene totius Britannix Archiepiscopus de Austro veniens, habens ex præcepto apostolicæ sedis Aquilonalium Regem cum omnibus Episcopis suis, et abbatibus, et totius Regni ejus principibus, ad synodalem locum de causa beati Wilfrithi Episcopi diligenter invitare; et ita factum est. Nam in unum locum juxta fluvium

## [SETTLEMENT OF WILFRID'S CLAIMS.]

Nid ab Oriente congregati Rex cum suis principibus, et tres Episcopi ejus cum abbatibus, nec non et beata Ælfleda abbatisa semper totius provinciæ consolatrix, optimaque consiliatrix; Berhtwaldus quoque Archiepiscopus et Wilfrithus Episcopus simul in una die advenerunt. Deinde sedentibus Rege et Episcopis cum principibus eorum in loco synodali, tali modo Archiepiscopus loqui incipiebat: "Oremus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut pacis concordiam in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum indulgeat. Habemus enim, et ego et beatus Wilfrithus Episcopus, scripta apostolicæ sedis parvitati meæ per nuntios directa, et per semetipsum similiter allata: ut ea in præsentia reverentiæ vestræ recitentur, humili prece deposcimus." Quibus venerabiles domini licentiam dederunt, et coram synodo omnibus audientibus utriusque libri a principio usque ad finem legentur. Post lectionem autem cunctis tacentibus Berthfrithus, secundus a Rege princeps, ad Archiepiscopum dixit: "Nos qui interpretatione indigemus, quid apostolica auctoritas dicat, audire delectat." Et respondit ei Archiepiscopus dicens: "Judicia apostolicæ sedis longo circuitu et ambagibus verborum, unum tamen intellectum de eadem re utriusque libri ostendunt: quorum in brevi sermone sensum tantum explicabo. Apostolica namque potestas, quæ primum Petro apostolo et principi apostolorum ligandi solvendique donata est, sua auctoritate de beato Wilfritho Episcopo censuit, ut in præsentia mea, licet indignus, et omnis conventus, Præsules ecclesiarum hujus provinciæ, antiquam inimicitiam pro salute animarum relinquentes, beato Wilfritho Episcopo in bono reconcilientur. Nam his coepiscopis meis e duobus ab apostolica sede judiciis optio datur, utrum voluerint eligant, ut aut cum Wilfritho Episcopo pacem plene perfecteque ineant, et partes ecclesiarum, quas olim ipse regebat, sicut sapientes mecum judicaverint, restituant: aut si hoc optimum nolissent, omnes simul ad apostolicam sedem pergerent, ibique majori concilio dijudicentur. Si quis vero contemnens (quod absit) neutrum ex his duobus implere voluerit; sciat se, si Rex sit, aut laicus, a Corpore et Sanguine Christi excommunicatum: si vero Episcopus aut presbyter (quod est execrabilius et dictu horrendum), ab omni gradu ecclesiasticæ dignitatis degradari. Hæc sunt judicia apostolicæ sedis brevi sermone exposita." Episcopi vero resistentes, dixerunt: "Quod prædecessores nostri olim, Theodorus Archiepiscopus ab apostolica sede emissus, et Ecfrihtus Rex, censuerunt, et postea in campo, qui Eostrefeld dicitur, una nobiscum pene totius Britannia Episcopi, tuaque,

## [SETTLEMENT OF WILFRID'S CLAIMS.]

Archiepiscopo, præsentia excellentissima cum Rege Aldfritho iudicavimus, quomodo immutare quis valeat?" Interea autem beatissima Ælfleda abbatissa benedicto ore suo dixit: "Vere in Christo dico testamentum Alfrithi Regis in ea infirmitate, qua vitam finivit, qui votum vovit Deo et sancto Petro dicens: 'si vixero, omnia iudicia apostolicæ sedis quæ antea renui audire, de beato Wilfritho Episcopo replebo. Si vero diem obiero, dicite tamen hæredi meo in nomine Domini, ut pro remedio animæ meæ iudicium de Wilfritho Episcopo apostolicum repleat.'" Hæc ea loquente, Berechfrithus, præfatus Regis princeps, respondens dixit: "Hæc est voluntas Regis et principum ejus, ut mandatis apostolicæ sedis, et præceptis Alfrithi Regis in omnibus obediamus. Nam quando in urbe, quæ Bebbanburg dicitur, obsessi, et undique circumcincti hostili manu in angustiaque rupis lapideæ mansimus; inito consilio inter nos, si Deus nostro regali puero regnum patris sui concessisset, quæ mandavit sancta apostolica auctoritas de Wilfritho Episcopo, adimplere Deo spondimus: et statim post vota, mutatis animis inimicorum, concito cursu omnes cum juramento in amicitiam nostram conversi sunt, apertis januis de angustia liberati sumus, fugatis inimicis nostris, regnum accepimus." Postquam hæc verba finita sunt, Episcopi sibi mutuo separati ab aliis inire consilium cœperunt; aliquando cum eis Archiepiscopus, aliquando vero sapientissima virgo Ælfleda: et hujus sancti concilii talis finis exstitit, ut omnes Episcopi et Rex cum suis optimatibus pure pacis concordiam cum Wilfritho Episcopo inierunt, quam inter se usque ad finem vitæ conservaverunt, reddentes ei duo optima cœnobia, quæ in Hripis et in Hagustaldesie, cum omnibus redditibus suis: et illa die omnes Episcopi se invicem osculantes et amplexantes, panemque frangentes, communicaverunt: et gratias agentes Deo omnis hujus beatitudinis, in pace Christi ad sua loca remearunt<sup>b</sup>. [Ed. Gale, pp. 85, 86, collated with the Bodleian MS. Fell 1; *W.*, I. 67, 68.]

<sup>a</sup> Wilfrid on his return from Rome came to Canterbury, and was reconciled to Brihtwald, and, through Ethelred, to Kenred, Ethelred's successor in the kingdom of Mercia (*Edd. LV.*). Ealdfrith of Northumbria however refused to yield, saying to the messengers, "O fratres mihi ambo venerabiles, petite a me vobismet ipsis necessaria, et ego propter reverentiam vestram donabo vobis. De causa vero Wilfridi domini vestri nolite me ab hoc die diutius flagitare. Quia quod ante præde-

cessores mei Reges et Archiepiscopus cum consiliariis suis (*sc.* Egrith and Theodore, in A.D. 678 and 680), et quod postea nos cum Archiepiscopo de apostolica sede emisso cum omnibus pene Britannæ vestræ gentis præsulibus iudicavimus (*sc.* Ealdfrith and Brihtwald at the Council of Onestrefeld in A.D. 702); hoc inquam, quamdiu vixero, propter apostolicæ sedis (ut dicitis) scripta nunquam volo mutare" (*Edd. LVI.*). In A.D. 705 Ealdfrith died, having, according to Eddius,

## [DIVISION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF WESSEX DECREED.]

changed his mind on his death-bed with respect to Wilfrid. Eadwulf, who usurped the kingdom for two months, repelled Wilfrid more firmly than Ealdfrith himself. Osred, his successor, at length gave way to the holding of the council ordered by Pope John VI., which was accordingly held on the banks of the river Nidd (*Edd. LVII, LVIII.*)

<sup>b</sup> Bosa's death at this time vacated the see

of York, to which S. John of Beverley was translated from Hexham; and Wilfrid was compelled to accept the see which he left, viz. Hexham, and not York (*B., V. 3; W. Malm. G. P., III.* ed. Hamilton, p. 245). Wilfrid's death at his monastery of Oundle (one of his Mercian foundations) followed in A.D. 709, four years after his restoration (*B., V. 19; Edd. LIV.*)

A.D. 704. *Council, incerti loci, [Clovesho?] at which the division of the Bishopric of Wessex is decreed on pain of excommunication*<sup>a</sup>.

WALDH. *Ep. ad Brihtw.*—In præteriti anni synodo statutum est illis (West Saxons) non communicandum, si non tuum (Brihtwaldi) iudicium in ordinatione Episcoporum implere festinarent, quod adhuc neglectum habentes non perficiebant. [Below, p. 275.]

<sup>a</sup> This is one among many indications of the appointed yearly synod being held. If so, perhaps the place was Clovesho. For the date, see below, on Waldhere's letter. Bishop

Heddi died in A.D. 703 according to the *A. S. C.*; but other authorities place his death in A.D. 705 (*Fl. Wig. ad ann.*); and he was still alive when Waldhere wrote his letter.

A.D. 675 × 705. *Letter of Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, on the Baptism of a Nun*<sup>a</sup>.

*Dilectissimæ atque amantissimæ sorori et mihi sincero caritatis affectu venerandæ* ALDHELMUS SUPPLEX, INDIGNO ABBATIS VOCABULO FUNCTUS, IN DOMINO SALUTEM.

Cognoscat vestra almitas, de baptismo sororis me interrogasse pontificem. *Qui* licentiam dedit, baptizari illam sanctimoniale, sed tamen clam et latenter. Saluto te diligenter, O Sigegyth, ex intimo cordis cubiculo; subnixis precibus obsecrans: ut adsidua scripturarum meditatione mentem tuam occupare non desistas, quatenus psalmigrafi sententiam compleas dicentis: "In lege Ejus meditabitur die ac nocte." Et idem psalmista hoc item testatur dicens: "Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia Tua," et reliqua. Orationum vero mearum ut memores sint omnes sorores, per Christum suppliciter obsecra; quia dicit apostolus: "Multum valet deprecatio justi adsidua." Vale, decies dilectissima, immo centies et milies. Te Deus valere faciat. [*Epp. Bonif. in Jaffé's Monumenta Moguntina*, no. 2, pp. 31, 32: ed. Würdtwein, no. 156.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is an illustration of a question treated by Theodore in the Penitential, lib. II. cap. 2, art. 13, p. 192 above.

[ALDHELM'S LETTER ON THE PASCHAL RULE.]

A.D. 705. *West-Saxon Synod, at which Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, is appointed to press conformity to the Roman Easter upon the Cornish Church*<sup>a</sup>.

FARIC., *V. Aldb. cap. II.*—Regnante Anglorum rege Osredo, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis septingentesimo sexto, quidam Britonum, nomine tenus præsules, hæretizabant de Paschali termino et de aliis pluribus ecclesiasticæ orthodoxitatis institutionibus. Quare Saxonum Orientalis [Occidentalis?] plagæ sancta synodus venerabilem Aldhelmum abbatem, et adhuc tantum presbyterum (nondum enim sanctus et vita et moribus in ordine ponebatur pontificum) pro sanctitatis suæ reverentia rogavit librum componere egregium, quo maligna quæ tunc supra modum pullulabat hæresis Britonum destrueretur. [Ed. Giles, pp. 362, 363].

BÆD. *H. E., V. 18.*—Multos eorum qui occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Britones ad catholicam Domini Paschæ celebrationem hujus [Epistolæ] lectione perduxit. [*M. H. B. 268.*]

<sup>a</sup> The second mark of Faricius's date—that Aldhelm was not yet a Bishop—corrects the error in the first; A.D. 706 being a mistake for A.D. 705. Osred began to reign in A.D. 705 (*B., V. 18, 22; Edd. LVII.; A. S. C.*), in Northumbria; and Aldhelm, who died in A.D. 709 (*A. S. C.*), held his see four years

(*B., V. 18*); and therefore the West-Saxon bishopric was divided in A.D. 705, and this synod preceded the division. So also *Flor. Wig.* and *W. Malm. G. R., I.* ed. Hardy, p. 49. Why Spelman, and Wilkins after him, should call this synod Mercian, is inconceivable.

A.D. 705. *Letter of Abbot Aldhelm to Geruntius [Geraint], King of Damnonia (Dyfnaint, i. e. Devonshire and Cornwall), written at the command of the foregoing Synod, respecting Easter.*

*Domino gloriosissimo occidentalis regni sceptrâ gubernanti, quem ego, ut miki scrutator cordis et rerum testis est, fraterna caritate amplector, Geruntio Regi simulque cunctis Dei sacerdotibus per Domnoniam conversantibus* ALTHELMUS, SINE MERITORUM PREROGATIVA ABBATIS OFFICIO FUNCTUS, OPTABILEM IN DOMINO SALUTEM.

Nuper cum essem in concilio Episcoporum—ubi ex tota pene Britannia innumerabilis Dei sacerdotum caterva confluit, ad hoc presertim congregata, ut pro ecclesiarum sollicitudine et animarum salute ab omnibus decreta canonum et patrum statuta tractarentur et



## [ALDHELM'S LETTER TO GERUNTIUS.]

in commune, Christo patrociniū prestante, conservarentur; his igitur rite peractis—omne sacerdotale concilium meam parvitatem pari precepto et simili sententia compulerunt: ut ad vestræ pietatis presentiam epistolares litterarum apices diregerem et eorum paternam petitionem salubremque suggestionem per scriptæ stilum intimarem, hoc est de Ecclesiæ catholicæ unitate et Christianæ reigionis concordia, sine quibus fides otiosa torpescit et merces futura fatescit. Quid enim prosunt bonorum operum emolumenta, si extra catholicam gerantur Ecclesiam, etiamsi aliquis actualem rigidæ conversationis regulam sub disciplina cœnubii sollerter exercent aut certe, cunctorum mortalium contubernia declinans, in squalida solitudine remotus, contemplativam anachoreseos peragat vitam. Igitur, ut certius vestra sagacitas animadvertere queat, pro quibus causis mea mediocritas scripta direxerit, compendiose et breviter enucleabo.

Auditum namque et diversis rumorū relatibus conpertum nobis est: quod sacerdotes vestri in catholicæ fidei regula secundum scripturæ precepta minime concordent, et per eorum simultates et pugnas verborum in Ecclesia Christi grave scisma et crudele scandalum nascatur. Quod psalmigrafi sententia detestatur dicens: “Pax multa diligentibus nomen Tuum, et non est in illis scandalum.” Pacem quippe reigionis pia concordia copulat, sicut caritatem dira contentio contaminat. Nam unitatem fraternitatis rectæ fidei sectatores psalmista hortatur, inquiens: “Deus, Qui habitare facit unanimes in domo.” Domus vero hæc secundum allegoriam<sup>a</sup> Ecclesia per totos mundi cardines diffusa intellegitur. Hæretici namque et scismatici ab Ecclesiæ societate extranei per contentionum argumenta, in mundo pululantes et veluti horrenda zizaniorum semina in medio fecundæ segitis sata, Dominicam messem maculabant. Sed hujuscemodi altercationis obprobrium apostolica conpescit bucina: “Qui vult” inquit “contentiosus esse: nos talem consuetudinem non habemus nec Ecclesia Dei, quæ non habet maculam aut rugam.” Pacem namque catholicorum matrem et filiorum Dei genetricem esse, evangelica promulgant oracula: “Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.” Unde, Domino et Salvatore nostro a summo cælorum fastigio descendente, ut cyrographum protoplasti deleret et mundum pace sequestra reconciliaret, angelica cecinit melodia: “Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.” Et psalmista: “Fiat,” inquit, “pax in virtute tua et habundantia in turribus tuis.”

Denique rumor, Ecclesiæ fidei contrarius, longe lateque percrebruit:

[ALDHELM'S LETTER TO GFRUNTIUS.]

quod sint in provincia vestra quidam sacerdotes et clerici tonsuram sancti Petri apostolorum principis pertinaciter refutantes. Seque tali excusationis apologia pervicaciter defendentes vivunt: quod auctorum et precessorum suorum tonsuram imitentur. Quos Divina inlustratos gratia fuisse, grandiloquis adsertionibus contestantur. Qui si a nobis sollicitè sciscitentur, quis primus auctor rasuræ hujus et tonsuræ extiterit, omnino, aut veritatem ignorando aut falsitatem dissimilando, obmutescunt. Nos autem, secundum plurimorum opinionem, Simonem, magicæ artis inventorem, hujus tonsuræ principem fuisse, conperimus; quia, qualem quantamque necromantiæ fallaciam contra beatum Petrum fraudulenter machinaretur, certamen apostolorum<sup>b</sup> et decem libri Clementis<sup>c</sup> testes sunt. Nos, inquam, secundum sacrosanctam scripturæ auctoritatem de tonsura nostra veritatis testimonium perhibentes, diversas ob causas Petrum apostolum hunc ritum sumpsisse adserimus; primitus, ut formam et similitudinem Christi in capite gestaret, dum, pro redemptione nostra crucis patibulum subiturus, a nefanda Judeorum gente acutis spinarum aculeis crudeliter coronaretur; deinde, ut sacerdotes veteris et novi testamenti in tonsura et habitu discernentur; postremo, ut idem apostolus sui que successores et sequipedæ ridiculosum gannaturæ ludibrium in populo Romano portarent, quia et eorum barones et hostes exercitu superatos sub corona vendere solebant. Ceterum in veteri testamento tonsuræ signum a Nazareis, id est sanctis, ni fallor, sumpsit exordium; est enim regale et sacerdotale stematis indicium. Nam thiara apud veteres in capite sacerdotum constituebatur; hæc bisso retorta, rotunda erat quasi spera media; et hoc significatur in parte capitis tonsa. Corona autem latitudo aurea est circuli, quæ regum capita cingit. Utrumque itaque signum exprimitur in capite clericorum, Petro dicente: "Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium." Hoc ritu tondendi et radendi, ut vitia resecentur, signatur, et crinibus carnis nostræ quasi criminibus exuamur.

Est autem altera crudelior animarum pernicietas: quod in sacrosancta Paschali sollemnitate 318 patrum regulam non sectantur. Qui in Niceno concilio decemnovennalem laterculi circulum, per ogdoadam et endicadam usque ad finem mundi recto tramite decursum, sagaci sollertia sanxerunt; et a quinta decima luna usque ad vigesimam primam supputationis seriem et Paschalis calculi terminum tradiderunt; quem anticipare et transgredi contra jus et fas, inlicitum fore censuerunt. Porro isti secundum decennem noven-

[ALDHELM'S LETTER TO GERONTIUS.]

nemque Anatolii computatum aut potius juxta Sulpicii Severi regulam, qui 84 annorum cursum descripsit, quarta decima luna cum Judeis Paschale sacramentum celebrant; cum neutrum Ecclesiæ Romanæ pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem sequantur. Sed nec Victorii Paschalis laterculi curriculum, qui 532 annorum circulis continetur, posteris sectandum decreverunt. Erat namque genus quoddam hereticorum aput orientales, quod Tessereskædecadite vocatur, id est Quartadecimani, eo quod quarta decima luna cum Judeis, Christum blasphemantibus et margaritas evangelii ritu porcorum calcantibus, Paschæ sollemnitatem peragunt; et ob hoc alieni a beata orthodoxorum sodalitate inter scismaticorum conciliabula infeliciter reputantur; quos beatum Augustinum in libro de nonaginta heresibus<sup>d</sup> scripto commemorasse memini.

Illud vero quam valde a fide catholica discrepat et ab evangelica traditione discordat: quod ultra Sabrinae fluminis fretum Demetarum sacerdotes, de privata propria conversationis munditia gloriantes, nostram communionem magnopere abhominantur, in tantum, ut nec in ecclesia nobiscum orationum officia celebrare nec ad mensam ciborum fercula pro caritatis gratia pariter percipere dignentur. Quin immo fragmenta ferculorum et reliquias epularum lurconum canum rictibus et inmundis devorandas porcis proiciunt; vascula quoque et fialas aut harenosis sabulorum glareis aut fulvis favillarum cineribus expianda purgandaque precipiunt. Non salutatio pacifica prebetur, non osculum piæ fraternitatis offertur, dicente apostulo: "Salutate vos in osculo sancto." Nec manibus lomentum aut latex cum manutergio exhibetur neque pedibus ad lavacrum pelvis adponitur, cum Salvator, sindone precinctus discipulorum pedes ablucens, normam nobis tradiderit imitandi dicens: "Sicut ego feci vobis, ita et vos facite aliis." Ast vero, si quilibet de nostris, id est catholicis, ad eos habitandi gratia perrexerint, non prius ad consortium sodalitatæ suæ adsciscere dignantur, quam quadraginta dierum spatia in penitendo peragere compellantur. Et in hoc hereticos infeliciter imitantur, qui se catharos, id est mundos, nuncupari voluerunt. "Heu, heu" pro tantis erroribus—potius quam "evax, evax"—lacrimosis vocibus et querulosis singultibus lugubriter ingeminandum reor. Et totum hoc contra evangelii precepta secundum Phariseorum inanes traditiones agere noscuntur, Christo veraciter adstipulante: "Væ vobis, scribæ et Pharisei, qui mundatis quod foris est calicis et pharabsidis." Nam Dominus cum publicanis et peccatoribus

[ALDHELM'S LETTER TO GERUNTIUS.]

convivia celebrasse describitur, ut verus medicus purulentis animarum vulneribus Divinæ pietatis medicamina et cælestis clementiæ cataplasma conponeret. Idcirco peccatorum consortia Phariseorum more minime dispexit, sed potius illam peccatricem, pollutæ vitæ piacula lugubriter deflentem et Dominicis pedes fuis lacrimarum imbribus umectantem ac solutis et laxis cincinnorum crinibus tergentem, solita clementia misericorditer refocilat dicens: "Remittantur illi peccata multa, quia dilexit multum."

Quæ cum ita se habeant, propter communem cælestis patriæ sortem et angelicæ sodalitatis collegium subnixis precibus et flexis poplitibus vestram fraternitatem adjurantes suppliciter efflagitamus: ut ulterius doctrinam et decreta beati Petri contumaci cordis supercilio et protervo pectore non abhominemini et traditionem Ecclesiæ Romanæ propter prisca priorum statuta vestrorum nequaquam, tyrannica freti pertinacia, adroganter aspernemini. Petrus namque Dei Filium beata voce confessus audire meruit: "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo æcclesiam Meam, et porte inferni non prevaletur adversus eam; et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum" usque "solutum et in cælo." Si ergo Petro claves cælestis regni a Christo conlatæ sunt, de quo poeta ait:

Claviger ætherius, portam qui pandit in æthra<sup>e</sup>,

quis, Ecclesiæ ejus statuta principalia spernens et doctrinæ mandata contemnens, per cælestis paradisi portam gratulabundus ingreditur? Et si ipse potestatem ligandi atque monarchiam solvendi in cælo et in terra felici sorte et peculiari privilegio accipere promeruit, quis, Paschalis festi regulam et tonsuræ Romanæ ritum refutans, non potius se strictis nexibus inextricabiliter obligandum quam clementer absolvendum uhlatenus arbitretur?

Sed fortasse quilibet strophosus librorum lector ac sagax scripturarum disceptator tali se excusationis clipeo defendat et talis apologiæ parma protegat: "Ego" inquit "utriusque instrumenti precepta sincera fide veneror; ac sanctæ Trinitatis unam essentiam unamque substantiam et trinam personarum substantiam corde credulo confiteor; Dominicæ incarnationis sacramentum et passionis patibulum ac resurrectionis tropeum voce libera per populum predicabo; supremum vivorum et mortuorum examen, quando singulis quibusque pro meritorum diversitate dispar retributio æquissimis iudicii lancibus trutinabitur, diligenter denuntiabo; et hujus fidei

## [ALDHELM'S LETTER TO GERONTIUS.]

privilegio in catholicorum cœtu glomeratus sine aliquo infelicitatis obstaculo connumerabor." Sed hujus excusationis propugnaculum, sub quo se delitescere confidunt, apostolicæ castigationis ballista solo tenus dirutum conquassare et confringere nitar. Ait namque Jacobus, materteræ Domini filius: "Tu credis, quia unus est Deus;" et quia per hironiam duodecim tribubus in dispersione gentium constitutis loquebatur, statim subjunxit: "Bene facis; et demones credunt et contremiscunt; quia fides sine operibus mortua est." Fides nempe catholica et fraternæ caritatis concordia inseparabiliter pari tramite tendunt, sicut predicator egregius et vas electionis eleganter attestatur: "Si noverim omnem profetiam et omnia misteria, si habeam fidem, ita ut montes transferam, et si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam, caritatem autem non habeam, nihil mihi prodest." Et ut brevis sententiæ clustello cuncta concludantur, frustra de fide catholica inaniter gloriatur, qui dogma et regulam sancti Petri non sectatur. Fundamentum quippe ecclesiæ et firmamentum fidei, principaliter in Christo et sequenter in Petro collocatum, nequaquam ingruentibus tempestatum turbinibus nutabundum vacillabit, ita apostulo promulgante: "Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere preter id, quod positum est, quod est Jesus Christus." Petro autem veritas ita privilegium Ecclesiæ sanxit: "Tu es Petrus, et supra hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam." [*Epistt. Bonif.*, ed. Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, pp. 24-31, no. 1; ed. Würdtwein, Ep. 163.]

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. Opp. ed. Vallars., VII. App. 170 (Jaffé).

<sup>b</sup> Acts viii. 9-24.

<sup>c</sup> The reference is to the *Recognitions*, II. 7 (Jaffé).

<sup>d</sup> Aug. de Hæres. cap. 29; Opp. ed. Bened., VIII. 8 (Jaffé).

<sup>e</sup> From Aldhelm's own poem, *De aris Beatæ Mariæ*, II. 2; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 119.

A.D. 705. Before October. *Mercian Witenagemot, incerti loci,*  
*"pro reconciliatione Ælfdrydæ."*

WALDH. *ad Brihtw.*—\* \* \* Ad conventum Cænredi Regis Episcoporumque ejus et ducum religiosorum ejus, quem nuper de reconciliatione Ælfdrydæ inter se habuerunt, licet advocatus non veni, etc. [See below, p. 275.]

A.D. 705. Before October<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Waldhere, Bishop of London, to Archbishop Brihtwald, respecting a Meeting appointed to be held in October at Brentford, between Ine King of Wessex and his Bishops, Abbots, and Thanes, and the rulers of the East-Saxons about certain West-Saxon Exiles protected in Essex, and other grounds of quarrel.*

*Domino reverendissimo et catholicorum patrum præconiis beatificando Berctualdo totius Britanniae gubernacula regenti, UALDHARIUS TUÆ ALMITATIS SUPPLEX SERVULUS SALUTEM.* Quærere etenim tuæ sanctitatis consilium prospere rebus succedentibus, tuisque sapientissimis jussionibus famulari animus devotus mihi semper inerat; quanto magis in adversis et in difficilibus rerum eventibus tuæ providæ considerationis industriam consulari voluntaria necessitas meam insciolam parvitatem perurget. Inde ergo nunc instante necessitatum causa, quid agi debeat tuæ benivolentiæ ingenium flagitando inquirere operæ pretium reor. Latere quidem tuam notitiam potuisse non arbitror quanta et qualia inter regem Uestsaxonum nostræque patriæ regnatores discordiarum jurgia interim pullulabant, et quod adhuc infelicius est ecclesiastici etiam in hanc ipsam dissensionem qui sub ipsis regiminis gubernacula sortiuntur volentes nolentesque de utraque parte implicantur. Sæpe tamen in utrumque partium conventibus pacem verbis firmabant fœdusque ingerunt ut exules eliminarentur a nobis et ipsi nobis inferre non molirentur tantum malum quantum minabant dictis. Quæ omnia opere adhuc non implebantur. Ante paucos autem dies hoc placitum communi consensione condixerunt ut in idus kalendarum Octobrium, in loco qui dicitur Breguntford, omnes advenissent reges ambarum partium, Episcopi et Abbates judicesque reliquos; et inibi adunato consilio omnium dissimulatum causæ determinarentur, et in quo unusquisque convictus sit offensus alio recta emendatione satisfaciat. Huic autem concilio illis rogantibus nostrisque juvenibus propriisque causis nostræ ecclesiæ cogentibus me præsentem inesse condecet. Maxime utrisque promittentibus illam pactionis conditionem se observaturos quam ego et eorum præsul pacifice et unianimiter paciscebamur. Inde per Omnipotentem rerum Condi-

[WALDHERE'S LETTER TO BRIHTWALD.]

torem tuæ sanctitatis privilegium obsecro ut mihi innotescere digneris quid de hac re agere debeam, quia nullo modo possum inter illos reconciliare et quasi obses pacis fieri, nisi maximum communionis consortium inter nos misceatur, quod nec volo nec ausus sum agere nisi tuæ licentiæ voluntas adnuerit; quia memor sum quomodo in præteriti anni synodo statutum est illis non communicandum, si non tuum iudicium in ordinatione Episcoporum implere festinarent, quod adhuc neglectum habentes non perficiebant. Ideo ergo licet illis invitantibus nostrisque supplicantibus tui oris imperio obedire memet ipsum amplius paro. Tuque optime pater utere prudenti consilio ut vel consentiam voci deprecantium si ita placuerit vel subterfugiam et meipsum a conloquio hujus concilii subtraham si ita iustum judicaveris. Tantum ut omnimodo in eodem sensu tecum semper maneam. Hac enim pro causa ad conventum Cœnredi Regis Episcoporumque ejus et ducum reliquorum ejus quem nuper de reconciliatione Ælfdrydæ inter se habuerunt, licet advocatus non veni, quia ignarus fui quid de hac re tuæ reigionis prærogativa decernere voluisset, ut postquam hoc dedicerim liberius consensissem. Sin aliorum inventione me prius miscuissem—quid plura—elego quæ elegeris, renuo quæ renueris et idipsum in omnibus tecum sapiam. Hoc tibi per litteras intimare curavi ne inter plures divulgatum innotescat. Orantem pro nobis almitatem vestram Divina Trinitas jugiter tuere dignetur. [*MS. Cott. Aug. II. 18; Smith, App. to Bede, n. XXIV. pp. 783, 784.*]

<sup>a</sup> This letter was written before the Bishopric of Wessex was divided (A.D. 705), and after Kenred had succeeded to the throne of

Mercia (A.D. 704). Probably therefore in the middle of A.D. 705, but before the death of Heddi, July 7.

A.D. 705. *Council, incerti loci, in Wessex, at which the Bishopric of Wessex is divided between Winchester and Sherborne.*

FARIC. V. *Aldb., III.*—Tempore Osredi ..... Hedda sanctissimus antistes ..... defunctus vita cœlestem migravit ad gloriam. Cujus parochia præ circuitus sui magnitudine, quia ab uno gubernari non poterat, ecclesiasticorum patrum regumque consilio [synodali concilio, *W. Malm.*] divisa est in duas; cujus unam partem Daniel gubernavit, vir in multis strenuissimus; ad regimen vero alterius diocesis, primates, cleri, et copiosa multitudo populi, quasi

[ALDHELM, BISHOP OF SHERBORNE.]

una voce concordēs, juxta canonum antiqua præcepta, sanctum hunc elegerunt Aldhelmum<sup>a</sup>. [Ed. Giles, p. 368; see also *B. H. E.*, V. 18; *W. Malm. G. P. V.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 375.]

<sup>a</sup> Brihtwald consecrated Aldhelm (*W. Malm. G. P.*, V. ed. Hamilton, p. 385; *Flor. Wig. ad ann.*), and therefore probably took part in the synod. The West-Saxons after all waited until Heddi's death, before they would consent to the division; but whether that proves or disproves the genuineness of Theodore's decree given

above, p. 126, is a question. Hampshire and Surrey, and at this time Sussex, remained in the diocese of Winchester; Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, the country west of Selwood, to Sherborne (so *W. Malm. G. P.*, II. ed. Hamilton, p. 175; *A. S. C. ad ann.* 709; and *M. Westm. in an.* 704).

A.D. 705. *Council on the Nodder, Wilts* (?)<sup>a</sup>.

A charter of Aldhelm, already a Bishop (spurious according to Kemble), consenting to retain the abbacy of his monasteries at Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford, together with the Bishopric of Sherborne; granted originally in the nunnery of Wimborne, with the consent of Ine and Bishop Daniel, was sanctioned by a council "quod juxta fluvium qui dicitur Noodr congregatum esse dinoscitur," by the authority "omnium Saxonicae gentis archimandritarum cum regalis potestatis assensu et Pontificalis prioratus nutu." [*W. Malm. G. P.*, V. ed. Hamilton, p. 380; *K. C. D.*, LIV.; *W.*, I. 68.]

<sup>a</sup> It is hard to interpret Aldhelm's pomposities; but if the council was held at all, the description seems to indicate a general council, and not a mere synod of Wessex: different

however from that last mentioned, inasmuch as that was held to make Aldhelm a Bishop, and in this he was a Bishop already.

A.D. 708 × 715. *Privilege of Pope Constantine to the Monasteries of Bermondsey and Woking*<sup>a</sup>.

CONSTANTINUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Hedda religioso abbati et presbytero monasteriorum duorum in nomine beati Petri apostoli fundatorum, utrorum positorum in provincia West Saxonum in locis qui Vermundesei et Wocchingas vocantur, ejusque congregationi. Sicut religiosæ vitæ professionem sumentes id quod Deo salubriter profitentur cupimus ut optime conversando perficiant, ita et pro immunitate eorum, ne a quoquam oppressi a Divini ministerii avocentur studio, summa sedulitate procuramus cogitare. Et, quoniam suprascripta venerabilia monasteria quæ in nomine beati Petri apostolorum principis fundata sunt in locis quæ Vermundesei vel Wocchingas vocantur,*



## [PRIVILEGE OF BERMONDSEY AND WOKING.]

sub dicione hujus apostolicæ Christi Ecclesiæ a nunc et in perpetuum esse atque persistere poposcisti, subque privilegio apostolicæ sedis præmuniri optasti, votis religionis tuæ faventes, ita pontificalis censuræ libramen adhibemus, ut et Episcopus loci qui e propinquo eorum est, quæquæ sunt secundum sacros canones inquirenda non neglegat, et monachica modestia ac monasterialis census inconcussus atque indiminutus existat. Ideoque, auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis, cujus nos Divina dignatio vice et ministerio fungi disposuit, statuimus atque decernimus, juxta vestræ religionis votum, sub privilegio hujus apostolicæ Christi Ecclesiæ idem venerabilia monasteria, donec Deo jubente perstiterint, permanere. Loci vero Episcopus qui e vicino monasteriis eisdem conjungitur, ordinandi presbyterum vel diaconem, quem videlicet congregatio servorum Dei ibidem constituta delegerit atque poposcerit, facultatem tantummodo habeat; ut congregatio quidem eligat quem habitura est sacerdotem, Deo amabilis autem Episcopus quæquæ sint Deo canonicè perquirenda, tanquam Deo de hoc rationem redditurus, exquirat. Similiter, si abbatem de hoc sæculo migrare contigerit, idem vicinus Episcopus alium pro eo ordinet, quem videlicet congregatio de corpore suo delegerint, et non extraneum eis nolentibus superinferre audeat: sed et si culpas, quod absit, quas sacri canones abdicant eos perpetrasse cognoverit, ut ecclesiasticus præsul commoneat et increpare non differat. Ceterum in rebus vel dispensatione rerum monasterii, nulli Episcoporum, presbyterorum, vel diaconorum, vel cujuslibet ecclesiasticæ ordinis licentiam damus inquirere vel cognoscere, vel pro hoc eis insolentias aliquas irrogare. Et, ut summatim nostri decreti designetur intentio, quæ ad canonicam pertinent curam Episcopus loci procuret inquirere, quæ ad rem et dispensationem monasterii pertinent, religiosus abba qui pro tempore fuerit cum præposito suo et prioribus congregationis, ut providerint, expedire disponatur, scientes quod si quisquam ausu temerario contra hujus nostri privilegialis decreti censuram, quod cum auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis promulgavimus, in toto vel in parte convellere temptaverit, canonicis animadversionibus subjacebit. Bene valete. [*Lib. Nig. Petroburg. MS. Soc. Antt. LX.*]

<sup>a</sup> Nothing else is known of any monasteries at these two places at this early date; the Peterborough entries in the *A.S.C.* being not entirely trustworthy. See *A.S.C. ad ann. 777*. The document is of course of very questionable author-

ity, and should be compared with the privileges of Chertsey, given above, p. 161, and Evesham, below, pp. 281-283; and also with the Privilege of Wiltred, p. 238. But it is difficult to say whose interest it could be to forge such a char-

## [FOUNDATION OF EYESHAM.]

ter, and how it finds its way into the records of Peterborough at all. Probably the latter fact may be accounted for by the mention of S. Peter in the clause of salutation. The chief importance of the document is the light it throws on the privileges of exemption which the

monks wished it to be believed that they possessed. Whether a forgery or no, it shows that the framers of it had no thought of the extensive immunities afterwards claimed under the title of exemption.

A.D. 706, or shortly before. *Foundation of the Abbey of Evesham*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi! Ego Æthilueard subregulus, Osheri quondam Regis Uuicciorum filius, terram XII. cassatorum in loco quem dicunt Ambreslege, consentiente Coenredo Rege Merciorum, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus rebus necessariis, hoc est, in siluis in campis, in captura etiam piscium quæ terræ illi adjacet, ubi sunt scilicet duo quod nostratim dicitur ueres, id est, alter ubi fontanus qui nominatur Ombresuelle dirivatur in fluvium qui dicitur Saberna, alter qui est ad vadum qui nuncupatur Leverford, ad amplificationem ecclesiasticæ possessionis, pro redemptione animæ meæ et pro spe salutis æternæ, venerando Ecguiuino Episcopo ad æcclesiam semper virginis Dei genetricis Mariæ quæ fundata extat in Cronuchomme, coram idoneis testibus libenter pro Domino largitus sum, eo quod ipse etiam prætio approbato a me conquirebat; ea dumtaxat conditione in præfata traditione a me composita in perpetuam libertatis possessionem; statuens de cætero ut ab omni publico vectigali, a victu, ab expeditione, ab opere regio sit libera, tantum ut æcclesiæ præfate beatæ Mariæ, hoc est fratribus ibidem seruientibus, cuncta quæ in eo loco ad aptum et ad utilitatem pertinere possunt seruentur; excepto eo, ut si quando in insula eidem ruri pertinente proventus copiosior glandis acciderit, uni solummodo gregi porcorum saginæ pastus regi concederetur: et præter hoc nulli, neque principi neque præfecto neque tiranno alicui, pascua constituentur; ut elemosina mea quam pro remedio animæ meæ libenter donavi, inuolata et inconcussa permaneat. Si quis autem donationem Christo a nobis traditam temptaverit infringere, confringat Deus regnum et potentiam ejus hic et in futuro sæculo, sitque pars ejus cum Juda infideli traditore. Si quis autem benivolo animo augere voluerit, augeat Deus partem illius cum fidei latrone qui meruit audire, “Hodie Mecum eris in paradiso.” Hæc carta scripta est anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCVI. Ind. IIII.

## [FOUNDATION OF EVESHAM.]

✠ Ego Æthelueard subregulus hanc donationem meam confirmando signo sanctæ crucis munivi.

✠ Ego Cœnredus Dei dono Rex Merciorum, rogante me et obsecrante Ecguino venerando Episcopo, eandem libertatis donationem telluris hoc est in Ambreslege, quam Æthelueard subregulus Uuiciorum me concedente donavit æcclesiæ beatæ Mariæ, pro spe mercedis æternæ concedens donabo, et signo crucis Christi munio.

✠ Ego Berhtuuald Archiepiscopus hanc donationem confirmans subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eadda Episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego Tobias Episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eadgar Episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Nothberht Episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Cuthberht comes Uuiciorum consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eadbert comes subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eoppa comes subscripsi.

✠ Ego Cuthberht comes subscripsi.

✠ Ego Omulung abbas subscripsi.

✠ Ego Uuecta abbas subscripsi.

✠ Ego Truttuc subscripsi.

✠ Ego Uuada subscripsi.

[K. C. D., *LVI.*, from MS. Harl. 3763, fo. 65 (an Evesham Cartulary of the 14th century); MS. Cotton. Vesp. B. XXIV. fo. 23 (a Cartulary of the 12th century).]

<sup>a</sup> A mass of fiction has been raised upon the one fact—all that is certain—that this monastery was founded about this time by Egwin, Bishop of Worcester.

The earliest genuine authority, except the charter noted in the text, is a Life of Egwin, written in the 10th or 11th century, and known under the name of Brihtwold (see Macray's *Chron. Evesham*. Pref., p. xliii.; and Hardy, *Cat. Mat.*, I. 415-420). The writer states, as quoted by Godwin from Capgrave, and corrected by Wharton (*A. S.*, I. 470) from the MS. Life itself, that Egwin, having gone to Rome once in order to clear himself before the Pope from an accusation laid against him, went thither a second time in A.D. 709, with Kenred, and Offa King of Essex, and brought back with him from Pope Constantine a bull of privilege for his monastery of Evesham, which also directed Archbishop Brihtwold to hold a council in the neighbourhood of the monastery for the pur-

pose of consecrating it; and that accordingly such a council was held at Alne, no doubt Alcester, eight miles from Evesham, at which both Brihtwold and Wilfrid "Archbishop" of York were present. So far there seems to be no reason to doubt the story, except the late date of the authority, and the uncertainty how far the writer may have drawn his information from the fictitious documents to be next mentioned. The narration is given at length in the Chronicle of Evesham, and in a pretended charter of Egwin himself, given there, pp. 17-20.

There was most likely a traditionary story which, on the one hand, the biographer embodied in his Life; while, on the other, it had served as a basis for the forger of the charters before his time. Bede takes Kenred to Rome, but knows nothing at all of Egwin. Florence is too late to be of authority where it is probable that a story, known now to be fictitious, already existed to

## [FOUNDATION OF EVESHAM.]

mislead him. He does say that Egwin went to Rome and brought back a privilege from Constantine, but that is all.

There existed, at the same date with the biographer, and in addition to this genuine charter, at least ten charters relating to the foundation of the abbey, embodied in the Cartularies of Evesham and Worcester; and all, without any exception, certainly forged before the biography was written: and besides them two letters or bulls of Pope Constantine, also spurious; all which are founded upon the same story with Brihtwald's, with the addition of (1) a vision of the Blessed Virgin as the cause of the foundation of the monastery in the particular spot; and (2) the resignation of his see by Egwin, on his return from Rome, in order to become abbot of Evesham; which last is a manifest untruth in point of fact, contradicted by genuine charters of a later date (see, for example, *K. C. D.*, *LXVII.*, A.D. 716 or 717); but which may be compared with the similar story told of S. Erkenwald (see above, p. 161).

In the 13th century, however, a further edifice of pure fiction was raised upon the

same foundation: Conrad of Ursperg, in his Chronicle, transfers the English council from "Alne" to London, invents a legate Bonifacius (confused with S. Boniface who was a legate of the Pope forty years later), and a command of the Blessed Virgin to Egwin in his vision to erect her image in the church of Evesham; and asserts the business of the council to have been the sanctioning, in compliance with the legate's authority, of the erection of images in churches, and a decree that the clergy should put away their wives. All which, through the pages of Bale and of the Magdeburg Centuriators, figures as a council of London in A.D. 713 or 714, in *Wilkins*, I. 72, 73.

A list of the charters, from Kemble, is given below, with the spurious bulls of Constantine, printed in *Wilkins*, and the account of the possible council of Alcester or Alne; all which may be said to constitute the first stage of the fiction, and which possibly contain a grain of truth. The council of London, as an absolute falsehood, is omitted altogether.

## APPENDIX TO THE EVESHAM CHARTER.

1. *List of the Spurious Charters granted to Evesham Abbey.*

I. Grant of Fladbury, by King Ethelred, A.D. 692 or 693, with the exchange of it for Stratford on the part of Bishop Egwin. [*K. C. D.*, *XXXIII.*, from a Worcester Cartulary of the 11th century; and compare the great foundation Charter in the *Chronicle of Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 18.]

II. Grant by Ethelric of the Hwiccas, to Egwin, for Evesham, A.D. 706. [*K. C. D.*, *LVII.*; and see *Chron. Evesham*. p. 18.]

III. Grant by Waldhere, or Balthere, the priest, to Egwin, for Evesham, A.D. 706. [*K. C. D.*, *LVIII.*; see *Chron. Evesham*. p. 72.]

IV. Grant by Kenred of Mercia, to Egwin, for Evesham, A.D. 708. [*K. C. D.*, *LIX.*]

V. Another grant by the same, A.D. 709. [*K. C. D.*, *LX.*]

VI. A grant by Kenred and Offa, to Egwin, for Evesham, made at Rome, and confirmed by Pope Constantine (*S.*, I. 209, 210; *W.*, IV. *App.* 748, 749), A.D. 709. [*K. C. D.*, *LXI.*; *Mon. Angl.* II. 15.]

## [FOUNDATION OF EVESHAM.]

VII. Grant of Ceolred of Mercia, to Ecgwin, who had resigned his see and retired to Evesham on his return from Rome, A.D. 710. [*K. C. D.*, *LXII.*]

VIII. Charter of Bishop Ecgwin, reciting the lands given to his monastery, A.D. 714. [*K. C. D.*, *LXIV.*, a modern copy; *S.*, *I.* 211; *W.*, *IV.* *App.* 749; and in the *Chronicle of Evesham*, pp. 17-20, very much expanded and interpolated so as to include most of the legendary history.]

IX. Grant of Ethelbald of Mercia, to Ecgwin, for Evesham, A.D. 716. [*K. C. D.*, *LXV.*]

X. Another of the same, A.D. 716 or 717. [*K. C. D.*, *LXVIII.*]

2. *Letters of Pope Constantine. (Spurious.)*

I. A.D. 709. *Letter of Constantine to Archbishop Brihtwald respecting the vision of Ecgwin, the holding a Council near the spot, and the Consecration of the Monastery.*

CONSTANTINUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *Brithwaldo Britanniarum primati salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.* Venerabilem virum Ecgwinum Episcopum, quem bis tua fraternitas ad apostolicam sedem misit, etiam nunc secundo manipulis justitiæ refertum tibi remittimus, monentes quatenus sic suos effectus adjuvando prosequaris, sicuti illum a Deo incepisse et in via Dei cucurrisse cognovisti. Porro de visione illa, immo aperta ostensione, qua se beata Virgo Maria ei manifestavit æque ita certum esse teneamus quemadmodum de viri bonitate non dubitamus. Denique vigilantiam tuam admonemus quatenus illis in partibus in quibus manifestatio habita fuisse refertur, concilium totius Angliæ cogas, Episcopos sacrique ordinis religiosas personas illuc convenire facias, optimatesque regni cum proceribus suis adesse præcipias. Quibus in nomine Domini congregatis denunciamus quod duo Reges Angliæ Kenredus et Offa cum quibus jam dictus Episcopus ad limina apostolorum venit, in loco ostensæ visionis plurima de suis beneficiis in præsentia nostra regia libertate donata et apostolica auctoritate confirmata contulerunt, quatenus ibidem congregatio monachorum secundum regulam memorandi patris Benedicti, quæ minus in illis partibus adhuc habetur, possit instaurari et indesinenter Christo famulari. Ipsas autem donationes et beneficia præfati reges in ipsorum privilegio nominatim determinaverunt et a nobis corroborari fecerunt. Igitur, frater dilecte, quoquomodo Christus annuncietur lucrum

[FOUNDATION OF EVESHAM.]

Christi inquire, opus Christi exerce, promulgatisque in concilio undique sententiis tum a Deo ostensæ visionis, tum apostolicæ auctoritatis, tum regiæ libertatis et donationis, tum tui ipsius clerique et populi assensus et favoris, constitue ovile Christo, Divinitus ostensum, apostolica auctoritate fultum, regia libertate donatum, cleri et populi benedictione sancitum. Tibi autem et successoribus tuis, memorato Episcopo Ecgwino assentiente, curam animarum ejusdem ecclesiæ præcipue injungimus, ut si, quod absit, aliquo diaboli impulsu quisquam pervasor aut tyrannus sacrum locum minuere aut impugnare præsumperit, tibi a Deo concessæ potestatis sententia et anathematis percussus verbere, complere non audeat; si quid vero sinistræ partis inibi compertum fuerit oriri, auribus summi pontificis patriæ potius deferatur quam per alicujus occultam sententiam sanctus locus depravetur injuste. Ipsum ergo locum quem regia potestas regiæ libertati donavit et nos auctoritate Dei et sanctorum apostolorum et nostra donamus, ut nullus cujuscumque ordinis homo hoc quod constituimus depravare aut minuere præsumat. Qui hoc destruxerit aut male contaminaverit, sit ille maledictus. Qui vero conservaverit et adauxerit, benedictionibus repleatur. Scripta est hæc epistola anno Dominicæ Incarnationis septingentesimo nono in ecclesia Salvatoris Lateranensi, præcipiente et confirmante Constantino apostolicæ sedis antistite, astantibus et confirmantibus Regibus Angliæ Kenredo et Offa, rogante venerabili viro Ecgwino Episcopo coram Archiepiscopis et Episcopis et principalibus et nobilibus diversarum provinciarum, cunctis clamantibus et dicentibus, "Quicquid in hac constitutione vestra sanctitas exercet, laudamus, concedimus et confirmamus."

✠ Ego Constantinus Romanæ sedis Episcopus per signum sanctæ crucis has donationes et libertatem confirmavi.

✠ Ego Ecgwinus humilis Episcopus confirmavi.

✠ Ego Rex Kenredus corroboraui.

✠ Ego Rex Offa consensi.

[*Chron. Abb. de Evesham.*, ed. Macray, p. 171; *Mon. Angl.*, II. 14.]

II. A.D. 713. *Second Letter of Constantine to Archbishop Brihtwald, desiring his protection for the Abbey of Evesham.*

CONSTANTINUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *Britwaldo Britanniarum primati salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.* Divina dispensatione ad hoc promoti ut apostolica auctoritate paci Ecclesiarum insistamus, tuæ fraternitati denunciamus quatenus Ecclesias Dei per Britanniam dispositas tua ipsius et sanctorum apostolorum auctoritate protegas, ne quis pervasor cujuscumque ordinis a Deo et nobis constituta privilegia subruat. Inter

## [FOUNDATION OF EVESHAM.]

quas eam quæ nuperrime a venerabili viro Ecgwino nostra et regia auctoritate constituta est tuæ ditioni præcipue submitimus, ut tibi et posteris tuis potestate Divinitus concessa ab omni eam adversariorum impugnatione liberam in perpetuum reddas. Justum enim nobis videtur ut quoniam isdem venerabilis Ecgwinus exemplum Domini [secutus] se humiliando inibi effectus est abbas, iccirco hæc ecclesia, secundum quod per legatum suum Ethelwoldum expetiit, ampliorem dignitatem a nostra sede sui merito obtineat. Constituimus ergo in nomine Domini ut isdem locus sub monarchia proprii abbatis sit liber ab omni tyrannica exactione, et nullus cujuscunque ordinis homo aliquod gravamen ibi inferre audeat. Defuncto autem abbate, secundum canonicam auctoritatem vel de ipso monasterio vel de parochia Wictiorum abbas a fratribus ejusdem loci eligatur, qui in eadem ecclesia libere et canonicè sine aliqua exactione consecratus, ob reverentiam venerabilis Ecgwini annulo in celebratione missarum solummodo utatur, primumque locum post Wictiorum præsulem nostra auctoritate jugiter obtineat. Si quis igitur hoc privilegium infringere voluerit, sive in loco monachorum clericos immittere tentaverit, coram Deo et angelis Ejus in perpetuum sit anathema. Si quis vero hanc nostram auctoritatem servaverit, conservet eum Deus in æternum. Scripta est hæc epistola anno Dominicæ Incarnationis septingentesimo tertio decimo, præsentente apostolicæ sedi Papa Constantino et ✠ hoc signum sanctæ crucis propria manu faciente. [*Chron. Abb. de Evesham.*, ed. Macray, p. 172; *W.*, I. 74, 75.]

III. A.D. 709. *Council said to have been held at Alcester, to consecrate Evesham Abbey.*

BRIHTWALD, *V. Ecgwini*. [XI. cent.] (After reciting the gifts of Ethelred, Oswald, and Kenred, agreeably to the charter of Ecgwin mentioned above, p. 281)—Deinde Romam proficiscitur cum Offa et Kenredo ad impetranda pro monasterio suo (*sc.* Evesham) privilegia. Quibus impetratis in Angliam redierunt, et congregata synodo generali in loco qui Alne dicitur, cui interfuerunt Brithwaldus Cantuariensis et Wilfridus Eboracensis; donationes illæ omnes confirmatæ sunt, misso Wilfrido ad locum consecrandum. Quo facto Ecgwinus ibi Benedictinos monachos constituit. Postea obiit tertio kalendarum Januarii<sup>a</sup>. [*Ap. Capgrave*, as quoted by Godwin, *de Præsulibus*, ed. Richardson, p. 448; *Mabillon*, *AA. SS. O. S. B.*, sæc. III. part 1, p. 324; *W.*, I. 72.]

<sup>a</sup> Even this short extract contains or naturally implies three errors; 1. that Kenred and Offa returned to England with Ecgwin; 2. that

Wilfrid was Archbishop of York; 3. that Ecgwin, who survived really until A.D. 717, died shortly after the monastery was esta-

[LETTER OF BRIHTWALD TO FORTHERE.]

blished in A.D. 709. Moreover Wilfrid's biographer, Eddius, states that Wilfrid was in Yorkshire when his last illness came on, and moved thence to Oundle, and died there in A.D. 709: which is scarcely reconcilable with

the story that Egwin, with Kenred and Offa, went to Rome, returned thence, got his council called and his abbey consecrated, all in that same year, A.D. 709, and before Wilfrid's death.

A.D. 709 × 712<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Archbishop Brihtwald to Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne, begging him to order Beorwald, Abbot of Glastonbury, to release a captive girl.*

*Reverentissimo atque sanctissimo Coepiscopo Forthereo* BERHTWALDUS FAMULORUM DEI FAMULUS SALUTEM IN DOMINO. Quoniam petitio mea—qua precatus sum coram te venerabilem abbatem Beorwaldum de concedenda unius captivæ puellæ, quæ propinquos apud nos habere monstratur, redemptione—in irritum, contra quod credidi, cessit, et denuo eorundem precibus inquietor, utillimum duxi, ad te per ejsdem puellæ germanum vocabulo Eppa has litteras destinare. Per quas obsecro: ut ipse omnino optineas a predicto abbate, quatenus pro eadem puella trecentos accipiat solidos de manu presentium geruli; et ei tradat illam, huc usque perducendam, quo possit reliquum vitæ suæ spatium cum consanguineis suis, non in servitutis tristitia, sed in libertatis transigere lætitia. Quam rem dum ad effectum tua perduxerit benivolentia, et a Deo mercedem et a me gratiarum actiones habebis. Frater quoque noster Beorwaldus nihil, ut æstimo, de eo, quod in ea juste possedit, amittit. Quod ante debui facere, obsecro: ut, cum tui memoriam in crebris orationibus feceris, mei nihilominus meminisse digneris. Incolumem reverentiam tuam ævo prolixiore Jesus Christus Dominus noster custodiat. [*Epist. Bonif.*, in *Jaffé's Monumenta Moguntina*, no. 7; ed. Würdtwein, no. 155.]

<sup>a</sup> Jaffé fixes the date of this letter on the supposition that Beorwald was succeeded by Aldberht as abbot of Glastonbury before A.D. 712, whilst Forthere became Bishop of Sherborn in succession to Aldhelm in A.D. 709. The date of Aldberht is proved by a grant of Forthere to him, purporting to be of the

year 712, and accepted by Kemble as genuine. The name however does not occur in the very ancient list of abbots in *MS. Tib. B. V.*, where Beorwald's successor is called Cealdhun. Aldberht is the ninth abbot in Malmesbury's list.



A.D. c. 710. *Letter of Abbot Ceolfrid of Wearmouth to Naiton, or Nechtan Mac Derili, King of the Picts, respecting Easter and the Tonsure.*

BÆD. *H. E.*, V. 21.—Eo tempore Naiton Rex Pictorum, qui septemtrionales Britanniae plagas inhabitant, admonitus ecclesiasticarum frequenti meditatione scripturarum, abrenunciavit errori, quo eatenus in observatione Paschæ cum sua gente tenebatur, et se suosque omnes ad catholicum Dominicæ resurrectionis tempus celebrandum perduxit. Quod ut facilius et majori auctoritate perficeret, quæsivit auxilium de gente Anglorum, quos jamdudum ad exemplum sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ Ecclesiæ suam religionem instituisse cognovit. Siquidem misit legatarios ad virum venerabilem Ceolfridum, abbatem monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quod est ad ostium Viuri amnis, et juxta amnem Tinam, in loco qui vocatur “In Gyruum,” cui ipse post Benedictum, de quo supra diximus, gloriosissime præfuit; postulans ut exhortatorias sibi litteras mitteret, quibus potentius confutare posset eos qui Pascha non suo tempore observare præsumerent; simul et de tonsuræ modo vel ratione qua clericos insigniri deceret: excepto quod etiam ipse in his non parva ex parte esset imbutus. Sed et architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent, promittens hanc in honorem beati apostolorum principis dedicandam; se quoque ipsum cum suis omnibus, morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ Ecclesiæ semper imitaturum, in quantum dumtaxat tam longe a Romanorum loquela et natione segregati hunc ediscere potuissent. Cujus religiosi votis ac precibus favens reverentissimus abba Ceolfrid, misit architectos quos petebatur, misit illi et litteras scriptas in hunc modum:

“Domino excellentissimo et gloriosissimo Regi Naitano, Ceolfrid abbas in Domino salutem Catholicam sancti Paschæ observantiam, quam a nobis, Rex Deo devote, religioso studio quæsisti, promptissime ac libentissime tuo desiderio, juxta quod ab apostolica sede didicimus, patefacere satagimus. Scimus namque cœlitus sanctæ Ecclesiæ donatum, quotiens ipsi rerum domini, discendæ, docendæ, custodiendæ veritati operam impendunt. Nam et vere omnino dixit quidam sæcularium scriptorum, quia felicissimo mundus statu ageretur, si vel reges philosopharentur, vel regnarent philosophi. Quod

[CEOLFRIÐ'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

si de philosophia hujus mundi vere intellegere, de statu hujus mundi merito diligere potuit homo hujus mundi; quanto magis civibus patriæ cœlestis in hoc mundo peregrinantibus optandum est et totis animi viribus supplicandum, ut quo plus in mundo quique valent, eo amplius Ejus Qui super omnia est Judicis mandatis auscultare contendant, atque ad hæc observanda secum eos quoque qui sibi commissi sunt, exemplis simul et auctoritate instituant? Tres sunt ergo regulæ sacris inditæ litteris, quibus Paschæ celebrandi tempus nobis præfinitum, nulla prorsus humana licet auctoritate mutari; e quibus duæ in Lege Mosi Divinitus statutæ, tertia in Evangelio per effectum Dominicæ passionis et resurrectionis adjuncta est. Præcepit enim lex ut Pascha primo mense anni, et tertia ejusdem mensis septimana, id est, a quinta decima die usque ad vicesimam primam fieri deberet: additum est per institutionem apostolicam ex Evangelio, ut in ipsa tertia septimana diem Dominicam exspectare, atque in ea temporis Paschalis initium tenere debeamus. Quam videlicet regulam triforem quisquis rite custodierit, nunquam in adnotatione festi Paschalis errabit. Verum si de his singulis enucleatius ac latius audire desideras, scriptum est in Exodo, ubi liberandus de Ægypto populus Israel, primum Pascha facere jubetur, quia ‘dixerit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron: Mensis iste vobis principium mensium primus erit in mensibus anni. Loquimini ad universum cœtum filiorum Israel, et dicite eis: Decima die mensis hujus tollat unusquisque agnum per familias et domos suas.’ Et paulo post: ‘Et servabitis eum usque ad quartam decimam mensis hujus. Immolabitque eum universa multitudo filiorum Israel ad vesperam.’ Quibus verbis manifestissime constat, quod ita in observatione Paschali mentio fit diei quartædecimæ, ut non tamen in ipsa die quartædecima Pascha fieri præcipiatur; sed adveniente tandem vespera diei quartædecimæ, id est, quintædecima luna, quæ initium tertiæ septimanæ faciat, in cœli faciem prodeunte, agnus immolari jubeatur: et quod ipsa sit nox quintædecimæ lunæ, in qua percussis Ægyptiis, Israel est a longa servitute redemptus. ‘Septem,’ inquit, ‘diebus azyma comedetis.’ Quibus item verbis tota tertia septimana ejusdem primi mensis decernitur sollempnis esse debere. Sed ne putaremus eandem septem dies a quartædecima usque ad vicesimam esse computandas, continuo subjecit: ‘In die primo non erit fermentum in domibus vestris. Quicumque comederit fermentum, peribit anima illa de Israel, a die primo usque ad diem septimum,’ et cætera, usquedum

[CEOLFRID'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

ait: 'In eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum vestrum de terra Ægypti.' Primum ergo diem azymorum appellat eum in quo exercitum eorum esset educturus de Ægypto. Constat autem quia non quartadecima die, in cujus vespera agnus est immolatus, et quæ proprie Pascha sive Phase dicitur; sed quintadecima sunt educti ex Ægypto, sicut in libro Numerorum apertissime scribitur. 'Profecti igitur de Ramesse quintadecima die mensis primi, altera die Phase, filii Israel in manu excelsa.' Septem ergo dies azymorum, in quarum prima eductus est populus Domini ex Ægypto, ab initio, ut diximus, tertiæ septimanæ, hoc est, a quintadecima die mensis primi, usque ad vicesimam primam ejusdem mensis diem completam computari oportet. Porro dies quartadecima extra hunc numerum separatim sub Paschæ titulo prænotatur, sicut Exodi sequentia patenter edocent; ubi cum dictum esset: 'In eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum vestrum de terra Ægypti;' protinus adjunctum est: 'Et custodietis diem istum in generationes vestras ritu perpetuo. Primo mense, quartadecima die mensis comedetis azyma usque ad diem vicesimam primam ejusdem mensis ad vesperam. Septem diebus fermentatum non inveniatur in domibus vestris.' Quis enim non videat, a quartadecima usque ad vicesimam primam, non septem solummodo, sed octo potius esse dies, si et ipsa quartadecima annumeretur? Sin autem, ut diligentius explorata Scripturæ veritas docet, a vespera diei quartadecimæ usque ad vesperam vicesimæ primæ computaverimus, videbimus profecto quod ita dies quartadecima vesperam suam in festi Paschalis initium prorogat, ut non amplius tota sacra sollemnitas quam septem tantummodo noctes cum totidem diebus comprehendat: unde et vera esse probatur nostra diffinitio, qua tempus Paschale primo mense anni, et tertia ejus hebdomada celebrandum esse diximus. Veraciter enim tertia agitur hebdomada, quod a vespera quartadecimæ diei incipit, et in vespera vicesimæ primæ completur. Postquam vero Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, diemque nobis Dominicam, quæ apud antiquos una vel prima sabbati, sive sabbatorum, vocatur, gaudio Suæ resurrectionis fecit esse sollemnem; ita hanc apostolica traditio festis Paschalibus inseruit, ut nil omnimodis de tempore Paschæ legalis præoccupandum, nihil minuendum esse decerneret. Quin potius statuit ut exspectaretur juxta præceptum Legis idem primus anni mensis, exspectaretur quartadecima dies illius, exspectaretur vespera ejusdem. Et cum hæc dies in sabbatum forte inciderit, tolleret

[CEOLFRID'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

unusquisque agnum per familias et domos suas, et immolaret eum ad vesperam, id est, præpararent omnes Ecclesiæ per orbem, quæ unam catholicam faciunt, panem et vinum in mysterium Carnis et Sanguinis Agni immaculati, *Qui* abstulit peccata mundi: et præcedente congrua lectionum, orationum, cæremoniarum Paschalium sollemnitate, offerrent hæc Domino in spem futuræ suæ redemptionis. Ipsa est enim eadem nox in qua de Ægypto per sanguinem agni Israelitica plebs erepta est; ipsa in qua per resurrectionem Christi liberatus est a morte æterna populus omnis Dei. Mane autem inlucescente die Dominica, primam Paschalis festi diem celebrarent. Ipsa est enim dies in qua resurrectionis Suæ gloriam Dominus multifario piæ revelationis gaudio discipulis patefecit. Ipsa prima dies azymorum, de qua multum distincte in Levitico scriptum est: ‘Mense primo, quartadecima die mensis, ad vesperam, Phase Domini est, et quinta-decima die mensis hujus sollemnitas azymorum Domini est. Septem diebus azyma comedetis. Dies primus erit celeberrimus sanctusque.’ Si ergo fieri posset ut semper in diem quintumdecimum primi mensis, id est, in lunam quintamdecimam Dominica dies incurreret, uno semper eodemque tempore cum antiquo Dei populo, quanquam sacramentorum genere discreto, sicut una eademque fide Pascha celebrare possemus. Quia vero dies septimanæ non æquali cum luna tramite procurrit, decrevit apostolica traditio, quæ per beatum Petrum Romæ prædicata, per Marcum evangelistam et interpretem ipsius Alexandriæ confirmata est, ut adveniente primo mense, adveniente in eo vespera diei quartadecimæ, expectetur etiam dies Dominica, a quintadecima usque ad vicesimam primam diem ejusdem mensis. In quacumque enim harum inventa fuerit, merito in ea Pascha celebrabitur: quia nimirum hæc ad numerum pertinet illarum septem dierum, quibus azyma celebrari jubetur. Itaque fit ut nunquam Pascha nostrum a septimana mensis primi tertia in utramvis partem declinet: sed vel totam eam, id est, omnes septem legalium azymorum dies, vel certe aliquos de illis teneat. Nam etsi saltem unum ex eis, hoc est, ipsum septimum adprehenderit, quem tam excellenter Scriptura commendat; ‘Dies autem,’ inquit, ‘septimus erit celebrior et sanctior, nullumque servile opus fiet in eo;’ nullus arguere nos poterit, quod non recte Dominicum Paschæ diem, quem de Evangelio suscepimus, in ipsa quam Lex statuit, tertia primi mensis hebdomada celebremus. Cujus observantiæ catholica ratione patefacta, patet e contrario error inrationabilis eorum qui præfixos in Lege

[CEOLFRID'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

terminos, nulla cogente necessitate, vel anticipare, vel transcendere præsumunt. Namque sine ratione necessitatis alicujus anticipant illi tempus in Lege præscriptum, qui Dominicum Paschæ diem a quartadecima mensis primi, usque ad vicesimam putant lunam esse servandum. Cum enim a vespera diei tertiadecimæ vigiliis sanctæ noctis celebrare incipiunt, claret quod illam in exordio sui Paschæ diem statuunt, cujus nullam omnino mentionem in decreto Legis inveniunt. Et cum vicesima prima die mensis Pascha Dominicum celebrare refugiunt, patet profecto, quod illam per omnia diem a sua sollemnitate secernunt, quam Lex majore præ cæteris festivitate memorabilem sæpenumero commendat: sicque diem Paschæ ordine perverso, et aliquando in secunda hebdomada totam compleant, et nunquam in hebdomadæ tertiæ die septimo ponant; rursusque qui a sextadecima die mensis sæpedicti usque ad vicesimam secundam Pascha celebrandum magis autumant, non minore utique errore, tametsi altero latere, a recto veritatis tramite divertunt, et veluti naufragia Scyllæ fugientes, in Charybdis voraginem submergendi decidunt. Nam cum a luna sextadecima primi mensis oriente, id est, a vespera diei quintadecimæ Pascha incipiendum doceant; nimirum constat quia quartadecimam diem mensis ejusdem, quam Lex primitus et præcipue commendat, a sua prorsus sollemnitate secludunt: ita ut quintadecimæ, in qua populus Dei ab Ægyptia servitute redemptus est, et in qua Dominus Suo mundum sanguine a peccatorum tenebris liberavit, in qua etiam sepultus spem nobis post mortem beatæ quietis tribuit, vix vesperam tangant. Idemque pœnam erroris sui in semetipsos recipientes, cum in vicesima secunda die mensis, Paschæ diem statuunt Dominicum, legitimos utique terminos Paschæ aperta transgressione violant, utpote qui ab illius diei vespera Pascha incipiunt, in qua hoc Lex consummari et perfici debere decrevit, illam in Pascha diem adsignent primam, cujus in Lege mentio nulla usquam reperitur, id est, quartæ primam septimanæ. Qui utrique non solum in diffinitione et computo lunaris ætatis, sed et in mensis primi nonnunquam inventione falluntur. Quæ disputatio major est, quam epistola hac vel valeat comprehendere, vel debeat. Tantum hoc dicam, quod per æquinoctium vernale semper inerrabiliter possit inveniri, qui mensis, juxta computum lunæ, primus anni, qui esse debeat ultimus. Æquinoctium autem, juxta sententiam omnium Orientalium, et maxime Ægyptiorum, qui præ cæteris doctoribus calculandi palmam tenent, duodecimo kalendarum

[CEOLFRID'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

Aprilium die provenire consuevit, ut etiam ipsi horologica inspectione probamus. Quæcumque ergo luna ante æquinoctium plena est, quartadecima videlicet vel quintadecima existens, hæc ad præcedentis anni novissimum pertinet mensem, ideoque Paschæ celebrando habilis non est. Quæ vero post æquinoctium vel in ipso æquinoctio suum plenilunium habet, in hac absque ulla dubietate, quia primi mensis est, et antiquos Pascha celebrare solitos, et nos ubi Dominica dies advenerit, celebrare debere noscendum est. Quod ita fieri oportere illa nimirum ratio cogit, quia in Genesi scriptum est, quod ‘fecit Deus duo luminaria magna; luminare majus, ut præsetet diei; et luminare minus, ut præsetet nocti.’ vel, sicut alia dicit editio, ‘luminare majus in inchoationem diei; et luminare minus in inchoationem noctis.’ Sicut ergo prius sol a medio procedens orientis, æquinoctium vernale suo præfixit exortu; deinde luna, sole ad vesperam occidente, et ipsa plena a medio secuta est orientis: ita omnibus annis idem primus lunæ mensis eodem necesse est ordine servari, ut non ante æquinoctium, sed vel ipso æquinoctii die, sicut in principio factum est, vel eo transceso plenilunium habere debeat. At si uno saltem die plenilunium tempus æquinoctii præcesserit, non hanc primo mensi anni incipientis, sed ultimo potius præteriti lunam esse adscribendam; et ideo festis Paschalibus inhabilem, memorata ratio probat. Quod si mysticam quoque vos in his rationem audire delectat, primo mense anni, qui etiam mensis novorum dictus est, Pascha facere jubemur; quia renovato ad amorem cælestium spiritu mentis nostræ, sacramenta Dominicæ resurrectionis, et ereptionis nostræ celebrare debemus, tertia ejusdem mensis septimana facere præcipimur; quia ante Legem et sub Lege promissus, tertio tempore sæculi cum gratia venit Ipse Qui Pascha nostrum immolaretur Christus: quia tertia post immolationem Suæ passionis die resurgens a mortuis, hanc Dominicam vocari, et in ea nos annuatim Paschalia ejusdem resurrectionis voluit festa celebrare: quia nos quoque ita solum veraciter ejus sollempnia celebramus, si per fidem, spem et caritatem Pascha, id est, transitum de hoc mundo ad Patrem, cum Illo facere curamus. Post æquinoctium veris, plenilunium mensis præcipimur observare Paschalis; ut videlicet primo sol longiorem nocte faciat diem, deinde luna plenum suæ lucis orbem mundo præsentet; quia primo quidem sol justitiæ, in cujus pennis est sanitas, id est, Dominus Jesus, per resurrectionis Suæ triumphum cunctas mortis tenebras superavit: ac sic ascendens in cælos, misso desuper Spiritu, ecclesiam Suam quæ

[CEOLFRID'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

sæpe lunæ vocabulo designatur, internæ gratiæ luce replevit. Quem videlicet ordinem nostræ salutis propheta contemplatus aiebat: 'Elevatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo.' Qui ergo plenitudinem lunæ Paschalis ante æquinoctium provenire posse contenderit, talis in mysteriorum celebratione maximorum a sanctarum quidem Scripturarum doctrina discordat; concordat autem eis qui sine præveniente gratia Christi se salvari posse confidunt: quia etsi vera lux tenebras mundi moriendo ac resurgendo nunquam vicisset, perfectam se habere posse justitiam dogmatizare præsumunt. Itaque post æquinoctialem solis exortum, post plenilunium primi mensis hunc ex ordine subsequens; id est, post completam diem ejusdem mensis quartamdecimam, quæ cuncta ex Lege observanda accepimus, expectamus adhuc monente Evangelio in ipsa hebdomada tertia tempus diei Dominicæ, et sic demum votiva Paschæ nostri festa celebramus, ut indicemus nos non cum antiquis excussum Ægyptiæ servitutis jugum venerari, sed redemptionem totius mundi, quæ in antiqui Dei populi liberatione præfigurata, in Christi autem resurrectione completa est, devota fide ac dilectione colere, utque resurrectionis etiam nostræ, quam eadem die Dominica futuram credimus, spe nos certissima gaudere signemus. Hic autem quem vobis sequendum monstramus, computus Paschæ, decennovenali circulo continetur; qui dudum quidem, hoc est, ipsis apostolorum temporibus, jam servari in ecclesia cœpit, maxime Romæ et Ægypti, ut supra jam diximus. Sed per industriam Eusebii qui a beato martyre Pamphilo cognomen habet, distinctius in ordinem compositus est; ut quod eatenus per Alexandria pontificem singulis annis per omnes ecclesias mandari consueverat, jam deinde congesta in ordinem serie lunæ quartædecimæ, facillime posset ab omnibus sciri. Cujus computum Paschalis Theophilus Alexandria præsul in centum annorum tempus Theodosio imperatori composuit. Item successor ejus Cyrillus seriem nonaginta et quinque annorum in quinque decennovenalibus circulis comprehendit: post quem Dionysius Exiguus totidem alios ex ordine pari schemate subnexuit, qui ad nostra usque tempora pertingebant. Quibus termino adpropinquantibus, tanta hodie calculatorum exuberat copia, ut etiam in nostris per Britanniam ecclesiis plures sint qui mandatis memoriæ veteribus illis Ægyptiorum argumentis, facillime possint in quotlibet spatia temporum Paschales protendere circulos, etiamsi ad quingentos usque et triginta duos voluerint annos; quibus expletis, omnia quæ ad solis et lunæ, mensis et septimanæ conse-

[CEOLFRID'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

quentiam spectant, eodem quo prius ordine recurrunt. Ideo autem circulos eosdem temporum instantium vobis mittere sepersedimus, quia de ratione tantum temporis Paschalis instrui quærentes, ipsos vobis circulos Paschæ catholicos abundare probastis.

Verum his de Pascha succincte, ut petistis, strictimque commemoratis, tonsuram quoque, de qua pariter vobis litteras fieri voluistis, hortor ut ecclesiasticam et Christianæ fidei congruam habere curetis. Et quidem scimus quia neque apostoli omnes uno eodemque sunt modo adtonsi, neque nunc Ecclesia catholica sicut una fide, spe et caritate in Deum consentit, ita etiam una atque indissimili totum per orbem tonsuræ sibi forma congruit. Denique ut superiora, id est, patriarcharum tempora respiciamus, Job exemplar patientiæ, dum ingruente tribulationum articulo caput totondit, probavit utique quia tempore felicitatis capillos nutrire consueverat. At Joseph, et ipse castitatis, humilitatis, pietatis cæterarumque virtutum executor ac doctor eximius, cum servitio absolvendus, attonsus esse legitur: patet profecto quia tempore servitutis, intonsis in carcere crinibus manere solebat. Ecce uterque vir Dei diversum ab altero vultus habitum foris præmonstrabat, quorum tamen intus conscientia in parili virtutum sibi gratia concordabat. Verum, etsi profiteri nobis liberum est, quia tonsuræ discrimen non noceat, quibus pura in Deum fides, et caritas in proximum sincera est; maxime cum nunquam patribus catholicis sicut de Paschæ vel fidei diversitate conflictus, ita etiam de tonsuræ differentia legatur aliqua fuisse controversia; inter omnes tamen quas vel in ecclesia, vel in universo hominum genere reperimus tonsuras, nullam magis sequendam nobis amplectendamque jure dixerim, ea quam in capite suo gestabat ille, cui Se confitenti Dominus ait: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam, et portæ inferni non prævalebunt adversus eam; et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum.' Nullam magis abominandam detestandamque merito cunctis fidelibus crediderim, ea quam habebat ille, cui gratiam Sancti Spiritus comparare volenti dicit idem Petrus: 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem, quoniam donum Dei existimasti per pecuniam possideri: non est tibi pars neque sors in sermone hoc.' Neque vero ob id tantum in coronam adtondemur, quia Petrus ita attonsus est; sed quia Petrus in memoriam Dominicæ passionis ita attonsus est, idcirco et nos qui per eandem passionem salvari desideramus, Ipsius passionis signum cum illo in vertice, summa videlicet corporis nostri parte gestamus. Sicut enim omnis Ecclesia quia per mortem



sui vivificatoris Ecclesia facta est, signum sanctæ crucis Ejus in fronte portare consuevit, ut crebro vexilli hujus munimine a malignorum spirituum defendatur incursibus; crebra hujus admonitione doceatur, se quoque carnem suam cum vitiis et concupiscentiis crucifigere debere: ita etiam oportet eos, qui vel monachi votum, vel gradum clericatus habentes arctioribus se necesse habent pro Domino continentia frenis astringere. Formam quoque coronæ quam ipse in passione spineam portavit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est, exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram præferre, ut se etiam inrisiones et opprobria pro illo libenter ac promte omnia sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant: ut coronam vitæ æternæ, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus Se, se semper expectare, proque hujus perceptione et adversa se mundi et prospera contemnere designent. Cæterum tonsuram eam quam Magum ferunt habuisse Simonem, quis, rogo, fidelium non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur, et merito exsufflet adspectu? Quæ in frontis quidem superficie, coronæ videtur speciem præferre; sed ubi ad cervicem considerando perveneris, decurtatam eam quam te videre putabas, invenies coronam; ut merito talem Simoniacis et non Christianis habitum convenire cognoscas: qui in præsentis quidem vita a deceptis hominibus putabantur digni perpetuæ gloria coronæ; sed in ea quæ hanc sequitur vitam, non solum omni spe coronæ privati, sed æterna insuper sunt pœna damnati. Neque vero me hæc ita prosecutum æstimes, quasi eos qui hanc tonsuram habent, condemnatos judicem, si fide et operibus unitati catholicæ faverint: immo confidenter profiteor, plurimos ex eis sanctos ac Deo dignos exstitisse, ex quibus est Adamnan, abbas et sacerdos Columbiensium egregius, qui cum legatus suæ gentis ad Aldfridum regem missus, nostrum quoque monasterium videre voluisset, miramque in moribus ac verbis prudentiam, humilitatem, religionem ostenderet, dixi illi inter alia conloquens: ‘Obsecro, sancte frater, qui ad coronam te vitæ quæ terminum nesciat tendere credis, quid contrario tuæ fidei habitu terminatam in capite coronæ imaginem portas? et si beati consortium Petri quæris, cur ejus quem ille anathematizavit, tonsuræ imaginem imitaris? et non potius ejus cum quo in æternum beatus vivere cupis, etiam nunc habitum te, quantum potes, diligere monstras?’ Respondit ille: ‘Scias pro certo, frater mi dilecte, quia etsi Simonis tonsuram ex consuetudine patria habeam, Simoniacam tamen perfidiam tota mente detestor ac respuo: beatissimi autem apostolo-

[CEOLFRIÐ'S LETTER ON EASTER AND THE TONSURE.]

rum principis, quantum mea parvitas sufficit, vestigia sequi desidero.<sup>9</sup> At ego: 'Credo,' inquam, 'vere quod ita sit; sed tamen indicio fit, quod ea quæ apostoli Petri sunt, in abdito cordis amplectimini, si quæ ejus esse nostis, etiam in facie tenetis. Namque prudentiam tuam facillime dijudicare reor, quod aptius multo sit, ejus quem corde toto abhominaris, cujusque horrendam faciem videre refugis, habitum vultus a tuo vultu Deo jam dicato separare; et e contra, ejus quem apud Deum habere patronum quæris, sicut facta vel monita cupis sequi, sic etiam morem habitus te imitari condeceat.' Hæc tunc Adamnano dixi, qui quidem quantum conspectis ecclesiarum nostrarum statutis profecisset, probavit, cum reversus ad Scottiam, multas postea gentis ejusdem turbas ad catholicam temporis Paschalis observantiam sua prædicatione correxit: tametsi eos qui in Hii insula morabantur monachos, quibusque speciali rectoris jure præerat, necdum ad viam statuti melioris reducere valebat. Tonsuram quoque, si tantum sibi auctoritatis subesset, emendare meminisset. Sed et tuam nunc prudentiam, rex, admoneo, ut ea quæ unitati catholicæ et apostolicæ Ecclesiæ concinnant, una cum gente cui te Rex regum et Dominus dominorum præfecit, in omnibus servare contendas. Sic enim fit ut post acceptam temporalis regni potentiam, ipse beatissimus apostolorum princeps cælestis quoque regni tibi tuisque cum cæteris electis libens pandat introitum. Gratia te Regis æterni longiori tempore regnantem, ad nostram omnium pacem, custodiat incolumem, dilectissime in Christo fili." [M. H. B. 274-281; S., I. 220 et seq.; W., I. 75.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter was written after Adamnan's visit to Northumbria, of which the result was the conversion of the Northern Irish to the Roman Easter, in A.D. 704; and not long before the conversion of the monks of Hii on

the same question, A.D. 706. Probably therefore about A.D. 710. (See *Smith, ad loc. Bædæ*, who also notices the presence of Bede in the monastery at the time of the composition of the letter.)

A.D. c. 710. *Decree of Naiton (Nectan Mac Derili) for the adoption of the Roman Easter, and Tonsure among the Picts.*

BÆD. H. E., V. 21.—Hæc epistola cum præsentē Rege Naitono, multisque viris doctioribus, esset lecta, ac diligenter ab his qui intelligere poterant, in linguam ejus propriam interpretata, multum de ejus exhortatione gavisus esse perhibetur; ita ut exurgens de medio optimatum suorum consessu genua flecteret in terram, Deo

[THE PICTS ACCEPT THE ROMAN EASTER AND TONSURE.]

gratias agens, quod tale munusculum de terra Anglorum mereretur accipere. "Et quidem et antea novi," inquit, "quia hæc erat vera Paschæ celebratio, sed in tantum modo rationem hujus temporis observandi cognosco, ut parum mihi omnimodis videar de his antea intellexisse. Unde palam profiteor, vobisque qui adsidetis præsentibus protestor, quia hoc observare tempus Paschæ cum universa mea gente perpetuo volo; hanc accipere debere tonsuram quam plenam esse rationis audimus, omnes qui in meo regno sunt clericos decerno." Nec mora, quæ dixerat, regia auctoritate perfecit. Statim namque jussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, observandum, per universas Pictorum provincias circuli Paschæ decennovenales, oblitteratis per omnia erroneis octoginta et quatuor annorum circulis. Adtondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris, ac monachi: et quasi novo se discipulatu beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri subditam, ejusque tutandam patrocinio gens correcta gaudebat. [*M. H. B.* 281; *S.*, I. 226, 227; *W.*, I. 79.]

A.D. 710 × 716. *Synod of Wessex, incerti loci, by which Winfrith (S. Boniface<sup>a</sup>) was sent to consult Archbishop Brihtwald upon a subject unnamed.*

WILLIBALD, *V. Bonif. IV.*—Cumque diutius mentem supra enumeratis virtutibus edomaret et de die in diem ad altiora bonorum documenta sub predicto se presbiteratus gradu proveheret, jam, regnante Ine Westsaxonum Rege, subitanea quædam incubuerat, nova quadam seditione exorta, necessitas; et statim synodale a primatibus æcclesiarum cum consilio predicti regis servorum Dei factum est concilium. Moxque omnibus in unum convenientibus, saluberrima de hac recenti dissensione consilii questio inter sacerdotales æcclesiastici ordinis gradus sapienter exoritur. Et prudentiori inito consulti, fideles in Domino legatos ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariæ civitatis, nomine Berechwaldum, destinandos deputarunt; ne eorum præsumptioni aut temeritati adscriberetur, si quid sine tanti pontificis agerent consilio. Cumque omnis senatus et universus clericorum ordo, tam providenti peracta conlatione, consentirent, confestim Rex cunctos Christi famulos adlocutus est et, cui hujus præfate legationis nuntium inponerent, sciscitaret. Tum repente summus in Christo archimandrita qui prædicto præerat monasterio nomine

[SEE OF SELSEY ESTABLISHED.]

Wynberch<sup>b</sup>, et Wintra qui monasterio quod dicitur Dyssesburg præsedebat, et Beorwald qui divina cœnobium gubernatione quod antiquorum nuncupatur vocabulo Glestingaburg regebat, nec non et alii multi hujus sancti propositi patres sanctum hunc virum accitum adduxerunt ad regem. Cui et nuntium Rex et legationis notitiam inposuit et, adhibitis secum sociis, direxit cum pace. Qui etiam, nuntio sibi inposito, juxta mandatum seniorum prospero itinere pervenit ad Cent, et Archiepiscopo summi pontificatus infula prædito sapienter cuncta, quemadmodum edoctus erat a rege, per ordinem revelavit. Et sic, spontaneo accepto responso, post non multos dies reversus est ad patriam, præfatoque regi ac prædictis servis Dei secum adsistentibus a venerabili Archiepiscopo spontaneum scienter detulit responsum, et magnum universis contulit gaudium. [Ed. Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, pp. 438-440; *W.*, I. 70.]

<sup>a</sup> S. Boniface was probably born A.D. 680: if so, he was ordained priest at thirty years of age, in A.D. 710; and he set out first on his mission in A.D. 716. The mission of Boniface to Brihtwald is noticeable as indicating a disposition on the part of the Wessex clergy

to be on better terms than before with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>b</sup> Winbert was abbot of Nursling (*Willib. V. Bonif. c. II.*); Wintra of Tisbury (*K. C. D., CIV.*).

A.D. c. 711<sup>a</sup>. *Council, incerti loci, which establishes the See of Selsey, afterwards removed to Chichester.*

BÆD. H. E., V. 18.—Quibus [*sc.* Daniel et Fortheri] Episcopatum administrantibus, statutum est synodali decreto, ut provincia Austrarium Saxonum, quæ eatenus ad civitatis Ventanæ cui tunc Danihel præerat, parochiam pertinebat, et ipsa sedem Episcopalem ac proprium habebat Episcopum; consecratusque est eis primus antistes Eadberct. [*M. H. B.* 268; see *W.*, I. 70.]

<sup>a</sup> After A.D. 709, the year of Aldhelm's death. Matthew of Westminster is the only authority for the date A.D. 711.

A.D. 716. *Forged Charter of Ethelbald, King of Mercia, founding Crowland Abbey<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ ÆTHELBALDUS DIVINA DISPENSATIONE REX MERCIORUM *omnibus catholicæ fidei cultoribus salutem perpetuam!* Regi regum omnium et universorum Creatori magna cum exultatione gratias ago, qui me usque

ad præsens cunctis involutum sceleribus patienter sustinuit, misericorditer attraxit, et ad Sui nominis agnitionem parumper erexit. Unde Ei adhærere mihi bonum est et in Ipso ponere spem meam. Sed quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi, ut placeam coram Eo in lumine viventium; cum sine Ipso nihil habemus, nihil sumus, nihil valemus. Magna enim aviditate nostræ salutis auctor, et universorum largitor, acceptat nostra minima, ut causam habeat retribuendi maxima et infinita gaudia. Sectantes Ejus doctrinam per opera misericordiæ sic consolatur, dicens, Quod uni ex minimis Meis fecistis, mihi fecistis. Hinc est quod cum dilecti confessoris mei Guthlaci anachoritæ devoti instructus fuissem consilio, precibus pulsatus, gratanter in hunc modum acquievi. Ad perpetuam securitatis memoriam hoc chirographo patenti dono, trado et concedo omnipotenti deo, beatæ Mariæ, et sancto Bartholomæo de dominicis meis ad foundationem monasterii nigrorum monachorum, sub norma beati Benedicti deo famulantium, totam insulam Croylandiæ ad sedem abbatihæ, separatam et separaliter obtinendam, cum quatuor aquis interclusam; videlicet cum aqua quæ dicitur Schepishe versus orientem, et cum aqua quæ vocatur Nene versus occidentem, et cum aqua quæ vocatur Southee versus austrum, et cum aqua vocata Asendick versus aquilonem, ubi communis seuvera est, inter Spaldeling et dictam insulam. Et continet dicta insula in longitudine quatuor leucas, et tres leucas in latitudine cum mariscis adjacentibus versus occidentem, ex opposito ejusdem insulæ ex utraque parte aquæ de Uueeland: cujus una pars versus boream, vocata Goggislond, continet duas leucas in longitudine a ponte de Croyland, ubi fit ingressus ad insulam usque ad Aspath, et unam leucam in latitudine ab aqua de Uueeland in australi parte usque ad Apenholt, versus boream juxta ripam, et habet per totam longitudinem æqualitatem latitudinis; et altera pars marisci in australi parte aquæ de Uueeland continet in longitudine duas leucas a ponte de Croyland usque ad Southlake juxta ripam ex opposito de Aspath; et habet in latitudine duas leucas ab aqua de Uueeland usque ad Finset juxta aquam de Nene in australi parte ejusdem marisci, cum separali piscaria in aquis de Uueeland et Nene, usque ad supradictos utriusque marisci limites; et in aquis omnibus supradictam insulam ambientibus; unde quandam cœnobitam Eveshamensem, probatæ religionis virum, nomine Kenulphum, ut secum ejusdem ordinis monachos probatos ibidem congregaret, abbatem constitui; præbens ei de thesauro meo ad ædificationem

[FOUNDATION OF CROWLAND ABBEY.]

monasterii ejusdem, primo anno trecentas libras legalis monetæ, et per decem annos proxime sequentes quolibet anno centum libras; concedendo eisdem licentiam ad villam ædificandum ibidem, sive includendam, quantum ex iis duobus mariscis versus occidentem dictis monachis pro se et suis placuerit. Quare volo, quod prædicti monachi habeant ista dona mea cum omnibus appendiciis libera et soluta ab omni onere sæculari in perpetuam eleemosynam meam, cum omni commodo, quod evenire aut extorqueri poterit infra dictos limites, tam subter terram, quam supra; cum communa pasturæ pro omni genere animalium omnibus seisonis, sibi, et hominibus suis, sive tenentibus suis secum ibidem moram facientibus ex utraque parte aquæ de Uueeland; videlicet, ex una parte usque ad agrum de Medeshamsted, et ex altera parte usque ad ædificia de Spaldelyng; cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, quas regia potestas liberius alicui æcclesiæ in regno meo contulerit temporibus retroactis. Et districte præcipio quod si quis contra hoc meæ autoritatis testamentum aliquod machinari impedimentum præsumperit, quo minus pacifice possideant aliqua per me data et concessa, centum libras legalis monetæ thesauro meo persolvat, necnon dictis monachis pro damnis et expensis digne satisfaciat. Deprecor omnes posteros meos mihi ad regnum succedentes, ut hanc pœnam et censuram meam ita observent inviolatam, sicut voluerint recipere debitæ justitiæ præmium, et evadere rapacitatis supplicium. Qui vero istam eleemosynam meam provexerit et defensaverit, in sorte electorum dei remuneretur æternaliter. Firmatum est hoc chirographum meum in anno ab incarnatione Christi DCCXVI. quod et his probabilibus testibus sanctæ crucis indicio subnotatur.

- ✠ Ego Æthelbaldus rex Merciorum gratuito consensu confirmavi.
- ✠ Ego Brihtuualdus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus ratificavi.
- ✠ Ego Uuynfridus Merciorum episcopus approbavi.
- ✠ Inguualdus Londiniensis episcopus mere consensi.
- ✠ Ego Aduuinus Lichfield episcopus adoptavi.
- ✠ Ego Tobias Roffensis episcopus collaudavi.
- ✠ Ego Æthelredus abbas de Bardeneŷ multum affectavi.
- ✠ Ego Ecgaldus abbas de Medeshamsted illud fieri devote rogavi.
- ✠ Ego Eggo comes Lincoln consilium dedi.
- ✠ Ego Leofricus comes Leycestrîæ assensum præbui.
- ✠ Ego Saxuulphus filius Saxuulphi comitis corroboravi.
- ✠ Ego Inguulphus presbyter et humilis minister vocatus audivi.

[LETTER OF THE ABBOT OF WEARMOUTH TO THE POPE.]

✠ Ego Æthelbaldus, licet indignus, patientia tamen divina regni Merciorum gero gubernacula, summa cum fiducia auctori meo Christo redeo humiliter: de quo propheticè scribitur in psalmo, Miserationes Ejus super omnia opera Ejus; ejusdem pietati me totum submitto, et sanctæ matris æcclesiæ precibus, beneficiisque spiritualibus commendo. [*K. C. D.*, *LXVI.*; *Mon. Angl.*, *II.* 107.]

<sup>a</sup> Guthlac the anchorite, the patron saint of Crowland, is said to have died in A.D. 714 (*Flor. Wig.*, *A. S. C.*). It is unne-

sary to point out the marks of forgery in so flagrant an imposture as the charter given above.

A.D. 716. June. *Letter of Huætberct, Abbot of Wearmouth, to Pope Gregory II., recommending to him Ceolfrid, the late Abbot*<sup>a</sup>.

*Domino in Domino dominorum dilectissimo, terque beatissimo Papæ Gregorio, HUÆTBERCTUS HUMILIS SERVUS VESTER, ABBAS CŒNOBII BEATISSIMI APOSTOLORUM PRINCIPIS PETRI IN SAXONIA, PERPETUAM IN DOMINO SALUTEM.* Gratias agere non cesso dispensationi superni examinis, una cum sanctis fratribus qui mecum in his locis ad inveniendam requiem animabus suis suavissimum Christi jugum portare desiderant, quod te nostris temporibus tam glorificum electionis vas regimini totius ecclesiæ præficere dignatus est, quatinus per hoc quo ipse implevis lumen veritatis et fidei, etiam minores quosque affatim jubare suæ pietatis aspergeret. Commendamus autem tuæ sanctæ benignitati, dilectissime in Christo pater et domine, venerabiles patris nostri dilectissimi canos, Ceolfridi videlicet abbatis, ac nutritoris tutorisque nostræ spiritualis in monastica quiete libertatis et pacis. Et primum quidem gratias agimus sanctæ et individuae Trinitati, quod ipse etsi non sine maximo nostro dolore, gemitu, luctu, ac prosecutione lacrimarum a nobis abiit; ad suæ tamen diu desideratæ quietis gaudia sancta pervenit: dum ea quæ juvenem se adiisse, vidisse atque adorasse semper recordans exultabat; etiam senio defessus beatorum apostolorum devotus limina repetiit. Et post longos amplius XL. annorum labores curasque continuas, quibus monasteriis regendis abbatis jure præfuit, incomparabili virtutis amore quasi nuper ad conversationem vitæ cœlestis accitus, ultima confectus ætate, et prope jam moriturus, rursus incipit peregrinari pro Christo, quo liberius prisca sollicitudinum secularium spineta, camino spirituali fervens compunctionis ignis absumat. Deinde etiam vestræ paternitati supplicamus, ut quod nos facere non meruimus, vos erga illum ultimæ pietatis seduli munus expleatis: pro certo

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHÖ.]

scientes quia etsi vos corpus habetis ipsius, et nos tamen et vos Deo devotum ejus spiritum sive in corpore manentem, sive carnis vinculis absolutum, magnum pro nostris excessibus apud supernam pietatem intercessorem habemus et patronum. [*Bæd. Hist. Abb.* § 14, ed. Hussey, pp. 329, 330.]

<sup>a</sup> Ceolfrid resigned his abbacy A.D. 716, June 4; went on pilgrimage to Rome, June 7; took this letter with him, and died on his road at Langres, Sept. 25 (*Bæd. ib.*).

A.D. 716. *Council of Clovesho, in which the Privilege of Wihtræd to the Churches of Kent was confirmed*<sup>a</sup>.

Hoc privilegium præscriptum (the privilege of Wihtræd, p. 238, above) ex altera parte (of the sheet on which the charter was written) Ecclesiis Dei constitutum Wihtrædo Regi Cantuariorum, roboratum est atque firmatum in synodo mense Julio in loco qui vocatur Clovesho cum auctoritate omnium quorum hæc sunt nomina adscripta; anno ab Incarnatione Domini D<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XVI<sup>o</sup>, indictione XIII., anno primo regni Regis Æthelbaldi Merciorum. Si quis autem tyrannica potestate inflatus ex habitu sæcularium seu ecclesiasticorum infringere, minuere, temptaverit, auctoritatem Archiepiscopi et Christi Ecclesiæ, vel libertatem cœnobiarum, carebit lætitia et communione nostrorum omnium vivens et moriens, non solum ipse sed et qui ei viventi vel morienti conjungitur, nisi digna satisfactione correxerit iudicio Episcoporum.

✠ Ego Berntwaldus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hoc privilegium in synodo constitutum subscripsi.

- ✠ Ego Hedda Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Wor Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Ecgwine Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Forðhere Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Daniel Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Eadberht Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Acca Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Inguuald Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Haerdred Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Nothberd Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Torthhere Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Tobias Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Eadgar Episcopus hoc idem subscripsi.
- ✠ Signum manus Wihtbaldi Presbiteri.



## [COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

- ✠ Signum manus Boseli Presbiteri.  
 ✠ Signum manus Cylani Presbiteri.  
 ✠ Signum manus Vultfriði Presbiteri.  
 ✠ Signum manus Wilegeldi Presbiteri.  
 ✠ Signum manus Badowini Presbiteri.  
 ✠ Signum manus Eadbaldi Presbiteri.  
 ✠ Signum manus Eoredi Diaconi.  
 ✠ Signum manus Aðugilsi Præpositi.  
 ✠ Signum manus Ludhere Præpositi.  
 ✠ Signum manus Duddan Præpositi.  
 ✠ Signum manus Albin Abbatis.  
 ✠ Signum manus Æthelfriði Comitis. ✠ Beornheard. ✠ Passa.  
 ✠ Abba. ✠ Dunna. ✠ Wilbald. ✠ Ecça. ✠ Egisberth.  
 ✠ Aldwlf. ✠ Scireheard. ✠ Fug. ✠ Herewald. ✠ Adulf.  
 ✠ Ayinges. ✠ Acca. ✠ Bregwald. ✠ Siba. ✠ Genbald.  
 ✠ Pohha. ✠ Tuna. ✠ Tigga. ✠ Gormund. [*MS. Lambeth*  
 1212, p. 386.]

\* This document, which immediately follows the Privilege of Wihtrud in the Canterbury Cartulary, and of which no other copy is known, is now printed for the first time. It must have been known to Spelman and Kemble, the latter of whom certainly, and the former probably, used the MS. Of course its authenticity stands or falls with that of the Privilege; and there are one or two suspicious marks about the Act itself, independently of the connexion. The Indiction is made XIII. instead of XIV.: and the appearance of some of the Bishops among the subscribers is at first sight puzzling. It may however be said, (1) that so slight an error in the Indiction as the reading of XIII. for XIV. is not sufficient to vitiate a copy, although it might be fatal to a pretended original; and (2) that the attestations, on careful examination, are not inconsistent with probability; whilst there is considerable difficulty in supposing them to be the work of a forger. The names of the Bishops stand thus. I. The Mercian; Hedda of Lichfield, Wor also of Lichfield, and Egwine of Worcester. II. The West Saxon; Forthere of Sherborne, Daniel of Winchester, Eadberht of Selsey. III. Acca, Bishop of Hexham. IV. The East-Saxon and East-Anglian; Ingwald of London, Haerdred of Dunwich, Nothbert of Elmham. V. Torthere of Hereford. VI. Tobias of Rochester. VII. Eadgar of Lindsey. The difficulties are (1) The appearance of Bishop Wor in company with his predecessor Hedda in the

same list. (2) The appearance of the Northumbrian Bishop Acca in a Southumbrian council. But to these it may be replied, (1) That Hedda was the Bishop of two sees, Lichfield and Leicester, in both of which it is generally stated (*Wbarton, A. S., I. 428*) that he was succeeded by Aldwin, who bore also the name of Wor. The practice of a Bishop nominating or accepting a successor during his own lifetime was however at this period too common to allow us to argue the point without considering the probability that Wor had been so nominated either to one or both of Hedda's dioceses. In this way Bishop Daniel of Winchester (705-744), John of York (res. 718, d. 721), Wilfrid of Worcester (717-743), Æthelbert of York (res. 778, d. 780), are known to have acted. And it is more probable in the case of a double diocese, in which, as in this case, the sees had been divided between two Bishops and reunited under the survivor. (2) The presence of Acca in a Southumbrian council is easily accounted for if we remember that this is the first year, and the council probably the first council, of the reign of Ethelbald, who was the most powerful King, although not perhaps yet (as he afterwards became) the supreme ruler, of the whole of Southern England. Acca may have been sent on a mission of recognition to Ethelbald: of course there would be much other business besides the confirmation of Wihtrud's charter to be done on such an occasion. On the other hand, it may be said

## [LETTER COMMENDATORY OF WINFRID.]

that the whole of the attestations correspond with other historical data; and do not, as is the case with forged charters, either present a quantity of anachronisms, or merely repeat the list of subscriptions from a genuine one. We possess no other charter with the same set of signatures. The difference on this head between this, and a forged charter claiming the same date, may be seen by

comparing the text with *K. C. D.*, LXVI. It is however worth remarking that the list in the text has formed the basis of the subscriptions to the false council of Bapchild of A.D. 798 (*K. C. D.*, MXXIII.), which is really a clumsy misrepresentation of the genuine Act of Archbishop Ethelheard in the council of Clovesho of A.D. 803 (*K. C. D.*, MXXIV.; and below, *ad ann.*).

A.D. 718. *Epistola Commendatoria, given by Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to Winfrith (S. Boniface) on his final departure as a Missionary to Frisia<sup>a</sup>.*

*Piissimis ac clementissimis regibus, ducibus universis, reverentissimis et dilectissimis Episcopis, relegiosis nec non abbatibus, presbiteris, et spiritalibus filiis Christi nomine consignatis, DANIEL DEI FAMULORUM FAMULUS.*

Dum universis fidelibus devotione sincerissima Dei mandata sunt observanda, quantum sit hospitalitatis munus quamque acceptabile Deo humanitatis officium viantibus exhibere, sanctis scripturis attestantibus demonstratur. Dum et beatus Abraham propter hospitalitatis misericordiam sanctorum angelorum præsentiam suscipere meruit et venerando eorum colloquio perpotiri. Loth quoque per hujusmodi ministerium pietatis de Sodomorum flammis ereptus est; salvavit eum hospitalitatis gratia de flammarum interitu, mandatis cælestibus obsequentem. Ita et vestræ dilectioni proveniet ad salutem, dum, horum portitorem relegiosum presbiterum Deique omnipotentis famulum suscipientes Wynfrithum, caritatem ei, quam Deus et diligit et precipit, exhibetis. Recipientes ergo Dei famulos, eum recipitis, cujus majestati deserviunt ita pollicenti: "Qui vos recipit, me recipit." Hæc itaque cum cordis devotione facientes, et Dei mandata peragitis et, de Divinæ promissionis oraculo confidentes, mercedem apud Eum habebitis sempiternam. Incolumem eminentiam vestram superna gratia custodiat. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, n. 11; ed. Würdtwein, n. 1.]

<sup>a</sup> S. Boniface first attempted to preach to the Frisians in A.D. 716, but returned shortly after to England. His final departure was in A.D. 718. See Würdtwein's notes on S. Boniface's letters, and Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord.*

*S. B.* sæc. III. pt. 2, p. 9. Archbishop Brihtwald joined in sending him upon his mission (*Bonif. Notbelmo*, Ep. 30, ed. Jaffé; Ep. 40, ed. Würdtwein).

A.D. 719, May 15. *Letter of Pope Gregory II. to Boniface, enjoining on him the work of converting the pagans.*

GREGORIUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *Bonifatio relegioso presbitero.* Exigit manifestata nobis relegiosi propositi tui, pie in Christo flagrantis, intentio et adprobata sincerissima fidei tuæ perlata relatio: ut ad dispensationem verbi Divini, cujus per gratiam Dei curam gerimus, te conministro utamur. Experientes proinde, te ab infantia sacras literas didicisse profectusque indolem ad augmentum crediti cælitus talenti prospectu Divini amoris extendere, videlicet gratiam cognitionis cælestis oraculi in laborem salutiferæ prædicationis—ad innotescendum gentibus incredulis mysterium fidei—instanti conatu expendere; conlætatur fidei tuæ et adjuutores effici cupimus gratiæ prærogatæ. Idcirco, quia præmissi conatus pium affectum usque ad apostolicæ sedis modesta prævisione perduxisti consultum—ut, membrum ex membro, proprii corporis caput requirens, motum mentis probares; capitisque arbitrio humiliter te submittens, ejus directioni justo tramite properans, solidati conpaginis plenitudo exsistas—ideo in nomine indivisibilis Trinitatis per inconcussam auctoritatem beati Petri apostolorum principis, cujus doctrinæ magisteriis dispensatione fungimur et locum sacre sedis amministramus, modestiam tuæ relegionis instituimus. Atque præcipimus, ut in verbo gratiæ Dei—quo igne salutifero, quem mittere Dominus venit in terram, enitere videris—ad gentes quascumque infidelitatis errore detentas properare Deo comitante potueris, ministerium regni Dei per insinuationem nominis Christi Domini Dei nostri veritatis suasionem designes et per spiritum virtutis et dilectionis ac sobrietatis prædicationem utriusque testamenti mentibus indoctis consona ratione transfundas. Disciplinam denique sacramenti, quam ad initiandos Deo prævio credituros tenere studeas, ex formula officiorum sanctæ nostræ apostolicæ sedis—instructionis tuæ gratia, prælibata—volumus ut intendas. Quod vero actioni susceptæ tibi deesse perspexeris, nobis, ut valueris, intimare curabis. Bene vale. Data Id. Maii, imperante domno piissimo augusto Leone a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno tertio, post consulatum ejus anno tertio, indictione secunda. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, n. 12; ed. Würdtwein, n. 2.]

[INSTRUCTIONS FOR WINFRITH'S MISSION.]

A.D. 719 × 722<sup>a</sup>. *Instructions of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to Boniface as to the conduct of his Mission.*

*Venerando et amando antestiti Bonifacio DANIEL PLEBI DEI FAMULUS.*  
 Quamvis, mi frater consacerdosque carissime, te primam virtutum promereri gaudeam palmam—qui saxea stiriliaque actenus gentilium corda, fidei magnitudine fretus, fiducialiter adgrediendo, vomere evangelicæ prædicationis infatigabiliter subigens in glebas fertiles cotidiano labore convertere niteris, ut vere tibi aptari profeticum evangelicumque dictum possit: “Vox clamantis in deserto” et cetera—tamen secundæ portio palmæ non incongrue ipsis etiam præstabitur, qui tam pio tam salubri operi congratulando quibus valent subsidiis favent, eorumque indigentiam competentibus amminiculis supplent, quo alacris ceptum prædicationis opus et sequentes Christo generare filios studeant.

Unde et devota benivolentia pauca tuæ suggerere prudentiæ curavi, quo magis advertas secundum meum sensum, qua potissimum ratione obstinationem agrestium convincere promptus queas. Neque enim contraria eis de ipsorum, quamvis falsorum, deorum genealogia astruere debes ..... secundum eorum opinionem. Quoslibet ab aliis generatos per complexum mariti ac feminæ concede eos asserere; ut saltim modo, hominum natos deos ac deas homines potius non deos fuisse, et cepisse qui ante non erant, probes.

Cum vero, initium habere deos, utpote alios ab aliis generatos, coacti didicerint, item interrogandi: utrum initium habere hunc mundum an sine initio semper exstitisse arbitrentur. Si initium habuit, quis hunc creavit? cum procul dubio ante constitutionem sæculi nullatenus genitis diis inveniunt subsistendi vel habitandi locum. Mundum enim non hanc visibilem tantum cælum et terram sed cuncta etiam extenta locorum spatia—quæ ipsi quoque pagani suis imaginare cogitationibus possunt—dico. Quodsi sine initio semper exstitisse mundum contenderint—quod multis refutare ac convincere documentis argumentisque stude—tamen altercantes interroga: quis ante natos deos mundo imperaret? quis regeret? quomodo autem suo subdere dominatui vel sui juris facere mundum, ante se semper subsistentem, potuerunt? unde autem vel a quo vel quando substitutus aut genitus primus deus vel dea fuerat? utrum

[INSTRUCTIONS FOR WINFRITH'S MISSION.]

autem adhuc generare deos deasque alios aliasque suspicantur? Vel, si jam non generant, quando vel cur cessaverunt a concubitu et partu; si autem adhuc generant, infinitus jam deorum effectus numerus est. Et quis tam inter tot tantosque potentior sit, incertum mortalibus est; et valde cavendum, ne in potentiolem quis offendat. Utrum autem pro temporali ac præsentī, an potius pro æterna et futura beatitudine colendi sint, arbitrantur? Si pro temporali, in quo jam feliciores pagani Christianis sunt, dicant. Quid autem se suis conferre sacrificiis lucri diis suspicantur pagani, cuncta sub potestate habentibus? Vel cur, in potestate sibi subjectorum fieri, permittunt ipsi dii, quod ipsis tribuant? Si talibus indigent, cur non ipsi magis potiora elegerunt? Si autem non indigent, superflue jam talibus hostiarum conlationibus placare se posse deos putant.

Hæc et his similia multa alia, quæ nunc enumerare longum est, non quasi insultando vel inritando eos, sed placide ac magna obicere moderatione debes. Et per intervalla nostris, id est Christianis, hujusmodi comparandæ sunt dogmatibus superstitiones, et quasi e latere tangendæ; quatenus magis confuse quam exasperate pagani erubescant pro tam absurdis opinionibus et ne, nos latere ipsorum nefarios ritus ac fabulas, estimant.

Hoc quoque inferendum: Si omnipotentes sunt dii et benefici et justī, non solum suos remunerant cultores, verum etiam puniunt contemptores. Et si hæc utraque temporaliter faciunt, cur ergo parcunt Christianis, totum pene orbem ab eorum cultura avertentibus idolaque evertentibus? Et cum ipsi, id est Christiani, fertiles terras vinique et olei feraces ceterisque opibus habundantes possident provincias, ipsis autem, id est paganis, frigore semper rigentes terras cum eorum diis reliquerunt; in quibus, jam tamen toto orbe pulsī, falso regnare putantur.

Inferenda quoque sepius eis est orbis auctoritas Christiani; in quorum comparatione ipsi paucissimi in vanitate antiqua adhuc perseverant.

Et ne quasi de legitimo semper a principio super ipsas gentes deorum jactitent imperio, intimandum eis: cunctum prius mundum idolorum deditum culturæ, donec Christi gratia—veri omnipotentis Conditoris Rectoris uniusque Dei notitia inluminatus—vivificatus reconciliatusque Deo est. Nam, quod apud Christianos fidelium cotidie baptizantur filii, quid aliud faciunt, nisi a sorde et reatu

[GRANT OF INE TO GLASTONBURY.]

gentilitatis, quo totus olim constitutus mundus est, per singulos eos purgant?

Hæc caritatis intuitu, frater mi, breviter tuæ commemorare libuit dilectioni, et qui corporali prægravatus languore laboro ita, ut congrue illud psalmiste dicere possim: "Cognovi, Domine, quia justum iudicium Tuum, et vere me affixisti." Unde obnixius tuam peto reverentiam, quatenus cum his, qui tecum Christo in spiritu serviunt, pro me supplicationum fundere preces digneris: ut Dominus, Qui me vino compunctionis potavit, cito Sua etiam anticipet misericordia; ut, Qui juste corripuit, clementer ignoscat profeticumque illud Sua faciat pietate me quoque gratulabundum posse cantare: "Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes Tuæ, Domine, lætificaverunt animam meam." Opto, ut in Christo bene valeas et mei memineris, consacerdos carissime. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 15; ed. Würdtwein, no. 14.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is fixed within these limits by the fact that Daniel had heard of Boniface's success in his mission begun A.D. 718; and

that Boniface is not addressed as a Bishop: he was consecrated Nov. 30, 722. (See Jaffé, *Pref. to Mon. Mog.*, p. 21.)

A.D. 723, July 20. *Grant of Ine, King of Wessex, to Glastonbury*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ In nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis! Anno Incarnationis Salvatoris humani generis DCLXIII., Indictione sexta, XIII. kalendas Augusti; scripta est pagina privilegii. Ego Ini Rex Saxonum, pro remedio animæ meæ aliquam partem terræ donans impendo, id est decem cassatos, Hemgislo abbati, cum pontificis nostri consilio, consentiente Baldredo qui hanc terram donavit ei per petitionem Sigehris: per me donatio hæc imperpetuum sit confirmata ut nullus infringere audeat. Terra autem hæc sita est in monte et circa montem qui dicitur Brente; habens ab occidente Sabrinam, ab aquilone Axam, ab oriente Termic, ab austro Siger. Siquis vero cupiditate inlectus voluerit irritam facere hanc donationem, sciat se rationem Domino redditurum. ✠ Ego Hæddi Episcopus consentiens propriis manibus subscripsi.

Hæc enim sunt nomina testium subrogatorum posterioris temporis, pro majoris munimine firmamenti. ✠ Ego Baldredus Rex. ✠ Ego Æthelbaldus Rex. ✠ Ego Hereuualdus speculator æclesiæ Dei, cum multis aliis. Isti præfati, ne sequentium rapacitas præcedentium irrumperet instituta, hiis verbis inhibitionem

## [GLASTONBURY CHARTERS]

indidisse videntur. Siquis autem vobis deinceps tempore hoc infringere, tot nobilitatis gradibus roboratum, præsumeret jus, sit a consortio bene merentium anathema, rapaciumque collegio adplicitus temeritatis suæ commissa luat, sub diris dentibus salamandri, Cerberique rictibus reatum exsolvat proprium sine fine semper mœrens. Siquis vero benivola intentione potius præditus hæc exacta decernit, possideat bona sempiterna cum bene merentibus. [*K. C. D.*, *LXXI.*, from MS. Bodl. Wood 1; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 49.]

<sup>a</sup> This charter is regarded by Kemble as genuine, but interpolated. There are intermediate but spurious grants to Glastonbury since Headdi's of A.D. 680; one of Baldred, A.D. 681; and of Ini himself, June, A.D. 702; and A.D. 704 (*K. C. D.*, *XX.*, *XLIX.*, *LI.*). But this is the next and only remaining genuine

charter of this period, and there are very strong suspicions even against this; it being (evidently) misdated A.D. 663, and signed by Bishop Hæddi who died A.D. 705. The great charter of Ine, granting privileges to Glastonbury, in *W.*, I. 79. and *K. C. D.*, *LXXIII.*, dated A.D. 725, is forged.

## APPENDIX.

A.D. 725. *Spurious Charter of Ine to Glastonbury.*

✠ Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster! Quæcunque secundum decreta canonum, atque æcclesiastica instituta salubri consilio diffiniuntur, tanquam sermo tantum absque textu sufficeret, tamen quoniam plerumque nostris temporibus tempestates, et turbines sæcularium rerum, etiam portas æcclesiæ pulsant, iccirco operæ prætium censuimus, ob cautelam futurorum, ea quæ diffinita sunt paginis scripturarum annectere, ne inposterum oblivioni tradita ignorentur. Qua propter ego Ini, regali fretus dignitate a Domino, cum consilio Sexburgæ Reginæ et licentia Beorhtuualdi Dorobernensis æcclesiæ pontificis, et omnium suffraganeorum suorum, necnon etiam hortatu Baldredi et Æthelhardi subregulorum, æcclesiæ vetustæ, quæ est in loco qui dicitur Glasteie, quam magnus Sacerdos et Pontifex summus angelorum obsequio Sibi ac perpetuæ virgini Mariæ, beato David, multis et inauditis miraculis, olim Se sanctificasse innotuit, ex hiis, quæ paterna hæreditate possideo et in dominium peculiare teneo, locis continuis et congruentibus concedo, ad supplementum vitæ regularis, et ad usum monachorum: Brente decem hidas, Souuig duodecim hidas, Pultun viginti hidas, Dulting viginti hidas, Blendeneie unam hidam, cum hiis omnibus que antecessores mei eidem æcclesiæ contulerunt: Keneuualchius, qui sancto Theodoro Archiepiscopo interveniente, Ferlingamere, Boekereie, Godeneie, Martineseie, Eadredeseie; Kentuinus Rex qui Glastingie matrem sanctorum

[GLASTONBURY CHARTER.]

vocare solitus fuerat, et eam ab omni sæculari et æcclesiastico obsequio immunem statuit, et hanc privilegii dignitatem concessit, ut habeant fratres ejusdem loci potestatem elegendi, et constituendi sibi rectorem juxta regulam sancti Benedicti: Hædde Episcopus qui, Cædualla annuente et propria manu, licet paganus, confirmante, Lantocal: Baldred qui Penuuard, sex hidas: Ætheluard, qui Poholt, sexaginta hidas, me annuente et confirmante, dederunt. Quorum ego devotioni et benignæ petitioni assentio, et contra malignantium hominum et oblatrantium canum insidias, regalium munimine invigilo literarum; quatinus æcclesia Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ, sicut in regno Britannæ est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem, nec ulli omnino homini ancillare obsequium faciat in terris, quæ super choros angelorum dominatur in cælis. Igitur summo pontifice Gregorio annuente, et ut matrem Domini sui in sinum et protectionem sanctæ Romanæ æcclesiæ, me licet indignum cum ipsa suscipiente, consentientibus etiam omnibus Britannæ regibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, ducibus atque abbatibus, statuo ego atque confirmo; quatinus omnes terræ et loca, et possessiones beatæ Mariæ Glasteie sint quietæ, et ab omnibus regiis exactionibus et operibus que indici solent, videlicet expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione, et ab omni Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum promulgationibus et perturbationibus, sicut in antiquis ejusdem æcclesiæ cartis ratum esse invenitur, et a prædecessoribus meis, Keneualchio, Kentuino, Cædualla et Baldredo confirmatum esse dinoscitur, inconcussa et illibata permaneant. Et quæcumque immerserint causæ, in homicidiis, sacrilegiis, veneficiis, furtis, rapinis, in dispositione æcclesiarum, et descriptione et ordinatione clericorum, in conventiculis sinodalibus, et in omnibus judiciariis examinationibus, absque ullius hominis præjudicio, abbatis et conventus dispositione diffiniantur; sed et omnibus regni mei regibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Ducibus, et Principibus, super honorem suum et amorem meum præcipio, et omnibus, tam meis quam eorum ministris super salutem corporis sui præcipio, ne ullus eorum in insulam Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ Glasteie, nec ejusdem æcclesiæ possessiones, causa placitandi, perscrutandi, rapiendi, percipiendi, interdicens, vel aliquid faciendi quod ibidem Deo famulantibus possit esse in scandalum, audeat intrare. Illud autem omnipotentis Dei et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ, et beatorum Petri et Pauli et omnium intercessione sanctorum, interdictione interdicto, ne in ipsa Glastoniensi æcclesia, nec in æcclesiis sibi subditis, videlicet, Souuig, Brente, Merlinge, Scapeuic, Strete, Budcaeth, Piltun, nec in earum capellis, sed nec in insulis aliqua interveniente occasione Episcopus cathedram sibi Episcopalem statuere, nec missas solempne celebrare, nec altaria consecrare, nec æcclesias dedicare, nec ordines facere,



## [GLASTONBURY CHARTER.]

nec aliquid omnino disponere præsumat, nisi ab abbate, vel a fratribus invitatus fuerit; quod si ad hæc invitatus fuerit nihil de rebus æcclesiæ sed nec de ipsis oblationibus ipse sibi aliquid usurpet. Duobus in locis ex ipsius æcclesiæ possessionibus duas ei delegamus mansiones, unam in Poholt, alteram in villa quæ Piltona dicitur, ut habeat ubi adveniens hospitetur, vel inde veniens, sese recipiat. Neque enim eum ibi, nisi importunitate temporis aut molestia corporis detentus fuerit, aut ab abbate, vel a fratribus rogatus fuerit, nec amplius quam cum tribus aut cum quatuor clericis, pernoctare licet. Hoc etiam provideat idem Episcopus, ut singulis annis cum clericis suis qui Fontanetum sunt, ipsam matrem suam, Glastoniensem videlicet æcclesiam, feria secunda post ascensionem Domini, cum Letania recognoscat. Quod si superbia inflatus eam distulerit, et quæ superius dicta et confirmata sunt, prevaricaverit, mansiones sibi superius delegatas amittat. Abbas vel monachi a quocumque voluerint Episcopo qui Pascha canonicum celebret, æcclesiastica sacramenta in Glastoniensi æcclesia, aut in æcclesiis sibi subjectis, aut in earum capellis percipiant. Quisquis autem hujus meæ munificentia, et libertatis testamentum, quovis deinceps tempore, aliqua occasione, cujuslibet etiam dignitatis vel professionis vel gradus, pervertere vel in irritum deducere temptaverit, sciat se cum Juda proditore æterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum perituro flammis. Scripta est autem hujus donationis et privilegii pagina, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis septingentesimo vicesimo quinto, indictione quarta, sub presentia Ine Regis, et Beorhtuualdi Dorobernensis pontificis, venerandorumque antistitum Danielis atque Fordredis et aliorum, quorum nomina inferius annotantur.

✠ Ego Ini Rex propria manus subscriptione hanc donationem et libertatem, sub sigillo sanctæ crucis, ratam fieri decerno. ✠ Ego Æthilburga Regina consensi. ✠ Ego Baldredus Rex confirmavi. ✠ Ego Æthilhard frater Reginae consensi. ✠ Ego Beorhtuualdus Dorobernensis æcclesiæ Archiepiscopus, Ine Regis donationem et libertatem sub sigillo sanctæ crucis coroboravi. ✠ Ego Daniel plebis Dei inspector, adquevi. ✠ Ego Fordredus Episcopus signum crucis impressi. ✠ Uualdhere præfectus, Bruta præfectus, Æthelheard, Umring præfectus, Uuincelin comes, cum præsentia populationis consenserunt et firmaverunt. [*K. C. D.*, LXXIII. <sup>a</sup>; *W. Malm. De Antiqq. Glast.*, ed. Gale, p. 311; *W.*, I. 79; *S.*, I. 227.]

<sup>a</sup> Kemble prints another charter (no. LXXIV.) of Ine to Glastonbury, dated A.D. 725; but it

contains nothing of interest, and is marked as spurious.

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO PECTHELM.]

Before A.D. 731. *Restoration of the See of Galloway at Whithern.*

BÆD. *H. E.*, V. 23.—Pecthelm<sup>a</sup> (præsulum tenet) in ea (ecclesia) quæ Candida Casa vocatur, quæ nuper multiplicatis fidelium plebibus in sedem pontificatus addita ipsum primum habet antistitem. [*M. H. B.* 284.]

<sup>a</sup> "Cum Aldhelmo multo tempore diaconus sive monachus" (*B.*, V. 18); where S. Boniface knew him (*Epist. S. Bonif.*, XXIX.): he

died in A.D. 735 (*Flor. Wig.*). See also above in vol. II., under the church of Strathelyde.

A.D. 730 × 735. *Letter of Boniface to Pecthelm asking whether a man may marry a woman for whose son he has been sponsor.*

*Venerando fratri immo diligendo Pecthelmo coepiscopo* BONIFACIUS EXIGUUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI OPTABILEM IN CHRISTO CARITATIS SALUTEM. Paternam sanctitatis vestræ clementiam intimis obnixè flagitamus precibus, quia nobis opus est periclitantibus: ut vestris Deo dignis orationibus adjuvemur; et, quia Germanicum mare periculosum est navigantibus, vestris precibus et Deo gubernante ad æternæ tranquillitatis litus sine macula vel damno animæ perveniamus; et, dum cæcis proprias tenebras ignorantibus et aspicere nolentibus lumen evangelicæ veritatis offerre nitimur, tenebris priorum peccaminum non involvamus; et non in vacuum curramus aut cucurrissimus; sed, vestris intercessionibus fulti, ad æternitatis lumen immaculati et inluminati tendamus. Preterea parva munuscula pro indicio caritatis vobis direximus, id est corporale pallium, albis stigmatibus variatum, et villosam ad tergendos pedes servorum Dei. Quæ petimus ut pro memoria accipere non dedignemini.

De una quoque re vestrum consilium et responsum audire desideramus. Adfirmant sacerdotes per totam Franciam et per Gallias nec non et pro his: maximi criminis reum esse hominem, qui in matrimonium acciperit illam viduam, cujus antea filium in baptismo adoptivum suscipiebat. Quod peccati genus, si verum est, actenus ignorabam, et nec in antiquis canonibus nec in decretis pontificum patres nec in calculo peccatorum apostolos usquam enumerasse cognovi. Qua de re si aliquid uspiam in ecclesiasticis scriptis disputatum invenissetis, nobis indicare curate; et quid vobis videatur, nosse velimus. Sospitatem vestram sanctis virtutibus proficere, et longo tempore valere te cupio in Christo. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 29; ed. Würdtwein, no. 39.]

IX. TATWIN<sup>a</sup>, A.D. 731-734.

["Primas totius Insulæ" (*Greg. III. ad Episc. Angl.*<sup>b</sup>); "cui vices nostras per omnia in regione illa gerendas commisimus" (*Id., ibid.*); "accepto ab apostolica auctoritate pallio" (*Sim. Dun. ad ann. 733*); "Archiepiscopus nonus Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ" (*Ibid.*).

A.D. 731, June 10. Consecrated at Canterbury by four English Bishops, Daniel of Winchester, Ingwald of London, Ealdulf of Rochester, and Aldwin of Lichfield (*B. H. E., V. 23*).

A.D. 732, Feb. 20. Tatwin witnesses a grant of Ethelbert, King of Kent, to Abbot Dun (*K. C. D., LXXXVII.*).

A.D. 733. After the reception of the pall from Rome, Tatwin consecrates Alwig Bishop of Lindsey and Sigfrid Bishop of Selsey (*Cont. Bæd. M. H. B. 288; Sim. Dun. ad ann. 733*).

A.D. 734, July 30. Tatwin dies<sup>c</sup> (*Sim. Dun. ad ann. 734.*)

<sup>a</sup> A priest of the Mercian monastery of Bredon (*B., V. 23*). A book of Riddles attributed to Tatwin, resembling those ascribed to Aldhelm and Boniface, is extant, edited by Dr. Giles in his *Anecdota Bedæ*. pp. 25-34.

<sup>b</sup> Of questionable genuineness.

<sup>c</sup> The death of Tatwin is fixed to the year 734, by the best authority, that of the Cont.

*Bædæ, M. H. B. 288*; of Simeon of Durham, representing a Chronicle of the eighth century, and giving the date "3 kal. Augusti"; of the Canterbury Chroniclers represented by Birchington, *A. S., I. 3*, who gives three years as the length of his pontificate. According to Elmham, however, p. 311, he died July 31, A.D. 735.

A.D. 733. *Letter of Pope Gregory III. to the English Bishops on behalf of Tatwin*<sup>a</sup>. (Questionable.)

GREGORIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Episcopis Angliæ salutem.* Dei omnipotentis immensæ pietatis magnitudinem collaudamus, Qui Suæ majestatis gloriam sic dilatare dignatus est, ut in omnem terram exierit jam sonus prædicatorum Suorum, et in fines omnis terræ verba eorum. Cujus ineffabili pietatis gratia, sicut noscitur procreati, ita quoque sumus adoptati, sanctæ regenerationis portantes mysterium in spem gloriæ filiorum Dei per Jhesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Reverentiæ itaque vestræ dicato collegio collætantes, ut in fide stabiles, et in opere efficaces inveniamini, hortamur honore invicem prævenientes, et alter alterius onera portantes, quia sic adimplebitis legem Christi, caritatem continuam habentes in dilectione Dei et proximi, sine qua impossibile est placere Deo. Fratris igitur nostri Tatwini, qui beatæ memoriæ

[LETTER OF GREGORY III. TO TATWIN.]

Augustini prædicatoris vestri cathedræ subrogatus est, adventus nos admodum lætificavit, quia virum religionis et magnæ probitatis, sub ipso tempore, quo apud nos stetit, eum cognovimus. Proinde auditis ejus petitionibus, antecessorum ejus jura dignitatis perquiri in sacro scrinio fecimus, et invenientes eum justa postulasse, sacrum pallium cum venerabili usu dalmaticæ, apostolica ei auctoritate tradidimus, annuentes quoque jura dignitatis omnia, quæ prædecessores sui a tempore beatæ memoriæ Augustini habuisse noscuntur. Sicut ergo sancti patris nostri Gregorii Romani pontificis decretum præfatum Augustino sincello suo, prædicatori vestro, omnes Episcopos Angliæ subjecit, sic nos, Deo auctore et beato Petro apostolorum principe, licet indigni ejus nomine vicem gerentes, tibi, Tatwine, Doroberniæ civitatis Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus legitimis omnes ecclesias Britannicæ earumque rectores subijcimus, apostolica auctoritate præcipientes, ut omnis homo totius Angliæ tuis canonicis jussionibus obediat, et te sciat esse speculatorem atque primatem totius Insulæ, cui vices nostras per omnia gerendas in regione illa commisimus. Tuam autem Ecclesiam Doroberniæ constitutam, ut propriam et primam sobolem regionis vestræ in Christo specialiter sub tuitione manus nostræ tenemus, quam volumus in pacis tranquillitate vigere, ejusque jura et dignitatis privilegia in perpetuum immutilata servari, quia prima et mater est aliarum omnium, primitus in vestra regione constituta in honore Sancti Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Scriptum est enim: "Non est sanctus ut est Dominus." Et ubi est caput vegetum, reliqua membra fortius vegetantur. Vos itaque, fratres, hæc apostolicæ auctoritatis mandata cum alacritate et subjectionis reverentia audite et suscipite, et cum præfato fratre nostro Archiepiscopo vestro in messe Dei laborate. Si autem quis hæc perturbare voluerit, et nostræ diffinitionis statuta divellere contenderit ac violare, sciat se contra Ipsum mundi Salvatorem, et beati Petri auctoritatem niti; et ideo nisi resipuerit æternæ damnationis sententiam incurrere. Deus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi fratres. [*W. Malm. G. P., I., ed. Hamilton, pp. 55-57; W., I. 81.*]

<sup>a</sup> This is another of the Malmesbury series of letters; see above, p. 65. It is distinctly contradictory to the letters of Gregory I. to Augustin, and to Gregory III.'s own grant of a pall and archiepiscopate to Egbert of York in A.D. 735. It makes Tatwin go to Rome for his pall. Hitherto the pall has been sent to England. Gregory II. died Jan. 17, A.D.

731: and Tatwin had been consecrated before he went to Rome, according to the letter itself. Simeon of Durham (following the authority of a much earlier Chronicle) seems to date the receipt of the pall in A.D. 733, which is therefore the date of the letter, if it be genuine. If Egbert was consecrated Bishop of York in A.D. 734, the grant of the York

## [LETTER OF BONIFACE TO THE ENGLISH BISHOPS.]

pall must fall in the time of Nothelm, not of Tatwin; but it is possible that the negotiations were for some time in progress, and that the expulsion of Bishop Aeca from the see of Hexham may have been in some way

connected with the elevation of Egbert, the near kinsman of the Northumbrian King, to the rank of Archbishop. Egbert died Nov. 19, 766, in the 34th year of his pontificate (*Sim. D. ad ann.*).

A.D. 732 × 741<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of S. Boniface to all English Bishops and nation asking their prayers for the success of his Mission to the heathen Saxons.*

*Universis reverentissimis coepiscopis, venerabilibus presbiteratus candidatis gratia, diaconibus, canonicis, clericis, vero gregi Christi prelatibus abbatibus seu abbatisis, humillimis et pro Deo subditis monachis, consecratis et Deo devotis virginibus et cunctis consecratis ancillis Christi, immo generaliter omnibus catholicis Deum timentibus, de stirpe et prosapia Anglorum procreatis, ejusdem generis vernaculus, UNIVERSALIS ECCLESIE LEGATUS GERMANICUS ET SERVUS SEDIS APOSTOLICAE BONIFACIUS, QUI ET WYNFRETUS, SINE PRÆROGATIVA MERITORUM NOMINATUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, HUMILLIMÆ COMMUNIONIS ET SINCERISSIMÆ IN CHRISTO CARITATIS SALUTEM.* Fraternalitatis vestræ clementiam intimis obsecramus precibus, ut nostræ parvitatæ in orationibus vestris memores esse dignemini, ut liberemur a laqueo venantis Satanæ et ab inportunis et malis hominibus, et sermo Domini currat et clarificetur, et ut præcibus pietatis vestræ impetrare studeatis: ut Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem Dei venire, convertat ad catholicam fidem corda paganorum Saxonum; et respiscant a diabuli laqueis, a quibus capti tenentur, et adgregentur filiis matris ecclesiæ. Miseremini illorum, quia et ipsi solent dicere: "De uno sanguine et de uno osse sumus;" recordantes: quia adpropinquat via universæ terræ, et nemo in inferno confitebitur Domino neque mors laudabit Eum; et adpropinquat via universæ terræ. Et scitote: quod in hac prece duorum pontificum Romanæ ecclesiæ adstipulationem et consensum et benedictionem accepi. Agite nunc de hac obsecratione nostrâ, ut mercedis vestræ præmia in superna curia angelorum clarescant et crescant. Unitatem et communionem dilectionis vestræ valentem ac proficientem in Christo Creator omnipotens æternaliter custodiat. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 39, ed. Würdtwein, no. 36.]

<sup>a</sup> Boniface received the pall from Pope Gregory III. (*Willibald, V. Bonif.*, ap. Jaffé, p. 454) about the year 732: and the letter

seems to have been written soon after, from the prominence given to the title of Archbishop.

A.D. 734<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Bede to Egbert, Bishop of York<sup>b</sup>, on the state of the Northumbrian Church.*

1. *Dilectissimo ac reverentissimo antistiti Egbercto, BÆDA FAMULUS CHRISTI SALUTEM.* Memini te hesterno dixisse anno, cum tecum aliquot diebus legendi gratia in monasterio tuo demorarer, quod hoc etiam anno velles, cum in eundem devenires locum, me quoque, ob commune legendi studium, ad tuum accire colloquium. Quod si ita, Deo volente, posset impleri, non opus esset tibi hæc per literas scripta dirigere; cum possem liberius ore ad os loquens, quæquæ vellem, sive necessaria ducerem, secreta tibi allocutione suggerere. Verum quia hoc ne fieret, superveniens, ut nosti, corporis mei validudo prohibuit: agere tamen quod potui, erga dilectionem tuam fraternæ devotionis intuitu, curavi, mittendo videlicet per literas quod corporaliter veniendo per colloquationem nequiveram. Precorque te per Dominum, ne harum apices literarum arrogantiae supercilium esse suspiceris, sed obsequium potius humilitatis ac pietatis veraciter esse cognoscas.

Exhortor itaque tuam, dilectissime in Christo antistes, sanctitatem, ut gradum sacrosanctum quem tibi Auctor graduum et spiritualium largitor charismatum committere dignatus est, sacrosancta et operatione et doctrina confirmare memineris. Neutra enim hæc virtus sine altera, rite potest impleri: si aut is qui bene vivit docendi officium negligit, aut recte docens antistes rectam exercere operationem contemnit. Qui autem utrumque veraciter agit, profecto talis servus adventum Domini sui gratulabundus expectat, sperans se citius auditurum: “Euge serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam: intra in gaudium Domini tui.” Si quis vero, quod absit, gradu Episcopatus accepto, nec seipsum a malis actibus bene vivendo, nec subditam sibi plebem castigando, vel admonendo corrigere curat: quid huic veniente Domino, hora qua non sperat, eventurum sit, evangelica manifeste sententia declarat, qua dicitur ad inutilem servum: “Ejicite in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.”

2. Ante omnia sane tuæ sanctæ paternitati suadeo, ut ab otiosis te confabulationibus, obtrectationibus, cæterisque linguæ indomitæ contagiis pontificali dignitate coerceas: divinis autem eloquiis ac meditationibus scripturarum linguam simul et mentem occupes, et

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

maxime legendis beati Pauli apostoli epistolis ad Timotheum et Titum, sed et verbis sanctissimi Papæ Gregorii quibus de vita simul et vitiis rectorum sive in libro Regulæ Pastoralis seu in homeliis Evangelii multum curiose disseruit, ut sit sermo tuus semper sapientiæ sale conditus, eminentior vulgari locutione, ac divino auditui dignior elucescat. Sicut enim indecens est, si vasa altaris sacrosancta vulgaribus unquam usibus ac vilibus prophanentur officiis, ita perversum omni modo ac miserum est, si is qui ad consecranda in altari Dominica sacramenta ordinatus est, nunc quidem eisdem conficiendis sacramentis Domino famulaturus assistat, nunc egressus ecclesiam ipso ore eisdemque manibus quibus paulo ante sacra tractaverat, repente frivola loqui vel agere Dominum offensurus incipiat.

Ad custodiendam vero linguæ vel operis munditiam, cum lectione divina, etiam societas eorum qui Christo fideli devotione famulantur, plurimum juvat. Ut si quando vel lingua lascivire, vel operatio prava mihi subrepere cœperit, mox sociorum fidelium manu ne cadere valeam sustenter. Quod cum omnibus Dei famulis sibimet ita prospicere utillimum sit, quanto magis illi gradui qui non suimet tantummodo curam agere, sed etiam erga commissam sibi ecclesiam necesse habet studium salutis impendere; juxta illum qui dixit, "præter ea quæ extrinsecus sunt instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?" Quod non ita loquor, quasi te aliter facere sciam, sed quia de quibusdam Episcopis fama vulgatum est, quod ipsi ita Christo serviant, ut nullos secum alicujus religionis aut continentię viros habeant: sed potius illos qui risui, jocos, fabulis, commensationibus et ebrietatibus, cæterisque vitæ remissioris illecebris subigantur, et qui magis quotidie ventrem dapibus, quam mentem sacrificiis cœlestibus pascant. Quos tua sancta auctoritate si alicubi repereris velim corrigas, moneasque illos tales suæ conversationis diurnæ sive nocturnæ testes habere, qui et actione Deo digna et exhortatione congrua prodesse populis, ac spiritale ipsorum antistitum opus juvare sufficiant. Lege enim Actus Apostolorum, et videbis, referente beato Luca, quales secum comites apostoli Paulus et Barnabas habuerint, quid etiam ipsi, ubicunque devenissent, operis egerint. Statim namque ut civitates vel synagogas ingressi sunt, verbum Dei prædicare, et per omnia disseminare curabant. Quod etiam te, dilectissimum mihi caput, sagaciter cupiam, ubicunque potes implere. In hoc namque officium a Domino electus, in hoc

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

consecratus es, ut verbum evangelizes virtute magna, præbente tibi auxilium ipso Rege virtutum Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Quod ita rite perficies si, ubicunque perveneris, mox collectis ad te ejusdem loci incolis, verbum illis exhortationis exhibueris, simul et exemplum vivendi una cum omnibus qui tecum venerint quasi cœlestis militiæ ductor ostenderis.

3. Et quia latiora sunt spatia locorum, quæ ad gubernacula tuæ diœcesis pertinent, quam ut solus per omnia discurrere, et in singulis viculis atque agellis verbum Dei prædicare, etiam anni totius emenso curriculo, sufficiat, necessarium satis est, ut plures tibi sacri operis adjutores adsciscas, presbyteros videlicet ordinando, atque instituendo doctores, qui in singulis viculis prædicando Dei verbo, et consecrandis mysteriis cœlestibus, ac maxime peragendis sacri baptismatis officiis, ubi opportunitas ingruerit, insistant. In qua videlicet prædicatione populis exhibenda, hoc præ cæteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam quæ apostolorum symbolo continetur, et Dominicam orationem quam sancti Evangelii nos Scriptura edocet, omnium qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriæ radicitus infixere cures. Et quidem omnes qui Latinam linguam lectionis usu didicerunt, etiam hæc optime didicisse certissimum est: sed idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriæ tantum linguæ notitiam habent, hæc ipsa sua lingua dicere, ac sedulo decantare facito. Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari adhuc vita constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis qui Latinæ sunt linguæ expertes fieri oportet. Sic enim fit, ut cœtus omnis fidelium quomodo fidelis esse, qua se firmitate credendi contra immundorum spirituum certamina munire atque armare debeat, discat: sic, ut chorus omnis Deo supplicantium quid maxime a Divina clementia quæri oporteat, agnoscat. Propter quod et ipse multis sæpe sacerdotibus idiotis hæc utraque, et symbolum videlicet, et Dominicam orationem in linguam Anglorum translatam obtuli. Nam et sanctus antistes Ambrosius hoc de fide loquens admonet, ut verba symboli matutinis semper horis fideles quique decantent, et hoc se quasi antidoto spiritali contra diaboli venena quæ illis interdum vel noctu astu maligno objicere possit, præmuniant. Orationem vero Dominicam sæpius decantari ipsa etiam nos consuetudo sedulæ deprecationis ac genuum flexionis docuit.

Quod si hæc ut suggerimus in regendis pascendisque Christi ovibus tua pastoralis auctoritas perfecit, dici non potest quantum tibi supernæ mercedis apud Pastorem pastorum in futuro præparaveris.



[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

Quanto enim rariora hujus sacratissimi operis in Episcopis nostræ gentis exempla reperis, tanto altiora singularis meriti præmia recipies; utpote qui populum Dei per crebram symboli vel orationis sacræ decantationem ad intellectum, amorem, spem, fidem, et inquisitionem eorundem quæ decantantur cœlestium donorum, paterna pietate ac sollicitudine provocatum accenderis. Sicut e contrario si commissum tibi a Domino negotium minus diligenter compleveris, pro retentione talenti cum servo nequam et pigro partem es recepturus in futuro: maxime si temporalia ab illis commoda requirere atque accipere præsumseris, quibus nulla cœlestis beneficii dona rependere probaveris. Cum enim Dominus mittens ad evangelizandum discipulos dixisset: “Euntes autem prædicate dicentes quia appropinquat regnum cœlorum:” paulo post subjunxit, dicens: “Gratis accepistis, gratis date; nolite possidere aurum, neque argentum.” Si ergo illos gratis Evangelium prædicare jussit, neque aurum vel argentum, vel aliquid pecuniæ temporalis ab eis quibus prædicabant accipere permisit: quid rogo illis qui his contraria gerunt, periculi immineat?

4. Attende quid gravissimi sceleris illi commiserint qui et terrena ab auditoribus suis lucra diligentissime requirere, et pro eorum salute æterna nihil omnino prædicando, vel exhortando, vel increpando, laboris impendere contendunt. Sollicite atque intentione curiosa, antistes dilectissime, perpende. Audivimus enim, et fama est, quia multæ villæ ac viculi nostræ gentis in montibus sint inaccessis ac saltibus dumosis positi, ubi nunquam multis transeuntibus annis sit visus antistes, qui ibidem aliquid ministerii aut gratiæ cœlestis exhibuerit; quorum tamen nec unus quidem a tributis antistiti reddendis esse possit immunis: nec solum talibus locis desit antistes qui manus impositione baptizatos confirmet, verum etiam omnis doctor qui eos vel fidei veritatem vel discretionem bonæ ac malæ actionis edoceat, absit. Sicque fit, ut Episcoporum quidam non solum gratis non evangelizent, vel manus fidelibus imponant; verum etiam, quod gravius est, accepta ab auditoribus suis pecunia, quam Dominus prohibuit, opus verbi quod Dominus jussit exercere contemnant: cum Deo dilectus pontifex Samuel, longe aliter fecisse omni populo teste legatur. “Itaque conversatus,” inquit, “coram vobis ab adolescentia mea usque ad diem hanc, ecce præsto sum, loquimini de me coram Domino, et coram christo Ejes, utrum bovem alicujus tulerim, an asinum, si quempiam calumniatus sum, si oppressi

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

aliquem, si de manu cujusquam munus accipi: et contemnam illud hodie, restituamque vobis. Et dixerunt: Non es calumniatus nos, neque oppressisti, neque tulisti de manu alicujus quippiam." Cujus innocentiae ac justitiae merito, inter primos populi Dei duces et sacerdotes annumerari, atque in precibus suis superno auditu atque alloquio dignus existere meruit, dicente Psalmographo: "Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus Ejus, et Samuel inter eos qui invocant nomen Ejus, invocabant Dominum et Ipse exaudiebat eos, in columna nubis loquebatur ad eos."

Si autem aliquid utilitatis fidelibus conferri manus impositione, qua Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, credimus et confitemur: constat e contrario, quod haec ipsa utilitas eis quibus manus impositio defuerit, abest. Cujus nimirum privatio boni ad quos amplius quam ad ipsos respicit antistites, qui illorum se promittunt esse praesules, quibus spiritalis officium praesulatus exhibere aut negligunt aut nequeunt? Cujus totius facinoris nulla magis quam avaritia causa est. Contra quam disputans apostolus, in quo Christus loquebatur, aiebat: "Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas." Et rursus: "Neque avari," inquit, "regnum Dei possidebunt." Cum enim antistes dictante amore pecuniae majorem populi partem, quam ulla ratione per totum anni spatium peragrare praedicando, aut circuire valuerit, in nomen sui praesulatus assumpserit: satis exitiale et sibimet ipsi, et illis quibus falso praesulis nomine praelatus est, comprobatur concinnare periculum.

5. Haec tuae sanctitati, dilectissime antistes, paucis de calamitate qua nostra gens miserrime laborat insinuans, obsecro sedulus, ut haec quae perversissime agi conspicias, quantum vales ad rectam vitae normam revocare contendas. Habes enim, ut credo, promptissimum tam justi laboris adiutorem, regem videlicet Ceoluulfum, qui et pro insita sibi dilectione religionis, quicquid ad regulam pietatis pertinet, firma protinus intentione adjuvare curabit, et maxime illa quae tu cum sis propinquus illius amantissimus bona coeperis, ipse ut perficiantur opitulabitur. Quapropter velim solerter illum admoneas, ut in diebus vestris statum nostrae gentis ecclesiasticum in melius quam hactenus fuerat instaurare curet. Quod non alio magis ut mihi videatur potest ordine perfici, quam si plures nostrae genti consecrentur antistites, exemplumque sequamini legislatoris, qui cum solus jurgia ac pondus Israeliticae plebis sustinere non posset, elegit sibi divino adjutus consilio, et consecravit septuaginta seniores quorum ope

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

atque consilio impositum sibi onus ferre levius posset. Quis enim non videat quanto sit melius tam enorme pondus ecclesiastici regiminis in plures, qui hoc dispertitum facilius ferant, dividi, quam unum sub fasce quem portare non possit opprimi. Nam et sanctus Papa Gregorius, cum de fide nostræ gentis, quæ adhuc futura et conservanda erat in Christo, ad beatissimum Archiepiscopum Augustinum missis literis disputaret, duodecim in ea Episcopos, postquam ad fidem venirent, ordinandos esse decrevit; in quibus Eburacensis antistes, accepto a sede apostolica pallio, metropolitanus esse deberet. Quem profecto numerum Episcoporum velim modo tua sancta paternitas, patrocinante præsidio piissimi ac Deo dilecti regis præfati, solerter implere contendat, quatenus abundante numero magistrorum, perfectius Ecclesia Christi in his quæ ad cultum sacræ religionis pertinent, instituat. Et quidem novimus quia per incuriam regum præcedentium, donationesque stultissimas factum est, ut non facile locus vacans ubi sedes Episcopalis nova fieri debeat, inveniri valeat.

Quapropter commodum duxerim, habito majori concilio et consensu pontificali simul et regali, edicto prospiciatur locus aliquis monasteriorum ubi sedes Episcopalis fiat. Et ne forte abbas vel monachi huic decreto contraire ac resistere tentaverint, detur illis licentia, ut de suis ipsi eligant eum qui Episcopus ordinetur, et adjacentium locorum quotquot ad eandem diocesim pertineant, una cum ipso monasterio curam gerat Episcopalem: aut si forte in ipso monasterio qui Episcopus ordinari debeat inveniri nequeat, in ipsorum tamen juxta statuta canonum pendeat examine, qui de sua diocesi ordinetur antistes. Quod si hoc, ita ut suggerimus, Domino adjuvante, perfeceris, facillime etiam, ut arbitramur, hoc obtinebis, ut juxta decreta sedis Apostolicæ, Eboracensis Ecclesia metropolitanum possit habere pontificem. Ac si opus esse visum fuerit, ut tali monasterio, causa Episcopatus suscipiendi, amplius aliquid locorum ac possessionum augeri debeat, sunt loca innumera, ut novimus omnes, in monasteriorum ascripta vocabulum, sed nihil prorsus monasticæ conversationis habentia: e quibus velim aliqua de luxuria ad castitatem, de vanitate ad temperantiam, de intemperantia ventris et gulæ ad continentiam et pietatem cordis synodica auctoritate transferantur, atque in adjutorium sedis Episcopalis quæ nuper ordinari debeat, assumantur.

6. Et quia hujusmodi maxima et plurima sunt loca, quæ, ut vulgo

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

dici solet, neque Deo neque hominibus utilia sunt, quia videlicet neque regularis secundum Deum ibidem vita servatur, neque illa milites sive comites secularium potestatum qui gentem nostram a barbaris defendant possident: si quis in eisdem ipsis locis pro necessitate temporum sedem Episcopatus constituat, non culpam prævaricationis incurrere, sed opus virtutis magis agere probabitur. Quomodo enim in peccatum reputari potest, si injusta principum judicia recto meliorum principum examine corrigantur: ac mendax stilus scribarum iniquorum discreta prudentium sacerdotum sententia deleatur ac redigatur in nihilum, juxta exemplum sacræ historiæ, quæ tempora regum Judæ a David et Salomone usque ad ultimum Zedechiam describens, nonnullos quidem in eis religiosos, sed plures reprobos exstitisse designat, vicibusque alternantibus nunc impios bonorum qui ante se fuerant facta reprobare, nunc e contrario justos impiorum qui se præcesserant gesta nociva, prout justum erat, juvante se Dei spiritu, per prophetas sanctos ac sacerdotes omni instantia correxisse; juxta illud beati Esaiæ præcipientis atque dicentis, “Dissolve colligationes violentarum commutationum. Dimitte confractos in remissionem, et omnem conscriptionem iniquam dirumpe.” Quo exemplo, tuam quoque sanctitatem decet cum religioso rege, nostræ gentis irreligiosa, et iniqua priorum gesta atque scripta convellere, et ea quæ provinciæ nostræ, sive secundum Deum, sive secundum seculum sint utilia, prospicere: ne nostris temporibus vel religione cessante, amor timorque interni deseratur inspectoris, vel rarescente copia militiæ secularis, absint qui fines nostros a barbarica incursione tueantur. Quod enim turpe est dicere, tot sub nomine monasteriorum loca hi qui monachicæ vitæ prorsus sunt expertes in suam ditionem acceperunt, sicut ipsi melius nostis, ut omnino desit locus, ubi filii nobilium aut emeritorum militum possessionem accipere possint: ideoque vacantes ac sine conjugio, exacto tempore pubertatis, nullo continentiæ proposito perdurent, atque hanc ob rem vel patriam suam pro qua militare debuerant trans mare abeuntes relinquunt; vel majori scelere atque impudentia, qui propositum castitatis non habent, luxuriæ ac fornicationi deserviant, neque ab ipsis sacratis Deo virginibus abstineant.

7. At alii graviori adhuc flagitio, cum sint ipsi laici et nullius vitæ regularis vel usu exerciti, vel amore præditi, data regibus pecunia, emunt sibi sub prætextu monasteriorum construendorum territoria in quibus suæ liberius vacent libidini, et hæc insuper in

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

ius sibi hæreditarium edictis regalibus faciunt ascribi, ipsas quoque literas privilegiorum suorum quasi veraciter Deo dignas, pontificum, abbatum et potestatum sæculi obtinent subscriptione confirmari. Sicque usurpatis sibi agellulis sive vicis, liberi exinde a Divino simul et humano servitio, suis tantum inibi desideriis laici monachis imperantes deserviunt: imo non monachos ibi congregant, sed quoscunque ob culpam inobedientiæ veris expulsos monasteriis alicubi forte oberrantes invenerint, aut evocare monasteriis ipsi valuerint; vel certe quos ipsi de suis satellitibus ad suscipiendam tonsuram promissa sibi obedientia monachica invitare quiverint. Horum distortis cohortibus suas quas instruxere cellas implent, multumque informi atque inaudito spectaculo, iidem ipsi viri modo conjugis ac liberorum procreandorum curam gerunt, modo exsurgentes de cubilibus, quid intra septa monasteriorum geri debeat, sedula intentione pertractant. Quin etiam suis conjugibus simili impudentia construendis, ut ipsi aiunt, monasteriis loca conquirunt, quæ pari stultitia cum sint laicæ, famularum se Christi permittunt esse retrices. Quibus apte convenit illud vulgi proverbium, quia vespæ favos quidem facere cum possint, non tamen in his mella, sed potius venena thesaurizent.

Sic per annos circiter triginta, hoc est, ex quo Aldfrid Rex humanis rebus ablatus est, provincia nostra vesano illo errore dementata est, ut nullus pene exinde præfectorum extiterit qui non hujusmodi sibi monasterium in diebus suæ præfecturæ comparaverit, suamque simul conjugem pari reatu nocivi mercatus astrinxerit: ac prævalente pessima consuetudine ministri quoque regis ac famuli idem facere sategerint; atque ita ordine perverso innumeri sint inventi, qui se abbates pariter et præfectos sive ministros aut famulos regis appellant, qui etsi aliquid vitæ monasterialis ediscere laici non experiendo sed audiendo potuerint, a persona tamen illa ac professione quæ hanc docere debeat, sunt funditus exsortes. Et quidem tales repente, ut nosti, tonsuram pro suo libitu accipiunt, suo examine de laicis non monachi, sed abbates efficiuntur. Sed quia præfatæ virtutis nec notitiam probantur habere nec studium, quid his aliud quam evangelica convenit maledictio illa, qua dicitur: "Cæcus si cæco ducatum præstet, ambo in foveam cadunt?" Quæ nimirum cæcitas posset aliquando terminari, ac regulari disciplina cohiberi, et de finibus sanctæ Ecclesiæ cunctis pontificali ac synodica auctoritate procul expelli, si non ipsi pontifices magis hujusmodi sceleribus opem ferre atque astipulari probarentur: qui non solummodo hujusmodi decreta

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

injusta justis infringere decretis non curant, verum suis potius subscriptionibus, ut præfati sumus, confirmare satagunt: eadem ipsi philargyria dictante ad confirmandum male scripta, qua emptores ad comparandum hujusmodi monasteria coacti.

Multa quidem adhuc tibi possem de his et hujusmodi prævaricationibus quibus nostra provincia miserrime vexatur, his intimare literis, si non te ipsum nossem hæc eadem certissime cognovisse. Nam neque hæc ita scripsi, quasi certissime te ea quæ antea nescires essem docturus, sed ut te amica exhortatione commonerem, ea quæ optime noveras errata diligenti prout vales instantia corrigere.

8. Et jam jamque te multum deprecor atque obtestor in Domino, ut commissum tibi gregem sedulus ab irruentium luporum improbitate tuearis: teque non mercenarium, sed pastorem constitutum esse memineris, qui amorem summi Pastoris solerti ovium Ipsius pastione demonstres, proque eisdem ovibus, si ita res poposcerit, cum beato apostolorum principe animam ponere paratus sis.

Precor sollicitè præcaveas, ne cum idem princeps apostolorum cæterique fidelium gregum duces in die judicii maximum suæ pastoralis curæ fructum Christo obtulerint, tuarum aliqua pars ovium inter hædos ad sinistram Judicis secerni, atque in æternum cum maledictione mereatur ire supplicium: quin potius ipse tunc eorum numero merearis ascribi, de quibus ait Esaias: "Minimus erit inter mille, et parvulus inter gentem fortissimam." Tui namque est officii diligentissime prospicere, quid in singulis monasteriis tuæ parochiæ recti, quid perversi geratur: ne vel abbas regularum inscius aut contemptor, vel abbatisa minus digna famulorum famularumve Christi præponatur examini, nec rursus prævisioni spiritalium magistrorum contemptrix et indisciplina contumacium auditorum turba resultet; maxime quia, sicut vulgo fertur, dicere estis soliti, quod non ad regum curam, non ad aliquorum sæculi principum causam, sed ad vestrum tantummodo antistitum inquisitionem atque examen, quid in singulis monasteriis agatur pertineat, nisi forte in monasteriis quilibet in ipsos principes peccasse comprobetur. Tui, inquam, est officii procurare ne in locis Deo consecratis diabolus sibi regnum usurpet, ne pro pace discordia, pro pietate jurgia, pro sobrietate ebrietas, pro caritate et castitate fornicationes et homicidia sibi sedem vendicent: nec apud te inveniantur aliqui, de quibus merito quærat ac dicatur, "Vidi impios sepultos, qui cum adviverent, in loco sancto erant, et laudabantur in civitate, quasi justorum operum."

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

9. Eorum quoque qui in populari adhuc vita continentur sollicitam te necesse est curam gerere, ut sicut in primordio hujus epistolæ præmonuimus, sufficientes eis doctores vitæ salutaris adhibere memineris, et hoc eos inter alia discere facias, quibus operibus maxime Deo placere, a quibus se debeant qui Deo placere desiderant abstinere peccatis, qua cordis sinceritate in Deum credere, qua Divinam clementiam supplicantes debeant devotione precari, quam frequenti diligentia signaculo se Dominicæ crucis suaque omnia adversum continuas immundorum spirituum insidias necesse habeant munire, quam salutaris sit omni Christianorum generi quotidiana Domini Corporis ac Sanguinis perceptio, juxta quod Ecclesiam Christi per Italiam, Galliam, Africam, Græciam, ac totum Orientem solerter agere nosti. Quod videlicet genus religionis, ac Deo devotæ sanctificationis tam longe a cunctis pene nostræ provinciæ laicis per incuriam docentium quasi prope peregrinum abest, ut hi qui inter religiosiores esse videntur, non nisi in Natali Domini et Epiphania et Pascha sacrosanctis mysteriis communicare præsumant, cum sint innumeri innocentes et castissimæ conversationis pueri ac puellæ, juvenes et virgines, senes et anus, qui absque ullo scrupulo controversiæ, omni die Dominico, sive etiam in natalitiis sanctorum apostolorum, sive martyrum, quomodo ipse in sancta Romana et apostolica Ecclesia fieri vidisti, mysteriis cœlestibus communicare valeant. Ipsi etiam conjugati, si quis sibi mensuram continentis ostendat, et virtutem castitatis insinuet, idem et licenter possint, et libenter facere velint.

10. Hæc tibi, sanctissime antistes, et tuæ dilectionis intuitu et generalis gratia utilitatis breviter adnotare studui, multum desiderans multumque exhortans, ut gentem nostram a vetustis abstrahere cures erroribus, et ad certiolem et directiolem vitæ callem reducere satagas: et si sunt aliqui cujuslibet gradus sive ordinis viri, qui bona tua cœpta retinere atque impedire conentur, tu tamen propositum sanctæ virtutis, supernæ memor retributionis, ad firmum usque finem perducere contendas. Scio namque nonnullos huic nostræ exhortationi multum contradicturos, et maxime eos qui seipsos illis facinoribus a quibus te prohibemus, esse sentiunt irretitos: sed meminisse te decet apostolicæ responsionis: "Quia obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus." Mandatum quippe est Dei: "Vendite quæ possidetis, et date eleemosynam." Et: "Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest Meus esse discipulus." Traditio autem moderna quorundam est, qui se Dei famulos esse profitentur, non

[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

solum possessa non vendere, verum etiam comparare non habita. Qua ergo fronte audet quisquam ad servitium Domini accessurus, vel ea quæ in sæculari vita habuerat retentare, vel sub prætextu vitæ sanctioris illas quas non habuerat congregare divitias: cum etiam apostolica sit notissima censura, quæ Ananiam et Sapphiram hoc facere molientes, non ullo pœnitentiæ vel satisfactionis remedio corrigere, sed ex ipsa statim mortis ultricis acceleravit damnatione puniri? Et quidem illi non aliena colligere, sed sua incongrue retinere maluerunt. Unde manifeste patet, quam longe abstiterit animus apostolorum a suscipiendis pecuniarum acquisitionibus, qui sub illa proprie regula Domino serviebant: "Beati pauperes, quia vestrum est regnum Dei." et e contra, partis sinistrae proposito nihilominus instituebantur exemplo: "Væ vobis divitibus, quia habetis consolationem vestram." An forte errasse ac mendacium scripsisse putamus apostolum, cum nos admonens dicebat: "Fratres, nolite errare," statimque subtexit: "Neque avari, neque ebriosi, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt?" Et iterum: "Hoc autem scitote, quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, aut rapax, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei." Cum ergo apostolus avaritiam et rapacitatem idolatriam manifeste cognominet, quomodo putandum est eos errasse, qui vel subscriptioni avari mercatus, rege licet imperante, manum subtraxerint, vel ad eradendas inutiles scripturas ac subscriptiones eorum, manum apposuerint?

II. Et quidem miranda est temeritas stultorum, vel potius deflenda miseria cæcorum, qui cum sine ullo respectu superni timoris, passim ea quæ apostoli et prophetæ afflatu Sancti Spiritus scripserunt, rescindere ac nihili pendere probantur: illud e contra, quod ipsi vel similes ipsorum instinctu avaritiæ vel luxuriæ scripserunt, quasi sanctum ac Divinitus cautum eradere atque emendare formidant, in morem, ni fallor, ethnicorum, qui contempto Dei cultu ea quæ ipsi sibi de corde suo finxerunt ac fecerunt, numina venerantur, timent, colunt, adorant, et obsecrant, Dominica illa insectatione dignissimi, qua Pharisæos cum suas deuteroseas Legi Dei præponerent, redarguit, dicens: "Quare et vos transgredimini, mandatum Dei propter traditionem vestram?" Qui si etiam cartas protulerint in defensionem concupiscentiarum suarum adscriptas, ac nobilium personarum subscriptione confirmatas; tu nunquam precor Dominicæ sanctionis obliviscaris, in qua dicitur, "Omnis plantatio quam non plantavit Pater



[LETTER OF BEDE TO EGBERT.]

Meus cœlestis eradicabitur." Et certe a te discere vellem, sanctissime antistes, Domino protestante ac dicente, "Quia lata porta et spatiosa via est quæ ducit ad perditionem, et multi sunt qui intrant per eam: cum angusta porta et arcta via sit, quæ ducit ad vitam, et pauci sint qui inveniunt eam:" quid de eorum vita vel salute æterna confidas, qui toto vitæ suæ tempore per latam portam et spatiosam viam incedere noscuntur, et ne in minimis quidem rebus voluptati suæ vel corporis vel animi, causa supernæ retributionis obsistere vel repugnare curabant: nisi forte per eleemosynas, quas inter concupiscentias quotidianas ac delicias, pauperibus dare videbantur, criminibus absolvi posse credendi sunt, cum manus ipsa et conscientia quæ munus offerat Deo, munda a peccatis esse debeat et absoluta; aut certe per mysteria sacrosanctæ oblationis, quibus ipsi dum viverent indigni extiterant, per alios jam mortui redimi posse sperandi sunt. An forte illis permodica culpa videtur esse concupiscentiæ? De qua paulo latius disputem. Hæc Balaam virum prophetiæ spiritu plenissimum a sorte sanctorum fecit extorrem, Achan communionem anathematis polluit ac perdidit, Saul regni infulis nudavit, Giezi per prophetiæ meritis privavit ac perpetuæ lepræ peste cum suo semine fœdavit, Judam Iscariotem de apostolatus gloria deposuit, Ananiam et Saphiram, de quibus prædiximus, monachorum collegio indignos etiam corporis morte mulctavit, et, ut ad superiora veniamus, hæc angelos a cœlo dejecit, et protoplastos a Paradiso perpetuæ voluptatis expulit: et si nosse vis, hic est ille triceps inferorum canis, cui fabulæ Cerberi nomen indiderunt, a cujus rabidis dentibus nos prohibens Johannes apostolus ait: "Carissimi, nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quæ in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo. Quoniam omne quod in mundo est, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vitæ, quæ non est ex Patre, sed ex mundo est." Hæc contra virus avaritiæ breviter sunt dicta. Cæterum si de ebrietate, commessatione, luxuria, et cæteris hujusmodi contagionibus pari ratione tractare voluerimus, epistolæ modus in immensum extenderetur.

Gratia te summi Pastoris ad pastionem ovium suarum salutiferam perpetuo conservet incolumem, dilectissime in Christo antistes. Scripta nonas Novembris. Indictione tertia. [*Bæd. Opp.* ed. Hussey, pp. 332-344, collated with MS. Harl. 4688 (Cent. XI.) and MS. Merton, no. 49; Ware, *Epistt. Ven. Bedæ*, ed. Dublin, 1664.]

## [BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

<sup>a</sup> Written on the Nones of November, the third Indiction, according to the very ancient copy in the Harleian MS. 4688, as well as that used in Ware's edition; i. e. Nov. 5, A.D. 734, according to the Casarean Indiction. Bede died on Ascension Day, A.D. 735 (Letter of Cuthbert to Cuthwin in *Sim. Dun.*, ed. Twysden, cc. 8, 9); and was too ill to journey to see Egbert at the time he wrote the epistle. Egbert became Bishop in A.D. 734 (*A. S. C.* and *Sim. Dun.*, ad ann. 735): he had not yet obtained his pall as Metropolitan and Archbishop when Bede wrote (*Ep.* § 5). Ealdfrith, King of Northumbria, had been dead "annos circiter triginta" (*ib.* § 7); he

died A.D. 705. Egbert died A.D. 766, in the 34th year of his pontificate (*S. D. ad ann.*), which seems to throw back his consecration as Bishop to A.D. 733 at the latest; and if he received the pall before consecrating Bishop Frithbert of Hexham on the 8th of September, A.D. 734, we must suppose that Bede's letter took some time in writing, and that the date affixed is the date of its completion: so that Egbert may have received the pall without Bede knowing it as early as September A.D. 734.—The date is omitted by Smith in his edition of Bede, as being later than the day which he fixed for Bede's death: wrongly.

## PŒNITENTIALE BÆDÆ.

Before A.D. 735.

[The following tract is printed by Wasserschleben from a Vienna MS. "nr. 116. 8<sup>o</sup>. sæc. VIII. IX. fol. 17-22," in the *Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche*, pp. 220-230. It is the only work of the kind appearing under the name of Bede of which the authenticity can be maintained with any probability. It is found in two other MSS., referred to by Wasserschleben as "Frising. nr. 3," and "Ransh. nr. 73:" and is to be found in print in the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martene and Durand, vol. VII. col. 37; taken from a MS. of the monastery of S. Hubert at Andain in the Ardennes. This edition is however very imperfect, omitting the latter half of the work, and containing a few unimportant additions from the Penitential of Theodore or from common sources.

This work differs largely from the *Liber de Remediis Peccatorum* which is printed as Bede's in the editions of his collected works, and incorporated in the *Concilia* by Spelman and Wilkins. The *Liber de Remediis Peccatorum* is found in a great number of early MSS., and has been ascribed sometimes to Bede, and sometimes to Egbert. It is really a compilation or amalgamation of two distinct works, the Penitential of Bede and the Penitential of Egbert. And the text in its best form is given by Kunstmann, *Pœnitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, pp. 142-175;

from a Munich MS. of the eleventh century, "Cod. August. 153." Wasserschleben adopted the text of Kunstmann, *Bussordnungen*, etc., pp. 248-282, under the title of *Pœnitentiale Pseudo-Bedæ*, with various readings from three earlier MSS., viz. another from Munich, "Cod. August. 151," one of Darmstadt, and one of Heiligenkreuz; and also from a 12th century MS. at Paris. Large extracts from it, but with considerable variations both of matter and of arrangement, occur also in a MS. in the Library at S. Gall, No. 682, with the title *Incipiunt Excarpsum domini Petbani presbyteri de diversis canonum sententiis*. It should be added that Spelman in his edition has left out large portions that had been printed earlier. He moreover suspected that it was not as it stood a genuine work of Bede, for it contained a reference to Egbert as Archbishop, a title which he did not assume until after the death of Bede (see above, note <sup>a</sup>).

The work given as Bede's in the text contains everything in the *Pseudo-Bede* which is not found either in the genuine Penitential of Egbert, or in other well-known books on the same subject, the *Ordo Romanus*, *Councils*, etc.

The division into sections is Wasserschleben's: the various readings are those of the Andain MS. printed by Martene and Durand.]

## INCIPIT EXSCARPSUM DOMINI BEDANI PRESBYTERI.

I. *De diversis Canonum sententiis.*

De remediis peccatorum paucissima hæc que sequuntur ex priorum monumentis excerpsimus, in quibus tamen<sup>1</sup> omnibus non auctoritate

<sup>1</sup> tunc, *And.*

## [BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

censoris sed consilio potius conpatiens<sup>2</sup> usi sumus, sollerter ammonentes doctum quemque sacerdotem Christi, ut universis que hic notata<sup>3</sup> repperit, sexum, ætatem, condicionem, statum, personam cujusque penitentiam agere volentis<sup>4</sup>, ipsum quoque cor penitentis curiose discernet<sup>5</sup> et hæc<sup>6</sup> prout sibi visum est<sup>7</sup> singula queque judicet; quibusdam namque a cibis abstinendo, aliis elemosinas dando, nonnullis genua in oratione sepius flectendo sive in cruce stando, psalmos canendo<sup>8</sup> aut aliut aliquid hujusmodi, quod ad purgationem peccatorum pertineat faciendo, plurimis universa hæc agendo<sup>9</sup>. Sua<sup>10</sup> necesse est errata corrigent<sup>11</sup>, que cuncta<sup>12</sup> in examine discreti debent pendere iudicis<sup>13</sup>.

II. *De sancta Constitutione*<sup>14</sup>.

Institutio illa sancta que in diebus patrum nostrorum rectas vias nunquam deseruit, que instituerit penitentibus atque lugentibus passiones suas ac vitia, medicamenta æterne salutis, quia diversitas culparum diversum facit penitentibus medicamentum. Non omnibus una eadem libra pensandum est, licet in uno constringantur vitio; sed discretio unoquoque eorum, hoc est liber, servus, dives et pauper, juvenis, adulescens, senex, pueri, in gradu vel sine gradu, conjugio, servus vel peregrinus, ut salvi sint et non pusillanimes potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur, quam infirmiam debiles, institutionem collationum constituerunt sancti apostoli, deinde canones sanctorum patrum, deinde alii atque alii, ex quorum omnium ita descripsimus dictis et sentenciis.

III. *De Fornicatione*<sup>15</sup>.

1. Adulescens si cum virgine peccaverit, annum I peniteat.
2. Si semel et fortuitu, levigetur etiam usque ad annum plenum.
3. Si intra XX. annos puella et adulescens, III. XLmas et legitimas ferias.
4. Si propter peccatum hoc servitio humano addicti sunt, XL. dies<sup>16</sup>.
5. Si vidua et stuprata, annum I. et dies jejuniorum in altero.

<sup>2</sup> conpatientis, *And.*    <sup>3</sup> adnotata, *And.*    <sup>4</sup> cujusque—volentis, *om. And.*    <sup>5</sup> discernat, *And.*    <sup>6</sup> secundum hæc, *And.*    <sup>7</sup> fuerit, *And.*    <sup>8</sup> psalmos canendo, *om. And.*  
<sup>9</sup> agenda sunt, *And.*    <sup>10</sup> *om. And.*    <sup>11</sup> corrigere, *And.*    <sup>12</sup> versa, *And.*    <sup>13</sup> iudices, *And.*    <sup>14</sup> This chapter is omitted in most of the MSS.    <sup>15</sup> De fornicationibus et de eorum penitentia, *And. c. 1-8.*    <sup>16</sup> *And.* adds, Si nitens tantum et non coinquinatus, XX. dies peniteat (*Th. I. 2. § 10*).

## [BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

6. Si usque ad filii generationem, II. annos et duos levius<sup>17</sup>.
7. Si monachus laicam contaminat, III. annos, illa duos et legitimas ferias.
8. Si usque ad genitum filium, annos IV., et si occiderint, VII. annos peniteant.
9. Similiter diaconi si monachi non sunt, sicut monachi sine gradu, presbiter, VII.<sup>18</sup>
10. Si monacham laicus, II. annos et legitimas ferias, illa autem III. annos.
11. Si monachus cum monacha, annos VII.<sup>19</sup>
12. Similiter si uxoratus virginem contaminat<sup>20</sup>.
13. Si quis vacans uxorem alterius polluit, II. annos.
14. Si uxoratus uxorem alterius, III. annos, primo horum contineat se a sua.
15. Si uxoratus ancillam suam, I. et III. XLmas postea ac legitimas ferias, tribus mensibus primis et a sua se continens, illa autem, si invita passa est, XL. dies, si cum consensu, III. XLmas et legitimas ferias.
- 16<sup>21</sup>. Si genuerit ex ea, dimittat liberam et peniteat ut supra.
17. Si adulescens sororem suam polluit, V. annos.
18. Si matrem, annos VII. et quamdiu vivit numquam sine continentia.
19. Sodomite annos IV.
20. Si in consuetudine sit, annos VII., vel si monachi, annos VII.
21. Si in femoribus, III. XLmas.
22. Si parvulus<sup>22</sup> oppressus talia patitur, XL. dies vel psalmis vel continentia castigetur.
23. Si mulier cum muliere fornicans, III. annos.
24. Si sanctæmoniales cum sanctæmoniale per machinam, annos VII.
25. Qui cum pecude peccat, I. annum, si monachus, II.
- 26.<sup>23</sup> Animalia ab hominibus polluta, ubi dubium est, non occiduntur, sin autem, occiduntur.
27. Qui sepe fornicat laicus cum laica, III. annos peniteat et quanto sepius et negligentius, tanto magis et tempus addatur<sup>24</sup> et modum.

<sup>17</sup> *And.* adds, Si et occiderit, annos III. et alios III. levius.<sup>18</sup> *And.* omits the clause.<sup>19</sup> IV., *And.*<sup>20</sup> *And.* adds, ita ut primo horum a sua contineat si ei conenserit, alioquin addatur modus penitentia.<sup>21</sup> om. *And.*<sup>22</sup> vi, add. *And.*<sup>23</sup> om. *And.*<sup>24</sup> addat, *And.*

## [BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

28. Qui diutius fornicationi, perjurio, latrociniis ceterisque flagitiis servivit, VII. annos peniteat.

29. Si mater cum filio parvulo fornicationem imitatur, annos II. et tres XLmas cum legitimas ferias.

30. Pueri se manibus invicem inquinantes, dies XL. peniteant.

31. Pueri se inter femores sordidantes dies C., majores III. XLmas ac legitimas ferias.

32. Parvulus a majore puero oppressus, septimanam, si consentit, dies XX.

33. Qui complexu feminam illecebrose pollutus est, dies XX.; qui contactu ejus inverecundo ad carnem, III. menses.

34. Qui se pollutus est volens, si puer, XXX. dies, si juvenis, LX.

35. Qui turpiloquio pollutus negligens, VII. dies.

36. Qui inpugnatione cogitationis et nature nolens dies VII., quinquagenos psalmos et IV. feria et VI. jejundet usque ad nonam vel ad vesperam<sup>25</sup>.

37. Uxoratus contineat se XL. dies ante natale Domini vel Pascha et omni Dominica, IV. et VI. feria et a conceptione manifestata usque post natam sobolem, si filius est, XXX. dies, si filia XII. Sed et in tempore menstrui sanguinis, nam qui tunc miscerit<sup>26</sup>, XL. dies primo peniteat, qui Dominico, VII. dies.

38. Si quis cum uxore sua retro nupserit, XL. dies peniteat.

39. Si in tergo, IIII. annos peniteat, quia sodomiticum scelus est.

40. Parens<sup>27</sup> cujus filius<sup>28</sup> non baptizatus obiit, I. annum et numquam sine aliqua penitentia.

41. Si sacerdos, ad quem pertinebat, vocatus venire neglexit, ipse in damnationem anime judicio Episcopi sui castigetur.

42. Sed et omnibus licet fidelibus ubi forte morituros invenerint non baptizatos, immo preceptum est, animas eripere a diabulo per baptisma, id est benedicta simpliciter aqua in nomine Domini, baptizare illos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, intinctos ac superfusos aqua. Unde oportet eos qui possunt fideles, monachos maxime, et scientiam habere baptizandi et si longius alicubi exierint, Eucharistiam semper secum habere.

<sup>25</sup> *And.* adds, Qui in ecclesia consecrata nubunt, qui in ecclesia per somnium pollutur, III. dies poeniteat (Th. I. 8. § 8). <sup>26</sup> nupserit, *And.* <sup>27</sup> Pariens femina, *Ps.-Bed. XVII.*

<sup>28</sup> per negligentiam, add. *And.*

[BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

IV. *De Occisione.*

1. Qui occiderit monachum aut clericum, arma relinquat et Deo serviat vel annos VII. peniteat.

2. Qui laicum odii meditatione vel possidende hereditatis ejus, annos IV. peniteat.

3. Qui per vindictam fratris, I. annum et in aliis duobus XLmas et legitimas ferias.

4. Qui per iram et rixam subitam, III.<sup>29</sup> annos.

5. Qui casu, I. annum.

6. Qui in bello publico, XL. dies.

7. Qui jubente domino suo servus, dies XL.

8. Qui liber jubente majore suo, I. annum et per duos alios annos XLmas et legitimas ferias.

9. Qui per rixam ictu debilem vel deformem hominem reddidit, impensas in medicum et macule precium et opus ejus donec sanetur restituat et dimidio anno peniteat. Si vero non habet unde restituat hæc, anno integro<sup>30</sup>.

10. Qui ad feriendum hominem surrexit, nolens eum occidere, tres septimanas, si clericus fuit, VI. menses.

11. Quod et si vulneravit, dies XL., si clericus, annum totum, sed et pecuniam pro modo vulneris<sup>31</sup> cui infixit tributo<sup>32</sup>.

12. Mulier qui occidit filium suum in utero ante dies XL.<sup>33</sup>, I. annum peniteat. Si vero post dies XL., III. annos. Sed distat multum, utrum pauperula pro difficultate nutriendi an fornicaria causa sui sceleris celandi faciat.

V. *De Furamento*<sup>34</sup>.

1. Qui perjurat sciens, compulsus a domino suo, III. XLmas et legitimas ferias.

2. Qui sciens virtutem juramenti vel perjurii perjurat in manu Episcopi vel presbyteri vel in altari<sup>35</sup> vel in cruce consecrata, III.<sup>36</sup> annos peniteat<sup>37</sup>.

3. Qui seductus est nesciens ut perjuraret et recognovit, annum unum<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> III., *And.* <sup>30</sup> restituat—*integro*, om. *Vindob.* <sup>31</sup> licet lex non commendat, add. *And.*

<sup>32</sup> tribuat, ne læsus scandalizetur, *And.*

<sup>33</sup> Mulier partum suum ante d. XL. sponte perdens, *And.* <sup>34</sup> The chief part of this chapter is omitted in MS. *And.* <sup>35</sup> juramenti—

altari, om. *Vindob.*

<sup>36</sup> I., *And.*

<sup>37</sup> Si autem in manu hominis, apud Græcos nihil est, add. *And.* <sup>38</sup> The rest of the chapter omitted in *And.*

## [BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Qui falsum testimonium contra hominem dixerit, juxta modum culpæ, quod contra fratrem, peniteat.

5. Qui fratrem cum furore maledixerit, reconcilietur ei cui maledixit et VII. dies peniteat.

6. Qui causa invidiæ detrahit vel favet detrahenti, IV. dies peniteat. Si autem ei qui præest, VII. dies peniteat.

7. Qui reticuerit delictum fratris quod est ad mortem, neque eum corripuerit juxta regulam Evangelicam, primo inter te et ipsum solum, deinde ad alios, deinde ad Ecclesiam culpam si necesse fuerit referens, quanto tempore tanto peniteat.

8. Si quis rixam fecerit clericorum aut monachorum, reconcilietur eis quos lesit et ebdomadam dierum peniteat.

VI. *De Ebrietate*<sup>39</sup>.

1. Qui per ebrietatem vomitum facit, si presbyter aut diaconus, XL. dies, si monachus, XXX., si laicus, XII.

2. Si causa egritudinis, non nocet.

3. Si per satietatem vomitum facit, III. dies.

4. Si cum sacrificio communicasset, VII. dies peniteat<sup>40</sup>.

5. Si cuiquam hoc post abstinentiam contigit, non consuetudine multum bibendi, cum gaudio sollemnitatis alicujus precipue licentius se epulis indulgeret, nec tamen plus quam a senioribus suis decretum est acciperit, multum est penitentia lenianda.

6. Qui inebriatur contra domini interdictum et sine vomiti, VII. dies peniteat.

VII. *De Carne Immunda.*

1. Qui manducat carnem immundam aut morticinam aut dilaceratam a bestiis, XL. dies peniteat.

2. Si necessitate famis cogente multo levius est.

3. Si mus ceciderit in liquorem, tollatur inde et aspargatur liquor ille aqua benedicta et utatur. Si mortua sit, abjiciatur totus ille liquor nec ab hominibus sumatur.

4. Quodsi multus fuerit liquor ille in quo mus vel mustella incidens moritur, purgetur et aspargatur aqua sancta et sumatur si necessitas sit.

<sup>39</sup> The whole chapter omitted in *And.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ps.-Beda XIX.* 4, Si sacrificium communicavit et si illud vomit, XL. dies peniteat.

## [BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

5. Si aves stercorant in quemlibet liquorem hujusmodi, tollatur stercus et mundetur cibus aqua sancta et sumatur.

6. Qui sanguinem nescius cum saliva sorbet, non ei nocet. Si autem scit, peniteat juxta pollutionis modum<sup>41</sup>.

7. Qui operatur die Dominico, VII. dies peniteat.

8. Qui jejundet die Dominico per negligentiam, jejundet totam ebdomadam sequentem; si secundo, XX. dies peniteat, si postea, XL. dies.

9. Qui acceperit sacrificium post cibum, VII. dies peniteat.

10. Omne sacrificium vetustate sordida corruptum igni comburendum.

11. Qui sacrificium perdit vel ab avibus devoratum est, si casu, VII.<sup>42</sup> ebdomadas jejundet, si negligens, III. XLmas. Similiter si mus comederit sacrificium.

## VIII. De Eucharistia.

1. Si die sacrificii quis vomitum fecerit et canes vomitum comederint, C. dies peniteat si scit, sin autem, XL. ut supra diximus<sup>43</sup>.

2. Qui in æcclesia modicam partem sacrificii perdidit et non invenerit, XX. vel XL. dies vel III. XLmas peniteat.

3. Qui superfuderit calicem hora solempnitatis, XXX. dies.

4.<sup>44</sup> Si quis autem furtum capitalium rerum commiserit, id est quadrupedum, vel domum effregerit, si laici sunt, I. annum peniteant et precium reddant vel duos annos peniteant, si precium non reddant.

5. Si majus aliquid furtum fecerint, III. annos vel quomodo sacerdos judicaverit.

6. Si clerici talem furtum fecerint, V. annos peniteant vel quomodo Episcopus judicaverit.

7. Si servum aut quemcumque hominem in captivitatem duxerit vel miserit, III. annos peniteat.

8. Qui multa mala commisit, id est in effundendo sanguinem, in furtu, in fornicatione, in perjurio et in aliis malis, quibus humanum genus solet implici et postea Deo servire vult usque ad extremum vitæ suæ, II. vel III. annos peniteat vel quomodo sacerdos judicaverit, quia hæc est optima penitentia, mala solita dimittere et Deo placere studere.

<sup>41</sup> Here the Penitential in MS. *And.* ends. <sup>42</sup> III., *Theod.* <sup>43</sup> Wasserschleben remarks that there is nothing above to which this reference belongs, and infers that the Vienna MS. is imperfect; but it may be a loose reference to Cap. VII. § 1. 4. <sup>44</sup> A new chapter ought to begin here. (*Wasserschleb.*)



IX. *De Qualitate Hominum.*

Hæc de qualitate hominum, sicut supra diximus, excerptissimum qualiter penitere vel judicare debeant, si pauper aut dives, si liber aut servus, si juvenis aut adulescens, si minus sapiens aut gnarus, si clericus aut monachus, si in gradu vel sine gradu. Discretio sacerdoti in omnibus decet judiciis et penitentiarum modis providere vel cogitare de medicamentis animarum quomodo sua et aliorum animas salvare valeant per sanum sermonem, instruendo, in docendo, in suadendo, increpando, quia qui bene ministrat bonum sibi gradum acquirit apud Eum *Qui* est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula seculorum, Amen<sup>45</sup>.

X. *De Duodecim Triduanis.*

1. Duodecim triduanis cum tribus psalteriis impletis et CCC. palmatis excussant annualem penitentiam.

2. Viginti quatuor biduanas cum tres psalt. alio anno excussant.

3. LXXVI. psalmi cum venia per nocte cum tricentum palmatas excussant biduana.

4. Centum psalmi cum venia per nocte cum CCC. palmatis excussant tridua.

5. Centum XX. misas speciales cum tres psalteriis completis cum CCC. palmatis excussant C. solidos de auro cocto in elemosina.

6. Dicunt aliqui pro anno I. in pane et aqua XII. biduanas; pro alio anno XII. vices L. psalmos genu flexo canant; pro tertio anno in veneranda festivitate quæ legit biduanas biduana facta psalterium cantet immobilis stans; pro quarto anno nudus CCC. virgis percussiones recipiat; pro V. anno suum victum penset quantum valet et tantum det elemosina; pro VI. redemat se juxta quod valet et de ipso pretio<sup>45</sup> cui maleficis illi restituat, et si jam non vivit, heredes legitimos querat; pro VII. anno derelinquat omne malum et faciat quoniam.

7. Et qui hoc implere aut non vult aut non potest et reliqua sicut in penitentiali scriptum est.

8. Et qui de psalmis hoc quod superius diximus implere non potest, elegat justum, qui pro illo impleat et de suo pretio aut labore hoc redemat.

<sup>45</sup> Wasserschleben remarks that this seems to be the end of Bede's original work; the rest being added, apparently, mainly from Cummeanus's work of later date. The nature of the contents of the added portion suggests a like conclusion. <sup>46</sup> de ipsotio, *Vindob.*

[BEDE'S PENITENTIAL.]

XI. *De Dando Consilio.*

Legimus in penitentiale pro criminalibus culpis I. anno aut II. aut III. penitentiam agere in pane et aqua vel pro aliis minutis culpis mense I. aut ebdomada. Simili modo et apud aliquos hæc causa ardua et difficilis est. Ideo qui ista non potest facere, consilium damus ut psalmos orationemque et elemosinam cum aliquos dies in penitentia pro hoc esse debet, id est psalmos pro uno die quando in pane et aqua debet penitere. Hoc sunt psalmi L. flectendo genua et sine genua flectendo LXX. infra ecclesiam aut in uno loco per ordinem psallat. Pro ebdomada in pane et aqua CCC. psalmos flectendo genua per ordinem canat in ecclesiam aut in uno loco, sine genua flectendo CCCCXX. Et pro uno mense in pane et aqua psalmos mille D. genua flectendo et sine genua flectendo mille DCCCXX. et postea per omnes dies reficiat ad sextam et a carne et vino abstineat se, alium cibum, quidquid ei Deus dederit, postquam psallit, sumat. Et qui psalmos non novit, penitere debet et jejuna et per unumquemque diem de pretio denario valente pauperibus eroget et jejuna unum diem usque ad nonam et alterum usque ad vesperum et quidquid habet manducet.

XII. *De Alimosynis Dando.*

Quando vero annum I. in pane et aqua penitere debet, donet in elimosina solidos XXVI. et unum .....<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> With these words the Vienna MS., from which Wasserschleben took the text, breaks off abruptly. The Penitential of Cummeanus (and, similarly, an 8th century Frankish Penitential, published by Wasserschleben under the title of *Pen. Remense*) continues the sentence thus:—"XXVI, et in [unaquaque ebdomada, *Pen. Rem.*] unum diem jejuna usque ad nonam, in alio semper usque ad vesperam; et postea quod habet manducet; et in tribus quadragesimis, de quantum sumit, penset et tribuat medietatem in elemosina." (*Wasserschleb.*, pp. 464, 499.)

X. NOTHELM<sup>a</sup>, A.D. 735-739.

[“*Gratia Dei Archiepiscopus*” (Charter of A.D. 738. *K. C. D. LXXXV*).

A.D. 735. Consecrated. (*Cont. Bæd. M. H. B.* 288; *Sim. Dun. M. H. B.* 659.)

A.D. 734 or 735. Archbishopric of York re-established by the grant of a pall<sup>b</sup> by Gregory III to Egbert (“*primus post Paulinum*,” *Sim. Dun., Cont. Bæd., A. S. C.*).

A.D. 736. Nothelm receives his own pall from Gregory III (*Sim. Dun., Flor. Wig.*), and afterwards consecrates three Bishops: Cuthbert of Hereford, Ethelfrith of Elmham, and Herewald of Sherborn<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 737. Final division of the sees of Lichfield and Leicester (*Sim. Dun. M. H. B.* 659).

A.D. 738, April. Nothelm attests the confirmation of a charter of Eadberht, King of Kent (*K. C. D. LXXXV*).

A.D. 739, Oct. 17. Nothelm dies<sup>d</sup> (*Sim. Dun. M. H. B.* 659; *Hoveden, I.* 5; *Chron. Mailros.* ed. Fulman, 136; *Cont. Bæd. M. H. B.* 288); or A.D. 740 (*Elmham*, ed. Hardwick, 312); or A.D. 741 (*Flor. Wig. M. H. B.* 543 *A. S. C.*.)]

<sup>a</sup> Nothelm was a priest of London (*Bæd. Præf.*; Elmham calls him archipresbyter, p. 312), and not a monk. He visited Rome between A.D. 715 and A.D. 731, and there procured several of the documents used by Bede. A few lines of a metrical life of him in Latin are printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, II. 71.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 326. The Continuation of Bede states that Egbert, having received the pall, consecrated Fruidubert and Fruidwald Bishops. The former was Bishop of Hexham, appointed after the deposition of Acca; and consecrated Sept. 8, A.D. 734 (*R. Hexham*, ed. Raine, 37; Sept. 8, however, was not a Sunday in that year, or before A.D. 737). Frithuweald, Bishop of Whithern, was consecrated at York on the 14th of August, A.D. 735 (*A. S. C. ad 764*), which was a Sunday, and gives a more certain date.

<sup>c</sup> Herewald was consecrated prior to the

departure of his predecessor, Forthere, to Rome in A.D. 737 (*A. S. C.*); a fact which accounts for the appearance of the two as attesting the charter of Nothelm given under A.D. 736.

<sup>d</sup> The Northern chroniclers seem to be the best authority for the year of Nothelm's death: see Wharton, *A. S.*, I. 95, who quotes Malmesbury, Birchington, R. de Diceto, and Osbern, as giving him a pontificate of five years. Simeon of Durham, however, and Hoveden say “*post IV annos*;” and the same is implied by Elmham, who places his death in the fifteenth year of Eadberht of Kent. Eadberht began to reign April 23, A.D. 725 (*Bæd. H. E.*, V. 23), and his fifteenth year on any computation covers October, A.D. 739, but not October, A.D. 740. The year 741 is set aside completely by the fact that we have a charter of 740 (*K. C. D.*, LXXXVI.), in which Cuthbert is named as Archbishop.

A.D. 736<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of S. Boniface to Nothelm, asking for the Responsiones of S. Gregory; whether a man may marry a woman for whose son he has been sponsor; and in what year the first missionaries were sent by S. Gregory to Britain.*

*Domino dilectissimo, summi pontificatus infula prædito, Nothelmo Archiepiscopo, BONIFACIUS EXIGUUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI optabilem in Christo æternæ caritatis salutem.*

Almitatis vestræ clementiam intimis obsecro precibus: ut mei in

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO NOTHELM.]

vestris sacrosanctis orationibus memores esse dignemini; et navem mentis meæ, variis Germanicarum gentium tempestatum fluctibus quassatam, precibus vestris in portu firmæ petrae stabilire studeatis; et ut communioni fraternæ non aliter, quam ut mihi venerandæ memoriæ antecessor vester Berhtwaldus archiepiscopus exeunti a patria concessit, vobiscum adunatus sim nexu spiritali et, glutino caritatis conjunctus, simul cum fraternis comitibus peregrinationis meæ catholicæ fidei unitate et spiritalis amoris dulcedine semper sociatus vobis esse merear.

Similiter et diligenter obsecro: ut illius epistolæ, qua continetur, ut dicunt, interrogationes Augustini pontificis ac prædicatoris primi Anglorum et responsiones sancti Gregorii papæ, exemplar mihi dirigere curetis—in qua inter cetera capitula continetur: quod in tertia generatione propinquitatis fidelibus liceat matrimonia copulare<sup>b</sup>;—et ut scrupulosa cautela diligenter investigare studeatis: si illa conscriptio supra dicti patris nostri sancti Gregorii esse conprobetur an non. Quia in scrinio Romanæ ecclesiæ, ut adfirmant scriptionarii, cum ceteris exemplaribus supra dicti pontificis quæsita non inveniebatur.

Præter ea de uno peccato commisso vestrum consilium audire desidero, quod cuidam homini in matrimonio concedendo nesciens commisi. Quod hoc modo contigit. Homo quidam, sicut multi solent, alterius filium de sacri baptismatis fonte elevans adoptavit sibi in filium; cujus matrem postea, viduatam marito, duxit uxorem. Quod Romani peccatum esse adserunt, et capitale peccatum; ita ut in talibus divortia facere præcipiant. Et adfirmant, regnantibus Christianis imperatoribus illius matrimonii scelus capitali sententia multandum vel peregrinatione perpetua delendum. Ut, si hoc in catholicorum patrum decretis vel canonibus vel etiam in sacro eloquio pro tam magno peccato computatum esse inveniretis, indicare mihi curetis; ut et ego intellegendo cognoscam, cujus auctoritas sit in illo iudicio. Quia nullatenus intellegere possum, quare in uno loco spiritalis propinquitas in conjunctione carnalis copulæ tam grande peccatum sit; quando omnes in sacro baptisate Christi et ecclesiæ filii et filia, fratres et sorores esse comprobemur.

Similiter rogo, ut mihi studeatis indicare: in quoto anno ab incarnatione Christi prædicatorum primi, missi a sancto Gregorio, ad gentem Anglorum venissent. Vale. [*Epistt. S. Bonif.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 30, ed. Würdtwein, no. 40.]

## [LETTER OF DANIEL TO FORTHERE.]

<sup>a</sup> The date cannot be earlier than A.D. 736, as Nothelm is clearly in possession of his pall, "summi pontificatus infula prædito."

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 20; and on the general question of Boniface's acquaintance with the *Responsiones*, p. 32, note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> This is the question put also to Bishop Pecthelm by Boniface (above, p. 310). As

Pecthelm's successor was consecrated in A.D. 735, the year before Nothelm received the pall, we may infer that Boniface had received no satisfactory answer from him, or that he had died before answering. Another letter of Boniface on the same point, to Abbot Duddo, is extant; ed. Jaffé, no. 31.

Before A.D. 737<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne, recommending the deacon Merewalk.*

*Patri Dei familiæ et digno nobis consacerdoti Forthere* DANIEL SANCTÆ PLEBI FAMULUS.

Recitatis supplicatoriis nobis allatis litteris de diaconatu electi fratris mei Merwalh, et quamvis posterius ordinaliter constituto tempore eis venisset, qui presbiterii et diaconii ordinem fuerant adepti, non distulimus eum. Quamquam incognita et inopportuna petitio visa, prevaluit tamen pia fratrum postulatio; eo quod nihil defuisse in eo meriti una vobiscum conspeximus ad ordinem diaconii promoveri. Postposita nobis distentione et sua deposita pertinatia, etsi sero, tandem consentaneus effectus est; officiumque honoris susceptus est. Ideo cum advertitis, vobis satis in eo factum, et voti conpotes adsequuti, honorifice jam eum in levitarum numero constitutum habitote eique in magisterio perfecta devotione concurrите; ut fiduciam in Christo Jesu acquirere valeatis. Longe vos in fide catholica et felicis successibus florere faciat omnipotentis Dei gloria. [*Epist. Bonif.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 33; ed. Würdtwein, no. 148.]

<sup>a</sup> Daniel was Bishop of Winchester A.D. 705-744, Forthere Bishop of Sherborne A.D. 709-736 or 737. In the latter year he went

with Queen Frythogith of Wessex to Rome (A. S. C.)

A.D. 736 or 737<sup>a</sup>. *Act of Nothelm, done in an Ecclesiastical Council, ordering the restoration of a Charter to the Abbess Hrotwari.*

✠ GLORIOSISSIMUS Mercensium Rex Æthelred, cum comite suo, subregulo Huuiccorum Oshero, rogatus ab eo, terram xx. cassatorum juxta fluvium, cui vocabulum est Tillath, duabus sanctimonialibus, Dunnan videlicet et ejus filiæ Bucgan, ad construendum in ea monasterium, in jus ecclesiasticum sub libera potestate, pro venia facinorum suorum condonavit, propriæque manus subscriptione hanc eorum donationem

[ACT OF COUNCIL UNDER NOTHELM.]

firmavit. Præfata autem Dei famula Dunne, constructum in prædicto agello monasterium, cum agris suis necnon et cartulam descriptionis agri, cui tunc sola ipsa præerat, filiæ, nimirum filiæ suæ, in possessionem, ad Dominum migratura largita est. Sed quia hæc in parvula adhuc ætate erat posita, cartulam conscripti agri, necnon et omnem monasterii procurationem, quoad usque illa ad maturiorem pervenisset ætatem, matri illius maritatæ conservandam injunxit. Quæ cum cartulam reddi poposcisset, illa reddere nolens, furtu hanc sublatam respondit. Quo tandem omni negotio ad sanctam sacerdotalis concilii synodum perlato, decrevit omne venerabile concilium, cum reverentissimo archiepiscopo Nothelmo, hanc cartulam donationis, vel regum vel supradictæ Dei famulæ Dunnan, manifestissime describi, præfatæque abbatissæ Hrotuuari reddi, ejusque possessionem monasterii firmissimam esse; damnato nimirum eo, atque anathematizato synodi sacratissimæ decreto, qui cartam illam subscriptionis agri primitivam vel per furta, vel quolibet modo fraudulenter auferendo subripere præsumperit. Atque hoc decernit sacra synodus, ut post obitum ejus, sicut ante statutum fuit a senioribus ejus, ad episcopalem sedem castrum Uueogernensis liber hic, cum terra, reddatur.

✠ Ego Nothelmus, gratia Dei archiepiscopus, canonicè subscripsi.  
 ✠ Ego Daniel episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuor episcopus subscripsi.  
 ✠ Ego Incguuald episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuilfrith episcopus subscripsi.  
 ✠ Ego Alduuulf episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aluine episcopus subscripsi.  
 ✠ Ego Forthere episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cuthberht episcopus subscripsi.  
 ✠ Ego Hereuuald episcopus subscripsi<sup>b</sup>. [*K. C. D.*, LXXXII., from MS. Cotton. Tib. A. XIII. f. 25; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 585; and see *W.*, I. 86.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is fixed by the fact that among the witnesses are Wor, Bishop of Lichfield, who died A. D. 737 (*Sim. Dun.*, M. H. B. 659), and the two Bishops of Sherborne—Forthere, who went to Rome in A. D. 737, and Herewald, who could not have been consecrated before A. D. 736.

<sup>b</sup> This charter, independently of its interest as illustrating the subject of councils, is an im-

portant commentary on Bede's complaints in the letter to Egbert (above, pp. 320, 321) as to the perversion of monastic privileges to secular purposes; the verbal coincidences even are remarkable. The monastery in question was Withington in Gloucestershire; it fell to Worcester during the pontificate of Bishop Milred (*K. C. D.*, CXXIV.) in A. D. 774.

[MERCIAN WITENAGEMOT.]

A.D. 737 × 740. *A Mercian Witenagemot*<sup>a</sup>, in which Ethelbald the king grants land at Easton and Notgrove to Osred his "minister," to revert on his death to the Church of S. Mary at Worcester. [K. C. D., XC.] (Questionable.)

<sup>a</sup> Attended by six Bishops: Wilfrid of Worcester, Torthelm of Leicester, Hwitta of Lichfield, Cuthbert of Hereford, Alwig of Lindsey, and "Sigebed," who might possibly be Sigga of Selsey (but see K. C. D., LXXX., and LXXXIII., where he signs as Comes). The charter is referred, by a note added after the year 793, to A.D. 743; but this only tends to throw doubt on its authenticity. The mona-

stic church of S. Mary at Worcester, which under S. Oswald (A.D. 961-992) became the cathedral, was probably founded about this time, or a few years later, when, in consequence of the decree of Clovesho restricting the liberty of monks, the seculars and regulars, who had hitherto lived together in the cathedral monasteries, separated.

[CUTHBERT ARCHBISHOP.]

XI. CUTHBERT, A.D. 740-758<sup>a</sup>.[“*Gratia Dei archiepiscopus*” (*K. C. D.*, LXXXVI.)<sup>b</sup>,

- A.D. 740. Cuthbert translated from Hereford to Canterbury (*Flor. Wig.* ad A.D. 741; *Cont. Bæd.*, *M. H. B.* 288; *Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 661). (A.D. 742, *Osbern*, *V. Breguini*, *A. S.*, II, 75.) He attests a grant of Ethelbert of Kent to Liminge (*K. C. D.*, LXXXVI.; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 453).
- A.D. 742. Council at Clovesho, in which the Privilege of Wihfred is confirmed (*K. C. D.*, LXXXVII.).
- A.D. 747. Council at Clovesho, held in consequence of the advice of Pope Zacharias. Cuthbert attests a grant of Eardulf, King of Kent, to Rochester (*K. C. D.*, XCVI.).
- A.D. 749. Privilege of Ethelbald, King of Mercia (*K. C. D.*, XCIX.).
- A.D. 755. Council in which the day of S. Boniface's martyrdom is ordered to be kept as a festival.
- A.D. 758. Cuthbert attests a grant of Kynewulf, King of Wessex, to Bath (*K. C. D.*, CXIII., marked as spurious, and misdated A.D. 808, but possibly authentic if allowed the earlier date).
- A.D. 758, Oct. 26. Cuthbert dies<sup>c</sup> (*A. S. C.*; *Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 544; *Elmham*, p. 317).]

<sup>a</sup> Cuthbert, Bishop of Hereford, was consecrated by Archbishop Nothelm in A.D. 736; and is stated by Florence of Worcester to be the person who became Archbishop in 740. In the charter of Ethelbert to Liminge (*K. C. D.*, LXXXVI.), he is said to be Abbot of Liminge. The Continuator of Bede, Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, do not mention the translation, but simply say “consecratus est,” which may be explained as referring to the investiture with the pall. The identification is maintained by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 8, 298, 299), Gervase (c. 1640), Thorn (c. 1772), Elmham (p. 313), Birchington (*A. S.*, I. 3), and the Canterbury historians generally. Osbern (*A. S.*, II. 75) calls him “ex illustri prosapia ortus.” W. Malmesbury gives some verses inscribed by

him on the tombs of his predecessors at Hereford (ed. Hamilton, p. 299); and Wharton (*A. S.*, II. 72) prints part of a metrical life of Cuthbert himself, of no particular value, but recognising the identity.

<sup>b</sup> Ralph de Diceto states that Cuthbert received the pall from Pope Gregory III. (*A. S.*, I. 87); therefore before Nov. 29, 741. The same statement is made by Gervase (cc. 1640, 1641); but it rests on no ancient authority, and although probably true, was a mere matter of calculation with those writers.

<sup>c</sup> The difficulty of reconciling the dates given by Florence and the Chronicle with the pontifical years calculated by the later annalists, arises from the miscalculation of the dates of Bregwin his successor, and will be found examined further on.

A.D. 742<sup>a</sup>. *Council of Clovesho, in which the Privilege of Wihfred is confirmed.*

✠ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXLII.<sup>b</sup> congregatum est magnum Concilium apud Clovesho, præsidente eodem Concilio Athel-



## [COUNCIL AT CLOVESHOU.]

baldo Rege Merciorum, cum Cuthberto Archiepiscopo Doroberniæ, cæterisque episcopis simul assidentibus, diligenter examinantes circa necessaria totius religionis, et de symbolo ex antiquis sanctorum patrum institutionibus tradita, studioseque perquirentes qualiter in primordio nascentis Ecclesiæ hic in Anglia jubebatur habere, aut ubi honor cœnobiorum secundum normam æquitatis<sup>a</sup>.

Hæc et hiis similia anxie inquirentes, antiquaque privilegia recitantes, tandem pervenit ad manus libertas Ecclesiarum, institutio vel præceptum Wihtredi gloriosi Regis, de electione et auctoritate cœnobiorum in Regno Cantix, quomodo et qualiter secundum imperium et electionem Cantuariensis Metropolitanani fieri [et] stare præcipitur. Ex præcepto itaque Regis Adelbaldi, lectum est coram omnibus privilegium præfati Wihtredi gloriosi Regis, et placuit cunctis hoc audientibus, pariterque dixerunt: Nullum aliud tam nobile, tamque prudenter constitutum decretum invenire potuisse secundum Ecclesiasticam disciplinam, et ideo hoc ab omnibus firmare sanxerunt.

Igitur ego Athelbaldus Rex Merciorum, pro salute animæ meæ, et pro stabilitate regni mei, proque venerabilis Archiepiscopi Cuthberti reverentia, propria manu mea munifica subscribens confirmo: ut per omnia libertas, honor, auctoritas, et securitas Christi Ecclesiæ a nulla persona denegetur, sed sit libera ab omnibus secularibus servitiis, et omnes terræ ad illam pertinentes, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione. Et sicut ipse præfatus Rex Wihtrodus, pro se suisque constituit servandum, ita per omnia irrefragabiliter et immutabiliter perdurare præcipimus.

Si quis autem Regum successorum nostrorum, seu episcoporum, vel principum hoc salubre decretum infringere temptaverit, reddet rationem Deo omnipotenti in die tremendo.

Si autem comes, presbyter, diaconus, clericus vel monachus huic institutioni restiterit, sit suo gradu privatus, et a participatione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini separatus, et alienus a regno Dei, nisi ante placita satisfactione emendaverit, quod malo superbiæ inique gessit. Scriptum est enim: "Quæcunque ligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in cælo: et quæ solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in cælo<sup>d</sup>." [MS. Lambeth. 1212, fo. 308; *K. C. D.*, *LXXXVII.*; *S.*, *I.* 230, 231; *W.*, *I.* 86.]

<sup>a</sup> The date which is given in the charter itself agrees with the statement of the Chro-

nicle, "Her wæs mycel sinoð gegaderod æt Cloueshou, and þar was Adelbald Myrcna

## [COUNCIL AT CLOVESHO.]

cing and Cuthberht arb. and fela oðre wise menn." But it occurs only in the MS. Domitian A. VIII., which labours under the suspicions common to every record that notices the Privilege of Wihtrud, the more especially as it does not mention the far more important council of A.D. 747.

<sup>b</sup> The version preferred by Kemble, who refers to Chart. Antiq. Cant. M. 363, adds here, "Indict. X. regni vero Æthilbaldi Regis Merciorum XXVII." Wilkins, who used MS. Cotton, Claudius D. 2. fo. 30, omits this.

<sup>c</sup> Servaretur, add. Kemb.

<sup>d</sup> Wilkins and Kemble add the following attestations, taken, as Wilkins states, from a faulty MS. at Canterbury, by Wharton:— "✠ Ego Ethelbald rex divino suffragio fultus gentis Merciorum regens imperium signum sanctæ crucis subscribo. ✠ Ego Cuthbertus archiepiscopus propria manu subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wita episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Torththelm episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wilfredi episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Cuthberht episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Huetlac episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Æanfrith episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Egclaf episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Alwig episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Hunwald episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Daniel episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Aldwulf episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Æthelfrith episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Herewald episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Sigca episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Redwulf episc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Ofa patricius cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Aldwuulf dux cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Æthelmod indolis Merc. cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Heardberht dux

cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Eadbald dux cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Bercul dux cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Cyneberht cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Freothoric cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Wermund abbas cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Cuthræd abbas cons. et subs. ✠ Ego Buna abbas cons. et subs." The Bishops according to their sees and dates are: Cuthbert of Canterbury (A.D. 740-758); Hwitta of Lichfield (A.D. 737-752); Torththelm, or Totta, of Leicester (A.D. 737-764); Wilfrid of Worcester (A.D. 717-743); Cuthbert of Hereford (supposing him to be not identical with the Archbishop); Huetlæc of Elmham (alive in A.D. 731, B., V. 23, but succeeded by Ethelfrith in A.D. 736); Eanfrith also of Elmham (alive in A.D. 758); Egclaf of Dunwich (date unknown); Alwig of Lindsey (A.D. 733-750); Hunwald of London (A.D. 706-745); Daniel of Winchester (A.D. 705-744); Aldwulf of Rochester (A.D. 727-741); Ethelfrith of Elmham (A.D. 736); Herewald of Sherborne (cons. 736); Sigca of Selsey (A.D. 733-747); and Redwulf (probably Eardulf of Dunwich, who was at the council of A.D. 747). From this enumeration it appears that three successive bishops of Elmham and two of Dunwich were present at the same time; a statement which shows that the signatures were added after the lists of the East Anglian bishops had become obscure, and is fatal by itself to the authenticity of the attestations. The fact, however, that the best copy of the charter does not contain the attestations may be considered sufficient to rescue the document itself from suspicion on this ground.

A.D. 729 × 744. *Letter of the Abbot Aldhun and the Abbesses Cneuburga and Coenburga to the Abbots Coengils and Ingeld and the Priest Wiethberkt, agreeing to a proposal of mutual intercession<sup>a</sup>.*

*Fratribus in Christo carissimis Coengilso<sup>b</sup> et Ingeldo<sup>c</sup> abbatibus et singulariter cognato nostro Wietberto<sup>d</sup> presbytero, OMNIS CONGREGATIO TRIUM MONASTERIORUM, ID EST ALDHUNI<sup>e</sup> PATRIS REVERENTISSIMI ET CNEUBERGE<sup>f</sup> CHRISTI FAMULÆ NEC NON ET COENBURGE ABBATISSARUM, perennem atque insolubilem in Domino salutem.*

Libenter nanque atque gratanter vestræ salutationis munuscula suscepimus Deoque adjuvante isdem digna reconpensare desideramus; et eam, quam circa nos scripsistis habere in orationibus communionem, bono animo et pura fide erga vos indesinenter habere horis, quibus intimastis, consentimus. Nomina quoque nostrarum defunctarum sororum ego Cneuburg memorialiter te habere, O Wieht-

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO DANIEL.]

berhte presbiter fidelis, deprecor, et omnibus circumquaque amicis transmittere. Quarum prima fuit Quoengyth soror mea germana; et Edlu, quæ erat, cum adhuc viveret, mater Etan, Aldhuni quondam tui abbatis propinquæ. Quarum utique ambarum fuit uno die depositio, id est Idibus Septembris. Orantem pro nobis beatitudinem vestram Dominus omnipotens custodire dignetur incolomem, dilectissimi fratres et domini. Per ævum Emmanuel. Saluta omnes circumquaque Christi servos nostris veracissimis verbis, dilectissimi fratres. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, no. 46, ed. Jaffé; no. 160, ed. Würdtwein.]

<sup>a</sup> This is the first instance of an association or confraternity between distant houses for mutual prayer, of which at a later period there are some very important examples, especially illustrating the intercommunion with foreign Churches.

<sup>b</sup> Coengils, the third abbot of Glastonbury in MS. Tib. B. 5: has the date A.D. 729-743 in Malmesbury's list (*Ant. Glast.* ed. Gale, 313, 328).

<sup>c</sup> Ingild is mentioned in another letter addressed by Wiehtberht to the monks of Glastonbury (*Ep. Bonif.* ed. Jaffé, no. 98), but his monastery is not identified. The death of Ingild, the brother of Ine and Cwenburga, is dated in the *A. S. C. A.D.* 718.

<sup>d</sup> Wiehtberht was one of Boniface's missionaries to the Hessians and Saxons, and is identified by Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc.*

III. part 1, p. 625, with Wigbert, abbot of Fritzlár.

<sup>e</sup> Aldhun, according to Mabillon (*Ann. O. S. B.*, II. 10), was abbot of Wimborne, but there is nothing to prove this. There was an abbot of this name at S. Augustine's from A.D. 748-760 (*Elmbam*, 317, 318).

<sup>f</sup> Cncburga should perhaps be read Cuenburga, and identified with the sister of Ine and Ingild mentioned in the Chronicle, ad ann. 718. If so, she was probably abbess of Wimborne, which her sister Cuthburga founded. See *Mon. Ang.*, II. 88, 89.) Tetta, the abbess under whom S. Lioba and S. Agatha were educated at Wimborne, was a sister of Ine (*V. S. Liobæ, Mab. AA. SS. sæc.* III. part 2, p. 223), and is possibly the Eta of this letter. Cf. *Ep.* 98.

A.D. 732 × 745<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Boniface to Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, asking counsel on the treatment of bad Priests, requesting the copy of the Prophets made by Abbot Winbert, and consoling him on the loss of sight.*

*Domino dilectissimo Danieli Episcopo* BONIFATIUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI optabilem in Christo caritatis salutem.

Consuetudo apud homines esse dinoscitur, cum aliis triste et honerosum quid acciderit, anxiatæ mentis solacium vel consilium ab illis quærere, de quorum maxime amicitia vel sapientia et fœdere confidunt. Eodem modo et ego, de paternitatis vestræ probabili sapientia et amicitia confidens, vobis fessæ mentis angustias expono et vestræ pietatis consilium et solacium quæro. Sunt enim nobis juxta dictum Apostoli non solum foris pugnæ et intus timores, sed etiam intus pugnæ simul cum timore; maxime semper per falsos sacerdotes et hypochritas. Qui et Deo adversantur et sibi perduntur

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO DANIEL.]

et populum per plurima scandala et varios errores seducunt, dicentes populis juxta dictum Prophetæ: "Pax, pax!" et non est pax. Et semen verbi, quod, de sinu catholicæ et apostolicæ Ecclesiæ sumptum et nobis commendatum, seminare aliquantulum studemus, illi cum lolio superseminare et suffocare nituntur vel in herbam pestiferi generis convertere. Et quod plantamus, non inrigant ut crescat, sed evellere student ut marcescat; offerentes populis et docentes novas sectas et diversi generis errores. Quidam abstinentes "a cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum creavit;" quidam, melle et lacte proprie pascentes se, panem et ceteros abiciunt cibos; quidam autem adfirmant, quod plurimum populo nocet, homicidas vel adulteros, in ipsis sceleribus perseverantes, fieri tamen posse Dei sacerdotes. Populi autem juxta dictum Apostoli: "Sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt, sed coacervabunt sibi magistros secundum sua desideria," et reliqua.

Nos quidem, patrocinatus auxilium in palatio Francorum quærentes, a talium corporali communione abstinere et segregare nos juxta præceptum canonum non possumus; nisi hoc tantum, quod per sacra missarum sollempnia in sacris mysteriis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini cum eis non communicamus. Sed et concilium et consensum illorum devitamus. Nam talibus et cum paganis et cum permixta et plebeia multitudine nostri labores et pugnæ forasticæ videntur esse. Immo vero, quando quis de gremio matris Ecclesiæ presbiter vel diaconus, clericus vel monachus discedit a fide et veritate, tum deinde prorumpunt cum paganis in contumelias filiorum Ecclesiæ. Et erit obstaculum horrendum evangelio gloriæ Christi.

De his namque omnibus, ut sine detrimento animæ cursum ministerii nostri implere possimus, in primis paternitatis vestræ apud Deum intercessionem quærimus. Et intimis per Deum obsecramus precibus, uti pro nobis intercedere dignemini: ut pius laborantium consolator Deus inter tales turbines diversarum causarum animas nostras inlesas et sanas a peccatis custodire dignetur.

De supradicta autem dictorum sacerdotum communione salubre consilium vestrum audire et exaudire inhianter desidero. Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum ecclesiæ regere nec presbiteros vel clericos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum; nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo. Cum autem ad illum, de istis causis auxilium quærens, pervenero, a talium communione abstinere canonice nullatenus corporaliter possum, nisi tantum a consensu

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO DANIEL.]

illorum. Nam ego de illa communione culpam timeo. Quia recolo, me ordinationis meæ tempore juxta præceptum Gregorii Papæ jurasse in corpore Sancti Petri, talium communionem me declinaturum, si eos ad viam canonicam convertere nequiverim. Set item timeo magis damnum de prædicatione, quam populis inpendere debeo, si ad principem Francorum non venero. De istis quid paternitas vestra tristi et dubitanti filio discernere et judicare et mandare ad consilium voluerit, indicare dignemini. Mihi enim maxima ex parte ab illis segregatus esse videor, si ab illis voluntatis consilio et consensu et ecclesiastico ministerio, ubi canonici non sunt, abstinuero.

Præterea paternitatis vestræ clementiam de uno solacio peregrinationis meæ intimis precibus diligenter rogare velim, si præsumam; id est, ut librum prophetarum, quem venerandæ memoriæ Winbertus<sup>b</sup>, abbas et magister quondam meus, de hac vita ad Dominum migrans dereliquit, ubi sex prophetæ in uno corpore claris et absolutis litteris scripti repperientur, mihi transmittatis. Et si hoc Deus cordi vestro facere inspiraverit, majus solacium vitæ meæ senectuti, et majus vobis premium mercedis, transmittere non potestis. Quia librum prophetarum talem in hac terra, qualem desidero, acquirere non possum; et, caligantibus oculis, minutas litteras ac connexas clare discere non possum. Et propterea de illo libro supra dicto rogo, quia tam clare discretis et absolutis litteris scriptus est.

Inter ea per Forthereum presbiterum litteras et parva münuscula propter indicium puræ caritatis transmitto vobis; id est casulam, non holosiricam sed caprina lanugine mixtam, et villosam ad tergendos pedes dilectionis vestræ.

Nuper quoque, revelante presbitero qui a vestra præsentia ad Germaniam venit, corporalis orbitatis vobis contigisse cognovi. Sed—ut vos domine melius scitis, qui vel per quem dixit:—“Quem diligit Deus, corripit,” et cetera. Et Paulus apostolus: “Quando infirmor, tunc potens sum;” et, “Virtus in infirmitate perficitur.” Et psalmigraphus: “Multæ tribulationes justorum,” et reliqua. Habes, pater mi—sicut Antonius de Didimo fertur dixisse—oculos, quibus potest Deus videri<sup>o</sup> et angeli Ejus, et supernæ Hierusalem gloriosa gaudia speculari. Et propter hoc, de sapientia tua et patientia confidens, credo quia hoc Deus ad profectum virtutum et ad augmentum meritorum tibi dedisset, et ut eo magis spiritualibus oculis ea conspicias et desideres, quæ præcipit et diligit Deus, et eo minus respicias vel concupiscas, quæ non amat sed interdixit Deus. Quid enim sunt isto

[DANIEL'S ANSWER TO BONIFACE.]

periculoso tempore corporales oculi nisi, ut ita dicam, maxima ex parte veraciter fenestræ peccatorum, per quas aut ad peccata et ad peccantes aspicimus aut, quod pejus est, ad nos ipsos flagitia considerantes et concupientes contrahimus. Valere sanctitatem vestram et pro me orare in Christo diligenter opto. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 55; ed. Würdtwein, no. 12.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is fixed to these limits by the facts that Boniface became Archbishop in A.D. 732, and that Daniel died in A.D. 745.

<sup>b</sup> Winbert, abbot of Nursling.

<sup>c</sup> See the story in Rufinus, *Ecol. Hist. Ser.* (ed. Basel, 1549) p. 253, and compare S. Jerome (*Opp.*, ed. Vallars., I. 408).

A.D. 732 × 745. *Letter of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to Boniface, in answer, giving advice on the treatment of bad Priests, and thanking him for his consolation.*

*Domino reverentissimo et merito ab omnibus orthodoxis amplectando, multiplici scientia variarumque virtutum gratia insigniter decorato, Bonifatio archiepiscopo DANIEL, DEI PLEBIS FAMULUS, sincerissimam in Domino, cuncta cælorum culmina supereminenti, salutem.*

Lectis litteris a tua fraternitate transmissis, multum merore commoti sumus; quod hoc amantibus intollerabile visum fuerit, si his, a quibus amantur, aliquid incommodi contigerit. Quandam tamen consolationem, sepius revolventes, invenimus in eo quod hostis callidi inextricabilis astutia nequaquam ritus reigionis vestræ tanta violentia et tam variis bellorum seu errorum oppositionibus per sublimes sacerdotum vel ceterorum quorumcumque reproborum personas expugnare temptaverit, nisi etiam in illa majoris meriti excellentiam agnosceret. Unde vos operam dare primitus oportet, ut inceptio gloriosa—quæ est, ut arbitror, apostolicis coequanda certaminibus—nullatenus propter illorum deseratur insidias, qui, dolis instructi, salutiferæ solent resistere doctrinæ. Sed tanto libentius inlatæ difficultates ferendæ sunt, quanto certius conperimus sanctorum esse ac martyrum in mundo pressuras, in cælo autem copiosissimam, Domino promittente, mercedem; Quem et hic auxiliatorem, si tantum in tribulationibus tolerantia non tedet, et illic, cum justis gavisuri, remuneratorem mereamur habere. Quapropter, cum caritas excellentiæ tuæ consilium sibi a nostra parvitate petere dignata sit, hoc existimamus profuturum, quatenus invicta patientia perferre studeat, quod non absque Dei providentia provenire non nesciat.

Quamvis ergo forasticæ pugnæ perniciæ seva sit, ipsaque atrocius

[DANIEL'S ANSWER TO BONIFACE.]

intestina formidanda ferocitas noceat—quod utique non miror, cum Christus Jesus olim fratrem a fratre in mortem esse tradendum testatus est, et filium a patre et parentes a nepotibus propter nomen Suum necandos;—licet inpugnantes per escarum superstitiosissimam observationem Dei opus destrui quærunt, quæ propemodum in ipso usu hominis pari detrimento peribunt—aut si, turpe lucrum sectantes, adolationis gratia vel etiam ipsorum laudis, vestræ vero vituperationis, falso securitatem populis pronuntient ac, ficta blanditie, pacis appellationem ingeminant et secundum Esaie vaticinantis præsagium “Dicentes malum bonum, et bonum malum,” et reliqua; vel si segetem, vestræ venerabilitati commissam, sterile lolium interserendo suffocare conentur; quia utique ante messis maturitatem in quodam commate conpescitur evelli, de quo uberius infra dicemus;—licet, inquam, actenus inaudita proferant dogmata ad decipienda minus intellegentium corda, quæ vos, in Divinis voluminibus optime eruditos, neque ad horam introducta latent neque etiam ea, quæ eis opportune possint opponi;—sed, ne te diutius morer ducendo per singula, dicam breviter:—quanquam universa nefandæ factionis argumenta ad expugnandos et adfligendos vos exercent, tamen secundum præcedentium sanctorum exemplar, quod corrigendo curari nequit, saltem sustinendo portate.

De sacerdotio autem homicidarum et adulterorum, qui absque ulla resipiscentia in peccatis suis perdurare presumunt, satis tibi sacratissimi canones ac decreta pontificum persuadent. Si igitur homicidis, jugiter agentibus pœnitentiam, circa exitum vitæ perfectio, id est communionis Christi gratia, conceditur, incorrectis qua ratione cura regimonii Christianæ conversationis injungitur? Adulter vero, quem nec sero suæ inpudiciæ penituit, qua consequentia sibi sacerdotale officium usurpabit? quando—secundum statuta Innocentii Papæ<sup>a</sup> ceterorumque—qui viduam aut secundam duxerit uxorem, non modo a ministerio æcclesiastice dignitatis verum etiam a clericatu coercetur. Cum et hæc propter carnis fragilitatem indulgenter concessa sunt, adulteria vero ab omnibus peritissimis prohibentur.

A communionem autem falsorum fratrum sive sacerdotum, quale consilium est tam idoneum, ut te in rebus corporalibus separatim disjungat, nisi forte de hoc mundo exire incipias? quando isti ubique et semper subintroire nituntur. A quibus se periculis implicatum Paulus apostolus adserebat. Et ceteri Christianæ religionis conditores, id ipsum aut se passos aut posteris patiendum fore, fatentur.

[DANIEL'S ANSWER TO BONIFACE.]

Dicis enim, te ab illis in sacris oblationum libaminibus remotissimum esse, ne sanctum canibus dare videreris—de hoc quid sentiret sanctus Augustinus, inter cetera subtus insinuabimus—insuper non sponte, non consensu neque ex voluntate, sed sola necessitate cogente nonnumquam te inter ipsos habitantem. Nemp̄ Hieronimus ait: “In evangelio voluntas quæritur, quæ, si etiam effectum non habuerit, tamen præmium non amittit<sup>b</sup>.” Quodsi his conjungeris verbi gratia: “In perceptione ciborum vel in cohabitatione loci,” nonne Ille, Qui “non venit vocare justos” et reliqua, ibat ad convivium peccatorum, ut occasionem haberet docendi? Aut: “In eo, quod mixtim adire Regem interdum debetis et pro pace æcclesiastica pariter deprecari, quia ipsi ut veri pastores plerumque pro ovibus intervenire se fingunt,” primum quidem implendum esse, quod scriptum est, sciamus: “Subditi estote omni humanæ ordinationi,” et reliqua, et: “Omnibus potestatibus sublimioribus,” et reliqua. Deinde considerandum est, quia proposita est similitudo tritici et zizaniorum de permixtione malorum atque bonorum. “Et munda et immunda animalia,” ut ait Augustinus, “introisse in arcam leguntur. Neque enim, quacumque libuit, intraverunt immunda animalia, arcæ conpage confracta, sed ea integra per unum atque idem ostium, quod artifex fecerat. Non enim,” inquit, “per has similitudines et pronuntiationes consilium desidiæ bonis datum est, qua neglegant quod prohibere debent, sed patientiæ, qua perferant, salva doctrina veritatis, quod emendare non valent.” Item dicit: “Cum ergo inveniamus in æcclesia malos, quos æcclesiastica disciplina corrigere aut coercere non possumus, tunc ne ascendat in cor nostrum impia et pernicioosa præsumptio, qua existimemus nos ab his esse separandos, ut peccatis eorum non coinquinemur, atque ita post nos trahere conemur veluti mundos sanctosque discipulos, ab unitatis conpage quasi a malorum consortio segregatos. Veniant in mentem illæ de scripturis similitudines, quibus demonstratum est, malos in æcclesia permixtos bonis usque ad finem seculi tempusque judicii futuros; et nihil bonis unitate ac participatione sacramentorum, quia eorum factis non consenserint, obfuturos. Cum vero eis, per quos æcclesia regitur, adest pace salva potestas disciplinæ adversus reprobos aut nefarios exercendæ, tunc rursus, ne socordia segnitiaque dormiamus, aliis aculeis præceptorum, quæ ad severitatem coercionis pertinent, excitandi sumus. Ita est etiam ratio dissimulandi et tollerandi malos in æcclesia; et est rursus ratio castigandi et corripiendi, non amittendi vel a communione remo-



[DANIEL'S ANSWER TO BONIFACE.]

vendi; ut nec patientiæ nomine torpescamus nec obtentu diligentia se viamus<sup>d</sup>.”

Dicam quoque, quod ex operibus antiquorum excerpti doctorum; et utiliter in tam perniciosa barbarie ad memoriam debet reduci. Si forte in prefata condescensione a quolibet calumniaris de aliquo simulandi sive etiam fingendi genere, legimus, quod utilis simulatio adsumenda sit in tempore. Unde et Cephas “subtrahebat et segregabat se, timens eos,” et reliqua; et vas electionis totondit capud et Timotheum circumcidit. Ipse quoque Dei Filius finxit, Se longius ire et nescire quæ sciebat, ut est in evangelio: “Quis Me tetigit?” et: “Ubi posuistis Eum?” Sed et psalmista inmutavit vultum suum coram Habimelech; et Joseph ludens fratribus locutus est. Nec non et Israel hedinis pellibus membra contextit. Hoc fecit, ut putaretur esse, qui non erat; et si diligenter et fideliter attenditur, non est mendacium, sed misterium. Per hedinas quippe pelles peccata, per eum vero, qui eis se operuit, ille significatur, qui aliena peccata portat.

Hæc tuæ caritati, non quasi priscae auctoritatis ignaræ vel nostræ rusticitatis admonitione indigenti, ne quid tuis rogatibus derogassemus, trepidantes scripsimus pro eo, quod te cum majoribus contraxisse negotium conperimus. Amore tamen atque obœditiōne amplius incitati quam arte vel audacia freti—tantum revelando, non etiam imperando—prolata diximus; ne forte in aliquo his, qui ultra modum excellentiores sunt, adversari videremur.

Exhortatoria profecto tuæ suggestionibus monita de instanti corporis molestia perferenda satis libenter suscipimus. Et in quantum vires sufficiunt, ipso Domino auxiliante Qui pro Sua misericordia monuit nos, tuis salutaribus obtemperabimus dictis.

Hoc quoque cognoscat vestra benivola dilectio: quia, licet terrarum spatioso sequestremur intervallo ac maris immensitate nimia et cæli inæquali clymmate dirimamur, pari tamen tribulationum deprimimur fasce. Eadem est enim operatio Satanæ hic et ibi. Propter quod diligentissime deprecor vos, ut nos orationum mutua vicissitudine jugiter muniamus; reminiscentes sermonis, quem dixit Dominus: “Si consenserint ex vobis duo aut tres,” et reliqua. Vale, vale, centupliciter carissime mihi et alia manu. [*S. Bonif. Epist.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 56; ed. Würdtwein, no. 13.]

<sup>a</sup> See *Mansi*, III. 1034.

<sup>b</sup> *S. Hieron. Opp.* (ed. Vallars.), VII.

<sup>c</sup> *S. Aug. De Fide et Operibus, Opp.* (ed. Bened.) VI. 192.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* p. 168.

[LETTER OF SIGEBALD TO BONIFACE.]

A.D. 732 × 745<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Sigebald to Boniface, asking him to be his Bishop.*

*Reverentissimo præsuli et piæ paternitatis prærogativa devulgando Archiepiscopo Bonifacio*, SIGEBALDUS, LICET INDIGNUS ET ULTIMUS FAMULORUM DEI FAMULUS<sup>b</sup>, optabilem in Domino salutem.

Primitus subnixis precibus ac si progeniculans flexis poplitis ut indulgeas obsecro petitionem meam, quam rogavi te per tuum presbiterum nomine Eobo<sup>c</sup>; id est ut tibi indicaret meam petitionem et desiderium; id est, ut tu meus esses episcopus cum meo Episcopo Danielo. Pro tua clementia hoc mihi concedebas, si ita fecisset, sicut eum rogavi. Putabam a te, domine mi, aliquem consolationis sermonem venire ad me. Notum sit tibi, quia ex eo tempore nomen tuum adscriptum habuissem, cum missarum sollempnia celebrarem, simul cum nominibus episcoporum nostrorum; et modo non cesso quam diu subsistam; et si supervixero tibi, cum nomine patris nostri Ercnwaldi Episcopi tuum adscribo nomen. Et hoc tibi intimare curabo, quod hoc scribens non quia de merito mei peccatoris confidens sim, sed de misericordia Dei et spe tua quam habes in Deum. Ideo deprecor te, ut tecum memoria mea secundum parvitatem meam et in presente et in futuro persistat. Vale in Christo. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 57; ed. Würdtwein, no. 26.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is fixed to these limits by the mention of Daniel.

<sup>b</sup> Sigebald was clearly an ecclesiastic, and not a king as Serarius supposed (*S. Bonif. Epp.*, pp. 67, 317). Jaffé conjectures that he was abbot of Chertsey, from his mention of Erkenwald, who founded that monastery.

<sup>c</sup> Eobo or Eaba was the bearer of Boniface's letters to Abbot Duddo and Abbess Eadburga in A.D. 735. He was again in Germany in A.D. 737 or 738. Possibly these dates may give a further indication of that of the letter (*S. Bonif. Epp.*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 98, 99, 100).

A.D. 744 × 747<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Boniface and five German Bishops to Ethelbald, King of Mercia, urging him to reform.*

*Domino carissimo et in Christi amore ceteris regibus preferendo, inclita Anglorum imperii sceptrâ gubernanti Athilbaldi Regi*, BONIFACIUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, LEGATUS GERMANICUS ROMANÆ ECCLESIAE, ET WERA ET BURGHARDUS ET WERBERHTUS ET ABEL ET WILBALTH COEPISCOPI<sup>b</sup>, perennem in Christo caritatis salutem.

Confitemur coram Deo et sanctis angelis, quia, quandocumque

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO ETHELBALD.]

prosperitatem vestram et fidem in Deo et opera bona coram Deo et hominibus per nuntios fideles audivimus, quod, inde gaudentes et pro vobis orantes, læti gratias agimus Deo; postulantes et obsecrantes Salvatorem mundi, ut vos, sospites et in fide stabiles et in operibus coram Deo rectos, in principatu Christiani populi longo tempore custodiat. Quando autem aliqua dilectionis vestræ injuria, de statu regni vestri vel eventu bellorum facta, aut, quod majus est, de salute animæ periculosum damnum perpetratum per auditum ad nos usque pervenerit, merore et tristitia nos cruciat; quia gaudio vestro in Dei voluntate congaudemus et adversitati contristamur.

Audivimus enim, quod elemosinarum plurima facias. Et in hoc congratulamur; quia, qui elemosinas minimis fratribus indigentibus tribuunt, juxta veritatem evangelicam in die judicii clementem sententiam a Domino audituri sunt, dicente: "Quam diu fecistis uni ex minimis fratribus Meis, Mihi fecistis; venite, benedicti Patris Mei, percipite regnum, quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi." Audivimus quoque quod furta et iniquitates, perjuria et rapinas fortiter prohibeas, et defensor viduarum et pauperum esse dinosceris, et pacem stabilitam in regno tuo habeas. Et in hoc quoque, laudantes Deum, gavisus sumus; quia Ipsa Veritas et Pax nostra, quæ est Christus, dicebat: "Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur."

Sed inter hæc una malæ æstimationis fama de vita pietatis vestræ ad auditum nostrum pervenit, qua audita, contristati sumus. Et illam optamus non fuisse veram. Multis enim narrantibus, conpertum est nobis quod numquam legitimam in matrimonium uxorem duxisses. Quod a Domino Deo ab ipso mundi primordio constitutum est, ut per apostolum Dei Paulum præceptum et iteratum, illo docente: "Propter fornicationem autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat, et unaquæque virum suum." Nam, si hoc causa castitatis et abstinentiæ facere voluisti, ut ab uxoris conjunctione pro timore et amore Dei abstinuisses, et hoc verum et impletum pro Deo conprobaveris, et in hoc gaudemus; quia non est reprehensibile, sed magis laudabile. Si autem—quod absit—ut multi dicunt, nec legitimam accepisti uxorem nec castitatis abstinentiam pro Deo servasti, sed libidine dominante in scelere luxuriæ et adulterii famam gloriæ tuæ coram Deo et hominibus confuderis, in hoc valde contristamur; quia et in conspectu Dei flagitium et coram hominibus famæ vestræ confusio esse dinoscitur.

Et adhuc, quod pejus est, qui nobis narrant, adiciunt quod hoc

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO ÆTHELBALD.]

scelus ignominie maxime cum sanctis monialibus et sacratis Deo virginibus per monasteria commissum sit. Nam, hoc peccatum duplex esse, non dubium est. Ut verbi gratia dicamus, cujus vindictæ reus sit puer apud dominum suum, qui uxorem domini sui adulterio violaverit. Quanto magis ille, qui sponsam Christi, Creatoris cæli et terræ, putredine suæ libidinis commaculaverit; dicente beato Paulo apostolo: "An nescitis, quia corpora vestra templa sunt Spiritus Sancti?" et alibi: "Nescitis, quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis? Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus; templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos." Et iterum idolatriæ servituti adulteros et fornicatores in sermone et numero peccatorum jungit dicens: "An nescitis, quia iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt? Nolite errare. Neque fornicarii, neque idolis servientes, neque adulteri, neque molles, neque masculorum concubitores, neque fures, neque avari, neque ebriosi, neque maledici, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt." Apud Grecos enim et Romanos—quasi blasphemiam Deo inrogasset, qui hoc reus sit—ut proprie de hoc peccato ante ordinationem interrogatus, si reus inventus fuerit ut cum velata et consecrata Deo nonna concubisset, ab omni gradu Dei sacerdotii prohibetur. Propter hoc, fili carissime, sollicite considerandum est, quanti ponderis hoc peccatum esse judicetur ante oculos Æterni Judicis; quod facientem inter idolatriæ servos constituat et Divino ministerio altaris abiciat, licet ante peracta pœnitentia reconciliatus sit Deo. Corpora enim per votum propriæ sponsionis et per verba sacerdotis Deo consecrata templa Dei esse per sanctam scripturam dicuntur. Et ideo violatores illorum juxta apostolum filii perditionis esse dinoscuntur. Princeps autem apostolorum Petrus, luxoriosos libidine prohibens, dixit: "Sufficit enim preteritum tempus," et reliqua. Tum est: "Pretium scorti vix unius est panis; mulier autem viri pretiosam animam capit." Et alibi: "Non grandis est culpæ, cum quis furatus fuerit; furatur enim, ut esurientem impleat animam; deprehensus quoque reddet septuplum. Qui autem adulter est, propter cordis inopiam perdet animam suam." Longum est enim enumerare, quanti spiritalis medici hujus peccati venenum et horrendum vituperabant et terribiliter prohibebant. Quia pene omnibus peccatis gravior et deterior est fornicatio; et veraciter dici potest laqueus mortis et puteus inferni et vorago perditionis.

Propter ea obsecramus et contestamur, fili carissime, clementiam tuam per Christum Filium Dei et per adventum Ejus et regnum Ipsius,

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO ETHELWALD.]

ut, si hoc verum sit, quod in isto scelere versaris, et vitam tuam penitendo corrigas et purificando emendes. Et memor eris, quia indecens esse conprobatur, ut imaginem Dei, quæ in te creata est, per luxoriam ad imaginem et similitudinem maligni diaboli convertereris, et tu—quem non propria merita sed larga pietas Dei regem ac principem multorum constituit—te ipsum per luxoriam servum maligno spiritui constituas; quia juxta dictum apostoli, quodcumque peccatum fecerit homo, hujus servus est.

Non solum a Christianis sed etiam ab ipsis paganis in obprobrium et verecundiam deputatur. Quia ipsi pagani, verum Deum ignorantes, naturaliter, quæ legis sunt et quod ab initio Deus constituit, custodiunt in hac re; quia, propriis uxoribus matrimonii fœdera servantes, fornicatores et adulteros puniunt. Nam in antiqua Saxoniam, si virgo paternam domum cum adulterio maculaverit vel si mulier maritata, perdito fœdere matrimonii, adulterium perpetraverit, aliquando cogunt eam, propria manu per laqueum suspensam, vitam finire; et super bustum illius, incensæ et concrematæ, corruptorem ejus suspendunt. Aliquando, congregato exercitu femineo, flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos circumquaque ducunt, virgis cedentes et vestimenta ejus abscedentes juxta cingulum; et cultellis suis totum corpus ejus secantes et pungentes, minutis vulneribus cruentatam et laceratam de villa ad villam mittunt; et occurrunt semper novæ flagellatrices, zelo pudicitiae adductæ, usque ad eam aut mortuam aut vix vivam derelinquunt; ut ceteræ timorem adulterandi et luxoriandi habeant. Et Winedi, quod est fœdissimum et deterrimum genus hominum, tam magno zelo matrimonii amorem mutuum observant, ut mulier, viro proprio mortuo, vivere recusat. Et laudabilis mulier inter illos esse judicatur, quia propria manu sibi mortem intulit et in una strue pariter ardeat cum viro suo.

Cum ergo gentiles, qui Deum nesciunt et legem non habent, juxta dictum apostoli, “naturaliter ea, quæ legis sunt faciunt” et “ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis,” præterea, fili carissime, cum tu Christianus et veri Dei cultor esse cognominaris, si in juventute adolescentiæ tuæ putridine luxoriæ inquinatus et fœtore adulterii involutus et voragine libidinis quasi puteo inferni demersus fueras, jam tempus est, ut, memor Domini tui a diaboli laqueis respicias et a fœtore luxoriæ sordidatam animam laves. Jam tempus est, ut pro timore Creatoris tui tale piaculum iterare et te maculare ultra non præsumas. Tempus est, ut multitudini pereuntis populi parcas, quæ,

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO ÆTHELBALD.]

sequendo exempla peccantis principis, cadebat in puteum mortis. Quia, quantoscumque vel per bona exempla ad vitam cælestis patriæ contrahimus vel per mala exempla ad perditionem sequentes præhibemus, de tantis procul dubio ab æterno Judice vel pœnas vel præmia accepturi sumus.

Si enim gens Anglorum—sicut per istas provincias divulgatum est et nobis in Francia et in Italia inproperatur, et ab ipsis paganis inproperium est—spretis legalibus conubiis, adulterando et luxoriando ad instar Sodomitanæ gentis fœdam vitam vixerit, de tali commixtione meretricum, æstimandum est, degeneres populos et ignobiles et furentes libidine fore procreandos, et ad extremum universam plebem, ad deteriora et ignobiliora vergentem, et novissime nec in bello sæculari fortem nec in fide stabilem et nec honorabilem hominibus nec Deo amabilem esse venturam. Sicut aliis gentibus Hispaniæ et Provinciæ et Burgundionum populis contigit; quæ sic, a Deo recedentes, fornicatæ sunt, donec Judex omnipotens talium criminum ultrices pœnas per ignorantiam legis Dei et per Sarracenos venire et sævire permisit.

Et notandum, quod in illo scelere aliud inmane flagitium subterlatet, id est homicidium. Quia, dum illæ meretrices, sive monasteriales sive sæculares, male conceptas soboles in peccatis genuerint, et sepe maxima ex parte occidunt; non implentes Christi ecclesias filiis adoptivis, sed tumulos corporibus et inferos miseris animabus satiantes.

Præterea nuntiatum est nobis, quod multa privilegia ecclesiarum et monasteriorum fregisses, et abstulisses inde quasdam facultates. Et hoc, si verum est, peccatum grande esse dinoscitur, testante sacra scriptura, quæ ait: “Qui abstulerit aliquid patri vel matri, et dicit, ‘Hoc non est peccatum,’ homicidæ particeps est.” Pater noster sine dubio Deus est Qui nos creavit, mater nostra æcclesia quæ nos in baptismo spiritaliter regeneravit. Ergo, qui Christi pecunias et ecclesiæ fraudavit vel rapiet, homicida ante conspectum Justi Judicis esse deputabitur. De quo quidam sapientum dicebat: “Qui rapit pecuniam proximi sui, iniquitatem facit; qui autem pecuniam ecclesiæ abstulerit, sacrilegium facit.”

Et dicitur, quod prefecti et comites tui majorem violentiam et servitatem monachis et sacerdotibus inrogent, quam ceteri ante Christiani reges fecissent. Igitur, postquam apostolicus pontifex sanctus Gregorius, ab apostolica sede missis predicatoribus catholicæ

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO ETHELBALE.]

fidei, gentem Anglorum ad Deum verum convertit, privilegia ecclesiarum in regno Anglorum intemerata et inviolata permanserunt usque ad tempora Ceolredi Regis Mercionum et Osredi Regis Derorum et Berniciorum <sup>d</sup>.

Hi duo reges hæc duo peccata maxima in provinciis Anglorum diabolico instinctu suis exemplis sceleratis contra præcepta evangelica et apostolica Salvatoris nostri publice facienda monstraverunt. Et in istis peccatis commorantes, id est in stupratione et adulterio nonnarum et fractura monasteriorum, justo judicio Dei damnati, de culmine regali hujus vitæ abjecti et inmatura et terribili morte præventi, a luce perpetua extranei, in profundum inferni et tartarum abyssi demersi sunt. Nam Ceolredum, precessorem venerandæ celsitudinis tuæ—ut testati sunt, qui præsentés fuerant—apud comites suos splendide epulantem, malignus spiritus, qui eum ad fiduciam dampnandæ legis Dei suadendo pellexit, peccantem subito in insaniam mentis convertit; ut sine pænitentia et confessione, furibundus et amens et cum diabolis sermocinans et Dei sacerdotes abhominans, de hac luce sine dubio ad tormenta inferni migravit. Osredum quoque spiritus luxoriæ, fornicantem et per monasteria nonnarum sacratas virgines stuprantem et furentem, agitavit; usque quod ipse gloriosum regnum et juvenilem vitam et ipsam luxoriosam animam contempibili et despecta morte perdidit <sup>e</sup>.

Quapropter, fili carissime, cave tibi foveam, in quam vidisti coram te alios cecidisse. Cave tibi jacula antiqui hostis, per quæ propinquos proprios coram te vulneratos cadere vidisti. Adtende tibi a laqueo insidiatoris, in quo notos et commilitones tuos videbas strangulatos et præsentem vitam et futuram perdere. Noli talium ad perditionem exempla sequi. Tales enim juxta prophetiam sanctæ scripturæ sunt, qui angustiaverunt justos et qui abstulerunt labores eorum. In die judicii dicturi sunt: “Erravimus a via veritatis, et justitiæ lumen non luxit nobis, et sol non est ortus in nobis;” et, “Viam Domini ignoravimus;” et, “Quid nobis profuit superbia, aut quid divitiarum jactatio contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius præcurrens, et tamquam navis, quæ pertransit, cujus non est vestigium invenire, aut tamquam avis transvolans in aëre.” Et post pauca: “Sic et nos nati continuo desivimus esse; in malignitate nostra consumpti sumus. Talia dixerunt in inferno hii, qui peccaverunt; quoniam spes impii tamquam lanugo est quæ a vento tollitur, et tamquam spuma gracilis quæ a procella dispergitur,

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO ETHELBA LD.]

et tamquam fumus qui a vento diffusus est, et tamquam memoria hospitis unius diei prætereuntis." Et alias: "Numerus dierum vitæ hominis, si multum, centum anni, quasi parvula gutta de magno mari deputatus est." Hæc enim omnia secundum auctoritatem Sanctæ Scripturæ rerum conlatione simillima sunt. Sic et Jacobus frater Domini et apostolus, de impio divite disputans, dixit: "Sicut flos fœni transibit; exortus est enim sol cum ardore et arefecit fœnum; et flos ejus decidit, et decor vultus ejus deperiit, ita et dives in itineribus suis marcescit." Et Ipsa Veritas in evangelio proponens dixit: "Quid enim proderit homini, si lucretur universum mundum, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur<sup>f</sup>?" Nihil enim adjuvant opes terrenæ in die vindictæ, si eis homo male utens præsentem finierit vitam; cum post mortem corporis in penam animæ ceciderit æternam. His ergo admonitionibus, fili carissime, imbutus, rogo, ut adquiescas sanis sermonibus legis Dei et corrigas vitam tuam. Desere vitia, et studium impende sacris virtutibus adimplendis; sicque in hoc mundo prospere vives et in futuro præmium consequeris sempiternum. Vale. Deus omnipotens in meliorem statum vitam tuam corrigat, ut gratiam ab Ipso Domino invenire merearis æternam. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 59; ed. Würdtwein, no. 72; *S.*, I. 232; *W.*, I. 87; and see *W. Malm. G. R.*, ed. Hardy, pp. 112-115.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is fixed by the mention of Abel, who became Archbishop of Rheims A.D. 744.

<sup>b</sup> Of these Bishops, Abel was Archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 744-751; Wilbath or Willibald, Bishop of Eichstaedt, A.D. 741-786; Burglard, Bishop of Würzburg, A.D. 741-753; Wera is conjectured by Serarius (*Mogunt.* 479) to be the same as Witta, Bishop of Bura-burg, and Werberht has been supposed to be Arthbert, Bishop of Sens, but without sufficient warrant.

<sup>c</sup> Jaffé refers to S. Jerome, *Opp.*, ed. Vallars, I. 267.

<sup>d</sup> Ceolred, King of Mercia, A.D. 709-716. Osred, King of Northumbria, A.D. 705-716. Ceolred had persecuted Ethelbald in his youth (*V. S. Gutblaci, Mabillon, AA. SS.*, sæc. III. part I. p. 271).

<sup>e</sup> The extract from this letter given by William of Malmesbury, and professedly abbreviated in his own words (*G. R.*, p. 114), proceeds thus: "Carolus quoque princeps Francorum, monasteriorum multorum eversor et ecclesiasticorum pecuniarum in usus proprios commutator, longa torsione et verenda morte

consumptus est." Pagi, in his commentary on Baronius (III. 247), has shown good reason why this should be regarded as spurious.

<sup>f</sup> W. Malmesbury proceeds: "Quapropter, fili carissime, paternis te et subnixis precibus deprecamur, ut non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinem tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim bono regi salubrius, quam si talia commissa, cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: 'Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sapientiam.' Ideo, fili carissime, ostendentes consilium justum, contestamur et obsecramus per viventem Deum et per Ejus Filium Jesum Christum et per Spiritum Sanctum, ut recorderis, quam fugitiva sit vita præsens et quam brevis, et quam momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis, et quam ignominiosum sit, ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere et præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas et in futuro æterna gloria gauderas. Valere celsitudinem tuam et in bonis moribus proficere optamus."



A.D. 732 × 751. *Letter of Boniface to Æthelbald, King of Mercia, recommending the bearer, Ceola, and thanking him for his kindness to his messengers the year before.*

*Domino reverentissimo et dilectissimo Æthelbaldo Regi Mertionum, BONIFACIUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, intimæ caritatis salutem.*

Obsecramus celsitudinis tuæ clementiam, ut istum missum meum nomine Ceola<sup>a</sup>, præsentem harum litterarum [gerulum], in necessitate nostra et itineris sui, et in quocumque illi necessitas contigerit, solacium præbere et adjuvare dignemini. Et mercedem pro Deo habeas de missis nostris, qui præterito anno ad vos venerunt, quia eis in omnibus adjutorium, ut referebant, præstitistis. Interea pro signo veri amoris et devotæ amicitiae direximus tibi accipitrem unum et duos valcones, duo scuta et duas lances. Quæ rogamus, licet digna non sint, munuscula tamen pro caritate benedictionis suscipere digneris. Finem loquendi omnes pariter audiamus; “Deum time et mandata Ejus observa.” Petimus quoque, ut, si per alterum nuntium verba nostra ad præsentiam tuam scripta pervenerint, auditum tuum adcommo-  
dare digneris et sollicitè audire cures. Vale in Christo. [*S. Bonif. Epist.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 74; ed. Würdtwein, no. 55.]

<sup>a</sup> Ceola was the bearer of a letter of Lullus to the Abbess Eadburga, whose death is fixed to A.D. 751 (ed. Jaffé, no. 75).

A.D. 744 × 747. *Letter of Boniface to the priest Herefrith<sup>a</sup>, begging him to urge Æthelbald to comply with his advice.*

*Dilectissimo ac reverentissimo fratri Herefritho presbitero, BONIFACIUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, æternam in Christo caritatis salutem.*

Almitatis tuæ clementiam intimis obsecro precibus, ut in tuis sacrosanctis orationibus mei memor esse digneris—etiãsi sic, narrantibus et a te venientibus, jam fecisse fraternitatem tuam et facturam esse, non dubito—ut Sancti Jacobi apostoli sententia in nobis impleatur, qua dixit: “Orate pro invicem, ut salvemini,” et, “Multum enim valet deprecatio justi adsidua.”

Præterea nos octo episcopi, qui ad unam synodum convenimus, quorum nomina subter adnotavimus, in commune te, frater carissime, deprecamur: ut verba admonitionis nostræ Æthelbaldo Regi Mercionum interpretando et recitando adnunties et eo modo et ordine, quo ad te scripta transmittimus, sollicitè enumerando et predicando illi indica-

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO HEREFRITH.]

veris. Audivimus enim, quia pro timore Dei personam hominis non timeas; et quod supra dictus rex aliquantulum quibusdam temporibus audire dignetur tua monita. Et notum sit caritati tuæ, quia hæc verba admonitionis nostræ ad illum regem propter nihil aliud direximus nisi propter puram caritatis amicitiam; et quod, de eadem Anglorum gente nati et nutriti, hic per præceptum apostolicæ sedis peregrinamur. Bonis et laudibus gentis nostræ lætamur et gaudemus, peccatis autem ejus et vituperationibus ejus tribulamur et contristamur. Obprobrium namque generis nostri patimur sive a Christianis sive a paganis, dicentibus quod gens Anglorum, spreto more ceterarum gentium et despecto apostolico præcepto, immo Dei constitutione, legitimas uxores dedignentur habere et—hinnientium equorum consuetudine vel rudentum asinorum more—luxoriando et adulterando omnia turpiter fedet et confundat. Igitur, si hoc scelus maximum verum sit, frater carissime, rogemus omnes communiter supra dictum regem, ut semet ipsum cum populo corrigat; ne tota gens cum principe hic et in futuro pereat, sed ut, vitam propriam emendendo et corrigendo, exemplis suis iterum gentem propriam ad viam salutis dirigat et, unde peccatum ante contraxit, inde mercedem mereatur æternam. Preterea partem timiamatis et sabanum pro benedictione et signo puræ caritatis tibi direximus. Sanctis operibus florentem et probatis moribus proficientem fraternam dilectionem tuam atque bene valentem sancta Trinitas æternaliter custodiat. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 60; ed. Würdtwein, no. 71; *S.*, I. 236; *W.*, I. 90.]

<sup>a</sup> This is probably Herefrith, "vir Dei," whose death is noted in A.D. 747 in the *Cont. Bed.*, M. H. B. 288.

A.D. 744 × 747. *Letter of Boniface to Egbert, Archbishop of York, thanking him for gifts, and begging him to urge Ethelbald to comply with the advice given in his letter to him.*

*Dilectissimo ac reverentissimo fratri Ecbertbo Archiepiscopo, BONIFACIUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, LEGATUS GERMANICUS SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ, sinceram in Christo spiritalis germanitatis salutem.*

Caritatis tuæ muneribus et libris susceptis, erigens ad supera palmas, magnas omnipotenti Deo gratias egi, Qui mihi longe peregrinanti talem invenire concessit amicum, qui mihi et in rebus terrenis adiutorium et in spiritalibus, oratione et unitate commonionis, Divinum solacium transmisit. Nunc autem intimis præcordiorum precibus

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO EGBERT.]

almitatis tuæ clementiam obsecro, ut vestræ fraternitatis synodo una cum servis Dei mecum laborantibus adunatus esse merear; et sis mihi consiliarius et adiutor in inquirendis et investigandis regulis ecclesiasticis judiciorum Dei; et ut me, non ludivaga sermonum voce, sed serie rogantem ac dicentem esse scias; et me non arrogantem vel superbum aut proprio iudicio plus justo placentem æstimes. Nam catholica et apostolica Romana Ecclesia, quando indignum ac vilem prædicatorem ad prædicandum Germaniæ erroneis vel paganis gentibus direxit, præcepit mihi, ut ex auctoritate Romani pontificis, si alicubi viderem, inter Christianos pergens, populos erroneos vel ecclesiasticas regulas mala consuetudine depravatas vel homines per invium a catholica fide abductos, ad viam salutis invitare et revocare totis viribus niterer.

Hoc præceptum servare cupiens, admonitoriam vel precatoriam epistolam Æthelbaldo Regi Mercionum cum consilio et consensu episcoporum, qui una nobiscum sunt, transmisi. Quam præsentare fraternitatis tuæ obtutibus jussi: ut, si quæ in ea prave posita sint, emendes, et quæ justa sint sale sapientiæ tuæ condias et auctoritate confirmes; et si radicem aliquam flagitiorum, de quibus in illa epistola contra Regem Mercionum disputatum, in gente tua germinare velle videas, sicut providus et sapiens colonus cum falce Dominicæ auctoritatis in tempus præcidas et radicitus evellas; ne floruerit et fiat ex vinea Sodomorum vitis eorum, et propago eorum ex Gomorra, et sit furor draconum vinum eorum, et furor aspidum insanabile. Inauditum enim malum est præteritis sæculis et, ut hic servi Dei gnari scripturarum dicunt, in triplo vel in quadruplo Sodomitanam luxuriam vincens, ut gens Christiana contra morem universæ terræ, immo contra præceptum Dei, despiciat legitima matrimonia, et adhereat incestis, luxuriis, adulteriis, et nefanda stupra consecratarum et velatarum feminarum sequatur.

Præterea obsecro, ut mihi de opusculis Bedan lectoris aliquos tractatus conscribere et dirigere digneris—quem nuper, ut audivimus, Divina gratia spiritali intellectu ditavit et in vestra provincia fulgere concessit—et ut candela, quam vobis Dominus largitus est, nos quoque fruamur.

Interea ad indicium caritatis fraternitati tuæ direxi exemplaria epistularum Sancti Gregorii—quas de scrinio Romanæ Ecclesiæ excepi; quæ non rebar ad Britanniam venisse; et plura iterum, si mandaveris, remittam; quia multas inde excepi—et corporale pallium

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

et villosam unam ad tergendos pedes, cum laveris, servorum Dei. Valere beatitudinem tuam et sacris virtutibus proficere in Christo optamus. [*S. Bonif. Epist.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 61; ed. Würdtwein, no. 54.]

A.D. 747, September. *Council of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of the province, held at Clovesho, for the reformation of abuses.*

I. *Abstract of the Acts of the Council.*

WILL. MALM., *G. P.*, I. 5. — Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Jesu Christo Qui cuncta Patris imperio ac pariter Spiritus Sancti gratia vivificante disponit; hæc quæ subter habentur synodalia gesta, Septembris mensis initio prope locum qui vocatur Clovesho, peracta sunt: præsentibus his Deo dilectis præsulibus ecclesiarum Christi; hoc est honorabili Archiepiscopo Cutberto, et venerabili Rofensis ecclesiæ antistite Dunno, atque reverentissimis episcopis Merciorum Totta et Hwita ac Podda; sed et probatissimis præsulibus Occidentalium Saxonum Hunferdo et Herewaldo, venerabilibusque sacerdotibus Herdulfo Orientalium Anglorum atque Egculfo Orientalium Saxonum, et Milredo Wicciorum; sed et honorabilibus episcopis Alwio Lindissæ provinciæ atque Siega Australium Saxonum, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>, Indictione XV<sup>a</sup>, anno autem regni Edelbaldi Regis Merciorum, qui tunc aderat cum suis principibus ac ducibus, XXX<sup>mo</sup>III<sup>to</sup>. Cum igitur ex diversis Britannicæ provinciis sacri ordinis præfati præsules cum minoris ordinis dignitatibus convenissent, et recitata essent scripta in duabus cartis venerandi Papæ Zachariæ quibus Anglos ammonebat ut castigatius viverent, et contemnentem excommunicare minabatur:

Primo capitulo decreverunt ut episcopi sollicitius amodo viverent et sollicitius subditos ammonerent.

2do. Ut pacifico animo viverent quamvis locis discreti degerent.

3tio. Ut omni anno parochias suas singuli circumirent.

4to. Ut quisque in sua diocesi abbates et monachos moneant regulariter vivere, et prælatos subjectos suos non opprimere, sed diligere.

5to. Ut etiam monasteria quæ sæculares homines pervaserant, nec tunc ab eis auferri poterant, docerent regulariter conversari.

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

6to. Ne aliquis ordinetur nisi prius ejus vita examinetur.

7mo. Ut per monasteria lectio sanctarum Scripturarum frequentetur.

8vo. Ut presbyteri non sint negotiorum sæcularium dispositores.

9no. Ut ipsi presbyteri non accipiant pretium pro baptizandis pueris.

10mo. Ut Dominicam orationem et symbolum Anglice discant et doceant.

11mo. Ut omnes uno eodemque modo sua ministeria peragant.

12mo. Ut modesta voce sacra in ecclesiis canant.

13mo. Ut uno eodemque tempore ubique Dominicæ festivitates et sanctorum natalitia celebrentur.

14mo. Ut honorabiliter observetur Dominicus dies.

15mo. Ut septem canonicæ horæ diebus singulis observentur.

16mo. Ut Rogationum dies et minorum et majorum non omitantur.

17mo. Ut festivitas Sancti Gregorii et Augustini patris nostri observetur.

18mo. Ut jejunia quatuor temporum observentur.

19mo. Ut monachi et sanctimoniales regulariter vestiantur.

20mo. Ut episcopi observent ne ista decreta negligantur.

21mo. Ne ecclesiasticus ordo inebrietur.

22do. Ut communio ab ecclesiasticis non negligatur.

23tio. Ut idem a laicis pro temporibus observetur.

24to. Ut prius probentur laici quam monachentur.

25to. Ut eleemosynæ non negligantur.

26to. Ut hæc præcepta singuli episcopi subjectis notificent.

27mo. De utilitate eleemosynæ disputatum est.

28vo. De utilitate Psalmodiæ.

29no. Ut congregatio pro modo facultatum constituatur.

30mo. Ut monachi inter laicos non habitent.

31mo. Ut pro regibus et principibus publice oretur.

Hujus synodi actionem, nam nos capitula tantum tetigimus, Cuthbertus Archiepiscopus statim per Kinebertum diaconum suum Bonifatius Mogontino Archipræsuli misit; unde ipse congratulans eleganter rescripsit. [*W. Malm. G. P.*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 9-11; *S.*, I. 244; *W.*, I. 94; *M. Parker, Antiq. Eccl. Angl.*, ed. Drake, p. 88.]

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO, A.D. 747.]

II. *Acts<sup>a</sup> of the Council at length.*

## SYNODUS CUTHBERTI ARCHIEPISCOPI.

Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Jhesu Christo, qui cuncta Patris imperio, ac pariter Sancti Spiritus gratia vivificante disponit: hæc quæ subter habentur synodalia gesta Septembri mensis initio, prope loca quæ vocantur Clobeshoas peracta sunt: præsentibus his Deo dilectis præsulibus Ecclesiarum Christi. Hoc est, honorabili Archiepiscopo Cuthberto, et venerabili Hrofensis Ecclesiæ antistite Dunno, atque reverentissimis Episcopis Merciorum Totta et Huita ac Podda; sed et probatissimis Præsulibus Occidentalium, Hunferdo et Hereualdo, venerabilibusque Sacerdotibus, Heardulfo Orientalium Anglorum, atque Ecgulfo Orientalium Saxonum, et Milredo Huiciorum<sup>b</sup>; sed et honorabilibus quoque Episcopis Aluuiho Lindissæ provinciæ, atque Sicga Australium Saxonum. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXLVII., Indictione XV. Anno autem regni Ædibaldi Regis Merciorum, qui tunc aderat cum suis principibus ac ducibus, XXXII.<sup>c</sup>

[*Proœmium, in quo literæ Zachariæ Pontificis Romani præleguntur et Præsules sese mutuo exhortantur<sup>d</sup>.*]

Cum igitur ex diversis Britannicæ provinciis sacri ordinis præfati præsules, cum plurimis sacerdotibus Domini, et minoribus quoque ecclesiastici gradus dignitatibus, ad locum synodalem cum prædicto venerabili Archiepiscopo Cudberto convenerunt, et de unitate Ecclesiæ, ac statu Christianæ religionis, et concordia pacis tractanda confirmandaque pariter consederunt; tum etenim post devotam ad invicem salutationem; imprimis a præsidente præfato metropolitano, scripta toto orbe venerandi Pontificis domni apostolici Papæ Zachariæ, in duabus kartis in medium prolata sunt; et cum magna diligentia, juxta quod ipse apostolica sua autoritate præcepit, et manifeste recitata, et in nostra quoque lingua apertius interpretata sunt. Quibus namque scriptis isdem præclarus Pontifex Zacharias Britanicæ hujus insulæ nostri generis accolas, diversæ videlicet dignitatis et conditionis gradus, familiariter præmonebat, et veraciter conveniebat, ac postremo amabiliter exorabat; et hæc omnia contemnentibus, atque in sua pertinaci malitia permanentibus, anathematis inter

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO, A.D. 747.]

cætera sententiam proculdubio proferendam insinuabat, uti in eis legentibus liquido clarescit. Unde nimirum post illarum recitationem, et tremendæ invectionis ammonitionem, ipsi præsules qui cæteris magisterii loco a Deo prælati sunt, ad seipsos verba mutue exhortationis verterunt, ac sese suumque officium quo cæteri ad Dei famulatum instrui cotidie debent, in omeliis quoque beati patris Gregorii, et sanctorum patrum canonicis decretis, quasi in specula splendiflua considerantes.

## CANONES.

[1. *Ut Episcopi curam suam pastoraalem, et canonicas institutiones, non negotia sæcularia prosequantur.*]

Atque deinde primo suorum loco decretorum, hoc rata sanctione condixerunt: Ut unusquisque episcoporum curam sibi pastoraalem creditam, canonicasque Christi Ecclesiæ institutiones, summo conamine, contra diversa ac prava temptamenta, Deo patrocinate et adjuvante, defendere sit promptus, nec ullatenus deinceps negligenter vivendo, segniter docendo, negotiis sæcularibus plus quam Dei servitiis, quod absit, subditus existit, sed bonis utique moribus, abstinentiæ virtutibus, justitiæ operibus, doctrinæ studiis adornatus, ut secundum apostolum, populum Dei suis exemplis bene corrigere, et sanæ quoque doctrinæ sermonibus instruere prævaleat.

2. *De Unitate Pacis.*

Secundo loco: Sub testificatione quadam confirmaverunt, ut pacis intimæ et sinceræ caritatis devotio ubique inter eos perpetuo permaneat, atque ut una sit omnium concordia in omnibus viris ecclesiasticæ religionis; in sermone, in opere, in iudicio, sine cujusquam adulatione personæ; utpote unius Domini ministri, uniusque ministerii conservi; ut licet sedibus sint divisi per diversa loca, tamen mentibus conjuncti in uno spiritu, Deo in fide, et spe, et caritate deserviant, orantes diligenter pro invicem, ut sui certaminis cursum fideliter unusquisque consummare possit.

3. *Ut omni anno Episcopi Parochias suas peragrent.*

Tertio sanxerunt loco: Ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parochiam suam pertransiendo, et circumeundo, speculandoque visitare non præsideat, populumque diversæ conditionis ac sexus per competentia ad se convocet loca, aperteque doceat, utpote eos qui raro

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHQ, A.D. 747.]

audiunt verbum Dei, prohibens, et inter cætera peccamina, paganas observationes, id est, divinos, sortilegos, auguria, auspicia, fylacteria, incantationes, sive omnes spurcitas impiorum, gentiliumque errata.

4. *Ut Episcopi Abbates et Abbatissas moneant regulariter vivere*<sup>f</sup>.

Quarto definierunt conducto: Ut episcopi in suis parochiis abbates atque abbatissas moneant, quatenus seipsos primo ponant exemplum bene vivendi, deinde subjectos sibi ut regulariter conversantur, diligenti cura exercent: ita tamen ut familias suas meminerint digne in Domino diligere, et non in vice servorum, sed in vice filiorum habere, et necessaria eis secundum morem monasticæ vitæ, prout possibilitas rerum subministrat, studeant impendere, et ut præpositi præpositæque monasteriorum curam sibi injunctam in rebus monasterii fideliter dispensant, caveantque omni modo ne aliqua subripiat illos.

5. *De Monasteriis Sæcularium.*

Quinto disputatum est loco: Ut episcopi monasteria, si tamen ea fas est ita nominare, quæ utique quamvis temporibus istis propter vim tyrannicæ quandam avaritiæ, ad religionis Christianæ statum nullatenus immutari possint, id est, quæ a sæcularibus, non Divinæ scilicet legis ordinatione, sed humanæ adinventionis præsumptione, utcunque tenentur; tamen pro salute animarum in eisdem commorantium, adire debeant, sit necesse: et ut inter cætera exhortamenta prævideant, ne sine sacerdotis ministerio aliquod illorum deinceps debilitatum periclitetur, juvantibus ad hoc eorum possessoribus.

6. *De Examinatione eorum qui ordinandi sunt.*

Sexto statuitur decreto: Ut episcopi nullum de clericis seu monachis ad sacrum presbyteri gradum ordinent, nisi prius ejus vitam qualis extiterit, vel tunc morum probitas ac scientia fidei existat, manifeste perquirant: qua namque potest ratione aliis integritatem fidei prædicare, sermonis scientiam conferre, peccantibus discretionem pœnitentiæ indicare, nisi prius vigilantibus intentione, hæc pro viribus ingenioli sui studeat ediscere; ut juxta apostolum, "Potens sit exhortare in doctrina sana?"

7. *De Lectionis Studio per singula Monasteria.*

Septimò decreverunt conducto: Ut episcopi, et abbates atque abbatissæ om[ni]nis studeant et diligenti cura provideant, ut per familias



[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO, A.D. 747.]

suas lectionis studium indesinenter in plurimorum pectoribus versatur, et ad lucrum animarum laudemque Regis æterni multorum vocibus innotescat; nam dictu dolendum est, quod his temporibus perpauci inveniuntur, qui ex intimo corde sacræ scientiæ rapiantur amore; et vix aliquid elaborare in discendo voluerint: quin potius a juvenile ætate vanitatibus diversis, et inanis gloriæ cupiditatibus occupantur, atque præsentis vitæ instabilitatem plus quam sacrarum Scripturarum assiduitatem vagabunda mente sequuntur. Proinde coerceantur et exercentur in scholis pueri ad dilectionem sacræ scientiæ, ut per hoc bene eruditi inveniri possint ad omnimodam Ecclesiæ Dei utilitatem, nec sint rectores terrenæ tam avidi operationis, ut domus Dei desolatione spiritalis ornaturæ vilescat.

8. *Ut Presbyteri diligenter considerent officium suum.*

Octavo monuerunt capitulo: Ut presbyteri indesinenter reminiscant, ad quod Divina ordinatione præ ceteris promoti sint; quod Dei videlicet ministros et dispensatores mysteriorum Christi vocantur; et tunc “Quæritur inter dispensatores, ut fidelis quis inveniat:” unde sciant se necessario pro Dei intuitu debere a sæcularibus negotiis causisque, in quantum prævaleant, vacare; altaris officium Divinique cultus obsequium summa intentione persolvere: oratorii domum, et cuncta ad cultum ipsius pertinentia, sub sua cura conservare; lectioni, orationi, missarum celebrationi, psalmisque canendis invigilare, abbatibusque suis sive abbatissis diligenter ac fideliter ubicunque opus videatur auxilium præbere, pro injuncta scilicet sibi Divinitus officio reminiscant: id est, in ammonendo et corripiendo atque exhortando subjectos ut pariter et exemplis et hortamentis illorum alii, ut decet, ad Dei famulatum semper incitentur.

9. *Ut Presbyteri baptizent [et] in suos Evangelicæ prædicationis officium diligenter exercent.*

Nono consequenter addiderunt capitulo: Ut presbyteri per loca et regiones laicorum, quæ sibi ab episcopis provinciæ insinuata et injuncta sunt, evangelicæ atque apostolicæ prædicationis officium in baptizando, et docendo, ac visitando sub legitimo ritu ac diligenti cura studeant explere, ut, secundum apostolum, “Duplici honore digni habeantur,” caveantque omnino, ut decet Dei ministros, ne aliqua contemnendæ ac prævæ conversationis exempla de se sæcularibus

[COUNCIL OF CLOWESHO, A.D. 747.]

sive monasterialibus præbeant, id est, ut cætera taceantur, vel in ebriositate, vel turpis lucri gratia, seu turpi eloquio, et his similibus.

10. *Ut Presbyteri quoque Symbolum et Missarum Verba in sua lingua discant scire* <sup>h</sup>.

Decimo docuerunt decreto: Ut presbyteri omne sui gradus officium legitimo ritu per omnia discant exhibere nosse, deinde ut symbolum fidei ac Dominicam orationem, sed et sacrosancta quoque verba quæ in Missæ celebratione, et officio Baptismi solenniter dicuntur, interpretari atque exponere posse propria lingua qui nesciant, discant; necnon et ipsa sacramenta quæ in Missa ac Baptismate, vel in aliis ecclesiasticis officiis visibiliter conficiuntur, quid spiritaliter significant, et discere studeant; ne vel in ipsis intercessionibus quibus pro populi delictis Deum exorare noscuntur, vel ministerii sui officiis, inveniantur quasi muti et ignari, si non intelligant, nec verborum suorum sensum sacramenta quibus per eos alii ad æternam proficiunt salutem.

11. *Ut omnes Presbyteri uno modo sua Ministeria peragant.*

Undecimo prosecuti sunt mandato: Ut cuncti presbyteri omne sacerdotale suum ministerium uno eodemque modo ac ratione in baptizando, et docendo, ac judicando ubique studeant agere, et quod primum est, de fide sacræ Trinitatis recte ac sincere sapiant, omnesque ad se venientes, de sua vita consulentibus, hanc primitus doceant, quia "sine fide impossibile est placere Deo:" symbolum quoque eis diligenter insinuant, ut intelligant quid credere, quid sperare debeant, infantibusque illud vel eis, qui eos in Baptismate suscipere voluerint, tradant, abrenuntiationemque doceant diabolicis pompis atque auguris, divinationibusque dicere, et post hæc legitimas professiones profiteri solerter instruant.

12. *Item ut Presbyteri simplici voce et modesta Sancta canant in Ecclesiis.*

Duodecimo adjunxerunt edicto: Ut presbyteri sæcularium poetarum modo in ecclesia non garriant, ne tragico sono sacrorum verborum compositionem ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem Ecclesiæ sectentur: qui vero id non est idoneus adsequi, pronunciantis modo simpliciter legendo, dicat atque recitet quicquid instantis temporis ratio poscit, et quæ episcopi sunt non præsumant. Interea quoque presbyteri de

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO, A.D. 747.]

his quæ propria sunt episcoporum in quibusdam ecclesiasticis officiis, nihil omnino temptant et præsumant agere.

13. *Ut uno eodemque tempore ubique Festivitates Dominicæ seu Martyrum Nativitates peragantur.*

Tertio decimo definitur decreto: Ut uno eodemque modo Dominicæ dispensationis in carne sacrosanctæ festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in Baptismi officio, in Missarum celebratione, in cantilænæ modo celebrantur, juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus Ecclesia. Itemque ut per gyrum totius anni natalitia sanctorum uno eodemque die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodio seu cantilena venerentur.

14. *De Honore et Observatione Dominici Diei.*

Quarto decimo statuitur loco: Ut Dominicus dies legitima veneratione a cunctis celebretur: sitque Divino tantum cultui dedicatus, omnesque abbates ac presbyteri isto sacratissimo die in suis monasteriis atque ecclesiis maneat, Missarumque solemniam agant. Omissisque exterioribus negotiis, ac sæcularium conventibus, atque itineribus, nisi inexcussabilis quælibet causa urgeat, relegiosæ conversationis ac bene vivendi normulam, de sacræ Scripturæ eloquiis subjectis famulis prædicando insinuent. Sed et hoc quoque decernitur quod eo die sive per alias festivitates majores, populus per sacerdotes Dei ad Ecclesiam sæpius invitatus, ad audiendum verbum Dei conveniat, Missarumque sacramentis, ac doctrinæ sermonibus frequentius adsit.

15. *De Septem Canonicis Horis.*

Quinto decimo definierunt capitulo: Ut septem canonicæ orationum diei et noctis horæ diligenti cura cum psalmodia et cantilena sibimet convenienti observantur, et ut eandem monasterialis psalmodiæ paritatem ubique sectentur, nihilque quod communis usus non admittit, præsumant cantare aut legere, sed tantum quod ex sacrarum Scripturarum auctoritate descendit, et quod Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo permittit, cantent vel legant; quatenus unanimes, uno ore laudent Deum. Sed et hoc quoque condixerunt, ut non solum pro se ecclesiastici sive monasteriales, sed etiam pro Regibus, et totius populi Christiani incolumitate Divinæ pietatis clementiam exorare, per competentes orationum reminiscant horas.

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO, A.D. 747.]

16. *De Diebus Lætianorum.*

Sexto decimo condixerunt capitulo: Ut Lætaniæ, id est, rogationes, a clero omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur, id est, die septimo kalendarum Maiarum, juxta ritum Romanæ Ecclesiæ: quæ et Lætania major apud eam vocatur. Et item quoque secundum morem priorum nostrorum, tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini in cœlo cum jejuniis usque ad horam nonam et Missarum celebratione venerantur: non admixtis vanitatibus, uti mos est plurimis, vel negligentibus, vel imperitis, id est, in ludis et equorum cursibus, et epulis majoribus; sed magis, cum timore et tremore, signo passionis Christi nostræque æternæ redemptionis, et reliquiis sanctorum Ejus coram portatis, omnis populus genu flectendo Divinam pro delictis humiliter exorat indulgentiam.

17. *De Festivitate colenda Sancti Gregorii et Augustini.*

Septimo decimo constitutum est præcepto: Ut dies natalitius beati Papæ Gregorii, et dies quoque depositionis, qui est VII. kalendas Junii, Sancti Augustini Archiepiscopi atque confessoris, qui genti Anglorum missus a præfato Papa et patre nostro Gregorio, scientiam fidei, Baptismi sacramentum, et cœlestis patriæ notitiam primus adtulit, ab omnibus, sicut decet, honorifice venerantur. Ita ut uterque dies ab ecclesiasticis et monasterialibus feriatu habeatur, nomenque ejusdem beati patris et doctoris nostri Augustini, in Lætaniæ decantatione, post Sancti Gregorii vocationem semper dicatur.

18. *De Jejuniis Quarti, Septimi, et Decimi Mensis.*

Octavo decimo statutum est mandato: Ut jejuniorum tempora, id est, quarti, septimi, et decimi mensis nullus negligere præsumat. Sed ante horum initia per singulos annos ammoniatur plebs, quatenus legitima universalis Ecclesiæ sciat atque observet jejunia, concorditerque universi id faciant: nec ullatenus in ejusmodi discrepant observatione, sed secundum exemplar, quod juxta ritum Romanæ Ecclesiæ descriptum habemus, studeant celebrare<sup>i</sup>.

19. *De Moribus et Habitu Monasteriali.*

Nono decimo præceptum est loco: Ut monachi seu nunnonces suo majori regulariter constituto humiliter subjecti sint, et quietam ac regularem vitam agant, et sine dissentionibus, quæ habitus sui propo-

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

sito competent, firmiter conservant; nec pompaticis, et quæ ad inanem gloriam more sæcularium pertineant, utantur indumentis, sed simplici, propositoque congruenti eorum vestiantur habitu<sup>k</sup>.

20. *Item de honestate eorundem*<sup>l</sup>.

Vicesimo sancitur decreto: Ut provideant vigilantia perspectione Episcopi in suis parochiis, ut sint monasteria juxta vocabulum nominis sui, id est, honesta silentium, quietorum, atque pro Deo laborantium habitacula, et non sint ludicrarum artium receptacula, hoc est, poetarum, citharistarum, musicorum, scurrorum; sed orantium, legentium, Deumque laudantium habitationes, et ut non habeant sæculares quique vagandi licentiam per inconvenientia sibi loca, vel discursus per interiora monasterii domuncula, ne materiam aliquando reprehendendi inde sumant, si aliquid intra claustra monasterii aliter quam decet videant vel audiant. Nam satis nociva atque vitiosa consuetudo est illa laicorum familiaritas, et maxime in nunnorum minus regulariter conversantium monasteriis: quia ob hoc sæpius diversorum sive nefandorum suspicionum causæ non solum oriuntur, sed et perpetrantur ac diffamantur ad infamiam professionis nostræ. Unde [non] sint sanctimonialium domicilia, turpium confabulationum, commessionum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia; sed continentium sobricque viventium, ac legentium, psallentiumque habitacula, magisque legendis libris, vel canendis psalmis, quam texendis et plectendis vario colore inanis gloriæ vestibus studeant operam dare.

21. *De fugiendo ebrietatis malum*<sup>m</sup>.

Vicesimo primo constituitur loco: Ut monasteriales, sive ecclesiastici, ebrietatis malum non sectentur aut expetant, sed velut mortiferum vitent venenum, apostolo denunciante, quod "Ebriosis regnum Dei non possident:" et alibi, "Nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria." Sed neque alios cogant intemperanter bibere; sed pura ac sobria sint eorum convivium, non luxuriosa neque deliciis vel scurrilitatibus mixta, ne habitus sui reverentia contemtibilis apud sæculares habeatur, et inter eos merito valde infametur; et ut si nulla necessitas infirmitatis cogat, ante canonicam horam, id est, diei tertiam completam, potationibus ebriosorum more non serviant.

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

22. *De Communione Corporis et Sanguinis Christi monasterialibus.*

Vicesimo secundo decretum est capitulo: Ut monasteriales quique, sive ecclesiastici, ammoncantur sacrosanctæ communioni Corporis et Sanguinis Domini dignos se indesinenter præparare: et ut ipsi rectores diligenti circumspectione considerent, ne aliquis de subditis tam negligenter tamque perditè vivat, et culpis exigentibus, nec altaris participatione sociatur, nec sua curet confiteri et emendare vitia, quod si aliquis talis inveniatur, acrius corripitur.

23. *Item de Communione laicorum.*

Vicesimo tertio adjunctum est loco: quod laici pueri similiter hortandi sint, qui nec dum videlicet lascivientis ætatis corruptela sint vitiati, ut sæpius communicent, nec non et profectoris quoque ætatis seu celibes, seu etiam conjugati qui peccare desinunt, ad hoc ipsum ammonendi sint, quatenus frequentius communicent, ne salutaris cibi potusque inopia deficiant, dicente Domino, “Nisi manducaveritis Carnem Filii hominis, et biberitis Sanguinem Ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis manentem.”

24. *Ut sæculares prius probentur, et sic sanctæ conversationis tonsuram accipiant.*

Vicesimo quarto sancitum est capitulo: Ut si quis sæcularium sanctæ professionis famulatum subire desiderat, non antea tonsuræ habitum suscipiat, quam illius conversatio ac morum qualitas, secundum monasticæ regulæ definitionem manifestius probatur, juxta apostolicum præceptum, “Probate,” inquit, “spiritus si ex Deo sint,” nisi aliqua rationabilis causa, ut antea suscipiatur in congregationem, rite persuadeat. Ceterum sciant Episcopi ecclesiarum sive Rectores monasteriorum, eo diligentius unumquemque ante cœnobialem conversationem adhuc in laico habitu constitutum, temptare ac perscrutare se debere, quo (post susceptionem si displicet, et indoctus existeret) eum talem tolerare, qualem antea temptaverat ac docuerit vel docet, nec ullo modo eum statim abjicere qualibet ex causa, ut per laicorum domunculas ad infamiam necessariæ conversationis criminosa vagatur, nisi talis quædam existat causa, qualis synodali decreto si contingat, definitum est eum demittere, et anathematizatum esse ab omnibus in omni loco, nisi ad satisfactionem redeat.

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHÖ, A.D. 747.]

25. *Ut Episcopi Synodi præcepta per parochias suas omnes scire faciant.*

Vicesimo quinto definitum est capitulo: Ut Episcopi a synodo venientes in propria parochia cum presbyteris, et abbatibus, et præpositis conventum habentes, præcepta synodi servare insinuando præcipiant, et unusquisque Episcoporum, si quid in sua diocesi corrigere et emendare nequiverit, item in synodo coram Archiepiscopo et palam omnibus ad corrigendum insinuet<sup>n</sup>.

26. *De Eleemosynis.*

Vicesimo sexto loco: De utilitate eleemosynæ patrum sententiæ prolata sunt; quod eleemosynæ necessario ad hoc quotidie a fidelibus essent agenda, ut et delinquentibus ac dein per debitum jejunium pœnitentiam agentibus, peccata præterita citius ac plenius a Deo quem offenderunt, remittantur: et ne eadem iterantur, vel alia similia insuper agantur, Divinæ per eas adipiscendum sit protectionis patrocinium: sed et religiose quoque viventibus, ut pro temporalium rerum largitione in terris, et conservata hic in præsentem clementius a Deo puritate innocentia illarum, et in futuro æternarum rerum remuneratio recompensatur in cœlis: et non ad hoc sine dubio danda, ut quælibet vel minima saltem peccata eo licentius cuiquam agere liceat, quo vel ipse vel alius quilibet pro eo eleemosynas faciat, sed eo videlicet quo prædictum est modo. Eleemosyna quippe nomen et opus est misericordiæ: unde quisque animæ suæ jam veraciter misereri desiderat; non sit eleemosyna illius ex injusta aliorum rapina; sed ex propria ac probe acquisita facultate; quia si ex crudelitate, vel violenter ab aliquo expetita prorogatur, per hanc magis offenditur, quam placatur Divina justitia; quia juxta Scripturam “eleemosyna quæ fit ex substantia pauperum, quasi qui mactat filium in conspectu patris sui.” Non sit quoque elemosina illius ad hoc esurienti data, ut seipsum commensationibus, ebrietatibusque inlicitis supra modum ingurgiet; ne per hoc quod venalem Dei justitiam ponat, ab eadem non solum acrius, sed citius juxta merita illius judicatur. Non sint item ut generaliter dicatur, elemosinæ quorumlibet quotidie pro Deo ad hoc data, ut eo magis quasi impune suas eis quælibet corporis voluptates liceat perficere, quia frustra suas tantum elemosinas, et non intermixto flagitio Supernum pensare Judicem cæco suo libitu volunt et optant; hoc enim modo facientes sive æstimantes sua Deo dare videntur, seipsos diabolo per flagitia dare non dubitantur.

Postremo igitur (sicuti nova adinventio juxta placitum scilicet pro-

priæ voluntatis suæ, nunc plurimis periculosa consuetudo est) non sit elemosina porrecta ad minuendam vel ad mutandam satisfactionem per jejunium, et reliqua expiationis opera, a sacerdote Dei pro suis criminibus jure canonico indictam, sed magis ad augmentandam emendationem suam ut eo citius placatur Divinæ indignationis ira, quam suis provocavit sibi propriis meritis: et inter hæc sciat quod quanto magis illicita perpetravit, tanto magis a licitis se abstinere debet: et quanto majora mala fecit, tanto majores fructus bonorum operum exhibere Deo debet; et non alia per alia quælibet amittere, vel imminuere bona debet. Nam bonum est omnino psalmodiæ insistere; bonum est genia sæpius veraci flectere intentione; bonum est elemosinas quotidie dare: sed pro his non est abstinentia remittenda, non est jejunium impositum semel juxta Ecclesiæ regulam, sine qua non remittuntur ulla peccata, relaxandum. Sed hæc et his similia fiant augmenta ad majorem expiationem peccatorum, quia necesse est, ut caro quæ nos læta per incontinentiam traxit ad culpam, adfecta per jejunium reducat ad veniam; festinanter etenim quibuscunque prævaleat piis actibus homini expianda sunt talia piacula, quæ videlicet regnum Dei claudere si non corrigantur, aperte describuntur: quia indubitanter latet quid ei pariet superventura dies, atque quanto tempore ei liceat pro malis suis actibus bona quælibet agere, quia Qui veniam peccanti spondit, crastinum diem non promisit.

27. *De sanctæ psalmodiæ utilitate.*

Vicesimo septimo: Multa de his, qui sive sanctam psalmodiarum ac spiritalem cantilenam utiliter, sive de his qui negligenter præsumunt agere, multa disserentes in hunc modum: “Psalmodia” (inquiunt) “opus Divinum, spiritu et mente agentibus, magnum est ac multiplex animarum medicamentum suarum.” Voce autem sine sensu cordis canentibus, sonitum alicujus rei facere simillimum est, unde quamvis psallendo Latina quis nesciat verba, suas tamen cordis intentiones, ad ea quæ in præsentī poscenda sunt a Deo, suppliciter referre, ac pro viribus detinere debet. Nam Psalmi, Sancto Spiritu jam olim ad solacium generi humano per os Prophetæ prolati, cum intima intentione cordis et corporis congrua humiliatione, ad hoc canendi sunt, quatenus per Divinæ laudis oracula, et nostræ salutis sacramenta, et humillimam quoque confessionem delictorum, sive eorundem suppliciter imploratam remissionem, de quacunque re digna Divinæ pietatis exorantes pulsaverunt aures, eo digniores exaudiri



[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

mereantur, quo ipsi Deo adpropinquare vel placare gestiunt, per ea quæ prædixi tam sacrosancti ac Divini specialiter famulatus officii servitium, sive dum pro se ut faciant in illa sancta modulatione, Deum multiplici modo et laudant et orant: sive etiam pro aliis viventibus seu mortuis cum expleta quantalibet psalmodia, genu flectentes in orationem, et lingua Latina vel qui eam non didicerunt sua Saxonica dicunt: “Domine miserere illi et parce peccatis illius, et converte illum ut faciat voluntatem Tuam:” sive id pro mortuis, “Domine secundum magnam misericordiam Tuam, da requiem animæ illius, atque ei pro Tua immensa pietate, gaudia lucis æternæ donare cum Tuis Sanctis dignare.” At vero petitores pro se psalmodiæ fidem, cum magna reverentia adhibeant sibi magnopere eam juxta prædictum modum prodesse, si tamen ipsi in expiatione debita suorum facinorum, et non in passione consistunt adhuc vitiorum, hoc est, ut per orationes et intercessionem, Deo digne psallentium atque orantium, facilius ac citius pervenire mereantur ad Divinæ reconciliationis gratiam, sive ut ad meliora proficiant, sive ad ea quæ in præsentiarum juste petantur optinenda: non scilicet non ut eo licentius, ac quasi liberius, vel ad momentum peccare, vel bona aliqua præterire, vel jejunium pro peccatis indictum relaxare, vel elemosinas minus largire, ullo modo licet, quo pro ipsis alios psalmos cantari putant, vel jejunare. Quia sine dubio sciat unusquisque, quod ipsa illius caro quæ illicita ac nefanda contraxit desideria, ipsam a licitis quoque abstinere debet, ipsamque hic in præsentem punire juxta modum reatus sui debet, si non vult in futuro ab Æterno Judice esse punitam.

Ipsæ inprimis cum gemitu cordis pro sui restauratione Divinam incessanter exorare clementiam debet: et deinde quoque quoscunque potest fideles famulos Dei, ut pro se communiter cum eo Deum exorant, adhibere. Nam si aliter inter eos quam prædictum est, vel promittitur, vel creditur, sive agitur, hinc non minuunt, sed addunt peccata peccatis: quia per hoc (insuper alia) Superni Judicis iracundiam provocant; quod Ejus quotidie justitiam inter se quasi venalem statuere, immensa adulatione atque inlecebros<sup>o</sup> excessu luxuriosæ conversationis audent. De hoc prolixius ideo disputandum est, quia nuper quidam dives secundum hoc sæculum, petens reconciliationem pro magno quodam facinore suo, citius sibi dari; adfirmans in suis literis idem nefas juxta multorum promissa, in tantum esse expiatum, ut si deinceps vivere possit tricentorum annorum, pro eo plene jejunium satisfactionum modis, per aliorum scilicet psalmodiam, et

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

jejunium, et elemosinas persolutum esset, excepto illius jejunio, et quamvis ipse utcunque vel parum jejunaret. Ergo si ita placari per alios potest Divina justitia: cur divites (O stulti promissores) qui pro suis flagitiis aliorum innumera suis possunt præmiis jejunia redimere, “difficilius” (voce veritatis) “regnum intrare cælorum, quam per foramen acus camelum transire” dicuntur? utinam vos soli pereatis persuasores peccatorum, et nomine portarum inferni merito vocati, antequam plures vestra errabunda adolatione implicantur sive deducantur ad perniciem perpetuæ indignationis Dei. Homo se non fallat, Deus neminem fallit, dicendo per Apostolum Suum, “Omnes enim stabimus ante tribunal Christi,” et reliqua.

28. *Ut nemo suscipiat majorem congregationem quam sustentare possit.*

Vicesimo octavo præciperunt mandato: Ut nemo suscipiat majorem congregationem quam sustentare possit, et eis necessaria præstare. Si quis autem vel si qua ante hoc incaute susciperet, minus proinde operis ab eis violenter exigeret, antequam illis victum ac vestimentum juxta habitum professionis suæ possit concedere, et ut inter alias regularis vitæ observantias, vestibus consuetis juxta formam videlicet priorum, sive clerici, sive monachi deinceps utantur, nec imitantur sæculares in vestitu crurum per fasciolas: nec per coculas in circumdatione capitis modo pallii laicorum contra morem Ecclesiæ.

Similiter quod non debeant sanctimoniales a sacerdote velatæ post susceptum sanctæ professionis habitum, iterum habere indumenta sæcularia, et ornatis ac nitidis vestibus incedere, quibus laicæ puellæ uti solent; sed studeant accepta pudicitia vestimenta, humilitatem videlicet cordis, et contemptum mundi significantia, jugiter conservare; ne aspectu illarum, aliorum corda polluantur, et ipsæ illius pariter contaminationis ex prædictis rebus reæ coram Deo inveniuntur.

29. *Ut nullus servorum Dei inter laicos habitet.*

Vicesimo nono decreverunt regulari edicto: quod post hanc synodum non liceat clericos, vel monachos, vel sanctimoniales, ulterius apud laicos habitare in domibus sæcularium, sed repetant monasteria ubi primitus habitum sanctæ professionis sumpserant; de quibus, sive voluntate propria exierint, sive aliorum violentia disturbati essent, ut in plurimis locis factum esse constat; nec eis redeuntibus pro qualibet culpa jam ante perpetrata, aditus introeundi denegetur. Si autem aliqui vel aliquæ non sub maledicto, sed accepta licentia et benedic-

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESH, A.D. 747.]

tionem, postea ab aliis pacifice adsumpti fuerunt in consortium familiaritatis: sed inde tamen post paululum recedentes inter laicos, huc illucque discurrunt semper vagi et nunquam stabiles: quorum siquidem imperata et prædicta reversio non pertinet ad locum unde regulariter egressi sunt, sed ad eum locum ubi ex convenientia amborum licenter suscepti sunt in contubernium familiaritatis.

[30. *De modo cobibendi similtates inter Ecclesiasticos et Laicos, et de orando pro Regibus, etc.*]

Tricesimo capitulo: Sermo diutius inter sacerdotes Dei atque minoris gradus dignitates, in medio prolatum est, quærentes: quomodo sub statu præsentis temporis, quorundam de se malam suspensionem, vel malæ suspicioni similia verba, sedare funditus prævalerent: cum sibi internus arbiter secretorum testis esset, talem de se frustra ac falso æstimare opinionem: hoc est quod reges cum ducibus et principibus suis, ac deinde minoris potestatis persuasi plurimi de eis dicere soleant: quod non tantum sincero eos non diligant affectu, sed insuper eorum bonis præsentibus, ac prosperitatibus quibusque felicioribus magis inuideant, animo nimis infesto quam devoto satis congaudeant corde, eorumque conversationis statum odibili quadam detractioe dilacerare non desinant. Hæc etenim et his similia pro nonnullis causis satis indignum de se æstimare vel dicere quemlibet potioris vitæ ac dignitatis virum dijudicabant: quia non solum hoc proposito habitus sui, sed etiam Evangelicæ atque Apostolicæ (quam generaliter cunctis prædicare debuerant) satis doctrinæ contrarium esset; hoc est, ut prædicator pacis et caritatis in Deum et homines, qui ad imaginem Dei conditi sunt, fomitem in se odii vel invidiæ aliquando præsumeret, vel ad momentum suscipere. Ut igitur immunes eos per omnia ab hoc detestando vitio, non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus, certius ipsi accusatores agnoscerent: statuerunt ut deinceps per canonicas orationum horas non solum pro se ecclesiastici sive monasteriales, sed etiam pro regibus ac ducibus, totiusque populi Christiani incolumitate, Divinam incessanter exorent clementiam, quatenus quietam ac tranquillam vitam sub eorum pia defensione mereantur agere. Et ut ita post hæc unanimes existerent in Deum, fide, spe, et caritate, et seipsos invicem diligerent, ut etiam post hujus peregrinationis curricula, ad supernam pervenire pariter mereantur patriam: et pro illis quicumque nunc pium frequentius patrocinium Christi protenderint Ecclesiis diligentius, et ut pro

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO, A.D. 747.]

viventibus Divina precaretur clementia, et pro mortuis piæ placationis celebratio sepius pro illarum requie animarum, per plurimorum officia sacerdotum Christi ageretur: si tamen ipsi hoc munere dignos viventes præparare meminerint. [S., I. 245-255, from MS. Cotton, Otho, A. 1:—collated with Wilkins, and the emendations given from the original MS. by Johnson, *Canons*, ed. Baron, I. 240-263;—*W.*, I. 94.]

<sup>a</sup> The MS. from which Spelman took the Acts of this Council is now lost. See Smith's Catalogue of the Cotton MSS., p. 66. It was very probably the same as that from which William of Malmesbury took the abstract given above.

<sup>b</sup> The dates ascribed in the earliest authorities to these Bishops agree perfectly with their position here. Dunno was consecrated to Rochester A.D. 741; Totta or Torthelm of Leicester, and Huitta of Lichfield succeeded Bishop Aldwin or Wor, A.D. 737; Podda of Hereford succeeded Cuthbert A.D. 740; Hunferth of Winchester succeeded Bishop Daniel in A.D. 744; Herewald of Sherborne was consecrated by Nothelm A.D. 736; Eardulf of Dunwich has no place in the lists of the East Anglian Bishops, which are no doubt imperfect; Egwulf of London appears as successor of Ingwald, who died A.D. 745; and Milred succeeded Wilfrid at Worcester the same year; Alwig of Lindsey and Sigga of Selsey were consecrated by Tatwin A.D. 733.

<sup>c</sup> The date A.D. 747 and indiction agree with those given by William of Malmesbury, but the regnal year of Ethelbald does not. This is perhaps an error of transcription. Ethelbald's reign began before September, A.D. 715, and the September of A.D. 747 must have fallen in his thirty-third year. Spelman notes the variation as occurring in his manuscript.

<sup>d</sup> The rubrics in brackets are from Spelman; the others were probably taken by him from the MS. (see Johnson, *Canons*, etc., p. 248).

<sup>e</sup> Compare this decree with the 10th article mentioned in the letter of Boniface given in the Appendix to the Council, and with the 5th article of the first capitulary of Carloman given also below, p. 384.

<sup>f</sup> This canon was probably intended to insure the enforcing of the Benedictine rule; and one of its results may be traced in the breaking up of the monastic communities, which had hitherto been of a mixed character, into separate houses of monks and canons.

<sup>g</sup> Spelman suggests, and Wilkins reads, "ne aliquis surripit illas."

<sup>h</sup> Compare Bede's letter to Egbert, p. 316, above.

<sup>i</sup> See above, p. 52. The first of the four Ember fasts is not mentioned here, apparently as being included in the season of Lent. See Johnson, *Canons*, I. 252.

<sup>k</sup> See the letter of Boniface, p. 378, below.

<sup>l</sup> See the letter of Boniface, p. 381, below.

<sup>m</sup> See the letter of Boniface, p. 382, below.

<sup>n</sup> See the letter of Boniface, p. 377, below.

<sup>o</sup> This is Johnson's emendation for "adolationis atque inlecebrosæ ex."

<sup>p</sup> So Johnson for "per suas sortes."

#### APPENDIX TO THE COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.

I. *Letter of S. Boniface<sup>a</sup> to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, giving an account of a Council which he has held in Germany, and recommending measures of reform in the English Church.*

*Spiritualis adfinitatis necessitudine copulando fratri, archiepiscopatus infula sublimato, Cœpiscopo Cudberhto BONIFACIUS, LEGATUS GERMANICUS CATHOLICÆ APOSTOLICÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIE, optabilem in Christo intimæ caritatis salutem.*

Scriptum enim est in libro Salomonis: "Beatus homo, qui invenit amicum, cum quo possit loqui quasi cum semet ipso." Cum muneribus magnificentie vestræ dulcissimas litteras vestras, fraterna caritate interlitas, magnas

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO CUTHBERT.]

Deo et vobis gratias agentes, filio vestro diacono Cyneberhto<sup>b</sup> offerente, suscepimus. Vivæ vocis quoque melliflua conloquia vestra de fraternis consiliis per illum nobis caritas vestra mandavit. Quæ consiliorum spiritalia conloquia optamus ut, Deo volente quam diu in hac mortali vita vivamus, inter nos jugiter insinuentur, Illo prestante, a Quo solo sancta desideria, recta consilia et justa sunt opera. Vos melius et plenius—quibus Deus multis donavit et prudentius nosse et melius et plenius posse—nos, quasi in paucis fideles vestri et devoti, studeamus instrui, aureo cælestis amoris vinculo, quod rumpi non potest, invicem catenati. Nam labor nostri ministerii unius et ejusdem causæ esse dinoscitur; et equalis speculatio in curis ecclesiarum sive populorum nobis credita est, sive in docendo sive in artando et monendo sive in defendendo canonicos gradus vel plebeos. Idcirco humillima prece deosco, ut, dum vobis salubre consilium Deus inspiraverit vel Suo Spiritu synodali consultum, nobis insinuare<sup>c</sup> non pigeat. Et nos similiter, si parvitati nostræ Deus aliquid tale, vobis quod necessarium vel amabile, insinuaverit, similia faciamus. Major enim nobis sollicitudo ecclesiarum et cura populorum propter pallia credita et recepta quam ceteris episcopis, quia proprias tantum procurant parochias, incumbit. Propterea, carissimi—non quia vestræ prudentiæ opus sit rusticitatis nostræ statuta audire vel legere, sed propter bonam et humilem et sanctam voluntatem vestram putamus, vos libentius scire velle quam nescire—quæ hic sacerdotes nobiscum servanda decreverunt, vobis emendanda et corrigenda destinamus.

Decrevimus autem in nostro sinodali conventu et confessi sumus: (1) fidem catholicam et unitatem et subjectionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ sine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare; (2) Sancto Petro et vicario ejus velle subici; (3) sinodum per omnes annos congregare; (4) metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede querere; (5) et per omnia præcepta Sancti Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur. Et isti confessioni universi consensimus et subscripsimus; et ad corpus Sancti Petri principis apostolorum direximus. Quod gratulando clerus Romanus et pontifex suscepit<sup>d</sup>.

Statuimus: (6) ut per annos singulos canonum decreta et ecclesiæ jura et norma regularis vitæ in synodo legantur et recuperentur<sup>e</sup>. (7) Decrevimus: ut metropolitanus, qui sit pallio sublimatus, hortetur cæteros et admoneat; et investiget, quis sit inter eos curiosus de salute populi quisve negligens. (8) Servis Dei venationes et silvaticas vagationes cum canibus, et ut acceptores et walcones non habeant, prohibuimus<sup>f</sup>. (9) Statuimus: ut per annos singulos unusquisque presbiter episcopo suo in quadragissima rationem ministerii sui reddat, sive de fide catholica sive de baptismo sive de omni ordine ministerii sui<sup>g</sup>. (10) Statuimus: ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parochiam suam sollicite circumbeat, populum confirmare et plebes docere, et investigare et prohibere paganas observationes, divinos vel sortilogos, auguria, filacteria,

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO CUTHBERT.]

incantationes vel omnes spurcitas gentiliū<sup>h</sup>. (11) Interdiximus servis Dei, ut pompato habitu vel sago vel armis utantur<sup>i</sup>.

Statuimus, (1) quod proprium sit metropolitano juxta canonum statuta : subjectorum sibi episcoporum investigare mores ; et sollicitudinem circa populos, qualis sit ; et moneat, ut episcopi, a synodo venientes, in propria parrochia cum presbiteris et abbatibus conventum habentes, præcepta synodi servare insinuando præcipiant<sup>k</sup>. (13) Et unusquisque episcopus, si quid in sua diocesi corrigere vel emendare nequiverit, id item in synodo coram Archiepiscopo et palam omnibus ad corrigendum insinuet, eodem modo quo Romana Ecclesia nos ordinatos cum sacramento constrinxit, ut, si sacerdotes vel plebes a lege Dei deviasse viderim et corrigere non potuerim, fideliter semper sedi apostolicæ et vicario Sancti Petri ad emendandum indicaverim. Sic enim, nisi fallor, omnes episcopi debent metropolitano, et ipse Romano Pontifici, si quid de corrigendis populis apud eos impossibile est, notum facere ; et sic alieni fient a sanguine animarum perditarum.

De cetero, frater carissime, quia nobis æqualis labor et majus periculum imminet quam ceteris sacerdotibus, quia canones antiqui præcipiunt, ut omnes sciant, metropolitanum sollicitudinem totius provinciæ gerere ; et, ut verbi gratia dicam sicut timeo, navem gubernandam inter fluctus feri maris semel suscepimus, quam nec caute regere nec sine peccato dimittere valemus—quia, ut quidam sapientium dicit : “ Si periculosum est, navem inter fluctus caute non regere, quanto periculosius est, eam undis tumescentibus fluctuantem in tempestate relinquere ”—et idcirco Ecclesia, quæ velut navis magna per mare mundi hujus enavigat, quæ diversis temptationum fluctibus in hac vita tunditur, non est tamen relinquenda set regenda. Cujus rei in exemplo priores patres habemus Clementem et Cornelium et ceteros complures in urbe Roma ; Cyprianum in Cartagine ; Athanasium in Alexandria ; qui sub paganis imperatoribus navem Christi immo carissimam sponsam Ejus, æcclesiam scilicet, docendo defendendo laborando et patiando usque ad sanguinis effusionem gubernabant. Possum enim de memet ipso pro certo juxta vocem Cantici Canticorum dicere : “ Filii matris meæ pugnaverunt contra me ; posuerunt me custodem in vineis, vineam meam non custodivi. ” Vineam enim secundum Naum prophetam Domini Sabaot domus Israhel est ; nunc videlicet ecclesia catholica esse comprobatur. Cujus synodum congregandam et hortandam jussu pontificis Romani et rogatu principum Francorum et Gallorum sub spe restaurandæ legis Christi suscepi. Circumfodi, cofinum stercoris adportavi, sed non custodivi. Cum exspectarem ut faceret uvas, fecit autem labruscas ; et juxta alium prophetam : “ Mentietur opus olivæ, et campi non facient escas. ” Sed, pro dolor, officium laboris mei rerum conlatione simillimum esse videtur cani latranti et videnti fures et latrones frangere et subfodere et vastare domum domini sui ; et quia defen-

## [LETTER OF BONIFACE TO CUTHBERT.]

sionis auxiliares non habeat, submurmurans ingemescat et lugeat. Nunc autem, quod mihi in tali periculo posito justum et cautum esse videtur, salubre consilium vestrum querens et scire desiderans, insinuo libertatem prædicandi; dico, ut in actibus apostolorum Paulus Apostolus sacerdotibus intimavit, dicens: "Contestor vos hodierna die, quia mundus sum ab omnium sanguine. Non enim subterfugi, quominus adnuntiarem vobis omne consilium Dei. Adtendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo posuit vos Spiritus Sanctus episcopos, regere ecclesiam Dei, quam adquisivit sibi Sanguine Suo. Regnum," inquit, "Dei, inter vos ambulans, prædicavi; ut me alienum ab omnium perditione servarem." Nam apostolus "episcopum," propheta "speculatorem," Salvator Mundi "pastorem," ecclesiæ sacerdotem appellat; et omnes tacentem peccata populi doctorem reum sanguinis animarum perditarum sub silentio esse, conprobant. Propter hoc horribilis et maxima necessitas cogit, ut juxta dictum apostoli nos formam debeamus exhibere fidelibus; hoc est, nisi me fallat opinio, ita juste vivendum est sacerdoti, ne dicta sua repugnantibus factis evacuet et ne, cum sibi de proprio caute vivat, tacens alieno damnetur peccato. Quia ad hoc est ecclesiæ Dei præpositus, ut non solum bene vivendo alios exemplo instituat, sed etiam fiducialiter prædicando singulis ante oculos peccata sua constituat et, quæ pœna maneat duos et quæ gloria obœdientes, ostendat. Quia juxta verbum Domini ad Hezechielem, cui dispensatio verbi commissa est, etiamsi sancte vivat, et tamen perditæ viventes arguere aut erubescat aut metuat, cum omnibus qui eo tacente perierint perit. Et quid ei proderit non puniri suo, qui puniendus est alieno peccato? Taciturnitatem quidem sacerdotis Dominus, ad Hezechielem loquens, terribiliter prohibet, et speculatorem sacerdotem appellat; ut, sicut speculatoris est de loco editori plus omnibus contemplari, ita sacerdos debet esse meritorum sublimitate celsior et majoris scientiæ habere gratiam, qua possit ceteros instruere. "Audiens," inquit Divinus sermo, "sermonem adnuntiabis eis ex Me." Indicat, ut hoc dicat sacerdos, quod ex Divina lectione didicerit, quod illi Deus inspiraverit, non quod humanus sensus invenerit. "Adnuntiabis eis," inquit, "ex Me; non ex te; Mea verba loqueris; non est, quod ex his, tanquam de tuis, inferis. Ex Me," inquit, "eis adnuntiabis. Si, Me dicente ad impium: 'Impie, morte morieris,' non fueris locutus, ut se custodiat impius a via sua, ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem vero ejus de manu tua requiram." Ac si aperte dicat: "Si ei peccata sua non adnuntiaveris et si eum non argueris, ut convertatur et vivat, et te, qui non increpasti, et ipsum, qui te tacente peccavit, flammis perennibus tradam." Non simus ergo tam saxei vel tam ferrei pectoris, ut nos ista verba Domini non terreant. Non simus tam alienati a fide, ut istis verbis Domini non credamus; sed excitemus et exhortemur fratres nostros verbis venerandis Sancti Petri apostoli: "Sobrii

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO CUTHBERT.]

estote et vigilate et excitamini; quia adversarius vester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit quærens, quem devoret; cui resistite fortes in fide, scientes, eandem passionem, quæ in mundo est, vestræ fraternitati fieri." Et episcopus synodi nostræ subjectionis adjuratione Sancti Pauli apostoli ad-moneamus, Timotheo dicentis: "Testificor coram Deo et Christo Jesu, Qui judicaturus est vivos ac mortuos per adventum Ipsius et regnum Ejus: prædica verbum, insta oportune inopportune, argue, obsecra, increpa in omni patientia et doctrina." Est enim jam prædictum ab apostolo tempus, cum sanam doctrinam non sustinent, sed ad sua desideria coacervant sibi magistros et cetera. Clamemus in fortitudine juxta dictum prophetæ, qui adnuntiamus pacem in terris hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Ille namque in fortitudine clamat, quem nec metus nec verecundia, prædicare verbum vitæ, inpedit. Contendamus, auxiliante Domino, ut non simus inter illos falsos pastores ovium, quos propheta accusat dicens: "Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: 'Væ pastoribus Israhel, qui pascebant semet ipsos. Nonne greges pascuntur a pastoribus? Lac comedebatis et lanis operiebamini, quod crassum erat occidebatis; gregem autem Meum non pascebatis. Quod infirmum fuit non consolidastis, et quod egrotum non sanastis, quod fractum est non alligastis, et quod abjectum non reduxistis, quod perierat non quesistis; sed cum austeritate imperabatis et cum potentia. Et dispersæ sunt oves Meæ, eo quod non esset pastor; et factæ sunt in devorationem omnium bestiarum agri.'" Væ, quod profeta dicit, pro maledicto posuit; per pastores episcopos significat; greges Domini, id est fideles populos ad pascendum. Sed semet ipsos pascunt, quod non populi salutem sed suas voluntates attendunt. Lac et lanas ovium Christi oblationibus cotidianis ac decimis fidelium suscipiunt; et curam gregis Domini deponunt. Non sanant spiritali consilio infirmum peccatis; non solidant sacerdotali ope diversis tribulationibus fractum; non revocant erroneum ad viam salutis; non requirunt sollicitudine pastoralis veniæ jam desperatione perditum; nec adflictos contra violentiam potentum, qui in eos ferarum more desæviunt, defendunt; nec divites peccantes vel potentes non solum non arguunt sed etiam venerantur. Et ideo minaciter superbiam talium sermo Divinus contundit dicens: "Væ pastoribus Israhel." Et iterum: "Propterea pastores, audite verbum Domini: 'Ecce Ego Ipse super pastores requiram gregem Meum de manu eorum, et cessare eos faciam, ut ultra non pascant gregem nec pascant amplius semet ipsos.'" Quod quid est aliud, quam: "Pastores, qui semet ipsos non greges pascunt, de sublimitate honoris inter reprobos et inter maledictos proiciam?" Ad hæc omnia quis non intremescat, nisi qui futura non credit? Omnia, quæ Deus voluit observare, tam aperte posuit, Sui nominis auctoritate firmavit, ut ea facilius—quod dictu quoque nefas est—contemnamus quam, nos non intellegere tam aperta et



[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO CUTHBERT.]

Divina mentientes fingamus. Quando audimus: "Hæc dicit Deus," quis futurum esse non credat, quod dicit Deus, nisi qui Deo non credit? Horum et his similium consideratione perterritus sum, et timor et tremor venerunt super me, et pene contexerunt me peccatorum meorum tenebræ, et semel susceptum gubernaculum ecclesiæ libuisset placuisset mihi omnino dimittere, si valerem vel exempla patrum vel Scripturas Sacras consentaneas invenirem. Idcirco, frater carissime, quia hæc omnia ita se habent, et veritas fatigari potest vinci autem et falli non potest, fatigata mens nostra confugiat ad Illum, Qui per Salomonem dicit: "Habe fiduciam in Domino ex toto corde tuo, et ne innitaris prudentiæ tuæ. In omnibus viis tuis cogita Illum, et Ipse diriget gressus tuos;" et alibi, "Turris fortissima nomen Domini; ad ipsam confugit justus, et salvabitur." Stemus in justitia et præparemus animas nostras ad temptationem, ut sustineamus sustentationem Dei, et dicamus Ei: "Domine, refugium factus es nobis a generatione et progenie." Confidamus in Eum, Qui nobis onus inposuit. Quod per nos portare non possumus, portemus per Illum Qui est omnipotens, Qui dicit: "Jugum enim Meum suave est, et onus Meum leve." Stemus in prælio in die Domini, quia dies tribulationis et angustiae venerunt super nos. Moriamur, si Deus voluerit, pro sanctis legibus patrum nostrorum, ut hereditatem cum illis æternam consequi mereamur. Non simus canes muti, non simus taciti speculatores, non simus mercenarii lupum fugientes; sed pastores solliciti, vigilantes supra gregem Christi, prædicantes majori ac minori, diviti et pauperi omne consilium Dei, omnibus gradibus vel ætatibus, in quantum Deus donaverit posse, oportune, inportune, eo modo quo Sanctus Gregorius in libro Pastoralis conscripsit.

Preterea non taceo caritati vestræ, quia omnibus servis Dei, qui hic vel in Scriptura vel in timore Dei probatissimi sunt, videtur: quod bonum esset et honestas et pudicitia vestræ ecclesiæ et aliquod velamentum turpitudinis, si prohiberet synodus et principes vestri mulieribus et velatis feminis illud iter et frequentiam, quam ad Romanam civitatem veniendo et redeundo faciunt. Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucae enim sunt civitates in Longobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum<sup>1</sup>. Quod scandalum est et turpitudine totius ecclesiæ vestræ.

Illud autem, quod laicus homo, vel inperator vel rex aut aliquis præfectorum vel comitum, sæculari potestate fultus, sibi per violentiam rapiat monasterium de potestate episcopi vel abbatis vel abbatissæ, et incipiat ipse vice abbatis regere et habere sub se monachos et pecuniam possidere, quæ fuit Christi Sanguine comparata, talem hominem antiqui patres nominabant raptorem et sacrilegum et homicidam pauperum et lupum diaboli intrantem in ovile Christi, et maximo anathematis vinculo dampnandum ante tribunal Christi. De talibus memorare Sancti Pauli apostoli ad Timotheum dicentis:

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO CUTHBERT.]

“Divitibus hujus sæculi præcipe, non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo, Qui præstat omnia.” Talibus, si æcclesiæ correptionem non recipiunt—ethnici et publicani sunt—nec vivis nec mortuis communicat ecclesia Dei. Talibus, quod et hic et ibi reperiuntur, cum tuba Dei clangamus, ne tacentes dampnemur.

Supervacuum et Deo odibilem vestimentorum superstitionem omni intentione prohibere stude. Quia illa ornamenta vestium—ut illis videtur, quod ab aliis turpitudine dicitur—latissimis clavis vermium marginibus clavata, adventum antichristi, ab illo transmissa, præcurrunt; illius calliditate, per ministros suos introducere intra claustra monasteriorum fornicationem et luxuriam clavatorum juvenum et fœda consortia et tedium lectionis et orationis et perditionem animarum. Hæc indumenta, nuditatem animæ significantia, signa in se ostendunt arrogantiae et superbiae et luxuriæ et vanitatis, de quibus Sapientia dicit: “Arrogantiam et superbiam et viam pravam et os bilingue detestor.”

Fertur quoque in parrochiis vestris ebrietatis malum nimis adsuetum esse<sup>m</sup>, ut non solum episcopi quidam non prohibeant, sed etiam ipsi nimis bibentes inebriantur, et alios porrectis poculis majoribus cogant, ut inebriantur. Quod absque dubio nefas est omni servo Dei facere vel fecisse; quod canones patrum ebrium episcopum vel presbyterum aut cessare aut degradare jubent, et Ipsa Veritas dixit: “Attendite, ne graventur corda vestra in crapula et ebrietate;” et Paulus apostolus: “Nolite inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria;” et Esaias propheta: “Væ vobis, qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum et viri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem.” Hoc enim malum speciale est paganorum et nostræ gentis. Hoc nec Franci nec Galli nec Longobardi nec Romani nec Græci faciunt. Et hoc scelus similiter synodali decreto et interdictu Scripturarum compescamus, si possumus; sin autem, vitantes et interdcentes, absolvamus animas nostras a sanguine perditorum.

De violenta quoque monachorum servitute operibus et ædificiis regalibus, quæ in toto mundo Christianorum non auditur facta nisi tantum in gente Anglorum. Quod sacerdotibus Dei non tacendum nec consentiendum; quod inauditum malum est præteritis sæculis.

Venerandam fraternitatis vestræ dilectionem contra omnia adversa inlæsam, pro nobis intercedentem, dextra Dei custodire dignetur. [*S. Bonif. Episth.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 70; ed. Würdtwein, no. 73; *Hussey's Bede*, pp. 345–353; *S.*, I. 237–242; *W.*, I. 90 et seqq.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is given in this place because of the chronological difficulties with which it is beset. It is regarded by Spelman, Wilkins, and most other writers on the subject, such as Johnson and Inett, as the

letter of remonstrance in consequence of which the Council of Clovesho was held; and the points of resemblance between the two documents, noted below, are so strong as to preclude the possibility of their being uncon-

## [APPENDIX TO THE COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

nected. But, on the other hand, (1) This letter of Boniface contains a reference to a letter addressed by Pope Zacharias to him, which is extant, and bears date May 1, A.D. 748, several months after the Council; (2) moreover, the mention of Kynebert the deacon, who is stated by William of Malmesbury to have been sent with the Acts of Clovesho to Boniface, seems to show that this letter was later than the Council; and (3) Spelman, Archbishop Parker, the old Cotton Catalogue, and perhaps also William of Malmesbury, give us to understand that in the MS. both this letter and that of Boniface to Ethelbald given above, followed the Acts of the Council. To these elements of difficulty another is added by the fact that the German Council described by Boniface appears to be identical with the one whose decrees are embodied in the first capitulary of Carloman, which bears date A.D. 742, May 1; and it is very improbable that Pope Zacharias should have waited six years before acknowledging the letter of that Council. The old view then seems untenable; the only theory to be suggested is that the date given to the letter of Zacharias does not properly belong to it. If that letter can be thrown back to A.D. 745 or earlier, it may have described the German council and suggested the English one; in that case the mention of Kynebert may have been introduced by William of Malmesbury as an inference from the letter, which he regarded as following, not preceding the council. There are, however, grave difficulties even on this hypothesis. The date of the Council of Clovesho cannot be thrown later than A.D. 747 without breaking down its authority altogether; for not only is it given clearly and consistently in both accounts, but one of the Bishops present, Dunn

of Rochester, must have died this very year, as his successor, Eardulf, has a charter from King Eardulf of Kent before the close of it, and even before the change of indiction (*K. C. D.*, *XCVI.*). On a comparison of the whole circumstances, we may conclude that, considering Boniface's general attitude of humility towards the English Church, it is more likely that he adopted than that he dictated the words of the Council of Clovesho, in this letter; that the German council referred to by Boniface copied the example of this of Clovesho, and not vice versa; and although not recorded elsewhere, was probably held between September, A.D. 747, and the following May (cf. Mansi, *Conc. XII.*, 409, 410). The letter or letters of Zacharias mentioned in the Introduction to the Council are not extant.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 361.

<sup>c</sup> This, on the theory that the letter followed the Council of Clovesho, may be regarded as an indication that Boniface had received the Acts.

<sup>d</sup> The reference is apparently to the letter of Pope Zacharias, dated May 1, 748 (*Bonif. Epp.*, no. 66, ed. Jaffé; ed. Würdtwein, no. 82), in which he says "Suscepimus vero et chartam conscriptam veræ atque orthodoxæ professionis et catholicæ unitatis, quam cum dilectissimis nobis episcopis partis Francorum tua direxit reverenda fraternitas."

<sup>e</sup> Compare the Capitulary of Carloman, cap. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Compare the same, cap. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Compare the same, cap. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Compare the same cap. 5.

<sup>i</sup> Compare the same, cap. 7.

<sup>k</sup> These words might be taken from the 25th canon of Clovesho.

<sup>l</sup> Compare the 20th canon of Clovesho.

<sup>m</sup> Compare Bede's letter to Egbert, pp. 315, 325, above, and the 21st canon of Clovesho.

## II. *Capitulary of Carloman, Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia, touching the same points of discipline as are noticed in the Acts of Clovesho, and in the letter of Boniface.*

*Concilium Germanicum auctoritate Sancti Bonifacii, Ratisbonæ, vel Augustæ Vindelicorum celebratum XI. kalendas Maii, anno Domini DCCXLII. tempore Zachariæ Papæ, sub Carolomanno majore domus regie.*

### TITULI CAPITULORUM.

I. De Episcopis in Germania constitutis et de synodo singulis annis congreganda.

II. Ut clerici arma non tractent, neque ad exercitum pergant, præter eos qui sacrorum causa electi fuerint. Item ut a venationibus abstineant.

[APPENDIX TO THE COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

III. Ut presbyteri parochiarum Episcopo suo sint subjecti, et ministerii sui rationem illi reddant; paratique sint ad illum in visitatione suscipiendum: ab illo chrisma novum accipiant; illum castitatis vitæ, fidei, et doctrinæ suæ testem habeant.

IV. Ut ignoti Episcopi ac presbyteri sine probatione ad ministerium non admittantur.

V. Ut Episcopus cum comite provideat ne populus paganas observationes faciat.

VI. De pœna clericorum, vel monachorum aut monialium, quæ in fornicationem inciderint.

VII. Ut presbyteri et diaconi sagis non utantur, sed casulis, et ut in domo sua mulieres non habeant. Item ut monachi et moniales juxta Sancti Benedicti regulam vivere studeant.

## PRÆFATIO.

In Nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Carlomannus dux et princeps Francorum, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXLII. XI. videlicet kalendas Maii, cum consilio servorum Dei et optimatum meorum, Episcopos qui in regno meo sunt, cum presbyteris ad concilium et synodum pro timore Christi congregavi: id est Bonifacium Archiepiscopum et Burchardum et Regenfridum, Wintanum et Witbaldum et Dadanum et Eddanum ac reliquos Episcopos cum presbyteris eorum ut mihi consilium dedissent, quomodo lex Dei et ecclesiastica religio recuperetur, quæ in diebus præteritorum principum dissipata corrui; et qualiter populus Christianus ad salutem animæ pervenire possit, et per falsos sacerdotes deceptus non pereat.

## CANONES.

I. Itaque per consilium sacerdotum religiosorum et optimatum meorum, ordinavimus per civitates Episcopos et constituimus super eos Archiepiscopum Bonifacium, qui est missus Sancti Petri. Statuimusque per annos singulos synodum congregari; ut nobis præsentibus canonum decreta et Ecclesiæ jura restaurentur, et religio Christiana emendetur. Et fraudatas pecunias ecclesiarum ecclesiis restituimus; falsos vero presbyteros vel fornicatores diaconos et clericos de pecuniis Ecclesiarum abstulimus et degradavimus et ad pœnitentiam coegimus.

II. Servis Dei per omnia armaturam portare, vel pugnare, aut in exercitum et in hostem pergere omnino prohibuimus: nisi illis tantum qui propter Divinum mysterium, missarum scilicet solemniam adimplenda, et sanctorum patrocinia portanda, ad hoc electi sunt: id est unum vel duos Episcopos, cum capellanis et presbyteris eorum princeps secum habeat; et unusquisque præfectus unum presbyterum qui hominibus peccata con-

[APPENDIX TO THE COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

fitentibus judicare et indicare pœnitentiam possit. Nec non et illas venationes et silvaticas vagationes cum canibus, omnibus servis Dei interdiximus, et ut accipitres et falcones non habeant.

III. Decrevimus quoque juxta sanctorum canones, ut unusquisque presbyter in parochia habitans subjectus sit illi Episcopo in cujus parochia habitat, et semper in quadragesima rationem et ordinem ministerii sui, sive de baptismo, sive de fide catholica, sive de precibus et de ordine Missarum ipsi Episcopo reddat et ostendat. Et quodcumque jure canonico Episcopus circumierit parochiam ad confirmandos populos, presbyter semper paratus sit ad suscipiendum Episcopum, cum collectione et adjutorio populi qui ibi confirmari debet. Et in Cœna Domini semper novum chrisma accipiat ab Episcopo. Et ut Episcopus testis sit castitatis, et vitæ, et fidei, et doctrinæ illius.

IV. Statuimus etiam ut secundum canonicam cautelam, omnes undecumque venientes ignotos Episcopos, vel presbyteros, ante probationem synodalem in ecclesiasticum ministerium non admitteremus.

V. Decrevimus quoque, ut secundum canones unusquisque Episcopus in sua parochia sollicitudinem gerat, adjuvante gravione, qui defensor ecclesiæ ejus est, ut populus Dei paganas non faciat, sed omnes spurcitas gentilitatis abjiciat et respuat; sive profana sacrificia mortuorum, sive sortilegos, vel divinos sive phylacteria et auguria, sive incantationes, sive hostias immolationes, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum vel confessorum, Deum et sanctos Suos ad iracundiam provocantes: sive illos sacrilegos ignes quos Nedfratres (Niedfyr, Nodfyr) vocant, sive omnes quæcumque sunt paganorum observationes diligenter prohibeant.

VI. Statuimus similiter, ut post hanc synodum, quæ fuit XI. kalendas Maii, quisquis servorum Dei, vel ancillarum Christi in crimen fornicationis lapsus fuerit, in carcere pœnitentiam faciat in pane et aqua. Et si ordinatus presbyter sit, duos annos in carcere permaneat, et antea flagellatus et scorticatus videatur, et post Episcopus adaugeat. Si autem clericus vel monachus in hoc peccatum inciderit, post tertiam verberationem in carcere missus, vertente anno ibi pœnitentiam agat. Similiter et nonnæ velatæ eadem pœnitentia contineantur, et radantur omnes capilli capitis ejus.

VII. Decrevimus quoque, ut presbyteri vel diaconi non sagis, laicorum more, sed casulis utantur, ritu servorum Dei: et nullus in sua domo mulieres habitare permittat. Et ut monachi et ancillæ Dei monasteriales, juxta regulam Sancti Benedicti, cœnobia vel xenodochia sua ordinare, gubernare, vivere studeant, et vitam propriam degere secundum prædicti patris ordinationem non negligant. [*Mansi, XII. 365-370; Baluze, Capitularia Regg. Franc., I. 145-148.*]

A.D. 749<sup>a</sup>. *Act of Æthelbald, King of Mercia, freeing monasteries and churches from taxation and service, except for the building of bridges and the defence of strongholds.*

✠ Plerunque contigere solet pro incerta futurorum temporum vicissitudine, ut ea, quæ multarum et fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerunt, ut fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis periculose dissipentur, nisi auctoritate literarum, et testamento chirographorum æternæ memoriæ inserta sint. Quapropter ego Æthilbaldus Rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ et pro remedio animæ meæ, hoc maxime agendum esse prævidi, ut eam bonis operibus liberam efficerem ab omnibus vinculis piaculorum. Dum enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, scepra regiminis honorifice largitus est, ideo Ei libenter et voluntarie ex eo quod accepi iterum retribuo. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem, Deo teste, me vivente concedo, ut monasteria et æcclesiæ a publicis vectigalibus et ab omnibus operibus oneribusque, auctore Deo, servientes absoluti maneant; nisi sola quæ communiter fruenda sunt, omnique populo, edicto regis, facienda jubentur, id est instructionibus pontium, vel necessariis defensionibus arcium contra hostes, non sunt renuenda. Sed nec hoc prætermittendum est, cum necessarium constat æcclesiis Dei, quia Æthelbaldus Rex, pro expiatione delictorum suorum et retributione mercedis æternæ, famulis Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus silvarum agrorumque, sive in cæteris utilitatibus fluminum vel raptura piscium, habere donavit; et ut munuscula ab æcclesiis in sæculare convivium regis vel principum a subditis minime exigantur, nisi amore et voluntate præbentur: sed cunctas tribulationes quæ nocere vel impedire possunt in domo Dei, omnibus principibus sub ejus potestate degentibus demittere et auferre præcipit; quatenus sublimitas regni ejus prosperis successibus polleat in terris, et meritorum manipuli multipliciter maturescunt in cœlis. Qui vero hæc benigna mentis intentione atque inlæsa cogitatione custodierit, æterna claritate coronetur, ornetur, glorificetur. Si quis hoc, quod absit, cujuslibet personæ, tyrannica cupiditate instinctus, contra hanc donationis cartulam, sæculari potentia fretus, venire nititur, sit sub anathemate

## [PRIVILEGE OF ÆTHELBALD.]

Judæ, proditoris Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Ad confirmandum vero hoc nostræ beneficentiæ munus, hii testes adfuerunt, et nostri magistratus optimates et duces fidelissimique amici consenserunt et scripserunt.

✠ Ego Æthelbald Divinis fultus suffragiis, hiis statutis consentiens, confirmandoque signum crucis aravi. ✠ Ego Huita Mercensis æcclesiæ humilis Episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Torhthelm gratia Dei Episcopus signum crucis infixi. ✠ Ego Headberht Primatum tenens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eada his statutis consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cyneberht his gestis consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Bercul patricius his donis consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Friothuric consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eopa his statutis consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadbald subscripsi. ✠ Ego Byrnhelm subscripsi. ✠ Ego Mocca subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldceorl subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alhmund subscripsi.

Hujus scedulæ scriptio Dominicæ Incarnationis anno DCCXLVIII. indictione secunda in loco celebre cujus vocabulum est Godmundeslaech .XXXIII. anno Æthelbaldi Regis peracta est. [K. C. D., XCIX., from MS. Reg. 13, D. 2, fol. 18; *W. Malm. G. R.*, I. 84; *S.*, I. 256; *W.*, I. 100.]

\* This document is given in part by William of Malmesbury, who refers it to the Council of Clovesho: but it gives Godmundeslaech as the place where it was executed, and appears from the attestations to have been

issued in a Witenagemot of Mercia, not in a provincial Council. A copy of the charter existed formerly in the lost MS. Cotton. Otho, A. 1.

A.D. 747 × 749. *Letter of Elfwald<sup>a</sup>, King of the East-Angles, to S. Boniface, proposing mutual prayers.*

ΑΡΩ Domino gloriosissimo et cum omni honoris affectu venerantissimo Bonifatio Archiepiscopo ÆLBWALDUS ÆSTANGLORUM DEO DONANTE REGIA POTESTATE FRETUS, SIMUL ET TOTA ABBATIA CUM OMNI CONGREGATIONI SERVORUM DEI IN NOSTRA PROVINCIA ALTITHRONUM PRO ECCLESiarUM INCOLUMITATE DIE NOCTUQUE PRECIBUS PULSANTEM, in Deo remuneratori omnium salutem.

Inprimis itaque scire te volumus, O dilectissime, quod gratanter accipimus: nostram parvitatem vestris sanctis orationibus commendatam; ut, sicut vestra benignitas de Missarum sollempnitatibus et orationum assiduitatibus Deo instigante dictavit, ita quoque nostra

[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO EGBERT.]

mediocritas devota mente implere conetur. Memoriaque nominis vestri in septenis monasteriorum nostrorum sinaxis<sup>b</sup> perpetua lege censi debet; quia in septenario numero perfecti sæpe designantur. His itaque bene compositis et Deo adjuvante de animarum regulis rite compositis et de interioris hominis habitu apte conductis, exteriora terrenæque substantiæ amminicula, quæ sub nostra potestate Deo largiente redacta sunt, sub vestræ voluntatis arbitrio contineri volumus; ita tamen, ut orationum nostrarum adjutoria per benivolentiam almitatis vestræ in Ecclesiis Dei frequentare faciatis. Et sicut te pastorem in populo Suo prædeterminatio Dei fieri voluit, ita et nos patronum te sentire satagemus. Nomina quoque defunctorum et viam universalem ingredientium, prout oportunitas anni exigerit, ex utraque parte adducentur, quatenus ut Deus deorum et Dominus dominantium, Qui vos in Episcopatus regimen ponere voluit, Suam plebem ad individua Trinitatis agnitionem et Unitatis substantiam per vos adducere dignetur. Vivete, felicibus finem clausuri calcibus.

S—US

Preterea, O piissime pater, tibi intimandum curemus, ut gerulum præsentium litterarum devota mente a nobis transmissum scias; et sicut fidelem tibi esse comperimus, ita et eum tu veridicum in omnibus nobis invenies. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 71; ed. Würdtwein, no. 29].

<sup>a</sup> Elfwald, King of East Anglia, began to reign A.D. 747 (*Cbr. Mailros.*), and died

A.D. 749 (*Sim. Dun. M. H. B.* 662).

<sup>b</sup> The seven canonical hours.

A.D. 735 × 755. *Letter of Boniface to Egbert, Archbishop of York, asking for his prayers, and for the Commentaries of Bede: requesting also his advice about unchaste priests.*

*Caritatis lacertis amplectendo amico immo spiritali germanitate copulando fratri, summi pontificatus infula prædito, Echerchto Archiepiscopo BONIFATIUS EXIGUUS EPISCOPUS, LEGATUS GERMANICUS CATHOLICÆ ET APOSTOLICÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIAE, florentem in Christo immarcescibilis caritatis salutem.*

Dona ac libellos dulcissimæ beatitudinis vestræ a vobis directa gratanti animo gaudentes suscepimus. Suspensis ad ethera palmis Supernum Regem obsecravimus, ut vobis in superna angelorum curia florentia mercedis præmia restituat. Modo autem sanctitatis vestræ



[LETTER OF BONIFACE TO EGBERT.]

clementiam intimis postulamus precibus, ut pro nobis laborantibus et periclitantibus pietas vestra exorare dignetur; quia grandis nobis necessitas inminet justorum adjuvamina expetere; quia scriptum est: "Multum valet deprecatio justi adsidua." Enarrare autem omnia mala, quæ nos extrinsecus et intrinsecus patimur, epistolaris brevitatis prohibet.

Modo enim inhiante desiderantes flagitamus, ut nobis ad gaudium meroris nostri eo modo, quo et ante jam fecistis, aliquam particulam vel scintillam de candela æcclesiæ, quam inluxit Spiritus Sanctus in regionibus provinciæ vestræ, nobis destinare curetis; id est, ut de tractatibus, quos spiritalis presbiter et investigator sanctarum scripturarum Beda reserando composuit, partem qualemcumque transmittere dignemini; maxime autem, si fore possit—quod nobis prædicantibus habile et manuale et utillimum esse videtur—super lectionarium anniversarium et proverbia Salomonis; quia commentarios super illa eum condidisse audivimus.

Inter ea maxima nos cogit necessitas, vestri consilii iudicium inquirere. Nam dum invenero presbiterum jam ante multa tempora lapsum in fornicationem—et post pœnitentiam in officium gradus sui a Francis iterum restitutus est, et nunc, habitans in latissimo pago fidelium sed errantium populorum, sine aliis sacerdotibus solus ministrat baptismum, et solemnia Missarum celebrans—modo autem, si talem secundum justissimos canones abstulero, morientur sine sacro regenerationis fonte infantes propter raritatem sacerdotum, si meliorem ad restaurandum prioris lapsum non habuero. Judicate ergo inter me et inter populum erroneum: utrum melius sit vel saltim minus malum, utrum talis ministerium sancti altaris impleat an ut pagana moriatur multitudo populi, quia castiorem ministrum acquirere nequiverit. Vel si inter multitudinem sacerdotum inveni in eodem peccamine lapsum et iterum per penitentiam priori gradui restitutum—de quo omnis multitudo sacerdotum et populorum bonæ opinionis confidentiam habuerunt—et si ille modo degradatus fuerit; secretum peccatum revelatum fuerit et scandalizaverit multitudo plebium, et per scandalum plurimæ peribunt animæ, et detestatio erit maxima sacerdotum et diffidentia ministrorum æcclesiæ, ut omnes perfidos, nulli credentes, despectui habeant. Quam ob rem audacter præsumsimus patientes et consentientes, illum in ministerio Divino persistere; existimantes, levius esse dubium unius hominis periculum et audaciam, quam ruinam et perditionem anima-

[LETTER OF CUTHBERT TO BONIFACE.]

rum pene totius populi. De istis autem universis quid mihi sustinendum sit, necessitate cogente scandala vitandi, quidve refutandum, sanctum consilium vestrum per scripta videre et audire omnino desidero.

Præterea celsitudini vestræ vice osculi duas vini cupellas per hunc portitorem litterarum transmisimus; petentes, ut caritatis inter nos precibus nostris inde lætum diem cum fratribus vestris faciatis. Obsecramus igitur, ut de istis petitionibus nostris faciatis, ut mercedis vestræ præmia in cælorum culmine clarescant. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 100; ed. Würdtwein, no. 38.]

A.D. 755. *Council of the English Church in which it was determined that the anniversary of the Martyrdom of S. Boniface should be solemnly kept*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> S. Boniface was martyred June 5, A.D. 755; and this synod appears, from the letter of Cuthbert to Lullus given below, to have been held soon after the receipt of the news.

A.D. 755 × 758. *Letter of Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Lullus, Archbishop of Mentz, congratulating the Church on the Martyrdom of S. Boniface, and informing him of the determination of the English Church to celebrate the anniversary.*

✠ *Reverentissimo fratri et in amore Christi karissimo Lullo coepiscopo, simulque cooperantibus tuis Episcopis et sacerdotibus Dei, quorum nomina in libro vite scripta teneantur, CUTHBERHCTUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI CUM ALIIS CONSACERDOTIBUS CHRISTI ET PRESBITERIS SEU ABBATIBUS, æternæ prosperitatis ac pacis in Domino salutem.*

Profitemur igitur, karissimi, sincerissima intentione coram Deo et electis angelis Ejus: quia, quandocumque vestram dilectionem pacis ac prosperitatis proventum et sanctæ religionis in Christo profectum sacræque exortationis fructum de aliorum conversatione abundantius habere rumigerulis referentibus audimus, quod, inde satis gaudentes et pro vobis obnixius orantes, læti gratias agimus largitori bonorum omnium Deo. Quando autem aliqua religioni vestræ injuria facta aut aliquod inrogatum narratur damnum, meror et tristitia nos cruciat; quia nimirum, sicut gaudio vestro in Christo congaudemus, ita et adversitate pro Christo contristati compatimur. Non enim ali-

[LETTER OF CUTHBERT TO BONIFACE.]

quando in memoria nostra obliterari possunt diversarum atque infessarum tribulationum angores, quos, ut viscera nostra, vos ipsi cum Deo dilecto patre nostro beatæ memoriæ Bonifatio martyre inter persecutores paganos et hereticos atque scismaticos seductores in tam periculosa ac ferocitate plena peregrinatione pro amore æternæ patriæ longo tempore sustinebatis; et quia—illo scilicet per agonem martyrii cum suis plurimis domesticis ad æternam cælestis patriæ quietem gloriose feliciterque migrante—vos, qui superstites talium estis, forsitan eo periculosius ac difficiliter inter diversa temptamenta conversamini, quo tanto patre et doctore ad presens vos orbatos esse constat.

Et quamvis hinc quædam mæsticiæ amaritudo nostra discruciat valide precordia, tamen hujusce doloris gemitum quædam sæpius ad memoriam rediens nimis ac novæ exultationis hilaritas jucundat ac mitigat; dum frequentius recolentes ammirabili vel potius ineffabili Dei pietati tripudiantes gratias agimus: quod tam præclarum speculatorem cælestis bibliothecæ tamque egregium Christi militem cum multis bene educatis et optime instructis discipulis gens Anglorum advena e Britannia meruit palam omnibus ad spiritalis agones et ad multarum per Dei omnipotentis gratiam salutem animarum de sese procul laudabiliter emittere; ut longe lateque ferocissimas nationes, per devia diutius errantes, de lata ac spatiosa voragine perditionis perpetuæ ad splendidas semitas supernæ patriæ per sacræ exhortationis incitamenta et per exempla pietatis ac bonitatis ipse ductor et signifer, antecedendo et adversa quæque opitulante Deo fortiter expugnando, feliciter perduceret. Quod ita actitatum veraciter fere etiam rerum effectus gloriosius quam dicta demonstrant, et in illis quoque locis, quos ante eum nullus aliquando evangelizandi causa doctor adire temptabat. Unde igitur—post incomparabile toto orbe apostolicæ electionis et numeri mysterium aliorumque tunc temporis evangelizantium discipulorum Christi ministerium—hunc inter egregios et optimos orthodoxæ fidei doctores et amabiliter habemus et laudabiliter veneramus.

Unde in generali synodo nostra—ubi et de ceteris omnibus, quæ vestræ modo sanctitati paucis depromimus, plenius inter nos conferebamus—ejus diem natalicii illiusque cohortis cum eo martyrizantis insinuantes statuimus annua frequentatione sollemniter celebrare; utpote quem specialiter nobis cum beato Gregorio et Augustino et patronum quærimus et habere indubitanter credimus coram Christo

[LETTER OF CUTHBERT TO BONIFACE.]

Domino, Quem in vita sua semper amavit et in morte, ut ipsius meruit gratia, magnifice clarificavit.

Præterea quippe, ut prediximus, vestræ sollicitæ speculationis curam et quasi tædio absentati patris familias, ut ita dicam, quodammodo confectam nec non et generalitatem subjectorum vobis servorum Dei paternis affatibus fraternisque solaciis relevare et consolare, ubicumque et in quocumque negotio prevalemus, fatemur nos semper esse paratos. Unde in primis ad confirmationem dilectionis, quam erga vos habent penetralia cordis nostri, sermone affectuque apostoli utamur et cum apostolo simul dicamus: "Gratia vobis et pax; gratias agimus Deo semper pro omnibus vobis, memoriam facientes in orationibus nostris sine intermissione; memores operis fidei vestræ et laboris et caritatis et sustinentiæ spei Domini nostri Jesu Christi ante Deum et Patrem nostrum." Quod enim jam olim, vivente venerandæ memoriæ Bonifacio, per scripta nonnulla et per fideles internuntios æque conditum esse constat, id ipsum semper renovare ad invicem, satis necessarium ducimus; hoc est, ut mutue pro nobis nostrisque et hic viventibus et hinc obientibus interpellationes orationes Missarumque remedia ad viventem Deum et Judicem omnium suppliciter agantur, juxta apostolica monita: "Orate" inquit "pro invicem, ut salvemini" reliqua. Hoc enim modo nobis Divinam clementiam complacere dinoscimur, offerentes Ei orationum pura libamina; sic nobis eandem prosperantem inveniemus in adversis. Etenim, ubi Domini juxta Ipsius promissa præsto est adjutorium, cuncta fugatur malignorum adversitas. Ipse enim dixit: "Si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram de omni re, quamcumque petierint, fiet illis a Patre Meo, Qui in celis est."

Hoc enim sagaci sollertia studiosius ideo agendum esse judicamus, quia, juxta apostolica presagia, instant nunc tempora periculosa et reliqua, quæ ipse in eadem prosequitur epistola. Et quia non est opus scribere vobis de exterioribus calamitatum incursibus, quas frequenter ut reor passi estis, id est persecutionibus rapinis odiis et scandalis et his similibus, ceterum ecce quam plurimis in locis Christianæ religionis valide status vacillat; dum pene undique exterius interiusve rerum ecclesiasticarum perturbatur ordo, novellarumque conversationum pravæ ubique pene succrescunt sectæ. Nec mirum, dum, post videlicet positis antiquorum patrum decretis ac legibus ecclesiasticis relictis, multi juxta proprias adinventiones prava et plurimorum nociva saluti sentiunt adfirmant atque agunt;

[LETTER OF CUTHBERT TO BONIFACE.]

ut scilicet transacto anno a quodam magnæ auctoritatis viro dictum et gestum esse constat. Ad hæc autem nos, ut timeo pusillanimes et minus zelo justitiæ accensi, quid aliud in primis agere debemus, quam ut indesinenter suffragia sanctorum postulemus apostolorum martyrumque Christi ac venerabilium antistitum ecclesiarum Dei; ut in hoc, quod vocati ac constituti sumus, continuis excubiis Christi gratia nos faciat perseverare; et ut non simus reprobi sed magis accepti, non desides sed sollertes, non dispergentes sed congregantes, quoscumque valeamus, ad unanimitatem Christianæ religionis et unitatem ecclesiasticæ conversationis; quatenus ministerium nostræ dispensationis et laboris sollertia ad laudem et gloriam Dei omnipotentis proficiat, ut cum bene servientibus ac placentibus Deo quandoque mereamur audire: “Beatus servus, quem, cum venerit Dominus, invenerit vigilantem; Amen dico vobis, quod super omnia bona Sua constituet eum?”

Et ad hæc frequentius ad memoriam exempli causa revocemus: recordandæ memoriæ egregius magister et martyr beatus Bonifatius quomodo vel quanta sollertia laboraret in doctrina Dei, quanta pericula atque difficultates pro amore Christi et animarum lucro etiam usque ad ipsam mortem libenter tolleraret. Et quia Omnipotentis modo familiaris factus est, prudentia vestra sollerter attendat, si ejus vos oporteat sacris ammonitionibus consentire et pietatis illius exempla pro viribus sequi. Ille enim, quantum Illius domesticus factus est, *quem* amavit ante omnia, tantum majora apud Eum poterit optinere. Unde quippe, si aliqui subjectorum illius, quibus eum quondam Divina dispensatio magisterii loco prefecit, ab ejus documentis spiritalibus dissentiant vel prava conversatione recedunt, qui defensor illorum in eterno judicio esse potuit, fit potius accusator et rationes ab eis cum Ipso Judice districtius requirit. At vero e diverso, quicumque illius sacræ institutionis ac doctrinæ normulam rite consequuntur, pro certo se sciant et ipsius Romanæ atque apostolicæ ecclesiæ, a qua legatus eis et doctor directus est, ac deinde pariter cum ea omnium nostrum habere et viventes et morientes in oratione et Missarum celebratione, ut supra diximus, perpetuam communionem; si tamen usque ad finem firmam vobis, dehinc doctoribus et rectoribus suæ salutis, humiliter atque amabiliter pro Deo et æterna mercede non dedignantur obædire; non deficientes aliquando, ut indevoti vel subdoli, sed semper ut bonæ indolis discipuli proficientes et fideliter adherentes suæ miliciæ in Christo

[LETTER OF POPE PAUL I. TO EGBERT AND EADBERT.]

magistris ad palmam supernæ vocationis Dei et gloriam regni cælestis.

Hæc salutatoria vestræ sanctitati scripsimus verba, non quasi ignaris aut indigentibus nostræ rusticitatis normula, sed caritatis atque communitationis mutuæ gratia; contestantes et obsecrantes per omnipotentem Deum et Filium Ejus Jesum Christum et adventum Ipsius et regnum Ejus: ut vos, O karissimi, cuncti generaliter cum subjectis vobis in Christo per omnia sitis semper ad invicem fideles adiutores et unanimes cooperatores contra omnes orthodoxæ fidei inimicos atque hereticos et scismaticos ac nequissimæ conversationis homines. Per hoc enim eritis bonis hominibus amabiles seu laudabiles et Deo omnipotenti acceptabiles atque cari. Et ita cum ipso præfato beato patre et prodecessore vestro felicem in futuro vocem a Judice cunctorum Christo singuli mereatis audire: “Euge” inquit “serve bone et fidelis; quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam; intra gaudium Domini tui.” Amen.

✠ Omnipotens Deus vos omnes diu incolumes in Suo sancto amore et timore custodire dignetur, dilectissimi fratres ac filii ✠.

✠ Cuthberhtus Archiepiscopus.

✠ Lullo Coepiscopo.

[S. Bonif. Epistt., ed. Jaffé, no. 108; ed. Würdtwein, no. 114.]

A.D. 757 or 758<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Pope Paul I. to Egbert, Archbishop of York, and Eadbert, King of Northumbria, urging the restoration of three monasteries taken from Abbot Forthred by the King.*

*Dilectissimo fratri Ecgberhto, Archiepiscopo, sed et Eadberhto excellentissimo filio Regi, PAULUS PAPA, salutem. Arbitrator rerum et opifex, Qui solo verbo cuncta ex nihilo fingens, humanam [de] limo creavit naturam, trinus et unus Dominus Deus noster, Cui machinæ poli ac telluris materia perenni lege famulantur, ad hoc prudentissimam nobilitatem vestram Dominicæ plebis Suæ curam instituit exequi, ut ea, quæ ad Ejus Divinæ Majestatis cultum respiciunt, solerti cura inhianter perficere studeatis, quatenus vestræ industriæ præsidio protegatur eorum salus, qui hujus mundi latebrosis insidiis [non] carent. Etenim, nobis dilectissimi, multorum relatione affatim comperimus, efficaci solertia vos pollere. Et quia attentius de illa florifera vita, quæ nullo terminorum succiditur fine, mente devota cogitare anhe-*

[LETTER OF POPE PAUL I. TO EGBERT AND EADBERT.]

latis; ideo libentissime ea, quæ ad vestræ animæ respiciunt salutem, per nostram apostolicam admonitionem, dilectionem, atque excellentiam vestram postulare aptum prospeximus. Itaque veniens ad limina protectorum vestrorum beatorum principum apostolorum, Petri ac Pauli, præsens Forthredus religiosus abbas retulit nobis, inquiring: Quod tria monasteria illi concessa fuissent a quadam abbatissa, id est, monasteria, quæ "Staninggrave" seu "Cuchawalda" et "Donæmuthæ" dicuntur. Quæ videlicet monasteria per vim ab eo tua abstulit excellentia, et cuidam patricio, fratri ejus, "Moll<sup>b</sup>" nomine, tribuit. De qua re nimis tristes effecti sumus, excellentissime fili, quoniam extra præceptum Dei hoc omnino egisti. Et liquet profecto, quod ad excidium animæ tuæ pertinet, dum eadem monasteria ab eo, qui in officio Divini cultus perseverat, abstulisti, et qui in hujus mundi curis desudat, concedere studuisti. Neque enim fas est, excellentissime fili, ut humani favoris magis intuitum, quam Dei timorem præ oculis tuis adhibeas. Debuerat enim excellentissima prudentia tua de suis propriis opibus, locis atque amœnis eisdem venerabilibus prærogativa subsidii adminicula impertiri. Quoniam scriptum est: "Honora Dominum de tua propria substantia." Quapropter hortamur solertiam vestram, et per apostolicam sedem admonemus, ut sibi vere obedientes, prout debetis, ob amorem protectoris vestri prælato Forthredo abbati ipsa tria monasteria restituatis; quatenus juxta quod a præfata abbatissa illi concessa sunt, sine qualibet ambiguitate aut infesta molestia perfrui mereatur, et secundum præditam et insitam vobis solertiam cuncta venerabilia loca pio intuitu fovere, et in omnibus protegere maturate. Atque quod ab eis ablatum est, modis omnibus eisdem sanctis restituendum vestræ adhæreat curæ; ut ex hoc prava vitiorum usurpatione amputata, nulli laicorum vel aliæ cuilibet personæ denuo licentia admittatur piorum pertinentia locorum invadendi, sed magis vestro studio ea, quæ respiciunt ad religiositatis propositum, impensius propagentur. Ex hoc enim, excellentissime fili, Divinum adsumes remunerationis adminiculum, et contra hostis ferocis versutiam prævalebis, et æternam proculdubio consequi promereberis vitam. [*W.*, I. 144, from a MS. of Ussher's, MS. Cotton. Vespasian, A. 14. fo. 161]

<sup>a</sup> Paul I. became Pope in A.D. 757, and Eadbert resigned the crown of Northumbria in A.D. 758. These facts determine the date of the letter. The first two monasteries in question were probably the churches of Stone-

grave and Coxwold in Yorkshire: Donamuth is the name given apparently to Jarro in Simeon of Durham and the Chronicle, from its position at the mouth of the *Donus* or Done (*Surtees, Hist. Durham, II. 66*). Mr.

## [WITENAGEMOT.]

Petrie (*M. H. B.* 338, note <sup>c</sup>) identified it with Wearmouth on insufficient grounds; and the MS. Reg. 13, A. 6 of the early Chronicle which Hoveden embodied in his own work, assumes it to be Tynemouth. Of abbot Forthred less still is known. There is a letter of Alcuin recommending Fordrad, a priest, to his friends, on his journey to Rome, but it cannot be dated early enough to apply to this journey (*Ep.* 160, ed Froben.). Abbot Forthred, who signs Mercian charters several

times between A.D. 789 and A.D. 804, and who died A.D. 803 or 805 (*A. S. C.*), belonged to the diocese of Leicester (*K. C. D.*, *MXIV.*).

The superscription to Archbishop Egbert seems to be superfluous, but it is stated in a note in Wilkins to be found in the two MSS. used for his edition.

<sup>b</sup> Probably Ethelwald Moll, who became King of Northumbria in A.D. 759.

A.D. 758. *Council or Witenagemot of Wessex, Mercia, and Kent*<sup>a</sup>, at which *Cynewulf, King of Wessex, makes grants of lands to the monastery at Bath and Malmesbury.* (*K. C. D.*, *CXCIII.*)

<sup>a</sup> The charter of Bath, which is misdated DCCCVIII., and therefore regarded by Kemble as spurious, and as referred to Kenulf King of Mercia, is attested by Archbishop Cuthbert, Bishops Torthelm of Leicester, Cynhard of Winchester, Eanfrith of Elmham, Hereward or Herewald of Sherborne, Ecgwulf of London, Milred of Worcester, Acca (or Hecca) of Hereford, Aldulf (or Eadulf) of Lindsey, and Eardulf of Rochester; by Abbot Botwin of Peterborough, and four others; the attestations ending "Et ego Offa Rex Merciorum his statutis consensi" (*K. C. D.*,

*CXCIII.*). Another grant of Cynewulf to Malmesbury (*K. C. D.*, *CIII.*) is attested by Kynehard and Herewald. It would seem then that the former was executed at some meeting of the two Kings and their counselors, of which nothing is recorded. Offa had become King of Mercia in A.D. 757. A similar case of the Kings of Mercia and Wessex joining in a charter is furnished in *K. C. D.*, *C.* (A.D. 755 x 757), where the grant is apparently to Canterbury, and is attested by Bishops Herewald, Milred, and Cynheard.



## XII. BREGWIN, A.D. 759-765.

[“ Gratia Dei Archiepiscopus ” (*K. C. D.*, *CIX.*).

- A.D. 759. Consecrated “ die festivitatis Sancti Michaelis ” (*Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 545); “ to S<sup>c</sup>e Michaeles tide ” (*A. S. C.*)<sup>a</sup>.
- A.D. 761. Attests two charters of Eadburt, King of Kent (*Elmbam*, pp. 319, 321); both marked as spurious by Kemble (*K. C. D.*, *CVI.*, *CVII.*)<sup>b</sup>.
- A.D. 762. Attests a charter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, to S. Augustin’s, Canterbury (*K. C. D.*, *CVIII.*; *Elmbam*, 325); and one of Dunwald, “ minister ” to the same monastery (*K. C. D.*, *CIX.*; *Elmbam*, 326). Another charter of A.D. 762, granted by Sigiræd to Rochester, and attested by Bregwin (*K. C. D.*, *CX.*), is marked as spurious by Kemble.
- A.D. 764. Attests a grant of Sigiræd, King of half Kent, to Eardulf, Bishop of Rochester (*K. C. D.*, *CIV.*); which is confirmed by Offa, King of Mercia (according to Kemble), with licence of Bregwin (*K. C. D.*, *CXI.*).
- A.D. 765. Bregwin dies (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 663); or A.D. 762 (*Flor. Wig.*, *ad ann.*); August 24 (*Flor. Wig.*, *A. S.*, *I.* 96); or Sept. 1 (*Osbern.*, *A. S.*, *II.* 76); or Aug. 26 (*Obit. Cant.*, *A. S.*, *I.* 52)<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The fact that S. Michael’s day did not fall on a Sunday in A.D. 759 may seem to throw doubt on the accuracy of the date; but as it did not so happen in any year between A.D. 754 and A.D. 765, we must conclude, either that the looser expression of the Chronicle is correct, in which case the day of consecration would fall on Sept. 30; or, with Wharton (*A. S.*, *II.* 186), that consecrations were not at this period invariably performed on Sundays. The question of the year is more important; but the weight of authority is in favour of A.D. 759, although the Chronicle of Melrose, which is based upon very ancient northern authorities, gives A.D. 761 as the date of the death of Cuthbert, which would throw on the consecration of Bregwin to Michaelmas A.D. 762. As, however, the authority of the Chronicle of Melrose is not here confirmed by that of Simeon of Durham or Hoveden, the other Chroniclers must decide the point. Unfortunately it appears that for nearly a century after the death of Bede, there is a discrepancy of two years between the northern and southern Chroniclers, as to the dates of most of the events which they record in common: but although

in these the balance of proof is largely in favour of the northern writers, it does not follow that the southern ones are wrong in the dates of events which they alone record. The northern writers give the date of the death of Bregwin, but not that of his consecration; and their testimony is confirmed by charters. But it is not safe that the date of the Canterbury Chronicle, or the accession of one of the Archbishops, should be set aside on hypothesis, when there is no contrary evidence.

<sup>b</sup> If the spuriousness of these charters were asserted by Kemble only on the ground of their being inconsistent with the received dates of the Kentish Kings, his accuracy in this may be doubted; as the Fasti of Kent are during the whole of the century in the greatest disorder. It is uncertain whether the regnal years given to the sons of Wihtred belong to their several or conjoint reigns; and the statements of the several historians are scarcely reconcilable on any hypothesis.

<sup>c</sup> The fixing A.D. 765 as the date of Bregwin’s death, in conformity with the Northumbrian Chronicle, as given by Simeon

## [LETTER OF BREGWIN TO LULLUS.]

of Durham, the Chronicle of Melrose and Roger Hoveden, is confirmed by the testimony of Osbern (*V. Bregwini, A. S., II. 76*), who gives him a pontificate of seven years. Eadmer however gives him only three (*A. S., II. 187*); and he is followed by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 15), Florence of Worcester, Gervase (c. 1561), and the rest of the Canterbury historians. The

evidence of the charters however, such as it is, favours the later date. And as the authority of Osbern is greater than that of any of the other Canterbury writers, it must be allowed due weight. His life of Bregwin contains, however, no particulars of importance. It is only from the letter to Lullus, given below, that we learn that Bregwin had visited Rome.

A.D. 759 × 765. *Letter of Bregwin to Lullus, Archbishop of Mentz, offering gifts, and informing him of the date of the death of the Abbess Bugge.*

*Reverentissimo et in Christo karissimo fratri Lullo Episcopo* BREGWINUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI PERPETUAM IN CHRISTI NOMINE SALUTEM.

Dies multi elapsi sunt, ex quo sollicitus præoptabam, ut Deo favente tandem aliquando prosperum iter legatarii nostri perveniendi ad beatitudinem vestram invenire potuissent. Quia per hos, scilicet proxime decurrentes priores, annos plurimæ ac diversæ inquietudines apud nos in Britannia vel in Gallia partibus audiebantur existere; et hoc videlicet nostrum desiderabile propositum sæpius impedit et perterrendo valde prohibuit de nostris aliquos ad vos dirigere per tam incertam tamque ..... crebris infestationibus improborum hominum in provinciis Anglorum seu Gallia regionis<sup>a</sup>. Nunc vero pace ac tuitione nobis a principibus indubitanter undique promissa, misimus ad vestram venerabilem fraternitatem hunc præsentem fratrem, istarum presentium litterarum bajulum, Hildeberhtum nomine; reminiscens videlicet, qualiter inter nos in civitate Romana de amicitia conventionem conloquium habuimus<sup>b</sup>; quod etiam nos servare omnimodis confitemur. Quapropter et ego nunc, in tua beatitudinis amicitia confisus, ut secundum quod antecessores nostri inter se facere non cessarunt, ita etiam et nos facere similiter adoptamus, mittentes verba suavissima salutationis et pacis; ut evangelicus sermo impleatur in nobis: quod Ejus esse discipuli mereamur, si dilectionem habuerimus ad invicem.

Idecirco tibi indicare curavimus, nos misisse vestrae beatitudini parva quedam munuscula, non parva siquidem caritate—id est capsam unam ad officium quidem sacerdotale, ex ossibus fabricatam—salutationis tantummodo ac benedictionis causa, per Ishardum religiosum presbyterum; ut ea, quæ nostra sunt, benigne suscipiatis. Similiterque et nos a vobis bona recipere optamus.

Insuper etiam, omnium fratrum carissime, pro certo hoc nosse

[LETTER OF BREGWIN TO LULLUS.]

tam amabilem devotionem Deo teste desidero: quod tuæ sanctitatis dilectionem in eundem caritatis locum et fraternæ societatis consolacium libenter suscipio atque tenacius contineo, in quo videlicet beati patris et prodecessoris tui Bonifatii semper inconcussa mansit et permanet jugiter reposita dilectio; ut inter nos quoque et nostros deinceps familiaris ac spiritalis amicitia tam ad animarum nostrarum remedia in orationibus et Missarum celebrationibus quam ad hujus vitæ quæque competentia fraternaue suffragia fideliter persistat. Et ad hæc quoque, quæ præmisi, magnopere tua perfici dilectione desidero: ut omnes quippe sacerdotes Dei et familias benedicti ac beati Bonifatii martyris Christi diligenter atque amabiliter et meo salutes nomine horterisque pro nobis, quod et pro ipsis facere non desistamus, omnipotentis Dei clementiam obnixis exorare precibus. De redditione vero præfatæ rei sive per verba fratris nostri sive etiam per litteras tuæ fraternæ pietatis nos certiorare jubeto. Omnipotentis Dei pietas Sua vos protectione muniat, et ad utilitatem plurimorum sanctitatis vestræ sincerissimam caritatem jugiter in perpetuum conservare et custodire dignetur.

Diem vero depositionis religiosæ Christi famulæ Buggan celebramus, quæ fuit honorabilis abbatissa: cujus etiam dies depositionis fuit VI. Kal. Januarias. Rogavit me obnixè, dum adviveret, ut hoc vestræ beatitudini transmitterem. Et sicut speravit et credidit, ita facere curate; quoniam illius pater atque patronus fuit in Christo Bonifacius Episcopus<sup>e</sup>. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 113; ed. Würdtwein, no. 130.]

<sup>a</sup> These expressions seem to refer to the war carried on by Pipin in Aquitaine against Waifarius, which began in A.D. 760: more than two years must have elapsed since the beginning of the war before this letter was written (per hos, scilicet proxime decurrentes priores annos), which would help to fix the

date of the letter to A.D. 762.

<sup>b</sup> Lullus visited Rome in A.D. 751 as S. Boniface's envoy (see *Epp. Bonif.*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 218, 222, etc.).

<sup>c</sup> Elmham gives the date of the death of Bugge, *alias* Eadburh, as A.D. 751.

A.D. 759 × 765. *Synod under Bregwin, in which a complaint is made of the injuries done to Christ Church, Canterbury, by the detention of an estate granted by Ethelbald, King of Mercia.*

CONC. CLOVESHO, A.D. 798. \* \* \* Item Bregowinus et Janbertus Archiepiscopi per singulas synodos suas, questi sunt de injuria æcclesiæ Salvatoris illata \* \* \* (*K. C. D.*, *MXIX.*; *W.*, I. 162).

<sup>a</sup> See below, under the year A.D. 798.

[LETTER OF EARDULF TO LULLUS.]

A.D. 755 × 765. *Letter of Eardulf<sup>a</sup>, Bishop of Rochester, and Eardulf, King of Kent, to Lullus, entreating his prayers.*

✠ *Reverentissimo nobisque omnium Episcoporum carissimo Lullo Coepiscopo ÆARDULFUS, HROFENSIS ECCLESIE ANTISTES, CUM SANCTÆ ECCLESIE FILIO ÆARDVULFO REGE CANTIÆ, sinceram in Christi nomine salutem.*

Veracium igitur sociorum inter alia amicalis memorialisque mos esse dinoscitur, cum sese ob interjacentium terrarum spatia seu provinciarum exterarum regiones presentialiter nequeunt invisere ac salutare, certe per suos fideles nuntios sive etiam per litteras ad invicem salutationis dirigere verba et de rebus dignis atque utilibus tractare; ne mens scilicet sollicita, quid de statu amici Divina dispensatione et judicio agatur, vel tædio diutius adficiatur vel anxia rerum incertitudine cotidie gemat. Quocirca in primis diligentius salutantes per hunc gerulum visitans eminentiam vestram—desiderium quippe habentes: audire et nosse eandem gloriosissimum prosperumque per omnia profectum habere, hoc modis omnibus optantes—ut nos ipsos nostrosque carissimos vestræ beatitudini subnixis commendamus precibus; ut, in vestris sacris ac Deo placitis orationibus et suffragio vestræ paternæ pietatis undique auxiliante Deo muniti atque muro protectionis vestræ circumdati, contra omnes infestationes inimici in hac vita, quæ tota temptatio est, defensi, et ad illam, quæ morte vacans et fine carens, vestris almis intercessionibus pervenire mereamur.

Misimus vobis parva exenia, id est reptem ruptilem unam; deprecantes obnixè, ut amorem mittentis magis quam censem perpendatis ob spem meliorum; quod celerius fit orantibus vobis, si Dominus vitam et vires concesserit. Memores enim sumus verborum omnium, quæ, ex abundantia cordis vestri prolata, nostris auribus sonuerunt adimplenda; quæ, quantum ames amantes te, ex omni parte declarabant. Quid ergo prolata aliud nobis agendum est, nisi quod, quoad Deo disponente et finem cunctorum considerante omnes advixerimus, fideliter ad invicem custodiamus. Preterea nihilominus et deinceps, dum aliquis e nobis alterius vitæ vias, ut opto felices, prior ingrediatur, en supervivens sine mora missis et elemosinis itiner illius hinc et inde, quantum valeat tuere ac prosperum facere sæpius reminiscat ac studeat; obsecrantes obnixè, ut per hunc fra-

[LETTER OF EARDULF TO LULLUS.]

trem nostrum fidelissimum presbyterum nomine Læaroredum scripta pietatis tuæ ad nos dirigere digneris, quatenus per hæc earum, quæ tibi placita sunt, rerum cognitio clarescat. Quia habetis sine dubio in eodem præfato presbytero veredicum fidelemque inter nos legatarium; et ideo per illum valebis, quæcumque vis, vivæ vocis attestatione nobis patefacere.

✠ Precedentium quoque nomina propinquorum nostrorum, id est Irmigi, Noththry atque Duhchæ—omnes Deo dicatæ virgines—tibi direximus; postulantes ut in oblationibus Missarum et orationum suffragiis habeatis. Quia similia vobis ad vicem beneficii rependere parati sumus. Deus te incolumem custodiat, et in Ejus ministerio pollentem longa per temporum spatia custodire dignetur. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 120; ed. Würdtwein, no. 116.]

\* Eardulf was Bishop from A.D. 747 to 765, or later. Eardulf was one of the Kentish Kings as early as A.D. 747 (*K. C. D.*,

*XCVI.*), but very little indeed is known of him.

[JAENBERT ARCHBISHOP.]

## XIII. JAENBERT, A.D. 766-791.

["Gengberhtus, gratia Dei Archiepiscopus" (*K. C. D.*, *CXIII. CXVI.*). "Jambertus Archiepiscopus et rector Catholicæ Ecclesiæ" (*K. C. D.*, *CXIX.*). "Jaenberhtus Archiepiscopus" (*K. C. D.*, *CXXI.*).

- A.D. 766<sup>a</sup>. Consecrated forty days after Midwinter (*A. S. C.*, *M. H. B.* 333); i. e. Feb. 2, A.D. 763 (*A. S. C.*, *Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 544); and received the pall from Pope Paul I. the year after his consecration<sup>b</sup> (*Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 544).
- A.D. 766, Nov. 19. Death of Egbert, Archbishop of York, author of the *Penitential and Dialogus* (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 663).
- A.D. 767. Jaenbert attests a grant of Offa, King of Mercia, to Abbot Stidbert (*K. C. D.*, *CXVI.*), in company with Eadbert, Bishop of Leicester, and Cuthfert, Bishop of Lichfield.
- A.D. 772. Jaenbert attests a grant of Offa to Abbot Ethelnoth (*Elmbam*, 331; *K. C. D.*, *CXIX.*); and another to Oswald (Osa), Bishop of Selsey, of land in Sussex, witnessed also by Egbert, King of Kent, Cynewulf, King of Wessex, and four Bishops, Eadbert of Leicester, Oswald of Selsey, Diora of Rochester, and Wigheah, of London (?). (*MS. Lambeth*, 1212, fol. 387.)
- A.D. 774. Jaenbert has a grant of land at Higham in Kent from Offa, King of Mercia (*K. C. D.*, *CXXI. CXXII.*), attested by Eadbert, Bishop of Leicester, Byrthun of Lichfield, and Ceolwulf of Lindsey. The Archbishop attests a grant of Offa to S. Peter's, Worcester (*K. C. D.*, *CXXXIII.*).
- A.D. 775. Witenagemot of Mercia at Godmundesleas (*K. C. D.*, *CXX.*).
- A.D. 777. Mercian Witenagemot (*K. C. D.*, *CXXXI.*).
- A.D. 778. Jaenbert attests a grant to Rochester by Egbert, King of Kent, dated at Canterbury (*K. C. D.*, *CXXXII.*). A grant of Cynewulf, King of Wessex, attested by the Bishops of Sherborne and Winchester (*K. C. D.*, *CXXXIII.*).
- A.D. 778. Resignation of Ethelbert, Archbishop of York; succession of Eanbald<sup>c</sup>.
- A.D. 779. Mercian Witenagemot (*K. C. D.*, *CXXXVII.*).
- A.D. 780. Jaenbert attests a grant of Offa to Breedon (*K. C. D.*, *CXXXVIII.*), and another dated at Brentford to Worcester (*K. C. D.*, *CXL.*).
- A.D. 781. Synod at Brentford (*K. C. D.*, *CXLIII.*).
- A.D. 782. Synod at Acle (*A. S. C.*).
- A.D. 786 × 788. Mission of George and Theophylact. Legatine Councils of both provinces. Division of the province of Canterbury between Canterbury and Lichfield.
- A.D. 787. Synod at Acle (*K. C. D.*, *CLI.*).
- A.D. 788. Synod at Acle (*Ric. Hagust. Hist. cap. XVII.*); at Celchyth (*K. C. D.*, *CLIII.*).

## [DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

A.D. 789. Synod at Acle (*A. S. C.*, probably belonging to A.D. 788); at Celchyth (*K. C. D.*, *CLV. CLVI.*).

A.D. 791. Jaenbert dies<sup>d</sup> (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 667); Aug. 12 (*Flor. Wig.*), or Aug. 11 (*Ob. Cant.*, *A. S.*, *I.* 53); or in A.D. 790 (*Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 546; *A. S. C.*, *M. H. B.* 337).

<sup>a</sup> See the note on the death of Bregwin, p. 397, above. It is true that in a charter of Egbert, King of Kent, dated A.D. 765, and accepted by Kemble as genuine, Jaenbert is mentioned as Archbishop (*K. C. D.*, *CXIII.*, from the *Textus Roffensis*). But although the charter itself may be genuine, the attestations are questionable, one of them, "Badenoth Episcopus," being an unknown person; the only Bishop of that name belonging, if indeed he ever existed, to the next century (see *A. S.*, *I.* 331). This being so, the date must be regarded as questionable; or Jaenbert may have been elect at the time; or possibly the scribe may have begun the year later than Feb. 2. In A.D. 766 Septuagesima Sunday fell on the 2nd of February, a fact which lends some slight confirmation to the date. Jaenbert had been abbot of S. Augustin's. He is the first Archbishop of whose coinage any examples have been preserved.

<sup>b</sup> Pope Paul I. died June 28, A.D. 767 (*Jaffé, Reg. Pontiff.* 198).

<sup>c</sup> Alcuin gives the date of the death of Ethelbert as Nov. 8, in the 14th year after his consecration, that is, A.D. 780, and agrees with *Sim. Dun.* (*M. H. B.* 665). He had resigned his see two years before; and Eanbald his successor received his pall in A.D. 781; having sent Alcuin to fetch it (*V. Alcuini*, cap. 6) in A.D. 780 (*Sim. Dun.*). Alcuin on his return met Charles the Great at Parma, where he spent Easter A.D. 781. See Alcuin, *Gesta Archiepp. Ebor.*, ap. Gale, v. 1515 et seqq.

<sup>d</sup> The year of the death of Jaenbert is uncertain; possibly the date given by Simeon may be referred to the election of his successor, and in consequence of the unsatisfactory state of things respecting the Archbishopric of Lichfield, a long time may have elapsed before the consecration of Ethelheard. But considering the certain error of two years in the computation of the earlier MSS. of the Chronicle, it is safer to take the later date, even if we may not throw it on to A.D. 792.

A.D. 732 × 766. *The Dialogue of Egbert, Archbishop of York.*

[This work was printed first by Sir James Ware, from the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XII. of the eleventh century, at Dublin in 1664. It is generally received as genuine, the single

doubt thrown upon it by the fact of its variations from the *Excerptiones Egberti* disappearing, as closer examination shows the latter work not to be Egbert's at all.]

INCIPIT SUCCINCTUS DIALOGUS ECCLESIASTICÆ INSTITUTIONIS A DOMINO EGBERTO ARCHIEPISCOPO EBURACÆ CIVITATIS COMPOSITUS.

Prima fronte præsentis paginæ tuam venerabilem petimus Sanctitatem, ut ea, quæ sacrorum apicum attestazione ad pontificalem providentiam a nobis directa sunt, grato animo cum caritate suscipias; caritas enim edificat; et si qua in eis acceptione videntur digna, Fraternitatis tuæ cirographo firmentur; si qua vero minus apte prolata noscuntur, tu quasi subtilissimus interpres utiliora interserere non dedigneris. Et post informationem eorum, quæ ad te missa sunt verborum, Beatitudinis tuæ consilia nobis litterarum carac-

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

teribus insinuare cupimus, quatinus vicissim membranis discurrentibus unum atque id ipsum sentiamus vinculis caritatis innexi. Ut autem Fraternitas tua certius de supradictis judicare possit, proponimus utraque simul, consulta videlicet et responsa.

### I. *Interrogatio.*

Si necessitas coegerit, in quantum valet juramentum Episcopi, presbyteri, vel diaconi, sive monachi?

#### *Responsio.*

Ordines supradicti, secundum gradus promotionis, habeant potestatem protestandi: presbyter secundum numerum CXX. tributiorum; diaconus vero juxta numerum LX. manentium; monachus vero secundum numerum XXX. tributiorum; sed hoc in criminali causa. Cæterum si de terminis agrorum oritur altercatio, presbytero liceat juramenti sui adtestatione terram videlicet unius tributarii in jus transferre æcclesiæ. Duobus quoque diaconis id ipsum conceditur. Testificatio vero trium monachorum in id ipsum sufficiat.

### II. *Interrogatio.*

Presbyter, diaconus, si possunt testes fieri verborum novissimorum, quæ a morientibus fiunt de rebus suis?

#### *Responsio.*

Adumat etiam secum unum vel duos, ut in ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum; ne forte sub prætextu avariciæ propinqui defunctorum his contradicant, quæ ab ecclesiasticis dicuntur, solo presbytero vel diacono perhibente testimonium.

### III. *Interrogatio.*

Presbyter, diaconus, sive monachus, si in nefandis accusantur facinoribus, nullo existente evidenti argumento; qua ratione, si inculpabiles sunt, possunt expiari?

#### *Responsio.*

Dum constat fidele testimonium esse in ore duorum vel trium testium, nos ne forte videamur angusto judicio eum, qui sine peccato est, opprimere, [et] \* \* \* \* facta testium difficultate obruatur



[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

innocentia, liceat accusato sub regula constituto cuilibet ex his tribus gradibus, presbiteri scilicet, diaconi, vel monachi, testes producere ad purificandum se. Sat enim satis est, exinde duos vel tres, quos poterit secum educere ad defensionem sui. Cui vero desunt excusatores, vel propter terrorem accusantium, ipse solus sibi sufficiat in defensione innocentiae suae, quem nec visus testium nec filii procreati produnt culpabilem. Inhonestum est enim ut aut per negligentiam sacerdotum iniquitas cumuletur, aut per inopiam virium opprimatur puritas. Pro idcirco sancimus eum, cui crimen impingitur, ut ponat super caput suum crucem Domini, et testetur per Viventem in secula, Cujus patibulum est crux, sese immunem esse a peccato hujusmodi. Et sic omnia dimittenda sunt iudicio Dei.

### III. *Interrogatio.*

Presbiter vel diaconus, si examinati corrupti inveniuntur, qua vigilantia pastorum praecavendum est, ne ab officio quidem remoti in alia diocesi praetemptent ministrare, ac per hoc nonnulli scandalizentur?

#### *Responsio.*

Presbiter vel diaconus, si clarescentibus culpis a proprio Episcopo ejectus<sup>a</sup> in aeclesia alia ministrare pertemptaverit, mox ut cognitum fuerit, ab Episcopo, cujus est diocesis, expellatur; et sic per omnes sedes ecclesiarum nunquam stabilis, semper vagus et profugus versetur, donec longa afflictione humiliatus, redeat ad sustinenda jura aeclesiastica.

### V. *Interrogatio.*

Quid habemus de sacris ministeriis, quae ante dampnationem presbiter corruptus peregit, vel quae postea dampnatus inconsulte usurpavit?

#### *Responsio.*

Ministeria vero, quae usurpato nomine sacerdotis non dicatus ignorante populo peregit, minime credimus abicienda; nam male bona ministrando ipse sibi reus, aliis non nocuit. Scienti autem causas minime detersas, et qui tamen particeps factus est dampnati, quomodo tribuitur ei perfectio, quae in dante non erat, quam ipse

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

accipere potest dampnationem, utique qui per quod habuit per prava officia dedit, ut ejus particeps similem sortiatur excommunicationis sententiam. Sed hoc de baptismo accipi fas non est, quod iterari non debeat. Reliqua vero ministeria per indignum data, minus firma videntur.

#### VI. *Interrogatio.*

Presbiter, diaconus, sine nutu prioris sui transiliens in alia si liceat diocesi ministrare ?

*Responsio.*

Desertorem vero propriæ æcclesiæ interdictum habemus in alia ministrare ; ministrantem vero taliter a suo submoveri officio, donec reconcilietur æcclesiæ suæ.

#### VII. *Interrogatio.*

Si quis cujuscunque dignitatis transfugam, clericum vel monachum, ausu improbo sub se habere præsumperit ; quid de his, carissimi, decernitis ?

*Responsio.*

Quisquis vero fratrum, contra interdicta venerabilium canonum, transfugam, clericum vel monachum, sine litteris pacificis susceperit, et conventus in hac obstinatione perduraverit, reddat quod statutum est, XXX. quidem siclos, XV. vero Episcopo loci, XII. abbati, cujus monachum sine nutu prioris sui susceperat, et fugitivum dimittat, aut amplius excommunicatus periclitetur. Quicumque vero ex laicis, qui monasteriis præesse noscuntur, taliter aliquem ad se minime pertinentem susceperit, reddat debitum statutum, regi quidem X. siclos, X. Episcopo loci, X. vero abbati, cujus domesticum sine consensu æcclesiæ susceperat, et desertorem relinquat, aut tantam adhuc reddat pecuniam, quantam et ante dedisse cognoscitur. Jam postea excommunicetur usque ad satisfactionem, quatinus obstinati quique, qui Deum minime timentes censuram excommunicationis omnino spernunt, saltem amissione rerum suarum ex parte dampnati minime præsumant statutis contraria. Hæc autem difinitio maneat erga monasteria virginum, quæ sub regula esse probantur.

#### VIII. *Interrogatio.*

Si quis monachorum sacrilega se contagione miscuerint, vindicta

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

quidem sceleris si pertinet ad laicos, qui sunt eorum propinqui, nunc persequamini?

*Responsio.*

De his qui intra æcclesiam in gravibus vel in levibus commissis delinquant, nichil vindictæ pertinet ad eos qui foris sunt; maxime cum apostolus dicat, omnes causas æcclesiæ debere apud sacerdotes dijudicari. Si qui vero æcclesiastici crimen aliquod inter laicos perpetraverint, homicidium, vel fornicationem, vel furtum agentes, hos placuit a secularibus in quos peccaverunt omnimodo occupari; nisi animo fuerit æcclesiæ pro talibus satisfacere. Laici vero qui sacrilega se contagione miscuerint velatis, non eodem modo quo lex publica fornicarios puniri percensuit, set duplicato XXX. siclorum pecunia, hoc est, LX. argenteos volumus dare ecclesiæ adulterantes, quia graves causæ graviores et acriores querunt curas.

IX. *Interrogatio.*

Si permittendum est presbiteris, sive peregrinis, sive nostri generis, passim ministrare absque conscientia Episcopi loci, in cujus diocesi interim demorantur, maxime sub laicis, nusquam stabiles, nec loco nec auctoritate pontificali primitus fundati?

*Responsio.*

Presbiteros peregrinos, vel absolute ordinatos, sine litteris commendaticiiis, circumeuntes provincias, nusquam eos ministrare patimur, vel sacramenta tradere, absque conscientia Episcopi loci. Quæ vero necessaria sunt placuit eos administrari. Ad ministeria tamen sacrorum tales nolumus admitti, sine grandi discretione.

X. *Interrogatio.*

Si quis frater vel soror aliqua ad se pertinentia, ut estimat, non ita repetit, ut judicantibus æcclesiarum præsulibus ei pacifice restituantur, sed contempto proprio Episcopo inrationabiliter rerum properat optinere ea, quæ [sibi] juste vel injuste vindicat: Quid ad hæc dicitis?

*Responsio.*

Quicumque frater vel soror rem aliquam ad se, ut estimat, pertinentem non ita repetit, ut judicantibus æcclesiarum sacerdotibus, sed

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

per exteras [potestates vim] faciens obtineat, etiam hoc quod violentus evicit [omnino perdat, aut ab] ecclesia expellatur. Nec tamen æcclesiæ suæ præjudicium inponimus, sed post obitum anathematizati, integris omnibus in statu suo manentibus, partibusque in medio collocatis, quid antiquitas aut veritas habeat, diligenter requiratur. Et sic dimittendum est iudicio Episcoporum.

### XI. *Interrogatio.*

Quid ad hæc dicitis? Quoniam quidem nonnulli propria habentes monasteria, ita ea inconsulte disponunt, ut, post obitum illorum, duo simul utriusque sexus unum possideant monasterium, aut equali sorte dividant, si interesse non convenerint?

#### *Responsio.*

Venerabilis congregatio unum ex duobus eligat, quem sibi præesse desiderat, et hic cum consilio Episcopi loci constituatur abbas. Eo vero defuncto qui prælatus est, iste secundus qui connumeratus est ab initio heres, accipiat regimen totius monasterii, quod ante non ex toto sed ex parte sibi concessum gaudebat; si tamen dignus inveniat, suo Episcopo iudicante. Quod si aliter factum fuerit, hujusmodi votum inefficax atque irritum iudicetur; sitque faciens, vel consentiens accipiensque, anathema.

### XII. *Interrogatio.*

Quod si quis ex laicis clericum vel monachum occiderit, utrum precium sanguinis, secundum legem natalium parentum, propinquis ejus reddendum sit, an ampliori pecunia senioribus suis satisfaciendum sit, Vestra Unanimitas sanciat?

#### *Responsio.*

Quicumque vero ex laicis occiderit Episcopum, presbiterum, vel diaconum, aut monachum, agat pœnitentiam secundum gradus pœnitentiæ constitutos, et reddat precium æcclesiæ suæ; pro Episcopo secundum universalis consilii, pro presbitero octingentos siclos, pro diacono sexingentos, pro monacho vero quadringentos argenteos; nisi aut dignitas natalium, vel nobilitas generis majus repositat precium. Non enim justum est, ut servitium sanctæ professionis in meliori gradu perdat quod exterior vita sub laico habitu habuisse jure parentum dinoscitur. Cui vero non est substantia, ut redimat se a perpe-

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

trato homicidio, regi dimittendus est ad puniendum, ne interfectores servorum Dei se putent impune posse peccare. Hæc vero vindicta, quam de homicidiis presbiterorum percensuimus, maneat erga abbates, qui sunt sine ordine; nisi aliquem ex his sinodale collegium altiori consilio aut superiorem aut inferiorem judicaverit.

XIII. *Interrogatio.*

Quod si ex convenientia amborum legitimum dissolvitur conjugium, propter infirmitatem viri vel uxoris, si liceat sano incontinenti secundum inire conubium, infirmo consensum præbente, et promittente sese continentiam in perpetuo servaturum: Vestra Sanctitas quid de hoc judicat?

*Responsio.*

Nemo contra Evangelium, nemo contra apostolum sine vindicta facit, idcirco consensum minime præbemus adulteris; onera tamen, quæ sine periculo portari non possunt, nemini inponimus, ea vero, quæ Dei sunt mandata, confidenter indicimus. Quem autem infirmitas implendi præpedit, uno profecto multum<sup>b</sup> reservamus iudicio Dei. Igitur ne forte videamur silentio fovere adulteros, aut diabolus qui decipit adulteros de adulteris exultet, ulterius audi: "Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet." Et item: "Qui potest capere, capiat." Sepe namque temporum permutatione, necessitas legem frangit. Quid enim fecit David, quando esuriit? et tamen sine peccato est. Ergo in ambiguis non est ferenda sententia. Sed consilia necesse est periclitari pro salute aliorum, hac conditione interposita, ut ei qui se continentiam devovit, nullo modo concedatur secundas inire nuptias, vivente priore.

XIV. *Interrogatio.*

Quid ad hæc dicimus? Si quis de laicis clericum vel monachum obnoxium esse pronunciat, pro causis aliquibus jam pridem sub laico habitu perpetratis, sed necdum finitis; sive quia minime prævaluit, sive quod ante dissimulando tacuit usque nunc, et modo ecclesiam molestus et inportunus insistit?

*Responsio.*

Quisquis vero secularis servitium sanctæ professionis subire desiderat, si interrogatus respondeat, conditionis servilis sese non esse

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

obnoxium, nec homicidium palam perpetrasse inemendatum, neque res alieni juris modo sub se habere dicat; iste profecto nemini quicquam debeat, nisi Deo, Cujus est servus, propter offensam peccati. Quod si fefellit æcclesiam Dei, et crimen suum dolose celaverit, placuit æcclesiam habere potestatem dimittendi eum, vel satisfacere pro eo, si voluerit. Eos vero, qui tales inveniuntur, ab æcclesiæ limine per vim volumus abstrahi, neque a die conventionis tempus æcclesiæ concedi reos deinceps ad occultandos, sed ut Deo agatur reverentia, absque ulla lesione veriusque<sup>e</sup> relinquendi sunt; quod æcclesia domus propitiationis est, non spelunca latronum. Lege dedicationem templi Salomonis. Res vero si quas æcclesiæ optulerat, eas sacerdos reddat, ut habeat unde se redimat.

#### XV. *Interrogatio.*

Pro quibus criminibus nullus sacerdos potest fieri, vel pro quibus jam pridem ordinatus deponitur?

#### *Responsio.*

Hujusmodi tunc ordinatio Episcopi, presbiteri, vel diaconi, rata esse dicitur: si nullo gravi facinore probatur infectus; si secundam non habuit [uxorem], nec a marito relictam; si pœnitentiam publicam non gessit, nec ulla corporis parte vitiatus apparet; si servilis aut ex origine non est conditionis obnoxius; si curiæ probatur nexibus absolutus; si adsecutus est litteras; hunc elegimus ad sacerdotium promoveri. Pro his vero criminibus nullum licet ordinari, sed promotos quosque dicimus deponendos; idola scilicet adorantes; per aruspices [et divinos atque] incantatores captivos se diabolo tradentes; fidem suam falso testimonio expugnantes; homicidiis vel fornicationibus contaminatos; furta perpetrantes; sacrum veritatis nomen perjurii temeritate violantes. Eos tamen, nisi per pœnitentiam publicam, non oportet admitti ad promerendam communionis gratiam, non ad recuperandum pristinæ dignitatis honorem; alienum est enim ab æcclesia pœnitentes sacrosancta ministrare, qui dudum vasa fuerant vitiorum.

#### XVI. *Interrogatio de Jejunio Quatuor Temporum.*

Legitima jejunia mensis primi, quarti, septimi, et decimi, utrum initio ipsorum mensium, an aliter celebranda sint; et quo auctore, aut quomodo, vel pro quibus causis instituta, consona sententia expo-

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

nite; ut uniformiter ab omnibus cælebrentur per universas Dilectionis Vestræ sedes et Anglorum æcclesias.

*Responsio.*

Quia igitur mundus quatuor plagis continetur, orientis, occidentis, meridiei, et aquilonis; et homo quatuor elementis constat, id est, igne, aere, aqua, et terra; et interior sensus ex quatuor continetur virtutibus, prudentia, temperantia, fortitudine, atque justitia; et quatuor flumina paradisi ad inrigandam universam terram, in typo quatuor Evangeliorum profluunt; et quatuor temporibus annus, vere, estate, autumno, et hieme convertitur; et ex omni parte quadratus numerus perfectus dinoscitur; idcirco autem quatuor temporum jejunia veteres patres instituerunt, secundum Dei legem, et nunc in Novo Testamento, sancti viri atque apostolici doctores.

*De Primo Fejunio.*

De primo mense Dominus ait ad Moysen: "Mensis iste vobis principium mensium, primus erit in mensibus anni." Et iterum Dominus ad Moysen: "Observate mensem novarum frugum, quando egressi estis de terra Egypti, legitimum erit in generationibus vestris." Quod jejunium sancti patres in prima epdomada mensis primi statuerunt, quarta et sexta feria, et sabbato, exceptis diebus quadragesimalibus. Nos autem in æcclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis jejunium, ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius, in suo Antiphonario et Missali Libro, per pedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum, indifferenter de primæ epdomadæ computatione, in prima epdomada quadragesimæ servavimus.

*De Secundo Fejunio.*

Secundum jejunium quarti mensis a veteri lege exortum est, quando lex [data] est Moysi in Monte Sinai, et præceptum est a Domino ut sit populus paratus ad audiendam vocem in diem tertium, et ne adpropinquent uxoris suis. Et iterum Dominus ad Moysen: "Tollitis de cunctis frugibus vestris primitias, et offeretis ea Domino Deo vestro." Quod et in Novo Testamento constitutum est, juxta id quod Dominus ait: "Non possunt filii sponsi jejunare quandiu cum illis est sponsus," et reliqua. Quod juxta congruentiam temporum post ascensionem Domini ad cælos, præsentia corporali subtracta,

[DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

tunc indictum est jejunium quarti mensis secundo sabbato. Hoc autem jejunium idem beatus Gregorius, per præfatum legatum, in Antiphonario suo et Missali, in plena epdomada post Pentecosten Anglorum æcclesiæ celebrandum destinavit. Quod non solum nostra testantur Antiphonaria, sed et ipsa quæ cum Missalibus suis conspeximus apud apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina.

*De Tercio Jejunio.*

Tercium jejunium septimi mensis a Domino per Moysen præcipitur dicente: "Loquere filiis Israëli, et dices ad eos: Decimus dies mensis septimi vocabitur sanctus, humiliabitis animas vestras in jejunio. Omnis anima, quæ afflicta non fuerit die hoc, peribit de populo suo." Idcirco autem in æcclesia hoc jejunium cælebratur secundum antiquam consuetudinem, vel quia decrescit dies et nox augetur, quia ad defectum solis et noctis augmentum vita nostra deficere adveniente morte ostenditur, quæ mors in judicio Dei et resurrectione reparabitur ad vitam. Et si vitæ nostræ terminus in defectione dierum exprimitur, mortisque adventus in augmento noctis, necessarium duximus, ut ob memoriam et recordationem tanti misterii, omni anno humiliemus animas nostras, ut filios Israel hoc in tempore fecisse legimus, in jejunio et afflictione, non solum a cibis, sed ab omnibus vitiorum contagiis, attendentes sermonem Evangelii: "Ambulate dum lucem habetis, ut non tenebræ vos comprehendant; veniet autem nox, quando nemo potest operari." Hoc Anglorum æcclesia in plena epdomada ante equinoctium, neglecta terciæ epdomadæ computatione, solet cælebrare.

*De Quarto Jejunio.*

Quartum jejunium mense Novembrio a veteribus colebatur, juxta præceptum Domini ad Jeremiam dicentis: "Tolle volumen libri, et scribe in eo omnia verba, quæ locutus sum adversus Israel et Judam. Et factum est in mense nono, prædicaverunt jejunium in conspectu Domini omni populo in Jerusalem." Hac ergo auctoritate Divinarum Scripturarum æcclesia catholica morem optinet, et jejunium atque observationem in mense cælebrat decimo, sabbato quarto, propter advenientem venerabilem sollempnitatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ubi ante plures dies et continentia carnis et jejunia exhibenda sunt, ut unusquisque fidelis præparet se ad communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi cum devotione sumendam. Quod et gens Anglorum



## [DIALOGUE OF EGBERT.]

semper in plena epdomada ante Natale Domini consuevit, non solum quarta et sexta feria, et sabbato, sed et juges XII. dies in jejuniis, et vigiliis, et orationibus, et elemosinarum largitionibus, et in monasteriis, et in plebibus, ante Natale [Domini], quasi legitimum jejunium exercuisse perhibetur. Nam hæc, Deo gratias, a temporibus Vitaliani papæ, et Theodori Dorobernensis Archiepiscopi inolevit in æcclesia Anglorum consuetudo, et quasi legitima tenebatur, ut non solum clerici in monasteriis, sed etiam laici cum conjugibus et familiis suis ad confessores suos pervenirent, et se fletibus et carnalis concupiscentiæ consortio his duodecim diebus cum elemosinarum largitione mundarent, quatenus puriores Dominicæ communionis perceptionem in Natale Domini perciperent. Preter hæc namque constituta jejunia quarta et sexta feria, propter passionem Christi, et sabbato, propter quod ipso die jacuit in sepulchro, plerique jejunaverunt. [*W.*, I. 82-86; *Thorpe*, 320-325; *Labbe and Cossart, Conc.*, VI. pp. 1604-1612; *Mansi*, XII. 482-488; *Johnson, Canons, etc.*, ed. Baron, I. 161-179.]

<sup>a</sup> The reading of the MS. is *electus*.

<sup>b</sup> So the MS. Johnson proposes to read *inultum* for *multum*.

<sup>c</sup> So the MS. Johnson proposes *verberibusque*.

## A.D. 732 x 766. EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.

[The literary history of Egbert's Penitential is not less complicated than that of Theodore's: a considerable number of works founded upon or incorporating his genuine Penitential having been from time to time ascribed to him, besides others to which he has no sort of claim. We give here that version of the Penitential which may with the greatest certainty be attributed to him; but the following particulars are important as illustrating the way in which the identification has been arrived at, and the history of the subject.]

1. Spelman, in the first volume of the *Concilia*, published thirty-five canons extracted, as he says, from the second book of the Penitential of Egbert, from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, no doubt MS. Bodl. 718. These canons were incorporated by Labbe and Cossart in the *Concilia*, IV. cc. 1601-1604, and by Mansi, XII. 459.

2. Wilkins, *Conc.*, I. pp. 113-143, printed under the title "Pœnitentiale Ecgberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis," a work in five books, in parallel columns, Anglo-Saxon and Latin; from a MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi

College, Cambridge, L. XII., now no. 190.

3. Thorpe, in the *Monumenta Ecclesiastica*, appended to the *Ancient Laws*, pp. 343-392, reprinted the Penitential of Wilkins; dividing the first book, under the title of "Confessionale," from the latter four, to which he gives the title of "Penitentiale." He gives further, under the title of *Additamenta*, a collection of thirty-five canons in Anglo-Saxon and Latin which are found in two MSS.; one at Brussels in the Burgundian Library, and one in the Bodleian Laud F. 17, both of the 11th century at the latest.

4. Mr. C. P. Cooper in his "Appendix B. to the Report on the Fœdera," printed as "Pœnitentiale Ecgberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Liber IVtus," the last book of Wilkins's Penitential containing the *Additamenta* of Thorpe's edition, from the Brussels MS. This work was never published, and is probably the source from which Thorpe's *Additamenta* were directly taken. The MS. contains at the end of the fourth book, as it stands in Thorpe, a large number of enactments which are found in the so-called *Confessionale* or in the earlier books of the Penitential.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

5. *Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen, etc.* pp. 231-247, published a very much shorter *Penitential*, which is believed to be the original and genuine work of Egbert; from a Vienna MS., Jur. Can. nr. 116. fol. 77-87.

6. It appears further from *Wasserschleben*, p. 38, that the "*Liber de remediis Peccatorum*," described above (p. 326) as a combination of the genuine *Penitentials* of Egbert and Bede, is ascribed in some MSS. to Egbert.

We thus get four distinct works which have been assumed at various times to be the original *Penitential* of Egbert: I. That printed by Wilkins and Thorpe; II. That from which Spelman drew his thirty-five canons; III. The version of *Wasserschleben*; and IV. The "*Liber de remediis Peccatorum*."

I. The *Confessional and Penitential* of Wilkins and Thorpe exists in the C. C. C. C. MS. 190, and the fourth book of the *Penitential* in the Brussels MS. It is found on examination that (1) The *Confessionale* consists of extracts from the *Penitential* of Theodore and the genuine one of Egbert, with an additional chapter or two from two late Frankish *Penitentials* (*Pæn. Remense, Wasserschleb.*, pp. 497-504, and *Pæn. Bigotianum*, *ibid.*, pp. 441-460). (2) That the first three books of the *Penitential* (except book II. ch. 1, which is from Theodore and Cummeanus) are a translation of the third, fourth, and fifth books of the *Penitential* of Halitgar, who was Bishop of Cambrai in the ninth century. The Anglo-Saxon is a paraphrase of the work of Halitgar, and the Latin a close translation of the Anglo-Saxon. That the true process is not reversed on this hypothesis, and that Halitgar could not have derived his work from the Anglo-Saxon compilation, is shown by the great superiority of Halitgar in the accuracy of his citations of the older authorities. The work of Halitgar may be found in Canisius, *Lectiones*, ed. Basnage, tom. II. p. 2. The Bodleian MSS., Junius 121 and Laud F. 17, contain these three books in Anglo-Saxon, with a fourth composed partly of extracts from the fourth book of this work as printed in Thorpe, and from the so-called *Confessional*. They each contain a good deal of similar matter besides, but nothing that connects either of them with Egbert. (3) The fourth book of the *Penitential*, except three or four chapters at the end, is from Cummeanus, the Roman *Penitential*, and Theodore. It is possible that the older portions of the *Confessional* and fourth book of the *Penitential*, which all come, except a few additions introductory to each, from Theodore and the so-called Cummeanus, etc., were, on the possible hypothesis that the Cummeanus of the ninth century is based on a Cummeanus of the

seventh, or that Egbert and Cummeanus drew from a common stock of penitential lore, really translated by Egbert, and that the writer who translated Halitgar into Anglo-Saxon put the whole work together under Egbert's name, as was done in the corresponding case to be next noticed.

II. The Bodleian MS. 718, of which there are copies in the Vatican MSS. 1352 and 1347 (cited by the brothers Ballerini, see Mansi, XII. 411, and *Wasserschleben*, p. 45), contains four books. The first comprises (a) twenty-one *Capitula* (the first twenty-one of the so-called *Excerptiones Egberti*, Thorpe, 326), which from the mention of the Emperors may be certainly referred to a Frank origin, and to a date not earlier than the ninth century; (b) the genuine work of Egbert as edited by *Wasserschleben* (from the Vienna MS., in which it occurs by itself), and as reprinted in this volume; and (c) certain forms of prayer and litanies for confession, which are shown by the invocations to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, but from their mention of *emperors* and *canons* must be referred to a later date than Egbert's. The first book ends with the rubric "*Finis libri Pœnitentialis Ecgberhti Archiepiscopi*," which thus limits to this portion of the volume the larger title prefixed, "*Incipit Excerptio de Canonibus Catholicorum Patrum Pœnitentialis libri ad remedium animarum Ecgberhti Archiepiscopi Eburacæ civitatis*." The remaining three books contain a separate collection of canons, the 4th book being itself a systematically arranged treatise compiled by a member of a religious house at the bidding of his rector, probably in the tenth century, to which the MS., one of Leofric's gifts to Exeter, belongs. (See the first volume of this work, *Pref.* p. xvi.)

III. The genuine work edited by *Wasserschleben* occurs in the following MSS. used by him: "Cod. Vindob. Jur. Can. nr. 116, fol. 77-87; Cod. Frising. no. 3; Ranshov. nr. 73; San. Gall. nr. 677; Vat. Pal. nr. 485." It is found also, as stated above, incorporated in the first book of the MS. Bodl. 718. The identification of this as Egbert's is proved by the independent character of its contents, and the absence of any reference to anything of later date. It is cited by Rabanus Maurus in his letter to Heribald of Auxerre, c. 18, as the work of Egbert; and is expressly described as Egbert's, in contradistinction from the remainder of his compilation, by the compiler of Bodl. 718. It is printed as an anonymous work in the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martene and Durand, VII. coll. 40-48, from the Andain MS. from which the *Penitential* of Bede was taken.

IV. Of the *Liber de Remediis Peccatorum* enough has been said already (above, p. 326).

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

Besides the Penitential, Egbert has been the reputed author of a collection of *Excerptiones*, which are printed in Spelman (pp. 258-278), Labbe and Cossart (VI. 1586-1588), Thorpe (*Anc. Laws*, p. 326 et seqq.), and in a translation in Johnson (*Canons*, ed. Baron, I. pp. 184-223). These are found in MS. Cotton. Nero A. 1, in conjunction with the twenty-one capitula incorporated with the genuine Penitential in MS. Bodl. 718, book I. There is in the MS. C. C. C. K. 2, now no. 265, another set of excerpts, of which a partial translation and abstract are given by Johnson, pp. 226-235, which contain nothing in common with the former, but are preceded by the same twenty-one canons. The fact that these *Excerptiones* contain extracts from the Capitularies of Charles the Great, is fatal to their claim to be regarded as Egbert's. Wasserschleben regards them as in great measure extracted from the so-called "Collectio Vaticana," which he speaks of as identical with the four books of the Bodleian MS. 718. See his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Vorgratianischen Kirchenrechtsquellen*, p. 3, etc.

The other works of Egbert that survive are the *Dialogus*, given above; and the *Pontifical*, a very ancient and venerable ritual book, which was printed by the Surtees Society in 1853, from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, "No. 138, dans le fonds du supplement Latin."

The conclusions that arise from the view of these materials may be thus stated:—The works attributed to Egbert (setting aside the *Dialogus* and the *Pontifical*) resolve themselves into three divisions, which appear to have no real connexion with each other.

1. What may be called the *Penitential*, viz. Bodl. 718. This stands quite by itself,—is, as a whole, a document of the tenth century,—but contains in its first book (prefaced by twenty-one canons of ninth-century date, and followed by Anglo-Saxon penitential forms of a like ninth-century date) a Penitential, which occurs elsewhere (viz. in Wasserschleben's MSS.) by itself as Egbert's, and which is called Egbert's also in Bodl. 718 itself. The other three books have nothing whatever to do with Egbert, but are a compilation of the tenth-century compiler of the whole MS. Here then we have Egbert's Penitential, as included in book I. and occurring separately in Wasserschleben's MSS.; but all else is plainly *not* Egbert's.

2. What may be called the *Excerpts*; which are again *two* distinct compilations, having nothing in common, except, first, the ascription to Egbert in the MSS., and next, the having

the same twenty-one ninth-century canons (those of Bodl. 718, book I.) prefixed in each case. These two compilations are—1. Nero A. 1, printed by Wilkins and translated by Johnson, being the said twenty-one canons with the addition of two hundred and odd canons of old councils, etc. etc.; and 2. C. C. C. K. 2, being the same twenty-one canons with the addition of eighty or ninety similar canons, but wholly different from the Nero compilation. Many of these canons are in books II.-IV. of Bodl. 718, but not in any such way as to make it even probable that the same compiler made both or all. As they stand, neither of them *can* be Egbert's. Yet both are ascribed to Egbert in the MSS. Possibly, the fact that Bodl. 718 (which may have circulated as Egbert's altogether) begins with the identical twenty-one canons, with which also both these compilations begin, beguiled the transcribers of the two MSS. into calling both these compilations Egbert's also. Possibly Egbert had the reputation of having compiled *some* set of canons or other, and so they guessed at these being his. Anyhow, as they stand, they are *not* his. There is nothing original in them; and certainly not sufficient evidence to make it probable that they are even based upon anything which he compiled.

3. What may be called the *Confessional and Penitential* (in both Latin and Anglo-Saxon) of Wilkins and Thorpe, taken from C. C. C. 190, which ascribes it to Egbert; the fourth book of the Penitential being also in a Burgundian MS. by itself. And here, books I.-III. of the Penitential are plainly *not* Egbert's, but an Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of Halitgar of Cambridge, with a Latin translation of that Anglo-Saxon. And the sole questions are, 1. Whether the Confessional (which *might* be Egbert's as far as the Anglo-Saxon goes, seeing that it is almost wholly a translation of Theodore and of so-called Cummeanus\*) is upon any probable grounds to be really ascribed to Egbert: 2. Whether book IV. of the Penitential can be so ascribed. Now the prefixing Egbert's name in the MS. is a presumption, although a very *weak* one, that *some part* of the work is his, or that it is based upon something of his. And if he had done nothing of the kind, it seems odd that so much should be attributed to him, and so much too of *Anglo-Saxon* versions of canons. And on these grounds it seems rather more probable than not that he *may* have translated this Confessional so called.

On a review of these facts it seems better to relegate such portions of the Anglo-Saxon works ascribed to Egbert as could by any

\* This however assumes that the matter at least of so-called Cummeanus is earlier than

Egbert—the existing Penitential ascribed to Cummeanus belonging to the ninth century.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

possibility be assigned to him to a general Appendix of undated documents.

The Penitential is printed here from Wasser-schleben's text. The various readings given below are those of the Andain MS., printed

by Martene and Durand, and those of the Bodleian MS. 718. The former are marked A.; the latter B. Those marked S. are from a fragment printed in the Surtees edition of the Pontifical.]

EXCARPSUM DE CANONIBUS CATHOLICORUM PATRUM  
VEL PENITENTIALE AD REMEDIUM ANIMARUM DOMINI  
EAMBERCTHI ARCHIEPISCOPI EBURACÆ CIVITATIS<sup>1</sup>.

Institutio illa sancta<sup>2</sup> que fiebat in diebus patrum nostrorum rectas vias numquam deseruit, quæ statuta erunt<sup>3</sup> penitentibus atque lugentibus suas passiones ac vitia medicamenta salutis eterne, quia diversitas culparum diversitatem facit penitentibus medicamentorum, vel sicut<sup>4</sup> medici corporum diversa medicamenta vel potiones solent facere contra diversitatem infirmitatum<sup>5</sup> vel iudices secularium causarum. Diversa igitur<sup>6</sup> iudicia, qui boni sunt et recti, pensent atque tractent<sup>7</sup>, quomodo recte iudicent inter miseros et divites, inter causam et causam; quanto magis igitur<sup>8</sup>, O<sup>9</sup> sacerdotes Dei, diversa medicamenta animarum visibilibus<sup>10</sup> hominibus pensare et tractare oportet<sup>11</sup>, ne per stultum medicum vulnera animarum fiant pejora, propheta dicente: Conputruerunt et deterioraverunt cicatrices meæ a facie insipientiæ mee. O stulte medice, noli decipere animam tuam et illius, ne duplicem pœnam accipias, vel septupla vel millena<sup>12</sup>, audi Christum dicentem: Si cecus cecum duxerit<sup>13</sup>, ambo cadunt in foveam. Si tu non cogitas iudicium meum, alter homo non audit neque vidit qui me iudicet. O<sup>14</sup> non intelligis<sup>15</sup>, quod<sup>16</sup> Deus<sup>17</sup> iudex justus et fortis videtur et aut<sup>18</sup> et in palam abscondita et deducit et reddit<sup>19</sup> secundum opera<sup>20</sup>. Et item<sup>21</sup> vere sunt nonnulli cecorum<sup>22</sup> canum similitudine currentium ad cadavera mortuorum vel<sup>23</sup> corvorum volantium, qui<sup>24</sup> ad sacerdotium vehuntur<sup>25</sup>, qui<sup>26</sup> non propter Deum sed plus propter<sup>27</sup> honorem terrenum inhiantes, cæci divina sapientia<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The title in the MS. S. Gall. 677 is *Domini Egberti archi. Eburi. Civitatis*, that of the Bodl. MS. 718, Incipit Excerpto de canonibus catholicorum Patrum pœnitentialis Libri ad remedium animarum Ecgberhti Archiepiscopi Eburacæ civitatis. <sup>2</sup> sancta] om. B. S. <sup>3</sup> quæ statuta erunt] qui instituerunt, A. B. S. <sup>4</sup> vel sicut] nam si, B.; vel adsunt, A. <sup>5</sup> infirmitatum] infirmorum, B. <sup>6</sup> igitur] om. B. <sup>7</sup> qui boni—tractent] recte atque diligenter tractant, B.; pensant atque tractant, A. <sup>8</sup> igitur] om. A. B. <sup>9</sup> O] om. B. <sup>10</sup> visibilibus] invisibilibus, A. B. S. <sup>11</sup> oportet] oporteat, A. S. <sup>12</sup> septupla vel millena] septuplam vel millenam, A. B. S. <sup>13</sup> duxerit] nonne, ins. B. <sup>14</sup> Si tu O] om. B. <sup>15</sup> intelligis] intelligitis, A. <sup>16</sup> quod] quæ, A. <sup>17</sup> Deus] om. B. <sup>18</sup> videtur et aut] videt et audit, B. S.; vidit et audit, A. <sup>19</sup> et deducit et reddit] deducet et reddet, A. B.; deducit et reddet, S. <sup>20</sup> opera] ipsorum, ins. B. <sup>21</sup> Et item] om. B.; et iterum, S. <sup>22</sup> cecorum] sacerdotum, ins. B. <sup>23</sup> vel] more, ins. B. <sup>24</sup> qui] dum, ins. B. <sup>25</sup> vehuntur] evehuntur, B. <sup>26</sup> qui] om. B. <sup>27</sup> propter] homines et, ins. A. <sup>28</sup> divina sapientia] divini sapientiæ existunt, B.

[*EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.*]

De talibus dicit<sup>1</sup> Gregorius Nazanzenus: Timeo hoc<sup>2</sup> quod canes adsectantur officium pastorale, maxime cum in semet ipsis nihil pastorale<sup>3</sup> preparaverunt discipline. Ezechiel<sup>4</sup> namque ait: Ve pastoribus Israhel<sup>5</sup>, qui pascebant semet hipsos<sup>6</sup> et non gregem<sup>7</sup>, lac bibebant et lanis eorum operiebantur, et quod crassum fuit manducabant, quod fractum fuit non alligabant<sup>8</sup> et reliqua<sup>9</sup>. Item Ezechiel<sup>10</sup> ait: Ve sacerdotibus qui commedunt<sup>11</sup> populi mei peccata, hoc est sibi eorum sumentes victimas et non orantes<sup>12</sup> pro eis, comedentes hostias et non corripientes, qui ubi morituros homines audiunt, inde gaudentes et<sup>13</sup> preparant se ad predam, quasi corvi ad cadavera mortuorum. Nunc ergo, O<sup>14</sup> fratres, qui voluerit sacerdotalem auctoritatem accipere, inprimitus<sup>15</sup> pro<sup>16</sup> Deum cogitet et preparet arma ejus, antequam manus Episcopi tangat caput<sup>17</sup>, id est psalterium, lectionarium, antefonarium<sup>18</sup>, missalem<sup>19</sup>, baptisterium, martyrlogium, in anno<sup>20</sup> circuli<sup>21</sup> ad predicationem cum bonis operibus<sup>22</sup>, et compotum et ciclo<sup>23</sup>, hoc est jus sacerdotum, post<sup>24</sup> autem suum penitentialem, qui hoc ordine secundum auctoritatem canonum ordinatur<sup>25</sup>, ut discretionones omnium causarum in vestigiis<sup>26</sup> primitus<sup>27</sup>, sine quibus rectum iudicium non potest stare<sup>28</sup>, quia scriptum est: In nulla re appareas indiscretus, sed distingue, quid, ubi, quamdiu<sup>29</sup>, quando<sup>30</sup>, qualiter debeas facere. Non omnibus ergo in una eademque libra pensandum est, licet in<sup>31</sup> uno constringantur<sup>32</sup> vitio, sed discretio sit unumquodque<sup>33</sup> eorum, hoc est inter divitem et pauperem, liber<sup>34</sup>, servus, infans, puer, juvenis, adulscens, etate senex, ebitis<sup>35</sup>, gnarus, laicus, clericus, monachus, Episcopus, presbyter, diaconus, subdiaconus, lector, in gradu vel sine, in conjugio vel sine, peregrinus, virgo, femina canonica vel sanctimonialis, debiles, infirmi,

<sup>1</sup> dicit] dixit, A. B. S.    <sup>2</sup> hoc] om. B.    <sup>3</sup> pastorale] pastoralis, A. B. S.    <sup>4</sup> Ezechiel] Hiezechihel, B.    <sup>5</sup> pastoribus Israhel] sacerdotibus, A.    <sup>6</sup> hipsos] ipsos, B.    <sup>7</sup> gregem] greges meos, B.    <sup>8</sup> crassum—alligabant] transposed in B.    <sup>9</sup> et reliqua] et cetera, B. om. A.    <sup>10</sup> Ezechiel] Ezechiel, B.    <sup>11</sup> commedunt] comedunt, B.    <sup>12</sup> orantes] orant, B.    <sup>13</sup> et] om. B.    <sup>14</sup> O] om. B.    <sup>15</sup> inprimitus] inprimis, B.    <sup>16</sup> pro] propter, A. B. S.    <sup>17</sup> caput] ipsius, ins. B.    <sup>18</sup> antefonarium] antiphonarium, A. B.    <sup>19</sup> missalem] missale, A. S.    <sup>20</sup> anno] anni, B.    <sup>21</sup> circulo] circulum, B.    <sup>22</sup> cum bonis operibus] om. B.    <sup>23</sup> et ciclo] cum cyclo, B. S.    <sup>24</sup> post] postea, B. S.    <sup>25</sup> sum, om. B.    <sup>26</sup> in vestigiis] investigeo, A. S.; meditetur, B.    <sup>27</sup> primitus] om. B.    <sup>28</sup> stare] dare, S.    <sup>29</sup> quamdiu] qua de re, A.    <sup>30</sup> quando] vel, ins. B.    <sup>31</sup> in] om. B.    <sup>32</sup> constringantur] constringantur, B.    <sup>33</sup> unumquodque] inter unum quemque, B. in unoquoque, A.    <sup>34</sup> liber—casu] liberum et servum, infantem et puerum, juvenem et adolescentem atque etate senem, hebetem et gnarum, laicum et clericum sive monachum, episcopum, presbiterum, diaconum, subdiaconum, lectorem, in gradu positum vel sine, in conjugio vel sine, inter virginem et feminam, canonicam vel sanctimonialem, inter debiles et infirmos vel sanos; et de qualitate corporum vel hominum, continentes vel incontinentes voluntate vel casu, B.    <sup>35</sup> ebitis] hebes, A.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

sani; de qualitate pecorum<sup>1</sup> vel hominum, continens vel incontinens, voluntate vel in casu, in publico vel in abscondito, quale conpugnatione<sup>2</sup> emendat<sup>3</sup>, necessitate vel voluntate, loca ac<sup>4</sup> tempora discernat<sup>5</sup>. Hanc institutionem conlationum<sup>6</sup> constituerunt sancti apostoli, deinde sancti patres<sup>7</sup> et sanctus Punifius<sup>8</sup> deinde canones sanctorum patrum<sup>7</sup>, deinde alii atque alii ut Hyeronimus et<sup>9</sup> Augustinus et<sup>9</sup> Gregorius et Teodorus<sup>10</sup>, ex quorum omnium ista descripsimus dictis et sententiis veraciter, ut salvi sint homines<sup>11</sup> et non pusillanimes, quia potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur. Item in Jesu<sup>12</sup> filii Sirach<sup>13</sup>: In iudicando esto misericors, pupillis ut pater et pro viro matri illorum. Item sanctus Jacobus dicit: Iudicium sine misericordia erit illi, qui non facit misericordiam<sup>14</sup>. Superexaltet misericordia iudicium, ut idem ipse consequatur, ut<sup>15</sup> sanctus Benedictus, hoc est, qui veram penitentiam faciunt<sup>16</sup> in jejunio, in<sup>17</sup> fletu, in ælimosinis, in orationibus, et perpetrata iterum non faciunt<sup>18</sup>, et si faciunt<sup>19</sup> et non perseverant<sup>20</sup> in eis, quia Deus dixit: Malum cogitasti, ignovi, malum dixisti, ignovi, malum fecisti, ignovi, perseverare in malo non ignosco. Ergo<sup>21</sup> qui<sup>22</sup> perseverant in malo, non ignosce, sed iudica districtum iudicium secundum canones, ut alii timorem habeant<sup>23</sup>.

*Explicit prologus.*I. De Capitalia Crimina<sup>24</sup>.

Nunc igitur capitalia crimina secundum<sup>25</sup> canones explicabo. Prima superbia, invidia, fornicatio, inanis gloria, ira longo tempore, tristitia seculi<sup>26</sup>, avaritia, ventris ingluvies, et Augustinus<sup>27</sup> adiecit sacrilegium<sup>28</sup>, id est sacrarum rerum furtum; et hoc maximum<sup>29</sup> est furtum, vel idolaticis<sup>30</sup> servientem<sup>31</sup>, id est auspiciis et reliqua<sup>32</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> pecorum] peccatorum, A. corporum, S. <sup>2</sup> quale conpugnatione] quali compunctione, A. B. <sup>3</sup> emendat] emendet, B. <sup>4</sup> ac] et, A. B. <sup>5</sup> discernat] discernantur, B. <sup>6</sup> conlationum] consolationum, B. <sup>7</sup> deinde sancti patres—patrum] deinde sancti patris, B. <sup>8</sup> Punifius] Penifius, A. <sup>9</sup> et] om. B. <sup>10</sup> Teodorus] Theodorus, A. B. S. <sup>11</sup> homines] omnes, A. B. S. <sup>12</sup> in Jesu] in ihesu, B. in Gesu, A. <sup>13</sup> Sirach] Sirac, B. Syrach, S. <sup>14</sup> misericordiam] et, ins. B. <sup>15</sup> ut] ait, ins. B. <sup>16</sup> faciunt] facere, B. <sup>17</sup> in] et, B. <sup>18</sup> faciunt] facere, B. qui, om. B. <sup>19</sup> faciunt] fecerit, B. tamen, ins. A. S. omitting *et*. <sup>20</sup> et non perseverant] non perseveret, B. <sup>21</sup> Ergo] eis, ins. B. <sup>22</sup> qui] quia, A. <sup>23</sup> MS. Bodl. 718, and the fragment printed in the Surtees edition of the Pontifical, proceed here with "Hæc sunt jura sacerdotum" as mentioned above. <sup>24</sup> De Capitalia crimina] *Quæ sint capitalia crimina*, B. <sup>25</sup> secundum] sicut, A. Greg. Lib. III. Moral. c. 31. <sup>26</sup> seculi] om. B. <sup>27</sup> Augustinus] Augustinus, B. Aug. Sermon. XLI. <sup>28</sup> sacrilegium] sacrilegia, B. <sup>29</sup> maximum] permaximum, B. <sup>30</sup> idolaticis] idolatriis, B. idolothitis, A. <sup>31</sup> servientem] servientes, B. <sup>32</sup> reliqua] cetera, B.

[*EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.*]

deinde adulterium, falsum testimonium, furtum, rapinam<sup>1</sup>, ebrietas adsidua, idolatria, molles, sodomita<sup>2</sup>, maledici, perjuri. Ista<sup>3</sup> ergo capitalia crimina<sup>4</sup> sanctus Paulus et Augustinus<sup>5</sup> et alii sancti<sup>6</sup> computaverunt. Pro istis fieri oportet et<sup>7</sup> elemosinas largas et longo tempore jejunium teneatur, id est<sup>8</sup>, ut alii judicant<sup>9</sup>, pro capitalibus, id est adulteriis, homicidiis, perjuriis, fornicariis et similibus, laicus annos III., clericus V.<sup>10</sup>, subdiaconus VI.<sup>10</sup>, diaconus VII.<sup>10</sup>, presbyter X.<sup>10</sup>, Episcopus XII.<sup>10</sup>, si in consuetudine erit<sup>11</sup>.

II. *De Minoribus Peccatis.*

1. Id est furtum, falsum testimonium et similibus, laici annum unum<sup>12</sup> peniteant<sup>13</sup>, clericus II., subdiaconus III., diaconus III., presbyter V., Episcopus VI.<sup>14</sup>

2. Item sodomitis<sup>15</sup>, si<sup>16</sup> consuetudine erat<sup>17</sup>, Episcopus XIV.<sup>18</sup>, presbyter XII., diaconus X., subdiaconus VIII.<sup>19</sup>, clericus VII., laicus V.

3. Monachus si fornicationem facit cum ancilla Dei, VII. annos peniteat<sup>20</sup>.

4. Si cum puella, III. annos<sup>21</sup>.

III. *De Parricidiis vel Fratricidiis*<sup>22</sup>.

Quidam VII.<sup>23</sup>, quidam XIV., et VII. cum eis exul fiat<sup>23</sup>.

IV. *De Cupiditate Ceterisque Flagitiis.*

1. Si quis<sup>24</sup> cupidus vel<sup>25</sup> avarus vel ebriosus vel superbus<sup>26</sup> vel invidiosus vel rapax vel iracundia longa vel maledicus<sup>27</sup> et<sup>28</sup> his similia, que enumerare longum est, III. annos peniteat.

2. Item si clericus cum quadrupede fornicaverit, II. annos<sup>29</sup>, si diaconus III., presbyter VII., Episcopus X.

<sup>1</sup> rapinam] rapina, A. B.

<sup>2</sup> sodomita] sodomitæ, B.

<sup>3</sup> Ista] sunt, ins. A.

<sup>4</sup> crimina] quæ, ins. A.

<sup>5</sup> Augustinus] Augustinus, B.

<sup>6</sup> sancti] patres, ins. B.

<sup>7</sup> et] om. B. A.

<sup>8</sup> id est] ita, B.

<sup>9</sup> judicant] videant, B.

<sup>10</sup> annis, ins. A.

<sup>11</sup> si in consuetudine erit] poeniteat, B. si consuetudine erat, A. <sup>12</sup> annum unum] uno anno, A.

<sup>13</sup> peniteant] om. A. B. A. reads also, *clerici, subdiaconi, diaconi, presbyteri.*

<sup>14</sup> VI.] annis, ins. A. annos poeniteat, B., which here ends the chapter and begins a new one *De Sodomitis.*

<sup>15</sup> sodomitis] sodomitæ, B.

<sup>16</sup> si] in, ins. B.

<sup>17</sup> erat] erit, B.

<sup>18</sup> XIV.] annos, A.

<sup>19</sup> VIII.] VIII., A. B.

<sup>20</sup> annos poeniteat] annis, A.

<sup>21</sup> annos]

annis, A. poeniteat, B.

<sup>22</sup> c. III. *De parricidiis vel fraticidiis]* om. B.

<sup>23</sup> VII.]

annos, ins. B. exul fiat] om. A. B.

<sup>24</sup> Si quis] itemque, A. item si quis, B.

<sup>25</sup> vel]

aut, B.

<sup>26</sup> superbus] superbi, A.

<sup>27</sup> maledicus] fuerit, ins. B.

<sup>28</sup> et] vel, A.

<sup>29</sup> annos] poeniteat, ins. B., which proceeds, "subdiaconus III. diaconus V. presbyter VII. episcopus X." annis, A., which also mentions the subdiacon.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

3. Qui cum matre fornicaverit, XV. annos peniteat.
4. Si cum filia vel sorore, XII. annos peniteat.
5. Qui cum fratre naturali<sup>1</sup> per commixtionem carnis, ab omni carne se absteineat XV. annos<sup>2</sup>.
6. Si mater cum filio suo parvulo fornicaverit, III. annos absteineat se<sup>3</sup> a carne et diem unum in hebdomada ad vesperum jejundet.
7. Si presbyter vel diaconus vel monachus uxorem duxerit in conscientia populi, deponatur<sup>4</sup>.
8. Si adulterium perpetraverit cum ea et in conscientia populi devenerit<sup>5</sup>, prociatur extra æcclesiam et inter laicos<sup>6</sup> peniteat quamdiu vivit<sup>7</sup>.
9. Qui demiserit<sup>8</sup> alteri uxorem suam conjungi, VII. annos peniteat.
10. <sup>9</sup>Si clericus homicidium fecerit et proximum suum occiderit, X. annos peniteat, si odii meditatione facit<sup>10</sup>.
11. Si laicus homicidium fecerit per furorem et odii<sup>11</sup> meditatione<sup>12</sup>, IV. vel V. vel VI. annos peniteat; si per rixam, III. annos peniteat<sup>13</sup>, qui casu occiderit nolens, I. annum<sup>14</sup> peniteat.
12. Item qui immolant demonibus in magnis<sup>15</sup>, si consuetudo est, X. annos peniteat; in minimis unum annum<sup>14</sup>.
13. Augurias<sup>16</sup> vel<sup>17</sup> divinationes V. annos peniteant<sup>18</sup>.
14. Emissores<sup>19</sup> tempestatum VII. annos peniteant.
15. <sup>20</sup>Ut penitentia semper isto ordine servanda sit ab uno anno et deinceps de qualicumque peccato, id est in una<sup>21</sup> ebdomada III. dies sine vino et medone et sine<sup>22</sup> carne, et<sup>23</sup> jejundet usque<sup>24</sup> ad vesperum, et manducet de sicco cibo, et jejundet tres dies<sup>25</sup> et tres quadragesimas semper de sicco cibo<sup>26</sup>, et tres dies usque ad vesperum jejundet.
16. Et in diebus dominicis et in natale Domini quattuor dies et<sup>27</sup>

<sup>1</sup> naturali] naturali fornicaverit, A. naturaliter fornicaverit, B. <sup>2</sup> XV. annos] et XV. annos pœniteat, B. Here is added in A. "Si clericus venenationes exercuerit, uno anno pœniteat, diaconus II. presbiter III." B. has the same, but reads *venationes* for *venenationes*.  
<sup>3</sup> se] om. B. <sup>4</sup> deponatur] deponantur, A. <sup>5</sup> devenerit] devenit, A. B. <sup>6</sup> laicis] laicos, B. <sup>7</sup> vivit] vivat, B. <sup>8</sup> demiserit] dimiserit, B. <sup>9</sup> Si clericus]. Here B. begins a new chapter, VI. *De homicidio*.  
<sup>10</sup> si—facit] exul VII. si odii meditatio fuit, B. exsul VII. annis pœniteat, si odii meditatione fuit, A. <sup>11</sup> odii] om. A. <sup>12</sup> meditatione] meditationem, B. <sup>13</sup> annos pœniteat] om. B. annis, A. <sup>14</sup> annum] annos, B. uno anno, A. <sup>15</sup> in magnis] vel imaginibus, B. <sup>16</sup> augurias] auguria, A. B. <sup>17</sup> vel] et, A. <sup>18</sup> peniteant] peniteat, B. om. A. <sup>19</sup> emissores] et missores, B. <sup>20</sup> Ut pœnitentia] Here MS. B. begins a new chapter, "VII. Qualiter pœnitentia agatur. Ab uno anno," etc. <sup>21</sup> id est, in una] in unaquaque, A. B. <sup>22</sup> sine] om. B. <sup>23</sup> et] om. B. <sup>24</sup> usque] om. B. <sup>25</sup> et jejundet tres dies] om. A. B. <sup>26</sup> cibo] comedat, B., which proceeds "et jejundet tres dies ad nonam et tres ad vesperam." A. also, reading *tres dies ad vesperam*. <sup>27</sup> et] in, ins. B.



[*EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.*]

epiphania et<sup>27</sup> pascha usque in albis<sup>1</sup> et ascensionem<sup>2</sup> Domini et<sup>27</sup> pentecosten<sup>3</sup> et festas<sup>4</sup> sanctæ Mariæ<sup>5</sup> et sancti Johannis Baptiste et XII. apostolorum et sancti martyri<sup>6</sup> et illius sancti festivitate<sup>7</sup>, qui in illa provincia est, in his predictis diebus<sup>8</sup> faciat caritatem, sicut sui compares<sup>9</sup>.

17 Clerici vel<sup>10</sup> laici<sup>11</sup> ebrietatem et ventris distentionem in omnibus caveant; faciant<sup>12</sup>, quod apostolus dixit<sup>13</sup>: Sive manducabitis<sup>14</sup> sive bibitis<sup>15</sup> vel<sup>16</sup> quicquid facitis, omnia in<sup>17</sup> gloriam Dei facite; tunc ergo digna<sup>18</sup> penitentia est, si hoc<sup>19</sup> impletur<sup>20</sup>.

*V. De Clericorum Penitentia.*

1. Item in canone apostolorum judicatur<sup>21</sup>: Ut Episcopus, presbyter<sup>22</sup>, diaconus vel<sup>23</sup> qui in fornicatione aut perjurio aut furtu<sup>24</sup> captus est, deponatur, non et<sup>25</sup> communione privetur, quia enim non judicat Deus bis in id ipsum<sup>26</sup>.

2. Si quis pontifex fornicationem faciens naturalem judicavit<sup>27</sup> XII. annorum penitentiam, per multas lacrimas et elemosinas veniam a Domino petat, post annos<sup>28</sup> III. vel IV. levius peniteat.

3. Presbyter<sup>29</sup> cum puella non prelato monachi voto, annos III. vel IV. et quadragessimas III. et<sup>30</sup> quarta feria et sexta semper de sicco cybo<sup>31</sup>.

4. Si cum ancilla Dei aut cum masculino, plus addetur<sup>32</sup>, id est VII. annos, si consuetudo est<sup>33</sup>.

5. Similiter diaconus<sup>34</sup>, si monachi non sunt<sup>35</sup>, II. vel III. annos peniteant<sup>36</sup>; sic<sup>37</sup> et monachi<sup>38</sup> sine gradu, si cum puella, id est<sup>39</sup> III. annos.

6. Si diaconi monachi sunt<sup>40</sup>, V. vel VI. annos<sup>41</sup>; monachi cum gradu VII. annos<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> albis] albas, A. B.      <sup>2</sup> ascensionem] in Ascensione, B. Ascensa, A.      <sup>3</sup> pentecosten] Pentecosten, A.  
<sup>4</sup> festas] om. B.      <sup>5</sup> Mariæ] et sancti Michaelis, ins. B. et Sancti Michael, A.      <sup>6</sup> martyri] Martini, A. B.      <sup>7</sup> festivitate] festivitatem, A.      <sup>8</sup> in his predictis diebus] om. B.      <sup>9</sup> sicut sui compares] sint si compadres, A.      <sup>10</sup> vel] sive, A. B.      <sup>11</sup> laici] et, ins. A.      <sup>12</sup> caveant, faciant] caveat, faciat, B.      <sup>13</sup> dixit] dicit, B. ait, A.      <sup>14</sup> manducabitis] manducetis, B. manducatis, A.      <sup>15</sup> bibitis] bibatis, B. bibimus, A.      <sup>16</sup> vel] aut, B. sive quicquam faciatis, A.      <sup>17</sup> in] ad, A. B.      <sup>18</sup> digna] digne, A.      <sup>19</sup> hoc] modo, ins. B.      <sup>20</sup> impletur,] impletur, A.      <sup>21</sup> apostolorum judicatur] apostolus judicat, A.      <sup>22</sup> presbyter] et, ins. B.      <sup>23</sup> vel] om. A.      <sup>24</sup> furtu] furto, B.      <sup>25</sup> et] tamen, B. om. A.      <sup>26</sup> quia enim—ipsum] om. B. enim, om. A.      <sup>27</sup> judicavit] judicaverunt quidam ut XII. annos peniteat, et, B. annis penitere, A.      <sup>28</sup> annos] vero, ins. B.      <sup>29</sup> Presbyter] fornicans, ins. B.      <sup>30</sup> III.] secunda, A. et, om. B.      <sup>31</sup> cybo] cibo comedat, B.      <sup>32</sup> addetur] addatur, B.      <sup>33</sup> consuetudo est] consuetudine, A.      <sup>34</sup> diaconus] diaconi, A.      <sup>35</sup> monachi non sunt] monachus non est, B.      <sup>36</sup> peniteant] om. A. B.      <sup>37</sup> sic] si, A.      <sup>38</sup> monachi] monachus, B.      <sup>39</sup> id est] fornicatus fuerit, B.      <sup>40</sup> diaconi monachi sunt] diaconus et monachus est, B.      <sup>41</sup> annos] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>42</sup> monachi—annos] om. B.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

7. Si sine voto<sup>1</sup> monachi cum puella, IX. vel X. annos<sup>2</sup>, clericus sine voto monachi fornicationem faciens<sup>3</sup>, I. annum peniteat<sup>4</sup>, si frequenter, II. annos.

8. Si cum canonica, II. annos<sup>5</sup>, frequenter III. annos<sup>6</sup>.

9. Si genuerit filium, plus peniteat, id est IV. vel V. annos, alii dicunt VII. annos<sup>7</sup> et exul fiet<sup>8</sup>.

10. Sic et virgo sanctimonialis<sup>9</sup> cum laicis<sup>10</sup> sine gradu, sicut clerici, quia canonice<sup>11</sup> sunt, unum annum peniteant<sup>12</sup>, frequenter II.<sup>13</sup> in gradu autem sicut<sup>14</sup> monachus<sup>15</sup>, id est III. annos<sup>16</sup>.

11. Teodorus<sup>17</sup> dixit: Monachus faciens fornicationem VII. annos peniteat.

12. Si monachus<sup>18</sup> querens fornicationem et non invenerit<sup>19</sup>, annum unum et dimedio<sup>20</sup> peniteat.

13. Item<sup>21</sup> monachus fornicationem faciens cum puella III. annos<sup>22</sup>.

14. Si cum sanctimoniali, VII. annos peniteat.

15. Laicus maculans se cum ancilla Dei, II. annos. Si genuerit ex ea filium<sup>23</sup>, III. annos<sup>22</sup> peniteat.

16. Sin autem<sup>24</sup> conjugio sunt, III.<sup>25</sup> quadragesimas, quidam XL. dies iudicant, id est consuetum<sup>26</sup>.

17. Item<sup>27</sup> sodomite quidam X. annos, id est qui sepe fecerit, vel in gradu; quidam VII. annos<sup>28</sup>, quidam I. annum<sup>29</sup> ut molles<sup>30</sup>; quidam C. diebus ut pueri<sup>31</sup>.

18. Viri inter femora fornicantes I. annum<sup>32</sup>, iterans II.<sup>33</sup>

19. Si autem<sup>34</sup> in terga<sup>35</sup> fornicans<sup>36</sup>, III. annos; si pueri, II. annos<sup>37</sup>.

20. Qui cum pecode peccaverit vel<sup>38</sup> jumento, X. annos<sup>16</sup>, quidam VII., quidam III., quidam unum, quidam C. diebus ut pueri<sup>30</sup>.

21. Oportet<sup>40</sup> discretio<sup>41</sup> esse inter qualitate<sup>42</sup> peccodum<sup>43</sup> vel hominum, sicut supra diximus.

<sup>1</sup> voto] votu, A.      <sup>2</sup> si—annos] om. B.      <sup>3</sup> fornicationem faciens] fornicans, A.  
<sup>4</sup> annum peniteat] annos, B.      <sup>5</sup> annos] om. B. which inserts *si*, as does A.      <sup>6</sup> annos] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>7</sup> annos] om. A. B.      <sup>8</sup> fiet] fiat, A. B.      <sup>9</sup> sanctimonialis] si, ins. B.      <sup>10</sup> laicis] fornicata fuerit, sicut clerici, ins. B.      <sup>11</sup> quia canonice] qui canonici, A. B.      <sup>12</sup> annum peniteant] I. annos, si, B. peniteat, om. A.      <sup>13</sup> II.] annos peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>14</sup> autem sicut] aut sunt, A.      <sup>15</sup> monachus] sc. sine gradu, B. monachi, A.      <sup>16</sup> annos] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>17</sup> Teodorus] Theodorus, A. B.      <sup>18</sup> monachus] est, ins. B.      <sup>19</sup> invenerit] inveniens, A. B.      <sup>20</sup> annum—dimedio] I. annos et dimidium, B. anno et dimidio, A.      <sup>21</sup> item] iterum B.      <sup>22</sup> annos] om. B.      <sup>23</sup> filium] om. A. B.      <sup>24</sup> Sin autem] si sine, A. Si autem sine, B.      <sup>25</sup> III.] IIII. B.      <sup>26</sup> id est consuetum] om. B.      <sup>27</sup> Item] om. A.      <sup>28</sup> annos] om. B.      <sup>29</sup> annum] om. B.      <sup>30</sup> I. annum ut molles] III. mollis, A.      <sup>31</sup> pueri] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>32</sup> annum] anno, A.      <sup>33</sup> II.] annis peniteat, ins. A.      <sup>34</sup> autem] om. A.      <sup>35</sup> terga] tergo, B.      <sup>36</sup> fornicans] fornicantur, A.      <sup>37</sup> II. annos] annum, B.      <sup>38</sup> vel] cum, ins. B.      <sup>39</sup> pueri] peniteant, ins. B.      <sup>40</sup> Oportet] oportebit, A.      <sup>41</sup> discretio] discretionem, B.      <sup>42</sup> qualitate] qualitatem, A. B.      <sup>43</sup> peccodum] pecudum, B.

[*EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.*]

22. Item Episcopus<sup>1</sup> cum quadrupede fornicans<sup>2</sup> VII. annos, consuetudinem<sup>3</sup> X., presbyter V., diaconus III., clericus II.<sup>4</sup>

VI. *De Furamento*<sup>5</sup>.

1. Qui juramentum fecerit in ecclesia aut in evangelio<sup>6</sup> sive in reliquiis<sup>7</sup> sanctorum, VII. vel<sup>8</sup> XI. annos<sup>9</sup> judicant.

2. Si vero<sup>10</sup> in manu Episcopi aut presbyteri aut diaconi, sive in cruce consecrata, unum annum peniteat, alii III. vel VII.<sup>11</sup> judicant; et<sup>12</sup> in cruce non<sup>13</sup> consecrata, unum annum vel VII.<sup>14</sup> menses ut alii.

3. Qui autem seductus<sup>15</sup> ignorans et postea cognoscit, I. annum vel III. quadragesimas vel XL. dies peniteat.

4. Si quis coactus pro qualibet causa necessitatis, III. quadragissimas, alii III. annos, I. ex his in pane et aqua ut alii judicant.

5. Item perjuri<sup>16</sup> III. annos peniteant.

6. Qui suspicatur quod prius<sup>17</sup> in juramentum<sup>18</sup> ducitur<sup>19</sup> et tamen jurat per consensum, II. annos peniteat.

7. Si quis in manu laici juraverit, aput Grecos nihil est.

VII. *De Machina Mulierum.*

1. Mulier abstineat se a viro<sup>20</sup> tres menses, quando concepta est antequam pariat, et post partum XL.<sup>21</sup> dies.

2. Qui autem nupserit his diebus<sup>22</sup>, XL. diebus<sup>23</sup> peniteat vel XXX. vel XX.

3. Qui autem<sup>24</sup> in matrimonio sunt, abstineant se in tres<sup>25</sup> quadragissimas et in Dominica nocte et in sabbato et in<sup>26</sup> feria IV. et VI. que legitime sunt<sup>27</sup>, et in<sup>28</sup> tres noctes abstineant se antequam communicent.

4. Qui in quadragesima ante Pascha cognoscet<sup>29</sup> mulierem suam, noluit<sup>30</sup> abstinere, ante peniteat<sup>31</sup> vel suum pretium reddat ad ecclesiam<sup>32</sup>, vel<sup>33</sup> pauperibus dividat aut<sup>34</sup> XX. et sex solidos reddat.

<sup>1</sup> item episcopus] iterum episcopus si, B. <sup>2</sup> fornicans] fornicaverit, B. om. A. <sup>3</sup> consuetudinem] si in consuetudine est, B. consuetudine, A. <sup>4</sup> II.] peniteat, ins. B. <sup>5</sup> *De juramento ejusque medecina*, B. <sup>6</sup> evangelio] evangelium, A. <sup>7</sup> in reliquiis] reliquiis, B. in reliquiis, A. <sup>8</sup> vel] alii, A. <sup>9</sup> annos] alii, ins. B. <sup>10</sup> Si vero] Sive, A. <sup>11</sup> VII.] IV. B. <sup>12</sup> et] qui, B. <sup>13</sup> non] om. A. B. <sup>14</sup> VII.] VI., B. <sup>15</sup> seductus] est, ins. B. cognoscit] agnoscit, B. <sup>16</sup> perjuri] pueri, B. <sup>17</sup> quod prius] priusquam, B. quod plus, A. <sup>18</sup> in juramentum] juramento, B. <sup>19</sup> ducitur] inducatur, B. <sup>20</sup> se a viro] om. B. <sup>21</sup> XL.] LX., B. <sup>22</sup> his diebus] om. B. <sup>23</sup> diebus] dies, B. <sup>24</sup> autem] om. A. B. <sup>25</sup> in tres] III., B. III. VI., A. <sup>26</sup> in] om. A. <sup>27</sup> que legitime sunt] om. B. <sup>28</sup> in] om. A. B. <sup>29</sup> cognoscet] cognoscit, A. B. <sup>30</sup> noluit] nolens, B. et noluit, A. <sup>31</sup> ante peniteat] unum annum B. annum, A. <sup>32</sup> ad ecclesiam] ac ecclesie, A. <sup>33</sup> vel] in, ins. B. <sup>34</sup> aut] vel, A.

[EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

5. Si<sup>1</sup> per ebrietatem vel aliqua causa accederit<sup>2</sup> sine consuetudine, XL. diebus<sup>3</sup> peniteat.

6. Mulier si divinationes fecerit vel incantationes diabolicas<sup>4</sup>, unum annum<sup>5</sup> vel III. quadragesimas vel quadraginta dies juxta qualitatem culpe<sup>6</sup>.

7. Mulier si aliquos interimit arte<sup>7</sup> maleficia<sup>8</sup> sua, id est per poculum aut per artem<sup>9</sup> aliquam, VII. annos peniteat.

8. Si paupercula<sup>10</sup>, IV.<sup>11</sup> annos<sup>12</sup>.

9. Mulier si occiderit filium suum per homicidium, X. annos peniteat.

10. Si vir cum muliere sua retro nupserit, peniteat<sup>13</sup>, quomodo<sup>14</sup> cum animalibus, id est<sup>15</sup>, si<sup>16</sup> consuetudine erat<sup>17</sup>, III. annos<sup>18</sup>. Si vero<sup>19</sup> terga nupserit vel consuetudo<sup>20</sup> erit, VII. annos peniteat.

### VIII. De Auguriis vel Divinationibus.

1. Auguria vel sortes qui<sup>21</sup> dicuntur false<sup>22</sup> sanctorum vel divinationibus<sup>23</sup> observare vel quarumcumque scripturarum inspectione<sup>24</sup> futura promittunt, vel votum<sup>25</sup> voverit in arbore vel in qualibet re<sup>26</sup> excepto æcclesiam<sup>27</sup>, si clerici vel<sup>28</sup> laici, excommunicentur<sup>29</sup> ab ecclesia vel tres annis clerici peniteant, laicus<sup>30</sup> II. annos<sup>31</sup> vel unum et dimidium.

2. Mulier si filiam suam supra tectum ponet<sup>32</sup> vel<sup>33</sup> fornacem pro sanitatem<sup>34</sup> febris<sup>35</sup>, V. annos peniteat.

3. Nolite exercere quando<sup>36</sup> obscuratur, ut clamoribus suis ac<sup>37</sup> maleficiis sacrilego<sup>38</sup> usu se defensare posse confidunt<sup>39</sup>.

4. Caraios<sup>40</sup> et divinos precantatores, filecteria<sup>41</sup> etiam diabolica vel erbas vel facino<sup>42</sup> suis vel sibi inpendere vel V. feria<sup>43</sup> in honore Jovis<sup>44</sup> vel Kalendas Januarias secundum paganam causam honorare, si non<sup>45</sup>, V. annos peniteat<sup>46</sup> clericus, si<sup>47</sup> laicus, III. annos peniteat.

<sup>1</sup> Si] et, A.      <sup>2</sup> accederit] acciderit, A. B.      <sup>3</sup> diebus] dies, B.      <sup>4</sup> diabolicas] diaboli, A.      <sup>5</sup> annum] peniteat, ins. A.      <sup>6</sup> culpe] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>7</sup> interimit arte] aliqua interminante, A.      <sup>8</sup> maleficia] malefica, B.      <sup>9</sup> per artem] partem, A.      <sup>10</sup> paupercula] est, ins. B.      <sup>11</sup> IV.] III., B.      Theodore says "VII."      <sup>12</sup> annos] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>13</sup> peniteat] om. A. B.      <sup>14</sup> quomodo] qui, ins. B.      <sup>15</sup> id est] item. B.      <sup>16</sup> si] in, ins. B.      <sup>17</sup> erat] erit, B.      <sup>18</sup> annos] peniteat, ins. A.      <sup>19</sup> vero] in, ins. A. B.      <sup>20</sup> vel consuetudo] et in consuetudine, B. et consuetudo, A.      <sup>21</sup> qui] quæ, A.      <sup>22</sup> false] om. B. falso, A.      <sup>23</sup> divinationibus] divinationes, B.      <sup>24</sup> inspectione] in conspectu, A.      <sup>25</sup> votum] om. B.      <sup>26</sup> qualibet re] quamlibet rem, A.      <sup>27</sup> æcclesiam] ecclesiæ, A.      <sup>28</sup> vel] om. A.      <sup>29</sup> excommunicentur] excommunicati, A.      <sup>30</sup> laicus] laici, A. B.      <sup>31</sup> annos] om. B.      <sup>32</sup> ponet] ponit, A. B.      <sup>33</sup> vel] in, ins. B.      <sup>34</sup> sanitatem] sanitate, A. B.      <sup>35</sup> febris] febrī, A.      <sup>36</sup> quando] luna, ins. B. quoniam lumen, A.      <sup>37</sup> ac] aut, B.      <sup>38</sup> sacrilego] sacrilegio, B.      <sup>39</sup> defensare—confidunt] defendere—confidunt, B.      <sup>40</sup> Caraios] caraios, B.      <sup>41</sup> filecteria] filacteria, B.      <sup>42</sup> facino] sucino, B. succinum, A.      <sup>43</sup> feria] ferias, A.      <sup>44</sup> vel sibi—Jovis] om. B.      <sup>45</sup> si non] desinit, ins. B. sive, A.      <sup>46</sup> peniteat] om. B.      <sup>47</sup> si] sive, A.

IX. *De Minutis Peccatis vel Penitiæ*<sup>1</sup>.

1. De ebrietate vel maledictione vel detractioe causa invidie vel his similibus laici VII. diebus vel<sup>2</sup> IV.<sup>3</sup> peniteant, clericus<sup>4</sup> VII. diebus<sup>5</sup> vel XIV., subdiaconus II. vel<sup>6</sup> III. ebdomadas, diaconus III. vel<sup>6</sup> IV. ebdomadas<sup>7</sup>, presbyter<sup>8</sup> IV. vel V. ebdomadas, Episcopus<sup>9</sup> V. vel VI. ebdomadas.

2. Sacerdos per turpiloquium<sup>10</sup> seu aspectu coinquinatus<sup>11</sup> non tamen voluit fornicare, XX. dies peniteat, vel quale sit delictum.

3. Presbyter si osculatus est feminam per desiderium, XX. dies peniteat.

4. Si semen fuderit<sup>12</sup> clericus, VII. diebus<sup>13</sup>, diaconus duas ebdomadas, monachus XX. diebus<sup>14</sup> peniteat<sup>15</sup>, item presbyter si semen fuderit<sup>12</sup> per cogitationem, VII. dies peniteat.

5. Si tangit manu<sup>16</sup> cum manu, III. ebdomadas, Episcopus IV. ebdomadas<sup>17</sup>, si cogitatione fundit<sup>18</sup>, XX. dies peniteat, si monachus, VII. diebus peniteat<sup>19</sup>, si diaconus, IV. dies<sup>20</sup>, si clericus, II. dies<sup>20</sup>; laici unum<sup>21</sup>, si tangit manu, diaconus XIV. dies, monachus III. ebdomadas vel II., clericus VII. dies<sup>22</sup>, aliter<sup>23</sup> si clericus manu<sup>24</sup> cum manu<sup>25</sup>, XXX. dies vel XX. peniteat, quanto magis alii gradus.

6. Qui inpugnatione<sup>26</sup> violenter quoinquinatus est, VII. dies peniteat vel quousque cogitatio vincitur.

7. Qui in somnis non voluntate pollutus est<sup>27</sup>, surgat<sup>28</sup> cantatque<sup>29</sup> VII. psalmus penitentiales, id est<sup>30</sup>, Domine ne in furore Tuo<sup>31</sup>, Beati quorum, Domine ne in furore Tuo<sup>32</sup>, Miserere mei Deus secundum, Domine exaudi<sup>33</sup>, vel unusquisque secundum suam virtutem, et<sup>34</sup> in mane XXX. psalmos cantet.

8. Volens autem in somnis peccare, sive qui pollutus sit<sup>35</sup> sine voluntate, XV. psalmos cantet; peccans non pollutus XXIV.<sup>36</sup> psalmos cantet<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> vel penitiæ] vel eorum penitentia, B.      <sup>2</sup> vel] om. A.      <sup>3</sup> IV.] XIII. B.  
<sup>4</sup> clericus] clerici, B.      <sup>5</sup> diebus] om. B.      <sup>6</sup> vel] om. A.      <sup>7</sup> ebdomadas] om. A.  
<sup>8</sup> presbyter] om. B.      <sup>9</sup> episcopus] om. B.      <sup>10</sup> Sacerdos per turpiloquium] Presbyter si pro turpiloquio.  
<sup>11</sup> coinquinatus] coinquinatur, B.      <sup>12</sup> fuderit] funderit, A.  
<sup>13</sup> diebus] dies peniteat, B.      <sup>14</sup> diebus] dies, B.      <sup>15</sup> peniteat] om. A. B.      <sup>16</sup> tangit manu] om. B.  
<sup>17</sup> ebdomadas] om. B.      <sup>18</sup> cogitatione fundit] per cogitationem fudit, B.  
<sup>19</sup> diebus peniteat] om. B.      <sup>20</sup> dies] om. B.      <sup>21</sup> laici unum] si laicus I., B.  
<sup>22</sup> dies] peniteat, ins. B.      <sup>23</sup> aliter] Item alias, B.      <sup>24</sup> manu] om. B.      <sup>25</sup> manu] tangit, ins. B.  
<sup>26</sup> impugnatione] mentis, ins. A. B.      <sup>27</sup> est] sit, A.      <sup>28</sup> surgat] om. A.  
<sup>29</sup> cantatque] cantetque, B. cantet, A.      <sup>30</sup> est] sunt, B.      <sup>31</sup> furore Tuo] ira Tua, A. B.  
<sup>32</sup> furore Tuo] ira Tua, B.      <sup>33</sup> exaudi] orationem, De profundis, Domine exaudi, A., exaudi I., De profundis, Domine exaudi II., B.      <sup>34</sup> et] om. A.      <sup>35</sup> sit] est, B.  
<sup>36</sup> XXIV.] XIV. vel XXIV., B.      <sup>37</sup> cantet] om. A.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

9. Si in somno peccans sine cogitatione, XV. psalmos cantat<sup>1</sup>.  
 10. Item<sup>2</sup> in somno peccans si ex cogitatione pollutus<sup>3</sup>, XXV. psalmos<sup>4</sup>.  
 11. Si semen fundit in ecclesia per dormitatione<sup>5</sup>, cantat<sup>6</sup> psalterium vel III. dies peniteat.  
 12. Si voluntarie semen in ecclesia fundit<sup>7</sup> mala cogitatione, si clericus, XIV.<sup>8</sup> dies peniteat, si diaconus, XXV.<sup>9</sup>, si<sup>10</sup> presbyter, XL. dies<sup>11</sup>, Episcopus L. dies<sup>12</sup>, monachus XXX. dies<sup>13</sup>.  
 13. Item si clericus diligens<sup>14</sup> mente tantum aliquam feminam, VII. diebus<sup>15</sup> peniteat<sup>16</sup>.

X. De Furtu<sup>17</sup>.

1. <sup>18</sup>Item si aliquis de ministerio<sup>19</sup> æcclesiæ vel quaecumque opus quolibet modo fraudaverit vel neglexerit, VII. annos peniteat.  
 2. Si laicus<sup>20</sup> consecrata furaverit<sup>21</sup>, III. annos<sup>22</sup> peniteat sine pinguedine et tunc<sup>23</sup> communicet.  
 3. Item si quis furtum capitale comiserit, id est quadrupedia vel domos effregerit<sup>24</sup>, si laici, unum annum peniteant<sup>25</sup> vel quomodo sacerdos judicaverit.  
 4. Si qui clerici talem furtum fecerint<sup>26</sup>, V. annos peniteant<sup>27</sup> vel quomodo sacerdos vel Episcopus<sup>28</sup> judicaverit<sup>29</sup>.  
 5. Qui sepe furtum fecerit, VII. annos peniteat vel quod<sup>30</sup> sacerdos judicaverit<sup>31</sup>.

XI. De Ebrietate<sup>32</sup>.

1. Si quis Episcopus vel aliquis ordinatus in consuetudine ebrietatis vitium habuerit, aut desinat aut deponatur.  
 2. Si monachus per ebrietatem vomitum fecerit<sup>33</sup>, XXX. dies peniteat.  
 3. Si presbyter vel diaconus per ebrietatem vomitum<sup>34</sup> fecerit, XL. dies peniteat.

<sup>1</sup> cantat] om. A.    <sup>2</sup> in somno—item] om. B.    <sup>3</sup> pollutus] om. B.    <sup>4</sup> psalmos] cantet, ins. B.    <sup>5</sup> dormitatione] dormitionem, B.    <sup>6</sup> cantat] cantet, B.    <sup>7</sup> fundit] fundat, A.    <sup>8</sup> XIV.] XXIV., B.    <sup>9</sup> XXV.] peniteat, ins. A.    <sup>10</sup> si] om. A.    <sup>11</sup> dies] om. A. B.    <sup>12</sup> dies] si, B.    <sup>13</sup> dies] om. B.    <sup>14</sup> diligens] diligit, B.    <sup>15</sup> diebus] dies, B.    <sup>16</sup> Item—peniteat] om. A.    <sup>17</sup> De furtu ejusque cura, B.    <sup>18</sup> Item] om. B.    <sup>19</sup> ministerio] mysterio, A.    <sup>20</sup> laicus] laici, A.    <sup>21</sup> furaverit] fraudaverit, B.    <sup>22</sup> annos] om. A.    <sup>23</sup> et tunc] etiam, A.    <sup>24</sup> effregerit] effringerit, A. B.    <sup>25</sup> peniteant] A. continens, vel pretium reddant, vel duobus annis peniteat. Si majus aliquid furtum fecerit III. annos peniteat, vel quod sacerdos judicaverit. B. also, reading however *quomodo* with the text.    <sup>26</sup> Si qui—fecerint] Si clericus tale furtum fecerit, B. So also A: but reading *clerici* and *talem*.    <sup>27</sup> peniteant] peniteat, B. om. A.    <sup>28</sup> vel Episcopus] om. B.    <sup>29</sup> judicaverit] judicet, A.    <sup>30</sup> quod] quomodo, B.    <sup>31</sup> judicaverit] judicavit, A.    <sup>32</sup> XIV. De ebrietate ejusque medicina, B.    <sup>33</sup> fecerit] facit, A. B.    <sup>34</sup> vomitum] om. A.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Si clericus, XX. dies peniteat et in III. diebus<sup>1</sup> sine pinguedine, laici<sup>2</sup> III. dies sine cervisa<sup>3</sup> vel vino et<sup>4</sup> carne, alii XV. dies.

5. Si fidelis laicus est<sup>5</sup>, qui per nequitiam inebriat alterum<sup>6</sup>, XL. dies peniteat.

6. Si vomitum facit infirmitatis causa, sine culpa est.

7. Si<sup>7</sup> per ebrietatem vel voracitatem<sup>8</sup> evomerit Eucharistiam, XL. dies peniteat clericus, monachus<sup>9</sup> vel diaconus LX.<sup>10</sup> dies peniteat<sup>11</sup>; presbyter LXX. dies peniteat<sup>11</sup>, Episcopus LXXX.<sup>12</sup> dies peniteat<sup>11</sup>.

8. Si infirmitatis causa, VII. diebus unusquisque, si non infirmitatis causa<sup>13</sup> sacrificii die, VII. diebus, quidam psalterium, quidam bis psalterium<sup>14</sup>.

9. Si vero<sup>15</sup> sacrificii die<sup>16</sup> in ignem projecit<sup>17</sup> vel in flumen, C. psalmos cantat<sup>18</sup>, si canes comedent<sup>19</sup> talem vomitum, C. dies peniteat<sup>20</sup>, si scit, si non, XL.

10. Qui vero<sup>21</sup> inebriantur contra preceptum Domini, si votum sanctitatis habent, hæc est<sup>22</sup> ebriositas<sup>23</sup>, quando statum mentes<sup>24</sup> mutantur<sup>25</sup> et lingua balbutit<sup>26</sup> et oculi turbentur<sup>27</sup> et vestigo<sup>28</sup> erit et ventris distentio ac dolor sequitur, si clericus, VII.<sup>29</sup> diebus<sup>30</sup>, monachus XIV. dies<sup>31</sup>, diaconus III. ebdomadas, presbyter IV. ebdomadas<sup>32</sup>, Episcopus V. ebdomadas<sup>32</sup>, laici tres dies sine vino et carne.

## XII. De Eucharistia.

1. Si quis Eucharistiam negligentiae causa perdidit, unum annum vel III. quadragissimas seu<sup>33</sup> XL. dies peniteat.

2. Si sacrificium in terra<sup>34</sup> ceciderit causa negligentiae, L. psalmos cantet.

3. Qui neglexerit sacrificium, ut vermes in eo sint vel<sup>35</sup> colorem non habet saporemque, XX. vel XXX. vel XL. diebus<sup>36</sup> peniteat et in igne accendatur, cinis ejus sub altare abscondatur.

<sup>1</sup> pœniteat et in III. diebus] alii VII. dies, A. B.      <sup>2</sup> laici] laicus, B.      <sup>3</sup> cervisa] cervisia, A.      <sup>4</sup> et] vel, B.      <sup>5</sup> est] sit, B.      <sup>6</sup> inebriat alterum] alium inebriaverit, B.  
<sup>7</sup> Si] quis, ins. B.      <sup>8</sup> vel voracitatem] om. B.      <sup>9</sup> clericus, monachus] clerici, monachi, A.  
<sup>10</sup> LX.] XL., B.      <sup>11</sup> dies peniteat] om. A. B.      <sup>12</sup> LXXX.] XC., A. B.      <sup>13</sup> causa] sacrificium vomerit, ins. B.  
<sup>14</sup> sacrificium vomerit, ins. B.      <sup>15</sup> unusquisque—psalterium] pœniteat, quidam psalterium, B.  
<sup>16</sup> vero] suum, A.      <sup>17</sup> sacrificii die] sacrificium Dei, B.      <sup>18</sup> projecit] proicit, B.      <sup>19</sup> comedent] comedunt, A. B.      <sup>20</sup> peniteat] om. A.  
<sup>21</sup> vero] om. B.      <sup>22</sup> si votum—hæc est] hoc est, B.      <sup>23</sup> ebriositas] per ebrietatem  
<sup>24</sup> mentes] mentis, A. B.      <sup>25</sup> mutantur] mutant, A. B.      <sup>26</sup> balbutit] balbutat, A.  
<sup>27</sup> turbentur] turbantur, B.      <sup>28</sup> vestigo] vertigo, A. B.      <sup>29</sup> VII.] VI., B.  
<sup>30</sup> diebus] dies pœniteat; si, B.      <sup>31</sup> dies] om. A. B.      <sup>32</sup> ebdomadas] om. B.  
<sup>33</sup> seu] vel, B.      <sup>34</sup> terra] terram, B.      <sup>35</sup> vel] aut, A. B.      <sup>36</sup> diebus] dies, B.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

4. Si usque ad terram ceciderit, unum diem peniteat<sup>1</sup>.  
 5. Qui in æcclesia modicam partem perdiderit et non invenit<sup>2</sup>, XX. diebus<sup>3</sup> peniteat, vel<sup>4</sup> unoquoque die psalmos LXX. cantet.  
 6. Qui autem in plebe suum crismal<sup>5</sup> perdiderit et non invenit<sup>6</sup>, XL. dies peniteat, vel III. quadragissimas peniteat<sup>7</sup>.  
 7. Qui perfunderit<sup>8</sup> calicem in fine solemnitatis<sup>9</sup>, XXX. dies<sup>10</sup> peniteat.

## XIII. De Diversis Causis.

1. Qui creaturam perdiderit, hoc est thus<sup>11</sup>, tabulas aut sedulam<sup>12</sup> sive<sup>13</sup> sal benedictum<sup>14</sup>, panem novum consecratum vel aliquit huic simile, VII. diebus<sup>15</sup> peniteat.  
 2. Qui morticina<sup>16</sup> comedit, XL. dies peniteat inscius, sin autem<sup>17</sup>, C. diebus peniteat.  
 3. Qui fraudem comedit<sup>18</sup> et scit et est inobs<sup>19</sup> vel æbitis<sup>20</sup>, VII. dies peniteat; sani<sup>21</sup> autem<sup>22</sup> et non<sup>23</sup> infirmi si sciunt, XL. dies peniteant<sup>24</sup>; qui sepe faciunt, tres quadragessimas vel unum<sup>25</sup> annum.  
 4. Qui comedit et<sup>26</sup> bibit intinctum a familiare bestia, id est cane vel catto<sup>27</sup> et scit, C. psalmos cantet vel duos dies jejundet, si nescit, L. psalmos cantet vel unum diem jejundet<sup>28</sup>.  
 5. Si quis dederit alicui licorem<sup>29</sup>, in quo mus vel mustela mortua inveniuntur, si secularis<sup>30</sup>, VII. dies peniteat, in cenubiis<sup>31</sup> CCC. psalmos cantet, qui postea noverit<sup>32</sup> quod<sup>33</sup> talem potum biberit<sup>34</sup>.  
 6. <sup>35</sup> Si quis semicoctum comederit inscius<sup>36</sup>, III. dies peniteat vel psalterium cantet, sciens autem VII. diebus peniteat<sup>37</sup>.  
 7. <sup>38</sup> Pro modico furto<sup>39</sup> XX. dies peniteat<sup>40</sup>.  
 8. X. annorum aliquid<sup>41</sup> furtum faciens VII.<sup>42</sup> dies peniteat.  
 9. Si quis tinxerit manum in aliquo cybo liquido et non idonea<sup>43</sup> manu, C. palmadas<sup>44</sup> emendetur.

<sup>1</sup> peniteat] si stilla super altare ceciderit III. dies peniteat, A. <sup>2</sup> invenit] invenerit, A. B.  
<sup>3</sup> diebus] dies, B. <sup>4</sup> vel] pro, ins. B. <sup>5</sup> crismal] crismale, B. <sup>6</sup> invenit] invenerit, B.  
<sup>7</sup> peniteat] om. B. <sup>8</sup> perfunderit] funderit, B. <sup>9</sup> solemnitatis] sollempnitatis Missæ, B.  
<sup>10</sup> dies] om. A. <sup>11</sup> thus] tus, B. <sup>12</sup> sedulam] scedulam B. schedulam, A. <sup>13</sup> sive] om. A. <sup>14</sup> benedictum] vel, ins. B. <sup>15</sup> diebus] dies, B.  
<sup>16</sup> morticina] morticinum, A. <sup>17</sup> sin autem] sciens, A. <sup>18</sup> comedit] facit, B. per fraudem comedit, A. <sup>19</sup> inobs] inops, B. <sup>20</sup> vel æbitis] vel hebes, B. et ebidis, A. <sup>21</sup> sani] sin, B. <sup>22</sup> autem] aut, A. <sup>23</sup> non] om. A. B. <sup>24</sup> peniteant] om. B. <sup>25</sup> unum] om. A. <sup>26</sup> et] vel, A. <sup>27</sup> catto] gatto, A. <sup>28</sup> si nescit—] jejundet] om. B. jejundet, om. A. <sup>29</sup> Si quis dederit—licorem] Si quid acciderit—liquori, B. <sup>30</sup> secularis] secularium, A. <sup>31</sup> in cenubiis] si cenobialis, B. <sup>32</sup> noverit] cognoverit, B. <sup>33</sup> quod] qui, A. <sup>34</sup> biberit] psalterium cantet scieris autem VII. dies peniteat, add. B. saltim nunciari, add. A. <sup>35</sup> Si quis—peniteat] om. B. <sup>36</sup> inscius] om. A. <sup>37</sup> peniteat] om. A. <sup>38</sup> De furto, XVII., ins. B. <sup>39</sup> furto] furto, B. <sup>40</sup> peniteat] infra XX. annos. Puer, ius. B. in XX. annis pueri, ins. A. <sup>41</sup> aliquid] aliquod, B. <sup>42</sup> VII.] XII., B. <sup>43</sup> idonea] manu, ins. A. <sup>44</sup> palmadas] palmatis, A.



[*EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.*]

10. Si in farina aut in aliquo<sup>1</sup> cybo<sup>2</sup> aut in potu<sup>3</sup> aut in lacte coagulato<sup>4</sup> mus vel mustella mortua<sup>5</sup> inveniuntur, quod<sup>6</sup> in circuitu ejus est<sup>7</sup>, totum<sup>8</sup> proiciatur<sup>9</sup> foras, quod reliquum est manducetur.

11. Item qui autem quod<sup>10</sup> in penitentiale<sup>11</sup> scriptum est implere potuerit<sup>12</sup>, bonum est, qui autem non potest, consilium damus<sup>13</sup> misericordiae<sup>14</sup> Dei. <sup>15</sup>Inprimitus<sup>16</sup> pro uno die in pane et aqua L. psalmus genua<sup>17</sup> flectendo, aut sine genu flectendo<sup>18</sup> LXX. psalmus cantet<sup>19</sup> infra ecclesiam, vel in uno loco per ordinem<sup>20</sup> psallat, et pro uno die CC. genu flexum vel unus dinarius pro die valet et tres elemosinas tribuas pauperibus<sup>21</sup>. Quidam dicunt, L.<sup>22</sup> percussiones vel psalmos<sup>23</sup> pro die valent<sup>24</sup>, id est in hyeme, in autumnus et<sup>25</sup> in verno C. percussiones vel psalmos<sup>23</sup>, in estate CL. psalmus<sup>26</sup> vel percussiones. Item pro uno mense, quod<sup>27</sup> in aqua et pane penitere debet, psalmos mille CC. genu flexu<sup>28</sup>, vel sine genu<sup>29</sup> flexu<sup>28</sup> mille DCLXXX. et postea omnes dies reficiat<sup>30</sup> ad sextam nisi IIII. et sexta feria jejundet usque<sup>31</sup> ad nonam, a carne et vino absteineat se, alium cybum postquam psallat<sup>32</sup> sumat. Pro<sup>33</sup> ebdomade CCC. psalmos flectendo<sup>34</sup> genua in ecclesia aut in uno loco per ordinem. Qui vero psalmos non novit et jejunare non potest, pro uno anno in pane et aqua donat<sup>35</sup> in elemosinam solidos XXVI. et in unaquaque ebdomada uno die jejundet usque<sup>36</sup> ad nonam et alium usque<sup>36</sup> ad vesperum<sup>37</sup> et IIII. quadragesimis<sup>38</sup>, quantum sumit<sup>39</sup>, penset et tribuat medietatem in elemosinam<sup>40</sup>. In secundo anno remissior<sup>41</sup> penitentia est<sup>42</sup>.

De natale Domini usque in epiphaniam et illos predictos dies, qui supra scripti sunt<sup>43</sup>, in penitentia non computantur. Item qui non potest sic agere penitentiam, sicut superius diximus, in primo anno

<sup>1</sup> aliquo] alio loco sicco, B.      <sup>2</sup> cybo] sicco, add. A.      <sup>3</sup> potu] pulte, A. B.  
<sup>4</sup> coagulato] coagolato, B.      <sup>5</sup> mortua] om. A.      <sup>6</sup> quod] quæ, A.      <sup>7</sup> est] om. A.  
<sup>8</sup> totum] rem, A.      <sup>9</sup> proiciatur] proicietur, B.      <sup>10</sup> quod] quæ, A. hoc quod, B.      <sup>11</sup> penitentiali] penitentiali, B.  
<sup>12</sup> potuerit] poterit, B.      <sup>13</sup> damus] donamus, A.      <sup>14</sup> misericordiae] per misericordiam, A. B.      <sup>15</sup> De redemptione penitentiae, XVII., B.      <sup>16</sup> Inprimitus] inprimis, B.  
<sup>17</sup> psalmus, genua] psalmos cantet, genu, B. psalmos et genu, A.      <sup>18</sup> sine genu flectendo] om. B. sine flexu, A.      <sup>19</sup> psalmus cantet] om. B. cantet, om. A.      <sup>20</sup> per ordinem] om. B.  
<sup>21</sup> et pro—pauperibus] et pro uno die valent CC. genu flexu, vel unus denarius pro die valet et IIII. elemosinas IIII. pauperibus valent, A. sine flectendo genua, vel unum denarium pro die valet, et tres elemosinæ tribus pauperibus pro die valent, B. <sup>22</sup> L.] om. B.      <sup>23</sup> psalmos] palmadas, B.      <sup>24</sup> valent] valere, B.      <sup>25</sup> et] om. A.  
<sup>26</sup> psalmus] palmadas, B.      <sup>27</sup> quod] om. A.      <sup>28</sup> flexu] flexo, B.      <sup>29</sup> genu] om. A.      <sup>30</sup> reficiat] reficiant, A.      <sup>31</sup> usque] om. A. B.      <sup>32</sup> psallat] psallit, A.  
<sup>33</sup> Pro] una, ins. B.      <sup>34</sup> flectendo] flectendo, B.      <sup>35</sup> donat] donet, B.      <sup>36</sup> usque] om. B.      <sup>37</sup> vesperum] vesperam, B.      <sup>38</sup> quadragesimis] quadragesimas, B.  
<sup>39</sup> sumit] sumat, B.      <sup>40</sup> elemosinam] elemosinis, B. Pro ebdomade—elemosinam, om. A.      <sup>41</sup> remissior] ei, ins. B.      <sup>42</sup> est] erit, A. B.      <sup>43</sup> scripti sunt] scribuntur, A. B. quæ, ins. A.

## [EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]

eroget in<sup>1</sup> elimosinam solid. XXVI.<sup>2</sup>; in secundo anno<sup>3</sup> XX. solid., pro tertio anno XVIII. solid., id sunt solid. LXIII. Potentes homines pro culpis criminalibus faciant, ut Zacheus ait: Domine omnium bonorum meorum dimedium do pauperibus; si<sup>4</sup> aliquid injuste abstuli in quadruplum reddam<sup>5</sup>, et de mancipis<sup>6</sup> suis dimittat liberos et captivos redemat et a quo die desinit peccare, non desinat communicare.

XIII. *Sicut Apostolus dixit*<sup>7</sup>.

Qui per corpus peccat, per corpus emendet, hoc est<sup>8</sup> jejuniis et<sup>9</sup> vigiliis et orationibus ad Dominum<sup>10</sup>. Qui conversus fuerit et omnem<sup>11</sup> malum fecit in effundendo sanguine, in furtu<sup>12</sup>, in fornicatione<sup>13</sup>, in mendacio<sup>14</sup> et juramento et omnibus malis, et postea Deo servire vult usque in finem<sup>15</sup>, tres vel duos annos peniteat vel quomodo sacerdos judicaverit. Ipse tamen cogitet de medicamento animarum, quomodo suam et aliorum animas salutare<sup>16</sup> valeat in erudiendo<sup>17</sup>, in docendo sanum sermonem, quia<sup>18</sup> qui bene ministrat, bonum gradum sibi acquirit apud Eum, Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula seculorum<sup>19</sup> amen.

XV. *De Pretio Anni vel Diei*<sup>20</sup>.

Primo<sup>21</sup> anno quidam promiserunt quattuor triduanas interveniente una nocte. Alii ajunt XII. triduanæ, hoc est semel in uno mense; triduanas quidam dixerunt<sup>22</sup> in verberibus aut in vigiliis, insistendoque triduum; alii sic, alii vero sic. Pretium autem<sup>23</sup> diei hoc est, agapem duobus vel tribus pauperibus, alii totum psalterium, id est in estate, hyeme<sup>24</sup> vero et in verno vel in<sup>25</sup> autumno L. psalmus<sup>26</sup>, quidam XII. plagas vel percussiones vel plus minus; discernenda<sup>27</sup> tempora, quidam in labore alieno vel in flectendo quadrabis<sup>28</sup> desinat, et LX.<sup>29</sup> desinat, CXX. sexies desinat et<sup>30</sup> addetur decem, secundo XX., superior XXX.<sup>31</sup>, si labor non sit.

<sup>1</sup> in] om. A.      <sup>2</sup> XXVI.] pro uno anno pane et aqua donet eleemosynam solidos XXV. et in unaquaque ebdomada, una die jejuset ad nonam et alium ad vesperam et tres quadragésimas, ins. A.      <sup>3</sup> anno] om. B.      <sup>4</sup> si] et si, B.      <sup>5</sup> reddam] reddo, B.  
<sup>6</sup> mancipis] mancipiis, A. B.      <sup>7</sup> Sicut apostolus dixit] Sicut apostolus ait, B.      <sup>8</sup> hoc est] in, ins. B.      <sup>9</sup> et] in, ins. B.      <sup>10</sup> Dominum] Deum, A. B.      <sup>11</sup> omnem] omne, A. B.  
<sup>12</sup> furtu] furto, B.      <sup>13</sup> fornicatione] fornicari, A.      <sup>14</sup> mendacio] meditatione, B.  
<sup>15</sup> usque in finem] om. B.      <sup>16</sup> salutare] salvare, A. B.      <sup>17</sup> erudiendo] eripiendo, B.  
<sup>18</sup> quia] om. A.      <sup>19</sup> seculorum] om. B. Here A. ends: the remaining chapter is given by Martene and Durand from two MSS., one of Corbie and one of Andain, as *Editio Sancti Bonifacii*: but either much expanded, or in a form of which the text is an abridgment.      <sup>20</sup> De pretio—diei] Item alio modo, B.  
<sup>21</sup> primo] Pro uno, B.      <sup>22</sup> dixerunt] quidam, ins. B.  
<sup>23</sup> autem] om. B.      <sup>24</sup> hyeme] in hieme, B.      <sup>25</sup> in] om. B.      <sup>26</sup> psalmus] vel psalmos, B.  
<sup>27</sup> discernenda] vel discernat, B.      <sup>28</sup> quadrabis] L. vicibus genua bis, B.      <sup>29</sup> et LX.] LX. ter. B.      <sup>30</sup> et] primo, ins. B.      <sup>31</sup> XXX.] XX. B.

[EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.]XVI. *De Dictis Sancti Bonifacii Archiepiscopi*<sup>1</sup>.

Quomodo possumus penitentiam VII. annorum in uno anno peniteri<sup>2</sup>. Triduanum pro XXX. dies et noctes, cantatio psalmodum, CXX. psalteria pro XII. mensis<sup>3</sup>, pro unum diem<sup>4</sup> L. psalmos et V.<sup>5</sup> Pater noster. Unum psalterium pro tres dies et XV. Pater noster<sup>6</sup>. Item pro uno die quattuor vicibus Beati immaculati et<sup>7</sup> LXX.<sup>8</sup> prosternens se in terram<sup>9</sup> cum injectione dicat Pater noster et faciat sic pro uno die<sup>10</sup>. Si vult minus psallere<sup>11</sup>, tamen vult patere<sup>12</sup>, prosternat se frequenter in oratorium<sup>13</sup> C.<sup>14</sup> et dicat Miserere mei Deus et Dimitte delicta mea; faciat hoc pro uno die. Qui vult confiteri peccata sua, cum lacrimis<sup>15</sup>, quia lacrimæ veniam non postulant, sed merentur, roget presbyterum, ut missam cantet pro eo, nisi sint crimina capitalia<sup>16</sup>, quas<sup>17</sup> debet ante lavare cum lacrimis. Cantatio unius misse pro<sup>18</sup> XII. dies redimere, X. misse III. menses, XX. misse novem<sup>19</sup> menses, XXX. misse XII. menses possunt redemere, si volunt confessores<sup>20</sup> cum lacrimis. Explicit<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *De dictis—archiepiscopi*] Quomodo breviari possit penitentia, XVIII., B. <sup>2</sup> peniteri] penitere, B. <sup>3</sup> XII. mensis] XXII. menses, B. <sup>4</sup> unum diem] uno die, B. <sup>5</sup> V.] vicibus, ins. B. <sup>6</sup> Unum—noster] om. B. <sup>7</sup> et] VI. vicibus miserere mei, Deus, et, ins. B. <sup>8</sup> LXX.] vicibus, ins. B. <sup>9</sup> terram] terra, B. <sup>10</sup> cum—die] cum Pater noster dicat, injectionem faciat pro uno die, B. <sup>11</sup> psallere] psalterio, et, B. <sup>12</sup> patere] penitere, B. <sup>13</sup> oratorium] oratorio, B. <sup>14</sup> C.] vicibus, ins. B. <sup>15</sup> lacrimis] confiteri debet, ins. B. <sup>16</sup> crimina capitalia] criminalia peccata, B. <sup>17</sup> quas] quæ, B. <sup>18</sup> pro] potest, B. <sup>19</sup> novem] VII. B. <sup>20</sup> confessores] confiteri, B. <sup>21</sup> explicit] om. B.

A.D. 755 × 766. *Letter of Kynehard*<sup>a</sup>, *Bishop of Winchester, to Lullus, assuring him of his prayers, asking for books of secular as well as of ecclesiastical learning; informing him that he has directed prayers and masses to be said, for the persons for whom they had been asked, in the churches of his diocese, and requesting similar intercessions.*

Domino dignissime venerando et merito insigni ac prestantissimo, longe lateque pro Christianæ religionis prædicanda doctrina diffamato et pro conversatione vitæ probatissimæ celeberrimo, nobis quoque non inmerito ob cognationis nostræ semper memorandæ necessitudinem karissimo Lullæ Episcopo Cinehardus, indignus ut vereor, Episcopus Wentanæ civitatis ex intima visceralium medullarum affectione æternaliter in Christo salutem.

Perlectis litterarum a tua sanctitate directarum dulcissimis ac

[LETTER OF KYNEHARD TO LULLUS.]

nimum placabilibus periodis, in quibus amicabiliter nostram parvitatem conperimus salutatam ammonitamque, ut eandem unitatis observantiam custodiret, quam antecessores nostri fideliter sine tenus observarunt—domnus Bonifacius Archiepiscopus Christianique confessor beatificandus et Danihel doctissimus Dei plebis famulus, simul et successor eius Hunfrithus, Episcoporum mitissimus,—et cetera, quæ te melius recoluisse credimus in caraxatis commendata, mentis diligentissima indagine didicere curavimus. Et gratiarum actiones condignas, in quantum sufficimus, persolvendo gerimus, quod nostri memoriam, interpositis tantarum spatiis terrarum marisque magni interluente latitudine, facere dignemini. Et hoc profitemur, quod omnia quæ, tua sanctitate suggerente, mandata sunt, studiosissime Domino favente complere satagimus, non tantum in spiritali orationum solatio exhibendo et missarum sollemnitate celebranda pro vobis et pro illis, qui in vestris regionibus in Christi confessione obeunt; sed etiam, si qua sæcularis substantiæ solatia vestris usibus profutura in his regionibus adipisci poterimus, vestræ participationi parata erunt.

Et hoc petimus, si qua apud vos solamina, nobis necessaria vel ignota, spiritalis quidem scientiæ sive in libris antiquis, qui a nobis non habentur, sive in aliis ecclesiasticis administrationibus, ut nobis libenter participare non negetis. Nec non et, si quos sæcularis scientiæ libros nobis ignotos adepturi sitis—ut sunt de medicinalibus, quorum copia est aliqua apud nos, sed tamen sigmenta ultramarina, quæ in eis scripta conperimus, ignota nobis sunt et difficilia ad adipiscendum—vel si qua in aliis quibuslibet negotiis vel speciebus nobis necessariis providetis, communicare dignemini, ut fecistis villosam mittendo.

Nomina quoque presbyterorum vestrorum diaconorumque ac monachorum vel monacharum sive ceterorum, quæ misistis, per monasteria et per ecclesias nostræ diocesis direximus ad celebranda pro eis missarum sollemnia et orationum suffragia. Id ipsum facere vestram sanctitatem suppliciter exoramus pro eis, quorum nomina vobis habemus dirigenda, et nominatim cum personis suis scribenda, eorum scilicet, qui mihi proprie atque huic ecclesiæ, cui servio, amicissimi vel subditi fiebant vel prelati.

De nostro quoque vili vestitu parva exseniola direximus tuo cultui, quanquam indigna, tamen petimus accommoda; hoc est: tunica lanea aliaque linea, sicut mos est apud nos habendi; caligas; et

[MISSION OF WILLEHAD.]

peripcemata: orarium et coculam et gunnam brevem, nostro more consutam, ad indicium plenissimæ dilectionis nostræ. Quæ te suscipere pro tua humilitate, obnixè precamur, habereque ad memoriam mei nominis saltem aliquod spatium temporis. Ceterum si qua sunt tuæ sanctitati insinuanda, portitor hujus epistiuunculæ viva voce valet enarrare.

✠ Opto te, o karissime frater, orantem pro me, orante pro te, in Domino bene valere felicemque evo longiore vixurum, ad coronam celestis gloriæ postea perventurum, domine insignis et pater prestantissime. Amen. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 110; ed. Würdtwein, no. 115.]

<sup>a</sup> Kynehard attests charters from A.D. 755 (122); but it contains nothing of special interest to A.D. 766: another letter of his to Lullus is extant (ed. Jaffé, no. 121; Würdtwein, no.

A.D. 765 × 774<sup>a</sup>. *Northumbrian Council, which sanctions the Mission of Willehad to the Frisians.*

ANSKAR, *V. S. Willekadi, c. I.* Fuit itaque vir venerabilis de gente Anglorum ex Nordhumbris, nomine Willehadus, . . . . accepta consecratione presbyterii audivit quod Fresones atque Saxones, populi hactenus increduli atque pagani, relicta idolorum cultura, fidei catholice quodammodo jam cœpissent ambire mysteria, ac baptismi sacramento vetustatis cuperent maculis emundari . . . . Accessit ergo ad regem qui tunc temporis in gente Anglorum dominabatur, nomine Alachrat, et quoad Domini esset servitium zelo accensus, illi lacrymabiliter intimavit, petivitque ut ejus permissa atque licentia ad prædicandum verbum Domini patrias jam prædictas sibi adire liceret; qui comperta ejus sanctissima voluntate, convocato ad se Episcoporum aliorumque Dei servorum non minimo conventu, coram omnibus ejus ferventissimam insinuavit devotionem, omniumque pari consensu, quippe quia et cunctis jam pridem ejusdem beati viri probabilis fuerat sanctitas, eum supernæ commendatum gratiæ . . . . prædicta loca causa prædicandi verbum Domini destinavit. . . . [*Mabillon, A.A. SS. Ord. S. Bened.*, sæc. III. part. II. p. 367; *Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist.*, II. 380.]

<sup>a</sup> There are no notes of date here except the name of the Northumbrian King Alchred, A.D. 765-774. S. Willehad having preached to the Frisians and the neighbouring tribes, was summoned by Charles to preach to the Saxons, and settled in the *pagus* called Wig-

modia about A.D. 781. In A.D. 788 he was consecrated Bishop, and placed his see at Bremen; he died in A.D. 789. His life was written in the following century by his successor Anskar.

[LETTER OF ALHRED TO LULLUS.]

A.D. 769 × 774. *Letter of Alkred and Osgeofu<sup>a</sup>, King and Queen of Northumbria, to Lullus Archbishop of Mentz, requesting and promising mutual intercession in prayer.*

ALHREDUS REX ET OSGEOFU REGINA *Lullo venerabili Episcopo, nobis perpetuali amicitia copulato, in Christo salutem.*

Scripta beatitudinis tuæ simul cum muneribus, litteris adsignatis, debita gratulationis reverentia suscepimus. Maximasque omnipotenti Deo egimus gratias, quod te, in tam longa peregrinatione desudantem et in Christi agonibus decertantem, optatæ conservavit sospitati. Et ideo, revertentibus venerabilibus viris, gaudium nostrum sacrorum apicum adtestatione signamus. Ac petimus, ut cotidianis orationibus Episcopatus tuus studium ac votum suum circa salutem nostram dignetur impendere; nos quoque simul cum nominibus nostrorum amicorum et propinquorum, quæ hic subscripta sunt, litterarum custodia facias contineri; orationibusque et missarum celebrationibus perpetuis Dei patrociniis commendemur. Eodemque modo de vobis et de nominibus ad nos delatis secundum vestram petitionem facere curavimus; et in cunctis monasteriis, nostris dicionibus subjunctis, perpetuis litterarum monumentis commendantur et orationum subsidiis Deo cotidie presentantur. Illudque pietati nostræ satis placuisse cognosce, quod sanctimonia tua de ecclesiarum aut populi perturbatione sollicita est; quæ etiam ut fierent, Dei aliquo dispensationis consilio credimus esse provisa.

Nostris quoque, dilectissime frater, legationibus ad dominum vestrum gloriosissimum regem Carl obsecramus consulendo subvenias, ut pax et amicitia, quæ omnibus conveniunt, facias stabiliter inter nos confirmari.

✠ Divina magestas indefesso certamine pro Christi ecclesia desudantem te conservare dignetur. Parva munuscula tuæ dignitati admisimus, id est duodecim sagos cum anulo aureo majori dono ad dotem. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 119; ed. Würdtwein, no. 108; *W.*, I. 145.]

<sup>a</sup> Alhred, or Alcred, became King of Northumbria A.D. 765; and married Osgeofu, or Osgearn, in A.D. 768 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 663).

A.D. 774. *Mercian Witenagemot, which attests a grant of land made by Offa, King of Mercia, to Archbishop Jaenbert* <sup>a</sup> (K. C. D., CXXI.).

<sup>a</sup> This grant, printed by Kemble from the original, MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 99, is attested by Offa and his Queen Cynethrytha; by Jaenbert; three Bishops, Eadbert of Leicester, Byrhtun of Lichfield, and Ceolwulf of Lindsey; five abbots, Aldberht, Folcberht, Botwin (of Peterborough), Ethelwold, and

Eadbert; two *principes*, or ealdormen; one *dux*, ealdorman or heretoga; one *praefectus*, or *gerefa*; and seven other persons without special designation. It probably represents very fairly a complete Witenagemot of Mercia before the great extension of the kingdom under Offa.

A.D. 775. *Witenagemot of Mercia, at Godmundes leas* <sup>a</sup>, in which Offa grants the reversion of land at Evenlode to the monastery of Breodune (K. C. D., CXX.).

<sup>a</sup> Attended by Eadbert of Leicester, Berhtun of Lichfield, Deora of Rochester, Wermund of Worcester, Ealdberht of London, and

Ceolwulf of Lindsey: but the attestations are incorrectly copied.

A.D. 777. *Mercian Witenagemot attesting and consenting to a grant of Offa to Aldred ealdorman of the Huiccii* <sup>a</sup> (K. C. D., CXXXI.).

<sup>a</sup> This grant is attested by five Bishops, Eadbert of Leicester, Berhtun of Lichfield, Tilhere of Worcester, Ceolwulf of Lindsey, and Aldberht "electus" of Hereford; by seven abbots, and six *principes*, or ealdormen. Aldred

immediately transfers the grant to the church of S. Mary at Worcester; and the date is given A.D. 778, but corrected by the Indiction XV.

A.D. 767 × 778. *Letter of Lullus to Cœna, alias Ethelbert, Archbishop of York, complaining of the times, and asking for Commentaries of Bede* <sup>a</sup>.

*Fratrī et consacerdoti et meritis domino carissimo Cœna, summi pontificatus infula prædito, LULLUS EXIGUUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI PERENNEM IN CHRISTO salutem.*

Sanctitatis tuæ reverentiam humiliter obsecro, ut amicitia inter nos olim in Christo copolata et semel coeptæ perpes reminisci digneris; ne veterescat et oblivioni tradatur, quam coram Deo fidei sponsione pepigimus. Pro nomine enim Christi in contumeliis et tribulationibus gloriari et exaltatione æcclesiæ Ejus nos oportet, quæ cotidie tunditur premitur atque fatigatur. Quia moderni principes

[LETTERS OF ETHELBERT AND LULLUS.]

novos mores novasque leges secundum sua desideria condunt. Idcirco excellentiam tuam jugem precatricem pro animæ nostræ salute subnixa prece flagitamus. Assiduis enim corporis egritudinibus cum mentis anxietate cogor ex hac ærumnosa et periculis plenissima vita exire, redditurus pio et districto judici rationem.

Parva vero munuscula dilectioni tuæ direxi, hoc est pallam olosemicam optimi generis, per gerulum harum litterarum.

Obsecro, ut quemlibet horum librorum adquiras et nobis mittere digneris, quos beatæ memoriæ Beda presbiter exposuit, ad consolationem peregrinationis nostræ; id est: in primam partem Samuelis usque ad mortem Saulis libros quattuor, sive in Esdram et Nehemiam libros tres, vel in evangelium Marci libros quattuor. Gravia forte postulo; sed nihil grave veræ caritati injungo. Proficere sanctam excellentiam tuam ad utilitatem sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ semper optamus; nomina fratrum et amicorum nostrorum tuæ sanctitati commendantes de hac luce migrantium. Hæc sunt—. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 122; ed. Würdtwein, no. 131.]

<sup>a</sup> In another letter addressed to Guthbert, abbot of Wearmouth, in very similar language, Lullus asks for Bede's books "de ædificatione Templi, vel in Cantica Canticorum; sive epigrammatum heroico metro sive elegiaco compositorum" (ed. Jaffé, no. 123). Guthbert in his reply says that he sends

*Bede On the Temple* (ep. 124, ed. Jaffé); and in another letter announces his transmission of Bede's two Lives of S. Cuthbert (ep. 134, ed. Jaffé). Another of Lullus's Northumbrian correspondents was Botwin, abbot of Ripon (ep. 129).

A.D. 767 × 778. *Letter of Cena, alias Ethelbert, Archbishop of York, to Lullus, in answer to his inquiry about books.*

*Domino beatissimo omnique honore nominando Lullæ Episcopo KOÆNA, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, perpetuæ gratiæ salutem.*

Acceptis tuæ beatitudinis pater excellentissime litteris, multa sum læticia delibutus, ita ut totis precordiarum intestinis gaudens lacrimavi; beatum mihi ac profuturum æstimans, tanti patris perfrui amicitia. Ideoque omni cordis aviditate tuam desiderabilem amplector pietatem, tua inhianter condilector caritate; ea potissimum causa, quia salutaria dilectionis precepta divinitatis indita nobis rememorans, nec non et aliquandiu fautorem sive consiliarium adoptans laboribus nostræ parvitatibus; quem misericors omnium bonorum Largitor nobis in te Sua benigna providentia, ut credimus, preordinavit. Quapropter, dulcissime frater, in quascumque sanctæ



## [MERCIAN WITENAGEMOTS.]

pacis diciones vocabis, libens festinus gaudensque totus pleno corde advenio. Insuper plurimis obsecrationum lacrimis deprecor, ut nostri quantulamcumque in tuis sanctis orationibus habere memoriam digneris semperque bene coeptæ pietatis promissa custodias. Quia perseveranti gloriosa retributionis inpenditur corona, mercesque futuræ felicitatis in fine cujusque operis spectatur.

Illud vero, quod de libris inquisisti, marinis æstibus terram advecatantibus, omnino incognitum—nisi quia falsum—est. Ceterum libros cosmografiorum, necdum nobis ad manum venerunt; nec alia apud nos exemplaria nisi picturis et litteris permolesta. Jam sepius mihi met perscribere destinavi, sed non illorum potui scriptores adquirere; forte, tuis adjutus subplicationibus.

✠ Sanctitatem vestram ad protectionem electæ dominæ Rex Salvator conservet in evum. Scio, pater, quod illa, que caritatis gratia misisti, a te visa non sunt.

Vive Deo felix, Christi laurate triumphis,  
 Vita tuis sæclo specimen, carissime cælo,  
 Justitiæ cultor, verus pietatis amator,  
 Defendens vigili sanctos tutamine mandros,  
 Pascua florigeris pandens prædulcia campis,  
 Judice centenos portans veniente maniplos.

Offerenda Lullo Episcopo viro clarissimo. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 125; ed. Würdtwein, no. 128.]

A.D. 779. *Mercian Witenagemot at Hartleford, which attests a grant of Offa to Duddon his thegn*<sup>a</sup> (*K. C. D.*, CXXXVII.).

<sup>a</sup> This grant is attested by Eadbert Bishop of Leicester, Ceolwulf of Lindsey, Tilhere of Worcester, Aldberht of Hereford, and "... geberht electus," who is no doubt Higbert of

Lichfield, the date of whose consecration is thus fixed. The other attestations are those of abbot Botwin, seven "principes," and two "duces."

A.D. 780. *Mercian Witenagemot at Brentford, in which a grant is made by Offa to the Monastery at Breedon*<sup>a</sup> (*K. C. D.*, CXL.).

<sup>a</sup> This charter is dated on S. Maurice's day, and attested by the Archbishop and three Mercian Bishops. The former fact is a strong presumption against its genuineness, and although it is admitted by Kemble, he has rejected as spurious a similar grant to Worcester (*K. C. D.*, CXXXIX.), in which the same date is given as the day on which the passion of the Theban legion is commemorated. With

these may be compared another grant to Breedon (*K. C. D.*, CXXXVIII.), also attested by Jaenbert and the three Mercian Bishops, but simply dated A.D. 780. It is possible that the other particulars were inserted in the other two grants in consequence of the notoriety of the synod of Brentford the next year.

A.D. 781. *Synod of Brentford, in which the Monastery of Bath is surrendered by the Bishop of Worcester to Offa, King of Mercia, and lands are confirmed by Offa to the church of Worcester<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ In nomine Dei summi ! Tempora temporibus subeunt, et vicissitudinum spatiis evenit, ut prisca jam dicta inrita fiant nisi scriptis confirmemur. Quare ego Heaðoredus, Deo dispensante suppliciter Huiciorum Episcopus, insimul etiam cum consensu et consilio totius familiæ meæ quæ est in Uuegerna civitate constituta, diligentissime scrutans cogitavi atque de pace vel statu æcclesiastica rimatus sum. Equidem de aliquibus agellis conflictationis quæram cum Offano, Rege Merciorum, dominoque dilectissimo nostro, habuimus. Ajebat enim nos, sine jure hæreditario propinqui ejus, Æðelbaldi scilicet regis, hæreditatem sub dominio injusto habere; id est, in loco qui dicitur æt Beathum .XC. manentium, et in aliis multis locis; hoc est, æt Stretforda XXX. cassatos; æt Sture .XXXVIII. Simili etiam vocabulo æt Sture in Usmerum .XIII. manentium, æt Breodune .XII. in Homtune XVII. cassatorum. Hæc autem præfata contentionis causa in sinodali conciliabulo demissa in loco qui dicitur æt Bregentforda. Reddidimus quoque illo jam nominato regi Offan, monasterium illud celeberrimum æt Baþum, sine ullo contradictionis obstaculo, ad habendum, vel etiam, cui dignum duxisset, ad tribuendum; semperque perfruendum, justis ejus hæredibus libentissime concessimus; et in australe parte fluminis ibi juxta quod dicitur Eafen .XXX. cassatos addidimus, quam terram mercati sumus digno prætio a Cyneulfo Rege Uuestsæxna. Quapropter idem ille præfatus Rex Offa, ad reparationis satisfactionem, et pro unanimitate firmissimæ pacis, præfata loca æt Stretforda, æt Sture, æt Breodune, in Homtune, æt Sture in Usmerum, extra omni controversionis et ammonitionis causa, ea libertate ad supradictam æcclesiam nostram, id est in Uuegerna civitate, libertas concessit, ut nullo majore cessu alicujus rei essent subjectæ, quam præmemorata sedis Episcopalis. Nec non et trium annorum ad se pertinentes pastiones, id est, VI. convivia, libenter concedendo largitus est. Nunc ergo ego Offa Dei gratia Rex præscriptam libertatem terrarum, pro remedio animæ meæ concessam, in synodo æt Bregentforda, una mecum consedente Jamberhto Archiepiscopo, nec non omnes Episcopi, abbates et principes consenserunt et subscripserunt. Propria manu

[SYNOD OF ACLE.]

signum sacratissimæ crucis Christi pro firmitatis stabilimento conscripsi. Conscripta est hæc cartula æt Bregentforda, anno ab incarnatione Christi .DCC.LXXXI. Indictione IIII.

- |                        |                             |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ✠ Offa, Rex Merciorum. | ✠ Jaenberht Archiepiscopus. |
| ✠ Brorda Princeps.     | ✠ Eadberht Episcopus.       |
| ✠ Berhtuuald Princeps. | ✠ Hygeberht Episcopus.      |
| ✠ Eadbald Princeps.    | ✠ Æþelmod Episcopus.        |
| ✠ Esne Princeps.       | ✠ Ecgbald Episcopus.        |
| ✠ Eadbald Princeps.    | ✠ Ceoluulf Episcopus.       |
| ✠ Eadberht Princeps.   | ✠ Heathoredus Episcopus.    |
| ✠ Diera Episcopus.     | ✠ Gislhere Episcopus.       |
| ✠ Æthelulf Episcopus.  | ✠ Eadberht Episcopus.       |
| ✠ Heardred Episcopus.  | ✠ Aldberht Episcopus.       |

[*K. C. D.*, *CXLIII.*, from MS. Cotton, Tib. A. XIII. 106.]

<sup>a</sup> A nunnery was founded at Bath in A.D. 676, by Osric, King of the Huicci (*K. C. D.*, *XII.*), dependent on the see of Worcester probably from the foundation of the latter, and certainly before A.D. 758, in which year

"fratres" are mentioned (*K. C. D.*, *CXCIII.*). It is now surrendered by the Bishop of Worcester to the King in consideration of a confirmation of the other possessions of the see mentioned in the charter.

#### A.D. 782. *Synod of Acle* <sup>a</sup>.

*A. S. C. ad ann.*—and seonoð wæs æt Aclea. [Ed. Thorpe, p. 95; from the three later MSS.]

<sup>a</sup> Florence of Worcester gives A.D. 781 as the date of this synod (*M. H. B.* 545): and it is placed by Henry of Huntingdon loosely about the same year. As it is not mentioned by the Northern annalist, it was doubtless a Southern gathering, and probably held in Wessex or Kent, as the later councils of the same name were; but there are no grounds for identifying the place. The name Acle = Oakley, or Ockley, is common to villages in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Essex, Gloucester-

shire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Berkshire, Shropshire, Surrey, and Hampshire. In the north the name may be traced in Aycliffe, or even Aucklând. In the *Durham Ritual*, published by the Surtees Society, there is a note written by a Provost Aldred, at "Suðan þudigan gæte æt A'clee, on þest Sæxum," in the tent of Elfsige the Bishop. The note is of the tenth century, but the place is probably the synodical place of encampment. It is not however further identified.

A.D. 755 × 786<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Cynewulf, King of Wessex, with his Bishops and nobles, to Lullus, renewing an engagement for mutual prayer, made with S. Boniface.*

✠ *Domino beatissimo et speciali amore venerando Lullo Episcopo, EGO CYNEWULF REX OCCIDENTALIUM SAXONUM UNA CUM EPISCOPIS MEIS NECNON CUM CATERVA SATRAPARUM, æternam sospitatis in Domino salutem.*

[LETTER OF POPE ADRIAN TO CHARLES.]

Tibique testificantes, quod juxta modum nostræ possibilitatis, quicquid tua sanctitas desideraverit sive jusserit, libenter agere parati sumus, ut cum reverentissimo et sanctissimo viro Dei prodecessori tuo Bönifatio pepigimus, sive in orationibus Deo devotis seu in aliis quibuslibet rebus, in quibus humana fragilitas, Deo disponente, mutuis alterutrum solaciis egere conprobatur. Te pariter obsecrantes, ut pro nostra parvitate proque pace congregationis nostræ Domino supplicare cum eis qui tecum invocant nomen Domini Jesu, memineris. Istarum vero litterarum portitorem a vobis ante destinatum vestræ almitati committimus, quia fideliter nobis obcædare in omnibus curabit. Omnipotens Deus, Qui dispersa congregat et congregata custodit, Ipse vos Sua gratia protegat et vestri laboris fructum in æterna patria nos videre concedat. [*S. Bonif. Epistt.*, ed. Jaffé, no. 138; ed. Würdtwein, no. 134; *W.*, I. 145.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter cannot be placed later than A.D. 786, in which year Cynewulf died (*Sim. Dun.* ad ann. 786; *M. H. B.* 666). Lullus also died Oct. 16, A.D. 787 (*Mabillon*), or A.D. 786 (*Pottbast*).

A.D. 784 × 791<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Pope Adrian I. to Charles King of the Franks, from whom he had heard the falseness of the rumour that Offa had proposed to detrone the Pope.*

*Domino excellentissimo filio nostroque spiritali compatri Carolo Regi Francorum et Langobardorum atque patricio Romanorum* HADRIANUS PAPA.

Sagacissimos nectareosque a vestra precipua regali in triumphis potentia directos suos suscepimus liquidos affatos. Quos cum nimis solito reserantes amore, ea, quæ jugiter prestolabamur, agnosci prius conceperimus, scilicet de inclita sospitate atque prosperitate vestra simulque spiritalis filiæ nostræ domnæ reginæ tam de præcellentissima vestra regale prole quam de cuncta ejus fidelissima familiaritate. Sicut enim a vestra regali clementia fertur, quia magnum habet desiderium, ut frequenter per nostros Apostolicos apices aut per missum, qualiter erga nos esse decernitur, intimaremur, ita potius crebris nos adsiduæ sistimus desideriiis inhianter audire tam per vestram regalem exarationem quam per precipuum vestrum missum de vestra in triumphis victoria atque prosperitate, immo prefatæ domnæ reginæ simulque vestris nobilis subolis pariterque cunctis fidelissimis vestris subjectis sinceritate atque incolomitate. Nempè

[LETTER OF POPE ADRIAN TO CHARLES.]

quidem credere dignemini, quia nullo modo nostra Apostolica sinunt suffragia in confessione beati Petri clavigeri regni celorum Divinam pro vobis exorari clementiam. Quia prorsus cerciores sumus, quod non desinit vestra preceptissima regalis benivolentia pro exaltatione matris suæ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quæ est caput omnium ecclesiarum, et nostra Apostolica paterna prosperitate penitus annisu tractari; sicut olim sanctæ recordacionis genitoris sui domni Pippini almi regis normam suscepit. Quia, sicut cepit, fine tenus immutulate perfecit. Cujus adepti doctrina celsiorem per suffragiis Apostolorum et nostris assiduis intervencionibus vestra in omnibus existit regalis potentia.

Porro in ipsis regales apicibus vestris referebatur: quod Offa gentis Anglorum Rex vestræ direxisset regali excellentiæ significandum indiculum, ut aliqui emuli vestri ac sui ad nostra Apostolica vestigia indicarent, quod idem Offa Rex vobis suggereret, ut per suam videlicet adhortationem atque suasionem nos a sede sancta dignitatis nostræ—quod absit—eicere deberemini et alium ibidem de gente vestra institueremini rectorem; quod valde nefandissimum ac contrarium in oculis vestris apparuit scriptum; et hoc omnino falsum esse a vestra excellentia pro certissime dinoscitur, quia nec ipse Offa hanc hortationem minime vobis fecit et nullatenus in corde aliter ascendit, nisi ut paternitas nostra per Dei misericordiam ejus temporibus sanctam Dei ecclesiam regere et gubernare valeat, ad profectum videlicet omnium Christianorum.

Quibus nos omnino procul dubio de vestra regali potentia freti existimus: quia erga nostram Apostolicam paternitatem ejus benivola atque inexpugnabilis orthodoxaque fides, fervens in Spiritu Sancto quasi ignis ardens, precellens manebit; et nullo modo antiqui hostis versutia in qualibet heresi concutere eam valebit contra catholicam Apostolicamque orthodoxam fidem, sed sicut speculum sine macula ejusdem orthodoxæ fidei nostræque summæ sedis verax fulgens defensor vibrantissimæ in evo manebit.

Prelate vero inluyes assertiones, quas fateri aut dici nefas est, Offæ Regis, nos usque actenus talia minime audivimus. Sed neque nunc audientes credidimus: qui talia, si etiam ut absit paganus fuisset, perpetrare cogitasset. Quanto magis—a predecessoribus suis regibus semper subjecti in obœdientia atque fideli amore sanctis predecessoribus nostris pontificibus et nobis existentes—hæc inaudita versucia incredibilis a nobis existimatur.

[LETTER OF POPE ADRIAN TO CHARLES.]

Attamen: "Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Dominus mihi adiutor est, non timebo, quid faciat mihi homo;" et iterum: "Dominus inluminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo? Dominus defensor vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo?" Omnis enim plantatio, quam Pater cælestis plantabit, nullus eradicare valebit; quia: "Omnia per Ipsum facta sunt, et sine Ipso factum est nihil." Nos quippe, vel inmeriti sedem Apostolorum adepti, vice beati Petri principis Apostolorum suscipientes ac tenentes atque cuncto populo Christiano nobis a Deo commisso regentes, non ab hominibus neque per hominem electi sumus sed per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum vocati. In evangelio Ejus predistinati sumus, sicut vas electionis beatus Paulus Apostolus docuit: "Quos prescivit et predistinavit; quos prædistinavit, hos et vocavit; quos vocavit, hos et elegit; quos elegit, hos et glorificavit." Et iterum beatus Jacobus Apostolus instruit et docet: "Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum de sursum est, descendens a Patre luminum, aput Quem non est transmutatio nec vicissitudinis obumbratio; voluntarie genuit nos verbo veritatis."

Et idcirco, velut adamantem et silicem propheticum confirmantes sermonem, nihil metuentes, non sinimus Divinum verbum gentibus predicare; sicut scriptum est: "Speculatorem dedi te domui Israel; et audiens de ore Meo verbum, adnunciabis eis ex Me." Beati enim Petri clavigeri regni celorum precepta censuentes, predicari non sinimus regibus ac populis verbum veritatis atque vitæ.

Pro cujus amore una cum fidelissimos missos vestros, ut nobis direxistis, predicti Offe Regis missos libenti animo suscipientes, congrue hilari vultu super eos pro vestra inclita excellentia respeximus, eorum explentes vota; quemadmodum gratias vestræ a Deo promotæ regali in triumphis potentiæ referri valeant. Quia solite nos vestræ satagimus adinpleri, sicuti et vos nostræ voluntati. Quibus usque in finem perfectæ observantes, Divina vos hujus mundi regni gubernacula ævis temporibus una cum domna regina vestrisque nobilissimis filiis faciat perfrui majestas, et in perpetuum cum sanctis omnibus triumphantes gaudere.

Incolomem excellentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat. [*Jaffé, Monumenta Carolina*, pp. 279-282.]

<sup>a</sup> Although the above dates are the only limits within which the issue of this letter can be certainly fixed, it seems probable that it

may be dated before A.D. 786, after which year the relations of Offa and Adrian appear to have been very cordial; a fact which would

[MISSION OF GEORGE AND THEOPHYLACT.]

make the rumour of Offa's hostility hardly worth refuting, and would certainly seem to necessitate a warmer expression of friendship towards him than appears in this letter. The messengers of Offa may have been the envoys

sent to request the pall for Higbert, or more probably an earlier mission, of which the legation of George and Theophylact would be the result.

A.D. 786. *Mission of George and Theophylact to England.*

SIM. DUN., *ad ann.* 786<sup>a</sup>. Tempore illo legati ab Apostolica Sede a domino Adriano Papa ad Britanniam directi sunt, in quibus venerabilis Episcopus Georgius<sup>b</sup> primatum tenuit, qui antiquam inter nos amicitiam et fidem catholicam quam Sanctus Gregorius Papa per beatum Augustinum docuit innovantes, honorifice suscepti sunt a regibus et a præsulibus sive a principibus et primatibus hujusce patriæ, et in pace domum reversi sunt cum magnis donis, ut justum erat. [*M. H. B.* 666.]

<sup>a</sup> The date as given by Simeon belongs apparently to the mission and arrival of the legates; they landed in Kent, and after conferring with the Archbishop proceeded to the court of Offa, where they were met by Kynewulf King of Wessex. Kynewulf was killed in A.D. 786, after a reign of thirty-one years, which began in A.D. 755. As the councils of the North and South were held, according to the most trustworthy evidence, in A.D. 787, the fact that he is no more heard of in connexion with the mission of the legates is thus accounted for. From the court of Offa Bishop George proceeded to Northumbria, where after some delay he got the King and the Bishops to hold a council, the report of which is given in his letter to Pope Adrian (below, p. 447). After the Northern council George returned to the court of Offa, under whose protection a council of the Bishops of the Southern province was held; and their confirmation, with that of Offa himself with

his abbots and ealdormen, was procured to the decrees of the Northern council. The Northern council may be identified with great probability with that of Pincanhale, and the Southern with that of Chelsea or Cealchyth, the dates and authorities of which are given below.

<sup>b</sup> George is called by Spelman *Gregory*, on the authority, as he says, of Hoveden. Hoveden however, in both printed copies and MSS., calls him George. The mistake is followed by Wilkins, and countenanced even by the editors of the *M. H. B.* The person meant is George Bishop of Ostia, who filled that see for many years, and discharged many important missions under Stephen III., Paul I., Stephen IV., and Adrian I. He has letters commendatory to Charles in A.D. 783 (*Jaffé, Reg. Pontiff.*, p. 209). Theophylact, his companion (p. 445), was the Bishop of Todi (Tudertinus), who took part in the proceedings of the Council of Frankfort in A.D. 794.

A.D. 787. *Synod of Northumbria at Pincahala*<sup>a</sup>.

SIM. DUN., *ad ann.* 787<sup>b</sup>. Synodus congregata est in Pincahala IV. nonas Septembris. In quo tempore Alberht abbas Hripensis<sup>c</sup> ex rapidis flatibus hujus sæculi spiritum emisit ad superos æternæ felicitatis jubilos. [*M. H. B.* 666. See *W.*, I. 153; *S.*, I. 304.]

*A. S. C.*, *ad annum* 788. Her wæs sinoð gegaderad on Norð-hymbra lande æt Wincanheale, on

This year a synod was assembled in the land of the Northumbrians at Wincanheale, on the

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

III. noñ. Septemb: and Aldberht  
aðb. forðferde in Hripum.

[*M. H. B.* 337, from two MSS.]

4th of the nones of September,  
and abbot Aldberht died at Ri-  
pon.

<sup>a</sup> Pincahala, or Wincanheale, the place at which this synod of the Northern province was held, is identified by Spelman (p. 305), and after him by Wilkins, and generally, with Finchale, near Durham. Wincanheale seems to have been a place of frequent public meetings under the Northumbrian Kings; it was there that Ethelwald lost his kingdom, probably by deprivation, in A.D. 765 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 163), and another council was held there by Eanbald II. in A.D. 798 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 670). Smith (on *Bede*, *H. E.*, III. 27) identifies it with *Pægnalæch*, the burial-place of Bishop Tuda, and both with Finchale: but Tuda's burial-place is called in the *Chronicle Wagele* (*A. S. C.*, ed. Thorpe, I. 56), by which Whalley in Lancashire is probably meant. Alfred's translation of *Bede* turns *Pægnalæch* into *Peginalæab* (ed. Smith, 558). The printed copies of Matthew of Westminster read *Finchale* in mentioning the council. So far as name goes, Wincle in Cheshire, which is called in the *Taxatio P.*

*Nicolai* Wynkhull, comes nearest to the mark.

<sup>b</sup> The date of the council is given by Florence of Worcester and the *Chronicle* as Sept. 2, A.D. 788 (*M. H. B.* 337, 546); and by Henry of Huntingdon in the fifth year of Brihtic King of Wessex; but both writers draw their information from the Northumbrian *Chronicle*, which is represented by *Siméon*, and the authority of which in this matter is paramount. In all three the Northumbrian council is thus made to follow the Southern, supposing the identification of the one with that of Pincanhale and the other with that of Chelsea to be correct.

<sup>c</sup> Albert succeeded abbot Botwin, the friend and correspondent of Lullus, in the abbacy of Ripon in A.D. 786 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 666). As his name appears among the abbots present at the Northumbrian council (below, p. 460), the mention of him here serves to confirm the identification of that assembly with this of Pincanhale.

A.D. 787. *Synod of Celchyth or Chelsea*<sup>a</sup>.

*A. S. C.*, *ad annum* 785<sup>b</sup>.—Her wæs gefitfullic senop æt Cealc-hype, and Jaenbryht Ærcebisceop forlet sumne dæl his bisceopdomes, and from Offan kyninge Hygebryht wæs gecoren and Ecgerþ to cyninge gehalgod.

[*M. H. B.* 336, from six MSS.]

*A. S. C.*, *ad annum* 785.—And in þas tid wæron ærendracan gesend of Rome fram Adrianum Papan to Englalande, to niwanne þone geleafan, and þa sibbe þe Sēs Gregorius us sende þurh þone Biscop Augustinum; and hi man mid weorðscipe underfeang.

[*M. H. B.* 336, from three MSS.]

This year there was a contentious synod at Cealchythe, and Archbishop Jaenbryht gave up some portion of his bishoprick; and Higebryht<sup>c</sup> was elected by King Offa; and Ecgerth<sup>d</sup> was consecrated king.

And at this time messengers were sent from Rome by Pope Adrian to England, to renew the faith and the peace which S. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the Bishop, and they were worshipfully received.



## [LEGATINE SYNODS.]

H. HUNT.—Cujus [sc. Brictric] anno secundo Adrianus Papa misit legatos in Brittanniam ad renovandam fidem quam prædicaverat Augustinus. Ipsi vero honorifice a regibus et populis suscepti, super fundamentum stabile ædificaverunt pulchre Christi misericordia cooperante. Tenuerunt autem concilium apud Cealchide, ubi Jambert dimisit partem Episcopatus sui<sup>a</sup>. Ibi etiam Higbert electus est ab Offa Rege. Eodem anno Egfert sacratus est in Regem Kentensis provinciæ. [*M. H. B.* 731.]

LEO III., *Epist. ad Kenulfum Regem*.—\* \* \* \* \* quod Offa Rex pro victoria regni quam tenuit Beato Petro auctori suo signiferum et comitem in ipso regno utens atque amplectens, coram synodo tam omnibus Episcopis seu principibus atque optimatibus cunctoque populo insulæ Brytanniæ morantibus, quamque et nostri fidelissimi missi Georgii et Theophylacti, sanctissimis Episcopis, votum vovit eidem Dei Apostolo Beato Petro clavigero regni cælorum, ut per unumquemque annum scilicet quantos dies annus habuerit, tantos mancusas eidem Dei Apostolo ecclesiæ nimirum CCCLXV. pro alimonia pauperum et luminariorum concinnatione emittere, quod et fecit. [*A. S.*, I. 461, from MS. Cotton, Vespasian A. XIV. fo. 172.]

<sup>a</sup> Cealchythe was identified with Culcheth in Lancashire by Gibson (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, App. 18), following Archbishop Parker (*Antiq.* p. 93): Spelman preferred a Mercian site, in which he is undoubtedly right. Alford (*Annales*, II. 647) first pointed out Chelsea as the probable place, and on a comparison of the charters where the word occurs, there seems no reasonable doubt that this is right. Newcourt (*Repertorium*, I. 583) gives as the old forms of the name Chelsea, *Chelcbeth*, *Chelcbybeth*, *Chelcbyth*, *Chelcbitb*; the form *Chelsey* appearing first in A.D. 1554. The form in the Taxation of Pope Nicolas is *Chelceth*. Any site near London, which was regarded as locally in Mercia, would be a good place of meeting for the West-Saxon, Kentish, and Mercian Bishops.

<sup>b</sup> Henry of Huntingdou's date for this council, the second year of Brihtric, agrees with the computation by which it is placed under A.D. 787. The difficulties arising from the identification of the council of Chelsea with that of the legates, arises (1) from the fact that the former is placed by the three MSS. of the Chronicle that mention it, before the legatine council; and (2) that the report of the legates contains no mention of the act which created the Archbishopric of Lichfield,

and which in all the authorities is fixed to the council of Chelsea. But (1) if the promotion of Higbert to the rank of Archbishop had taken place before the legatine council, it is most improbable that it would have left no trace among the attestations of the acts (below, p. 460), in which the name of Higbert occupies the place which the Bishop of Lichfield usually did in a Mercian Witenagemot; and (2) the omission of any mention of the act in the report of the legates may be accounted for by the fact that it is manifestly imperfect, concluding abruptly with the signatures of the Southern council. If it be granted, as seems certain, that the act by which the dignity of the see of Canterbury was so grievously impaired was not done before this council was held, it was merely the initiatory steps that could be taken at it; Jaenbert might be induced to give up his rights, and Higbert might be elected by Offa to the new archiepiscopate; but the recognition of the act by the see of Rome would be necessary to complete the measure by which S. Gregory's scheme of organization was so widely departed from, and the title of Archbishop could not safely be taken, in opposition to the protests of Canterbury, before the pall was brought from Rome. It is

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

natural to conclude that the mission of the legates, already sufficiently protracted, would not be prolonged until a second synod could be brought together, and that accordingly the tradition which Henry of Huntingdon represents may be the true one. As the Northern council was held as late as September, A.D. 787, it is possible that the Southern one may be pushed on to the beginning of A.D. 788: the journey to Rome for the pall, and the return of the messengers, would occupy great part of a year. This must account for the fact that there is a charter extant, dated at Celchyth in A.D. 788, and signed by Higbert as Bishop (*K. C. D., CLIII.*). In another (*K. C. D., CLII.*), dated in the same year, he appears as Archbishop. The former was probably issued before, the latter after, the reception of the pall; or the former may possibly belong to the council itself.

<sup>c</sup> Higbert was the only person who ever bore the title of Archbishop of Lichfield. He had been Bishop since A.D. 779, in which year he appears in the Witenagemot of Hartleford as "electus præsul;" his predecessor Berhtun signing charters as late as A.D. 777 (*K. C. D., CXXXI., CXXXVII.*). He attests Offa's charter of A.D. 781 (*K. C. D., CXLIII.*), and the name is attached to several questionable ones. After his election to the archbishopate he signs as Archbishop, in A.D. 788 (*K. C. D., CLII.*), in A.D. 789 (*K. C. D., CLV., CLVI., CLVII.*); in A.D. 794 (*K. C. D., CLXIV., CLXVII.*), taking precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury; in A.D. 798 (*K. C. D., CLXXV.*), and in A.D. 799 (*K. C. D., MXX.*). A questionable charter of A.D. 801 (*K. C. D., MXXIII.*) bears his attestation as Bishop; and in the important synod of Clovesho, held in A.D. 803, his name as *Abbot* follows that of his successor in the see of Lichfield, Aldulf. Notwithstanding the statements of the Chronicle, William of Malmesbury, for the error cannot be traced farther back, states that the name of the new Archbishop was Aldulf (*G. P.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 16; *G. R.*, ed. Hardy, p. 119). In this he was followed by Matthew Paris (*Vita duorum Offanorum*, ed. Wats, pp. 21, 22), who adds to the mistake by giving Aldulf a successor in the archbishopate named Humbert, or Berhtun (*Ibid.*, pp. 22, 28; *M. Westm.*, p. 147). Ralph de Diceto (ed. Twysden, c. 445) was misled by the same authority, which was generally followed until Mr. Baron, in his edition of *Johnson's Canons*, pointed out and rectified the mistake. Even Henry Wharton was led into this error, and followed Alford in identifying Aldulf as Archbishop of Lichfield with a Bishop of

the same name who was consecrated by the Northumbrian prelates at Corbridge in A.D. 786 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B. 666.*). This Aldulf however was another person, and unquestionably the Bishop who as *Myiensis Episcopus* attests the canons of the legatine council of Northumbria (below, p. 460). He was Bishop of the Saxon colony of Mayo on the west coast of Ireland, consecrated in succession to the Bishops Hadwin (A.D. 768) and Leuthferth (A.D. 773) (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B. 663.*). This confusion led Wharton to reject all the charters to which the name of Higbert as Archbishop is appended (*A. S.*, I. 429, 430), and may have been the origin of William of Malmesbury's initial mistake. The ancient lists of the Bishops of Lichfield, although they contain no notice of the archbishopate, avoid the error, and fully bear out the evidence of the charters (*M. H. B. 623.*). Henry of Huntingdon also escapes it.

<sup>d</sup> The nomination of Egferth as his father's colleague in this council is borne out by the evidence of charters, in the same way as the election of Higbert. The first charter in which he appears as King is the same as that in which Higbert first appears as Archbishop, that of Offa to Rochester of A.D. 788 (*K. C. D., CLII.*). He attests his father's charters of A.D. 789 (*K. C. D., CLV., CLVII.*) as King; but those of A.D. 794 (*K. C. D., CLXIV., CLXVII.*) as *filius regis* only. Where he signs as King, it is of the Mercians, not of Kent, as Henry of Huntingdon supposed. In A.D. 796, on his father's death, he became sole King. Many charters of that year bear his name, some of them certainly spurious.—From the fact that his promotion synchronizes with that of Higbert, it is natural to conclude that his assumption of the royal title awaited the Papal recognition, to which so much importance had become attached owing to the recent change in the Frank dynasty.

<sup>e</sup> The statement that Jaenbert lost part of his bishopric is amplified by William of Malmesbury with a number of details which are inexact; the passage is as follows: "Simul regnum Merciorum archiepiscopatu insignire affectans, epistolis ad Adrianum Papam et fortassis muneribus egit ut pallio Licetfeldensium Episcopum contra morem veterum efferret, omnesque Mertiorum pontifices ei subjugaret; quorum hæc fuerunt nomina; Denebertus Wigornensis, Werenbertus Legecestrensis, Edulfus Sidnacestrensis, Wilferd Herefordensis, et duos Orientalium Anglorum Episcopos Allhard Helmanensem, Titfrid Dammucensem. Vocabatur autem Episcopus Licetfeldensis Aldulfus. Plures enim Episcopatus pro potentia sua Offa in Mertiis fecerat,

## [LEGATINE SYNODS.]

et Orientales Anglos occiso rege eorum Ethelbrihtio invaserat. . . . Remanserunt autem quatuor Episcopi Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Londoniensi, Wintoniensi, Rofensi, Selesiensis" (*G. P.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 16). In this instance, as in the more famous one of Plegmund's consecration of the seven Bishops, the Chronicler has been misled by his desire of filling up the outline drawn by his authorities: and he has been followed by Ralph de Diceto (c. 445), who however names the sees only, without identifying the Bishops; and by Matthew Paris (*Vitæ Offanorum*, p. 22). It is possible that the division of the sees is correct, with the exception of the omission of the see of Sherborne; but the identification of their occupants is wrong, as may be ascertained from charters. At Worcester, Denebert did not become Bishop before A.D. 798; at Leicester, Werenbert only became Bishop in A.D. 802; Eadulf of Lindsey was still "elec-

tus" in A.D. 796; Wulfhard of Hereford succeeded after A.D. 798; Alheard of Elmham certainly lived through the whole contest; Tidfrith of Dunwich succeeded about A.D. 798. It is possible that William of Malmesbury took the names from a charter of A.D. 803 (*K. C. D.*, *CLXXXV.*), and that instead of naming those Bishops who were made subject to Lichfield he named their successors who returned to the obedience of Canterbury. The professions of obedience made by Bishops Eadulf, Denebert, Wulfhard, and Tidfrith to Archbishop Ethelheard are extant; and as these were made, according to the regular usage, during the office of consecration, it is possible that all these were consecrated by Ethelheard; and if so, it may be inferred that the authority of Lichfield collapsed at the death of Offa. On this however see more below.

A.D. 787. *Report of the Legates George and Theophylact of their proceedings in England<sup>a</sup>.*

*Proœmium ad Adrianum Papam I.*

Nos, faventibus sanctis orationibus vestris, hilari vultu vestris jussionibus obtemperantes perreximus: sed impedivit nos is, qui tentat vento contrario; Ille vero Qui mitificat fluctus, exaudita vestra deprecatione, mitificavit cœrulea freta, et transvexit nos ad portum salutis: ac licet multis periculis afflictos, tamen illæsos Anglorum appulit oris. Igitur suscepti primum ab Archiepiscopo Jaenbarcho sanctæ Dorovernensis ecclesiæ, quæ alio vocabulo Cantia vocitatur, ubi Sanctus Augustinus in corpore requiescit: inibi residentes admonuimus ea quæ necessaria erant. Inde peragrantes pervenimus ad aulam Offæ Regis Merciorum. At ille cum ingenti gaudio, ob reverentiam beati Petri, et vestri Apostolatus, honore suscepit tam nos quam sacros apices a summa sede delatos.

Tunc convenerunt in unum consilium Offa Rex Merciorum, et Chuniulphus<sup>b</sup> Rex West-Saxonum: cui etiam tradidimus vestra syngrammata sancta; ac illi continuo promiserunt, se de his vitiis corrigendos. Tunc inito consilio cum prædictis regibus, pontificibus et senioribus terræ, perpendentes quod angulus ille longe lateque protenditur: permisimus Theophylactum venerabilem Episcopum, Regem Merciorum et Britannia<sup>c</sup> partes adire. Ego autem assumpto mecum adjutore, quem filius vester excellentissimus Rex Carolus

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

ob reverentiam vestri Apostolatus nobiscum misit virum probatæ fidei Wighodum<sup>d</sup> abbatem presbyterum, perrexi in regionem North-anymbrorum ad Oswaldum<sup>e</sup> Regem, et Archiepiscopum sanctæ Ecclesiæ Eboracæ civitatis Eanbaldum. Sed quia præfatus Rex longe in Borealibus commorabatur, misit jam dictus Archiepiscopus missos suos ad regem, qui continuo<sup>f</sup> omni gaudio statuit diem concilii: ad quem convenerunt omnes principes regionis, tam ecclesiastici quam seculares. Sed audientibus nobis relatum est quod reliqua vitia non minima ibi necessaria erant ad corrigendum. Quia, ut scitis, a tempore sancti Augustini pontificis, sacerdos Romanus nullus illuc missus est, nisi nos.

Scripsimus namque capitulare de singulis rebus, et per ordinem cuncta disserentes, auribus illorum pertulimus; qui cum omni humilitatis subjectione, et clara voluntate, tam admonitionem vestram quam parvitatem nostram amplexantes, sponderunt se in omnibus obedire. Tunc nos epistolas vestras eis tradidimus perlegendas, contestantes eos, tam in se quam in subditis, sacrata decreta custodire. Hæc namque sunt capitula, quæ illis pertulimus conservanda esse;

1. *Ut fides Nicena teneatur, et de ea presbyteri annuo examinentur: omnes etiam teneant sex universales synodos.*

Primo omnium admonentes, ut sancta et inviolata fides Niceni concilii ab omnibus qui sacro cultui mancipantur, fideliter et firmiter teneatur, et omni anno in synodalibus conventibus ab Episcopis singularum ecclesiarum presbyteri qui populum erudire debent, de ipsa fide diligentissime examinentur, ita ut Apostolicam fidem et universalem sex synodorum per Spiritum Sanctum probatam, sicut tradita est nobis a sancta Romana Ecclesia, per omnia confiteantur, teneant et prædicent: et si opportunum venerit, pro ea mori non pertimescant: et quosunque sancta universalia concilia susceperunt, suscipiant, et quos illa damnaverunt, eos et corde rejiciant, et condemnent.

2. *Baptizandum juxta canones: quid susceptoris sit officium.*

Secundo capitulo docuimus, ut baptismus secundum canonica statuta exerceatur, et non alio tempore, nisi pro magna necessitate: et ut omnes generaliter Symbolum et orationem Dominicam sciant; et illi qui parvulos de sacro fonte suscipiunt, et pro non loquentibus

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

respondent, ob renunciationem Satanæ, et operum et pomparum ejus, seu fidei credulitatem, sciant se fidejussores ipsorum esse ad Dominum pro ipsa sponsione: ut dum ad perfectionem ætatis pervenerint, doceant eos prædictam orationem Dominicam et Symbolum, quia nisi fecerint, districte ab eis exigetur, quod pro non loquentibus Deo promittitur. Ideo generaliter omni vulgo præcipimus, hoc memoria mandari.

3. *Ut Episcopus bis in anno synodum cogat, et parochiam suam semel circumeat, peccata corripuens, et sua cobibens.*

Tertio sermone perstrinximus, omni anno secundum canonicas institutiones, duo concilia: ut, sicut boni agricultores surculos, nascentes spinas de cordibus delinquentium radicitus amputare valeant: et unusquisque Episcopus parochiam suam omni anno semel circumeat; diligenter conventicula per loca congrua constituendo, quo cuncti convenire possint ad audiendum verbum Dei: ne aliquis per incuriam pastoris per devia cujuslibet ignorantie errans, rugientis leonis morsibus invadatur: et vigilantia cura gregem sibi commissum prædicet, confirmet, incestuosos separet: augures, aruspices, et incantatores, divinos, veneficos, sacrilegos<sup>h</sup> coerceat, et cuncta vitia demat. Et ne quis turpis lucri gratia, sed spe mercedis æternæ gregem sibi commissum pascere quærat: et quod gratis accepit, omnibus gratis præstare studeat, ut Apostolus protestatur, dicens: "Testificor coram Domino et Christo Jesu, Qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, et per adventum Ipsius, et regnum Ejus, prædica verbum, insta opportune, importune, argue, obsecra, increpa, in omni patientia et doctrina," sicut Propheta dicit, "Super montem excelsum ascende tu, qui evangelizas Sion:" scilicet ut ita præemineat merito, sicut et gradu. Et ne forte debeat a docendi timore restringi, audiat, "Exalta in fortitudine vocem tuam, et noli timere." Hieremias quoque dicit, "Accinge lumbos tuos, et surge, et loquere ad eos, ne formides a facie eorum, nec enim timere te faciam vultum eorum." Heu pro dolor, et nimis flenda tepiditas, quod multi æstimantes dicunt quid vel amore rerum secularium implicemini vel aliquo facinore territi verbum veritatis aperire confundemini? Si præsules ecclesiarum silent propter timorem aut amicitiam seculari, et peccantes non arguunt, ut pravi pastores non habentes curam de ovibus, et videntes lupum, fugiunt: cur magis non pertimescunt Principem principum, Regem regum, Dominum dominantium, Qui

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

per prophetam pastores increpat, dicens, “Non ascendistis ex adverso, neque opposuistis murum, ut staretis in prælio in die Domini?” Denique sicut pervigil pastor contra bestiam oves custodire solet: ita Dei sacerdos super gregem Christi sollicitus esse debet, ne inimicus vastet, ne persecutor infestet, ne potentioris cujusque cupiditas vitam pauperum inquietet, dicente Propheta, “Si non annuntiaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram: si autem annuntiaveris, et non egerit pœnitentiam, tuam animam liberasti, ipse in peccato suo morietur. Pastor namque bonus animam suam dat pro ovibus suis.” Hæc namque recolentes, patres mei et fratres, operam date, ne de vobis dicatur, ut pastoribus Israel, “qui pascunt semetipsos,” etc. sed audire mereamini, “Euge bone serve et fidelis, intra in gaudium Domini.”

4. *Ut vita et habitus canonicorum, etc. sint de more Orientalium, et juxta canones et decreta Pontificum Romanorum.*

Quartus sermo: Ut Episcopi diligenti cura provideant, quo omnes canonici<sup>i</sup> sui canonicè vivant, et monachi seu monachæ regulariter conversentur, tam in cibis quam in vestibus, ut discretio sit inter canonicum et monachum vel secularem: et illo habitu vivant, quo Orientales<sup>j</sup> monachi degunt: et canonici exemplo Orientalium, et non tinctis Indiæ coloribus, aut veste preciosa: sed Episcopi, abbates, et abbatissæ, subjectis sibi in omnibus exemplum bonum præbeant, ut Petrus ait, “Estote forma facti gregis, secundum Dominum,” etc. Qua de re suademus, ut synodalia edicta universalium sex conciliorum cum decretis pontificum Romanorum sæpius lectitentur, observentur, et juxta eorum exemplar Ecclesiæ status corrigatur, ut ne quid novi ab aliquibus introduci permittatur, ne sit schisma in Ecclesia Dei.

5. *Ut præfecti monasteriorum eligantur vitæ probatæ.*

Quintum caput admonet: Ut si (quod sæpe evenire solet) abbas aut abbatissa de hac luce migraverint, tunc cum consilio Episcopi, cujus in parochia ipsum monasterium situm est, probatæ vitæ, et religiosi secundum Dominum, ex ipsis eligantur pastores, qui sollicite animarum sibi commissarum curam gerant; sin autem in cœnobia illo talis vir minime reperitur, de alio eis cœnobia talis mittatur, qui eos secundum Dominum gubernare queat: ut votum quod Deo voverunt, in omni humilitate et obedientia die noctuque implere

## [LEGATINE SYNODS.]

satagant; "parati semper præcinctis lumbis, ardentibusque lucernis patremfamilias expectantes, ut dum vigilantes invenerit, faciat eos æterni convivii esse participes."

6. *De presbyterorum et diaconorum ordinatione.*

Sextum decretum: Ut nullus Episcoporum presbyterum aut diaconum ordinare præsumat, nisi probatæ vitæ fuerint, et officium suum rite implere possint: et in illo titulo perseverent ad quem consecrati sunt, ita ut nullus de alterius titulo presbyterum aut diaconum suscipere præsumat, absque causa rationabili et literis commendatiis.

7. *Ut cursus fiat in horis canonicis.*

Septimo capitulo: Ut omnes Ecclesiæ publice canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant.

8. *Ut privilegia a pontifice Romano concessa observentur.*

Octavo statuto: Ut privilegia antiqua a sancta Romana sede delata<sup>k</sup> Ecclesiis omnibus conserventur. Si qua autem propter assensum pravorum hominum contra canonica instituta conscripta sunt, avellantur.

9. *Ut ecclesiasticus cibum in secreto non sumat.*

Nono capite: Ut nullus ex ecclesiasticis cibum in secreto sumere audeat, nisi præ nimia infirmitate, quia hypocrisis et Saracenorum<sup>l</sup> est. Ideo hortantur, "ut non simus forinsecus sepulchra dealbata, intus autem pleni cadaveribus mortuorum," maxime cum Salvator dicit, "Attendite ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut videamini ab eis, alioquin mercedem non habetis apud Patrem vestrum Qui in cœlis est:" unde intueri libet, si bona opera in absconditis fieri jubentur, ut pro Cujus nomine hæc facimus, ab Ipso remuneremur: quid pertinet ad rem, ut coram hominibus jejunantes aut abstinentes simulemur, in secretis vero nostris bovem aut equum glutiamus.

10. *Ut in missa, crura nuda, crusta panis, cornu bovis non admittantur: nec in synodis secularia. Orandum pro ecclesia.*

Decimo capitulo: Ut ne quislibet ex ministris altaris, nudis cruribus ad missam celebrandam accedere audeat, ne turpitude ejus

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

appareat, et offendatur Deus: scientes, quod si hoc in lege prohibitum est, nunc in sacramento Christi diligentius observari debet. Oblationes quoque fidelium tales fiant, ut panis sit, non crusta. Vetuimus etiam ne de cornu bovis calix aut patina fieret, ad sacrificandum Deo, quia sanguineæ sunt <sup>m</sup>. Vidimus etiam ibi Episcopos in conciliis suis secularia judicare, prohibuimusque eos voce Apostolica: “Nemo militans Deo implicet se negotiis secularibus, ut Ei militet Cui se probavit.” Obsecravimus etiam ut assidue preces fierent pro Ecclesia Dei, ut Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus exaltet, corroboret, protegat et defendat, conservet immaculatam ad laudem et gloriam nominis Sui in omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

### II. *De officio regum, et excellentia sacerdotum.*

Undecimus sermo fuit ad reges et principes: Ut regimen suum cum magna cautela et disciplina peragant, et cum justitia judicent, ut scriptum est: “Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis,” etc. Denique sicut superius Episcopis intinavimus, autoritate Divina fiducialiter et veraciter absque ullo timore vel adulatione loqui verbum Dei regibus, principibus, omnibusque dignitatibus, nunquam veritatem subterfugere, nulli parcere, neminem injuste damnare, neminem sine causa excommunicare, omnibus viam salutis tam verbis quam exemplis demonstrare: ita quoque reges et principes admonuimus, ut obediant ex corde cum magna humilitate suis Episcopis: quia illis claves cœli datæ sunt, et habent potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, ut scriptum est: “Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi: presbyteros tuos, et dicent tibi.” Et alibi Apostolus: “Obedite præpositis vestris tanquam Domino: ipsi enim vigilant pro vobis, quasi pro animabus vestris rationem reddituri.” Dominus Ipse doctoribus ait: “Qui vos audit, Me audit, qui autem vos spernit, non spernit vos, sed Eum Qui misit vos.” Item per Prophetam: “Labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam, et legem requirunt ex ore ejus, quia angelus Domini exercituum est.” Igitur si angeli sacerdotes appellantur, a secularibus judicari non possunt, ut Apostolus ait: “Mihi autem pro minimo est, ut a vobis judicer, aut ab humano die, qui autem judicat me, Dominus est.” Item per Psalmistam: “Et corripuit pro eis reges, ita dicens: Nolite tangere christos Meos, et in prophetis Meis nolite malignari.” Item Apostolus: “Nescitis quoniam angelos judicabimus? quanto magis



[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

secularia!" quia sicut reges omnibus dignitatibus præsunt, ita et Episcopi in his quæ ad Deum attinent.

Ideo omni nisu hortamur, ut Ecclesiam Dei, quæ est sponsa Christi, omnes honorent in facto, nec injustum servitutis jugum ei imponant, nec superbiant in seculari potentia, nec alios vi opprimant, ut scriptum est: "Et honor regis judicium diligit:" perpendat unusquisque, qualiter a suis subjectis sponsam suam honorari velit: et in hoc terreno exemplo consideret, quantum cœlestis Regis sponsam oporteat venerari, ne (quod absit) de eis dicatur: "Ipsi regnaverunt, sed non ex Me: principes extiterunt, et non cognovi," sed audire mereantur: "Inveni virum secundum cor Meum, qui facit omnes voluntates Meas; ideo posui adjutorium super potentem, et odientes eum in fugam convertam, ut longævitatem fœlicitatemque regni sibi suisque nepotibus distribuatur," et æternam futuri regni gloriam concedat, habeantque reges consiliarios prudentes, Dominum timentes, moribus honestos, ut populus, bonis exemplis regum et principum eruditus et confortatus, proficiat in laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei.

#### 12. De ordinatione et honore regum.

Duodecimo sermone sanximus, ut in ordinatione regum nullus permittat pravorum prævalere assensum: sed legitime reges a sacerdotibus et senioribus populi eligantur, et non de adulterio vel incoestu procreati: quia sicut nostris temporibus ad sacerdotium secundum canones adulter pervenire non potest; sic nec christus Domini esse valet, et rex totius regni, et hæres patriæ, qui ex legitimo non fuerit connubio generatus, dicente Propheta: "Scitote quia Dominus dominator est in regno hominum, et Ipsius est regnum, et cuicumque voluerit, dabit illud." Ideo omnes generaliter admonuimus, ut consona voce et corde Dominum rogent, ut Qui eligit eum in regnum, Ipse ei tribuat regimen disciplinæ sanctæ Suæ, ad regendam plebem Suam. Honor quoque eis ab omnibus impendatur, dicente Apostolo, "Regem honorificate:" et alibi, "Sive regi quasi præcellenti, sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis, ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum." Item Apostolus: "Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus subdita sit, quia non est potestas data nisi a Deo. Quæ autem a Deo sunt, ordinata sunt. Igitur qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit; qui autem resistunt, ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt." Nullus regi detrahat, dicente Salomone; "In ore tuo

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

ne detraxeris regi, et in corde tuo ne maledixeris principi: quia aves cœli portant illud, et qui habet pennas, annuntiabit verbum." In necem regis nemo communicare audeat, quia christus Domini est: et si quis tali sceleri adhæserit, si Episcopus est, aut ullus ex sacerdotali gradu, ex ipso detrudatur, et a sancta hæreditate dejiciatur, sicut Judas ab Apostolico gradu ejectus est: et omnis quisquis tali sacrilegio assenserit, æterno anathematis vinculo interibit, et Judæ traditori sociatus, sempiternis cremabitur incendiis, ut scriptum est, "Non solum qui faciunt, sed et qui consentiunt facientibus, judicium Dei non effugiunt." Duo namque eunuchi Asuerum regem interficere cupientes, in patibulum suspensi sunt. Animadvertite quid fecerit David præfecto, cum ei Dominus dixerit, "Ego tradam Saul in manus tuas:" dum invenit dormientem, et hortatus a milite ut occideret eum, dixit: "Absit a me hoc peccatum, ut extendam manum meam in christum Domini." Illum autem militem qui post mortem ejus venit ad eum, protestans quod ipse occiderat Saul, capite truncavit: et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et semini ejus post eum. Exemplis namque apud vos sæpe probatum est, quod quicumque internecionis dominorum causa fuere, in spatio vitam finierunt, et utroque jure caruerunt.

### 13. *De judiciis juste ferendis.*

Decima tertia admonitio fuit; ut potentes et divites justa judicia statuunt, nec personam divitis accipiant, nec pauperes contemnant, neque a rectitudine judiciorum deviant, nec munera super innocentes accipiant, sed in veritate et justitia, dicente Propheta, "Juste judicate filii hominum." Item alibi, "Non facies quod iniquum est, nec injuste judicabis: non stabis contra sanguinem proximi tui." Item ut Esaias, "Quærite judicium, subvenite oppresso, judicate pupillo, defendite viduam, et venite et arguite Me, dicit Dominus. Si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur: et si fuerint rubra quasi vermiculus, ut lana alba erunt." Item alibi, "Solve omnem nodum iniquitatis, solve fasciculos deprimentes: demitte eos qui confracti sunt, liberos, et omne onus disrumpe. Tunc erumpet quasi mane lumen tuum, et sanitas tua citius orietur;" dicente Domino in Evangelio: "In quo enim judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini: mensura qua mensi fueritis, metietur vobis." Nec vi alicui rapietis quod suum est, ut dictum est, "Non concupisces rem proximi tui, nec desiderabis uxorem ejus, non villam, non bovem,

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

non ovem, non agrum, nec omnia quæ illius sunt." Propheta namque comminatur dicens, "Væ qui jungitis domum ad domum, et agrum ad agrum copulatis, usque ad terminum loci: nunquid soli vos habitabitis in medio terræ? in auribus Meis sunt hæc, dicit Dominus exercituum." Rursum clamat Propheta, dicens: "Eripite pauperem, et egenum de manu peccatoris liberate." Mementote quid mereatur, qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis: qui autem susceperit unum de his, Christum suscipit, a Quo in iudicio mereamini audire: "Venite, benedicti, possidete paratum vobis regnum ab origine mundi."

14. *De cohibendis fraude, rapina, et tributis Ecclesie injuste impositis.*

Decimum quartum caput. Fraus, violentia et rapina vetatur, et ne injusta vel majora tributa Ecclesiis Dei imponantur, quam lex Romana et antiqua consuetudo priorum imperatorum, regum et principum habeat: omninoque qui sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et beato Petro principi Apostolorum communicare cupit, ab hoc vitio violentiæ immunem se servare studeat. Sit concordia ubique, et unanimitas inter reges et episcopos, ecclesiasticos et laicos, omnemque populum Christianum: ut sit unitas ubique Ecclesiarum Dei, et pax in una Ecclesia, in una fide, spe, et charitate permanens, unum caput habens, quod est Christus, Cujus membra se invicem adjuvare, mutuaque charitate diligere debeant, sicut Ipse dixit, "In hoc cognoscent omnes quia Mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem."

15. *De iniquis et incestuosis conjugiiis prohibendis.*

Decimum quintum caput. Interdicuntur omnibus injusta connubia, et incæstuosa, tam cum ancillis Dei, vel aliis illicitis personis, quam cum propinquis et consanguineis, vel alienigenis uxoribus: et omnino anathematis mucrone perfoditur, qui talia agit, nisi correctus respiscat a tam nefanda præsumptione: et suo Episcopo obtemperans, seipsum ad æquitatis normam corrigat et revocet.

16. *Ut spurii et proles illegitima non succedant in hæreditatem.*

Decimum sextum caput. Decreto abdicitur filiis meretricum legitima hæreditas. Adulterinos namque filios, ac sanctimonialium, autoritate Apostolica spurios et adulteros judicamus. Virginem namque quæ se Deo voverit, et ad instar Sanctæ Mariæ vestem

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

induerit, sponsam Christi vocitare non dubitamus. Ideo manifestum est, sive in cœlestibus rebus, sive terrestribus: quia qui potentiores se sponsam tulerit, et suo sibi eam matrimonio copulaverit, nunquam impunitus evadet. Unde et Apostolus ait, "Si quis templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Dominus. Templum enim Dei sanctum est," etc. et idem Apostolus: "Hoc namque scitote, intelligentes, quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut adulter, aut avarus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei." Perpendite namque, si ab Apostolo hæreditas seculi secluditur, dicente Scriptura, "Non enim hæres erit filius ancillæ cum filio liberæ." Sed dicet aliquis adulterinus: "Meretrix mea non est serva, sed libera." His autoritate Apostolica respondemus: "Nescitis, quia cui vos servos exhibuistis ad obediendum, servi estis ejus cui obedistis? sive peccati ad mortem, sive justitiæ ad sanctificationem." Idcirco imperavimus Apostolicis verbis, ut "propter fornicationem fugiendam, unusquisque" laicus "suam uxorem legitimam habeat, et unaquæque suum virum habeat," ut secundum Dominum inde hæredes legitimos habeat, fiantque hæredes Dei, cohæredes autem Christi. Cæterum sicut in canone, vel in Evangelica doctrina, et decretis Apostolicorum dogmatum de legitimis matrimoniis, vel statuto tempore nubendi vel abstinendi, scriptum est: his decretis nihil addere præsumimus, aut demere, "Si quis autem videtur contentiosus esse, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesia Dei."

17. *Ut decimæ juste solvantur. Usura, iniqua pondera et mensuræ prohibentur.*

Decimum septimum caput; de decimis dandis, sicut in lege scriptum est: "Decimam partem ex omnibus frugibus tuis seu primitiis deferas in domum Domini Dei tui." Rursum per Prophetam: "Adferte," inquit, "omnem decimam in horreum Meum, ut sit cibus in domo Mea: et probate Me super hoc, si non aperuero vobis cataractas cœli, et effudero benedictionem usque ad abundantiam: et increpabo pro vobis devorantem, qui comedit et corrumpit fructum terræ vestræ: et non erit ultra vinea sterilis in agro, dicit Dominus." Sicut Sapiens ait, "Nemo justam eleemosynam de his quæ possidet facere valet, nisi prius separaverit Domino, quod a primordio Ipse Sibi reddere delegavit." Ac per hoc plerumque contingit, ut qui decimam non tribuit, ad decimam revertitur. Unde etiam cum obtestatione præcipimus, ut omnes studeant de omnibus quæ possident decimas dare,

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

quia speciale Domini Dei est: et de novem partibus sibi vivat, et eleemosynas tribuat, et magis eas in absconditis facere suasimus, quia scriptum est, "Cum facis eleemosynam, noli tuba canere ante te."

Usuras quoque prohibuimus, dicente Domino ad David, "dignum fore habitatorem tabernaculi sui, qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram." Augustinus quoque ait, "quia habet injustum lucrum sine justo damno. Ubi lucrum, ibi damnum: lucrum in arca, damnum in conscientia."

Statuimus etiam, ut mensuras æquas et pondera æqualia statuant omnibus, dicente Salomone, "Pondus et pondus, mensuram et mensuram odit Deus:" id est, ne alio quis vendat pondere, vel mensura alia emat: quia ubique Deus justitiam diligit, et æquitatem videt vultus Ejus.

#### 18. *Ut vota fideliter reddantur.*

Decimum octavum caput. De voto Christianorum, ut impleant illud. Antiqui namque patriarchæ et prophetæ per hoc placuerunt Domino. Abel namque justus votum fidei animo optulit de adipibus suis: et grata magis erant Domino, quam illius parricidæ. Idcirco Divino igne Deus absumpsit holocausta accepta, non bono autem animo oblata contempsit: et idcirco, cum maledictione damnatus, iram meruit. Junior autem felici martyrio coronatus est. Recordamini Enoch, qui votum vovit et reddidit, et vivens in corpore translatus est. Noe namque justus votum vovit et reddidit, et solus omnium hominum, cum septem sibi conjunctis, de diluvio mundi liberatus est. Quid loquar de Abraham, qui cætera vota vovit et reddidit, et decimas sacerdoti Melchisedech dedit? de hostibus namque triumphavit: ideo meruit Dominum in Trinitate non solum adorare, verum etiam in hospitium suscipere, et promissionis filium de nonagenaria habere: et quem promissionis filium suscipere meruit (maxime dicente Domino, "In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen: et, in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes terræ") ipsum promissionis filium mactare non renuit, quem procul dubio tamen victurum non diffidebat. Ideo fides cooperabatur operibus illius, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei appellatus est. Jacob namque votum vovit, et reddidit. Recordamini Manoe de filia sua, et memoria illius in sempiternum erit. David propheta implens votum, nobis præcipit, dicens: "Vovete et reddite Domino Deo vestro, omnes

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

qui in circuitu Ejus sunt: afferte munera terribili, et Ei Qui aufert spiritum principum, terribili apud omnes reges terræ." Salomon quoque ait; "Cum feceris votum, festina reddere illud, ne forte Dominus irascatur tibi." Item Scriptura, "Melius est non vovere, quam post votum non reddere." Unde obsecramus, ut unusquisque ad mentem suam revocet, quicquid in prosperitate et angustia Deo vovit, ne tardet reddere illud; ne forte iterum in angustiis implicati audire mereamini, "Quod dudum pollicitus est Mihi, mentitus est: ad servandam duritiem tuam et cor impœnitens, thesaurizasti tibi iram in die iræ, et revelationis justi judicii Dei." "Ideo in interitu vestro ridebo, et subsannabo, cum vobis quod timebatis advenerit." Nihil namque damus aut promittimus, nisi quod prius nobis dedit. Unde Propheta compunctus ait, "Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi?" Si quis autem voverit, et reddere distulerit, veremur ne unquam illæsus evadat, ut dictum est, "Horrendum est incidere in manus Domini viventis," etc.

19. *Ut reliquias paganorum rituum quisque abjiciat.*

Decimum nonum caput annexuimus, ut unusquisque fidelis Christianus a Catholicis viris exemplum accipiat: et si quid ex ritu paganorum remansit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie, pagani vero diabolico instinctu cicatrices teterrimas superinduxerunt, dicente Prudentio;

"Tinxit et innocuam maculis sordentibus humum P."

Domino enim videtur facere injuriam, qui creaturam suam fœdat et deturpat.

Certe si pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ injuriam sustineret, magnam inde remunerationem acciperet. Sed quisquis ex superstitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad salutem, sicut nec Judæis circumcisio corporis sine credulitate cordis.

Vestimenta etiam vestra, more gentilium, quos, Deo opitulante, patres vestri de orbe armis expulerunt, induitis: miranda res, et nimis stupenda; ut quorum vitam semper odistis exempla imitemini.

Equos etiam vestros turpi consuetudine detruncatis, nares finditis, aures copulatis, verum etiam et surdas redditis, caudas amputatis: et quia illos illæsos habere potestis, hoc nolentes cunctis odibiles redditis.

Audivimus etiam, quod dum inter vos litigium versatur, sortes

## [LEGATINE SYNODS.]

more gentilium mittitis: quod omnino sacrilegum istis temporibus reputatur.

Equos etiam plerique in vobis comedunt, quod nullus Christianorum in Orientalibus facit<sup>9</sup>: quod etiam evitate: contendite ut omnia vestra honesta et secundum Dominum fiant.

20. *De conversione, pœnitentia, et confessione.*

Vigesimum caput. Omnibus generaliter intimavimus, ut juxta Propheticam vocem agere decertent, quæ ait, "Nolite tardare converti ad Dominum, nec differatis de die in diem." Et alibi, "Convertimini ad Me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio, et fletu, et planctu." Item, "Convertimini ad Me, et Ego convertar ad vos:" et juxta Apostolum, "Confitemini alter alteri peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem, ut salvemini, ne ullum" (quod absit) "subitanea mors imparatum inveniat:" et juxta judicium sacerdotum, et modum culpæ, Eucharistiam sumite, et fructus dignos pœnitentia facite; fructuosa namque pœnitentia est, admissa deflere, et fleta in postmodum non admittere.

Si quis autem (quod absit) sine pœnitentia aut confessione de hac luce discessit, pro eo minime orandum est. Nullus enim nostrum absque peccato est, nec infans unius diei, dicente Apostolo, "Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est;" pœnitentini igitur et convertimini, quia mors non tardat, ut deleantur vestra peccata, et illa vita sine fine mansura cum angelis sanctis perfrui mereamini, per Eum Qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum.

Hæc decreta, beatissime Papa Hadriane, in concilio publico coram Rege Ælfuualdo, et Archiepiscopo Eanbaldo, et omnibus Episcopis et abbatibus regionis, seu senatoribus, et ducibus, et populo terræ proposuimus, et illi, ut superius fati sumus, cum omni devotione mentis juxta possibilitatem virium suarum, adjuvante superna clementia, se in omnibus custodire devoverunt: et signo sanctæ crucis in vice vestra, in manu nostra confirmaverunt: ut postea stylo diligenti in charta hujus paginæ exaraverunt, signum sanctæ crucis infigentes.

Ego Ælfuualdus Transhumbranæ gentis Rex, consentiens signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Dilberchus<sup>r</sup> Augustadensis Ecclesiæ præsul, gaudens signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Eanbaldus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus sanctæ Eboracensis

[LEGATINE SYNODS.]

Ecclesiæ, hujus chartulæ piæ et catholicæ taxationi, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Hyguualdus Lindisfarnensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus obediens, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Ædilberchus Candensis casæ Episcopus supplex, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Aldulphus Myiensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus, devota voluntate subscripsi.

Ego Æthiluinus Episcopus per legatos subscripsi.

Gosigha patricius, signo sanctæ crucis placido animo subscripsi.

His quoque saluberrimis admonitionibus presbyteri, diaconi ecclesiarum, et abbates monasteriorum, judices optimates et nobiles, unopere, uno ore consentimus et subscripsimus.

Ego Alrich dux, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Sigulfus dux, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Aldberich abbas, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Erhart abbas, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

His peractis, et data benedictione, perreximus, assumptis nobiscum viris illustribus, legatis Regis et Archiepiscopi, Maluinum videlicet et Pyttel lectores: qui una nobiscum pergentes, et ipsa decreta secum deferentes in concilium Merciorum, ubi gloriosus Rex Offa cum senatoribus terræ, una cum Archiepiscopo Jaenberchto sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dorovernensis, et cæteris Episcopis regionum convenerat, et in conspectu concilii clara voce singula capitula perlecta sunt, et tam Latine quam Teutonice, quo omnes intelligere possent, dilucide reserata sunt: qui omnes consona voce, alacri animo gratias referentes, Apostolatus vestri admonitionibus promiserunt se, Divino adminiculante favore, juxta qualitatem virium promptissima voluntate, in omnibus hæc statuta custodire. Quinetiam, ut supra taxavimus, tam Rex, quam principes sui, Archiepiscopus cum sociis suis in manu nostra, in vice domini vestri, signum sanctæ crucis firmaverunt, et rursus præsentem chartulam sacrato signo roboraverunt.

Ego Jeanbrechtus\* Archiepiscopus sanctæ Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ supplex signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Ego Offa Rex Merciorum, consentiens his statutis, prompta voluntate signo crucis subscripsi.

Hugibrechtus Episcopus Lichtenfelsæ Ecclesiæ, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

Edeulfus Lindensis, Faronensis Episcopus subscripsi.



## [LEGATINE SYNODS.]

Unuona Legorensium Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Alchardus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Fadberchus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Chumbrechus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Harchelus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Aeine Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Tora Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Uuaremundus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Adalmundus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Adoredus Episcopus subscripsi.  
 Edrabordus abbas, Alemundus abbas, Boduinus abbas, Uttel  
 abbas.  
 Brorda dux, signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.  
 Facuualdus dux subscripsi.  
 Bercoaldus dux subscripsi.  
 Othbaldus comes subscripsi<sup>t</sup>. [*Magdeb. Cent.*, cent. VIII. p. 575;  
*S.*, I. 291-301; *W.*, I. 145-151; *Mansi*, XII. 937-950.]

<sup>a</sup> This very valuable document was printed by the Magdeburg Centuriators from a MS. of which they give no account, and which has never been identified. It contains however abundant internal proof of authenticity. The rubrics are Spelman's.

<sup>b</sup> The mention of Kynewulf shows that the landing of the legates was not later than A.D. 786, in which year Kynewulf was killed. The 12th canon may have been suggested by his murder.

<sup>c</sup> The Britain meant here is probably the North Wales principality of Gwynedd, which under Elbod Bishop of Bangor adopted the Roman Easter, A.D. 768 x 809. See vol. I. p. 204.

<sup>d</sup> Nothing is known of this Wighod: Mabillon (*Ann. O.S.B.*, II. 288) conjectured that he might be Wihtbold, a person nominated by Charles to the abbey of Fontenelles, but sent about this time on an embassy to Constantinople. Some verses by a poet named *Wighod* addressed to Charles are extant, printed in *Bouquet*, V. 404. The first abbot of S. Alban's at the foundation of the monastery by Offa is called *Willegod* by Matthew Paris (*Vitæ Abbatum*, ed. Wats, p. 35).

<sup>e</sup> For *Oswaldum* we ought to read *Ælf-woldum*, as appears from what follows.

<sup>f</sup> The word *continuo* seems scarcely applicable, as several months must have elapsed between the interview with Kynewulf, which cannot be placed later than A.D. 786, and September A.D. 787, when the Northern

synod assembled: but the summons to the synod was not issued until the Archbishop's messengers reached the King, and after it was issued time enough elapsed for Bishop Aldulf to come from the west of Ireland.

<sup>g</sup> The direction to summon two councils annually may account for the great increase of conciliar documents and charters granted in synod which prevails, as will be seen, for the next forty years.

<sup>h</sup> For *sacrilegos* Johnson (*Canons*, I. 268) proposes to read *sortilegos*.

<sup>i</sup> This is probably the first use of the word *canonici* in the sense of canons living in community, but without monastic vows, that occurs in English Church History: indeed the rule of Chrodegang, the first canonical rule, was only published about fifty years before this; and the title does not become common until much later. The English secular priests seem to have avoided the rule as much almost as the monastic.

<sup>j</sup> By *Orientalia* are meant the monks of Italy and Germany, no doubt. The letter of Charles to Offa given by Matthew Paris (*Vitæ Offanorum*, p. 21), "Ego Karolus regum Christianorum Orientalium potentissimus, vos O Offane, regum Occidentalium Christianorum potentissimus, cupio lætificare," supplies an exact parallel. This letter is however rejected by Jailé as clearly spurious (*Mon. Carol.* p. 335).

<sup>k</sup> We may infer from this clause that the number of privileges granted to churches in

## [LEGATINE SYNODS.]

England by the Roman see was considerable, and that it would be rash to condemn as spurious such documents as those of Evesham, Canterbury, Chertsey, and others given already, except where they contain misstatements of known facts, or sink under certain diplomatic tests, such as anachronism and the like.

<sup>1</sup> For *Saracenorum* Johnson (*Canons*, ed. Baron, I. 270) proposes *Sarabattarum*. The *Sarabaitæ* were Pseudo-monks who disavowed rule, and while using the tonsure indulged themselves at their pleasure. The term might be applied very appropriately to the inhabitants of the monasteries of which Bede wrote to Egbert, but it seems unnecessary here to depart from the reading of the text, the Saracenic method of keeping the fasts being well known.

<sup>m</sup> Johnson remarks that the sense is imperfect here: and that the words *quia sanguineæ sunt* contain some reference to the clause that follows. But there seems no occasion to alter the text.

<sup>n</sup> For *qui potentiorum* Johnson proposes to read *qui a potentiore*; "he who has taken away a wife from one stronger than himself."

<sup>o</sup> *Aug. Serm. VIII.*; *Opp. V.* 44.

<sup>p</sup> Prudentius, *Enchiridion*, v. 3: who has however for *bumum* "Adam."

<sup>q</sup> See above, note 1.

<sup>r</sup> The Bishops whose attestations are appended at the Northern synod are, Tilbert of Hexham (A.D. 781-789); Eanbald I. of York (A.D. 780-796); Higbald of Lindisfarne (A.D. 781-802); Ethelbert of Whithern (A.D. 777-797); Aldulf of Mayo, consecrated by the Northern Bishops in A.D. 785. Ethelwin, who signs by deputy, is an unknown Bishop; the name may, however, represent Bishop Elbod of Bangor. Of *Gosigba* the Patrician nothing is ascertainable, unless he be the Patrician Sigga (*Ego Sigga*) who killed Elfwald in A.D. 788. There were two *Alrics*, important men in Northumbria at this time; one, an ealdorman, who afterwards became a monk, and died at York in A.D. 796 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 669); the other, the son of Heardbeart, who fell at Whalley in A.D. 798 (*A. S. C.*). The former of the two is the most likely to be the *dux* in question. The name of Sigulf is known as that of the "custos Heboricæ civitatis ecclesiæ," a fervent disciple of Alcuin, who suc-

ceeded him in his abbey of Ferrières; and of another friend of Alcuin, who was a monk and disciple of Benedict of Aniane (*Froben, V. Alc.* c. IV. § 47). It is just possible that the former may have been a *dux* at this time. Of the two abbots *Aldberich* is Abbot Albert of Ripon (see above, p. 444), and Erhart is unknown.

<sup>s</sup> The Bishops who attest the acceptance of the canons at the Southern council are, Jaenbert of Canterbury; Higbert of Lichfield (A.D. 779-801); Ceolwulf of Lindsey (A.D. 767-796); Unwona of Leicester (A.D. 785-799); Alheard of Elmham (A.D. 785-811); Eadbald of London (A.D. 775-787); Kinbert of Winchester (A.D. 787-801); Heardred of Dunwich (A.D. 781-789); Esne of Hereford, and Totta of Selsey, whose places in the ancient lists agree with their position here, but who are not otherwise known; Weremund of Rochester, who subscribes charters from this date to A.D. 803; Ethelmod of Sherborne (A.D. 778-789); and Heathored of Worcester (A.D. 781-798). Of the abbots, Botwin was abbot of Peterborough (*K. C. D.*, *CXIII.*); Uttel became soon after Bishop of Hereford; Alemundus is probably the Mercian abbot who subscribes charters frequently at this period (*K. C. D.*, *CLV.*, etc. etc.), and who belonged in A.D. 803 to the diocese of Leicester; *Edrabordus* is a corrupt word, and may represent either Forthred or Ethelheard, both of whom were prominent abbots at this time. Brorda, otherwise called Hildegils, *princeps Merciarum*, died A.D. 799 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 671); Berthwald and Brorda sign charters together in A.D. 789 (*K. C. D.*, *CLV.* etc.); Facuvaldus may be Eadbald (*K. C. D.*, *CLII.*); Othbald may be the Northumbrian ealdorman Osbald, who became King for a few days in A.D. 796 (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 669). The general survey of the names helps to confirm the authenticity of the report, for they occur together in no extant charter, but stand nevertheless all the tests applicable on existing evidence.

<sup>t</sup> The abrupt termination of the report of the legates, without a formal conclusion, is a proof of its imperfectness, and accounts for the omission of the other topics, known or believed by the historians to have been discussed at the council (see above, pp. 445, 446).

A.D. 787<sup>a</sup>. *Grant of Offa to the monastery of Chertsey, issued in a synodal meeting at Aecleab*<sup>b</sup>. [Questionable.]

Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Ihesu Christo et Salvatore Deo! Cuncta quæ videntur temporalia esse et quæ non videntur

[SYNOD OF ACLE.]

æterna fieri verum constat; cum hiis transitoriis æterna mercari posse ex sacrorum voluminum testimoniis certum tenemus. Ideoque ego Offa, pia Dei prædestinante gratia Rex Mercionum necnon et in circuitu nationum, cogitavi in corde meo ut aliquid ex perceptione mundani regni ad libertatem æcclesiasticam, pro ereptione et remedio animæ meæ, libenter erogarem. Proinde, rogante et obsecrante me veneranda Cynedriþa Regina mea, Ceolnodo honorabili abbati et ejus familiæ venerabili in æcclesia Sancti Petri Apostolorum principis et clavicularii regni cœlestis monasterialiter conversanti, in præfata æcclesia Deo servienti, pro me et pro Cynedriþa Regina mea et pro Ecgrifido filio meo et filiabus meis Æthelburge abbatissæ et Æthelfede et Eadburge et Æthelsuithæ hoc privilegium libertatis, libenti animo, Dei instinctus amore, regia usus potestate, omnes terras et omnes villulas et possessiones, quas subregulus Frithuualdus et abbas Ercenuualdus primi fundatores præfato monasterio dederunt et concesserunt, ego præfatus Rex concedo et confirmo; scilicet in omnibus monasteriunculis, terris, campis, silvis, pascuis, pratis, aquis, stagnis et rivulis. Hanc libertatem et omnia prædicta ad præfatum monasterium pertinentia, in sinodali conventu in loco qui nominatur Aecleah, et testes et consistentes hii fuerunt quorum nomina infra annotabo.

✠ Ego Offa Christo Domino concedente Rex, propriam libertatis confirmationem signo sanctæ crucis munio. ✠ Ego Cynedriþa Dei dono Regina, huic libertati consentio. ✠ Ego Ecgrifidus filius Regis subscribo. ✠ Ego Æthelburga abbatissa consensi. ✠ Ego Ælfleda virgo consensi. ✠ Ego Eadburga virgo consensi. ✠ Ego Jamber-tus gratia Dei concedente Archiepiscopus, synodali collegio præsi-dens in loco qui dicitur Aecleah, cum consilio Episcoporum et abba-tum et omnium qui simul mecum erant ibi, huic libertati et confirmationi consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Acta sunt hæc apud Aecleah, anno Incarnationis Christo DCC<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>. septimo. [K. C. D., *CLI.*, from MS. Cotton, Vitellius A. XIII. f. 31.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of this charter depends for authority on the last clause, which may be a later addition; in which case the grant may belong to the following year. Surrey was at this time under the command, if not actually under the sway, of Offa, Kynewulf having been killed in A.D. 786; and Briht-ric's marriage with Eadburga, who here signs as "virgo," being probably to be referred to

A.D. 789. Although there is no decisive mark of forgery in the charter, the circumstantial details about the family of Offa are of a character not often introduced into charters, and inspire suspicion. With the genuineness of the charter would fall the only evidence for the occurrence of the synod.

<sup>b</sup> Aecleah is unquestionably Ockley in Surrey; and whether the charter be genuine

[SYNOD OF ACLE.]

or not, it affords a strong presumption that the other councils of the Southern province,

said to be held at Acleah, were held at the same place.

A.D. 788. *Grant of Offa to his "minister" Osberht of lands in Kent; made in an assembly of Bishops at Celchyth<sup>a</sup>.* [K. C. D., CLIII.]

<sup>a</sup> This charter, printed by Kemble from the original at Christ Church, Canterbury, is imperfect; it is signed by Jaenbert as Archbishop; by Higbert as Bishop (probably having not yet received the pall); by Heardraed, Æthilmod, Cynebirht, Unwono, and Alheard, Bishops; the names of three other Bishops are mutilated; Ceolmund, who probably was the Bishop of Hereford who succeeded Esne, is another witness, but his title of Bishop is gone; and the names of five other witnesses with it. There is another charter of Offa

dated in A.D. 788, in which Higbert appears as Archbishop for the first time (K. C. D., CLII.). It is a grant to Rochester, but does not bear evidence of being granted in a synod. The former charter seems to be good evidence of a synod held at Chelsea in A.D. 788. That a pall was sent for by Offa to Rome and given to Higbert is certain from the letter of Leo III. (A. S., I. 460), and from the letter in which Alcuin begs that he may not be deprived of it (*Alc., Ep.* 60, ed. Froben). Both letters will be found below.

A.D. 788<sup>a</sup>. *Synod of Aclech.*

RIC. HAGUSTALD., *Hist. c. XVII.*—*Episcopatus quoque hujus (sc. Tilberti) anno octavo, et Dominicæ incarnationis DCC<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>, Elfwaldus Rex Northanhymbrorum postquam decem annis regnavit, conjuratione facta ab ejus patricio Siga nomine, miserabili morte, undecimo kalendas Octobris, occisus est juxta murum in loco qui Cithlescester dicitur. Et regnavit Osredus, Alcredi regis filius, ejusdem Elfwaldi nepos, uno pro eo anno. Quo etiam anno, tertio kalendas Octobris, sinodus fuit in loco qui dicitur Aclech.* [Ed. Raine, p. 38; ed. Twysden, c. 298; S., I. 305; W., I. 153.]

<sup>a</sup> This synod is mentioned also in three MSS. (the later ones) of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in close connexion with the death of Elfwald, which is there placed in A.D. 789. Simeon of Durham, whose authority may be accepted as conclusive, places Elfwald's death in A.D. 788; but does not mention the synod. Richard of Hexham again, while giving Simeon's date, introduces the mention of the synod, with the additional particulars of the month and day. As Richard appears to have had access to the more ancient Northumbrian Chronicle from which Simeon drew his information, it is possible that we have here an extract from it; in which case the Aclech in question would be most probably the Northumbrian Acle, or Aycliffe in Durham. The omission of it by Simeon would furnish a presumptive argument against this, but the question would then arise as to the

source from which the copies of the A. S. Chronicle derived it. Henry of Huntingdon places it in the sixth year of Brihtric, but still in the year of Elfwald's death. So that, on the whole, the balance is in favour of the Northern site. It would be a curious coincidence if two synods, one in the South and another in the North, were held in two consecutive years at two places of the same name; and thus our conclusion throws a little doubt on the genuineness of the synod of A.D. 787 as made known by the Chertsey charter. On the other hand, the existence of the Southern Acle as a place of synod is well ascertained, and if the Chertsey scribe had derived the date of his charter from the Chronicle, he must have put it in A.D. 789. The matter is of little importance except as a question of chronology.

[SYNOD OF CELCHYTH.]

A.D. 789. *Synod of Acle*<sup>a</sup>.

*A. S. C., ad ann.*—And mycel sinoð waes gegaderod æt Aclea.  
[*M. H. B.* 337.]

<sup>a</sup> See under A.D. 788.A.D. 789. *Synod of Celchyth*<sup>a</sup>.

I. *Decision of a suit of inheritance between Heathored Bishop of Worcester, and Wulfheard son of Cussa.*

✠ Sæculi namque labentis tempora velocius vento aerem tranant; ideoque omnes firmas statutiones seriæ litterarum adnotamus ne forte in posterum aliquis ignorantiae avaritiæve ea decreta infringere præsumat quæ venerabilium virorum fiunt verbis confirmata. Anno Dominici Incarnationis DCC<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>. indictione vero XII<sup>a</sup>. qui est annus XXXI. regni Offan strenuissimi Merciorum regis factum est pontificale conciliabulum in loco famosa qui dicitur Celchyð præsentibus duobus Archiepiscopis Jamberhto scilicet et Hygberhto mediante quoque Offan Rege cum universis principibus suis; ibi inter alia plura aliqua contentio facta est inter Heathoredum Episcopum et Wulfheardum filium Cussan de hæritate Hemeles et Dudæ<sup>b</sup> quod post obitum suorum nominarent ad Weogornacæstre, hoc est Intanbeorgas et Bradanlege. Voluisset ergo Wlfheardus illum agellulum avertere ab Ecclesia præfata in Weogornacæstre cum ignorantiae et insipientiae [si potuisset. Tunc ille Episcopus] illum refutabat cum his testibus qui eorum nomina infra scripta liquescunt coram synodali testimonio. Et aiebat quod ei rectum non fieret ulli alio post se tradere præter et [antedi]ctam civitatem hoc est Weogrinacæstor. Et propter eorum prece et amore qui illam terram [adqui]sierunt et ad Ecclesiam præfatam dedissent illi senatores familiæ consentientes fuerunt ut illud custodiret et haberet diem suum. Tunc Archiepiscopus simul cum universis provincialibus Episcopis ita finem composuerunt et reconciliaverunt; ut Wulfheardus terram possideret tamdiu viveret et postquam viam patrum incederet sine aliqua contradictione [illuc ad] Weogornense Ec[clesiæ] terras atque libellus cum semetipso redderet [ubi corpora requiescunt Hemeles et Dudæ.]

✠ Ego Offa Rex Merciorum consentiendo imposui. ✠ Ego

## [SYNOD OF CELCHYTH.]

Jamberht Dei gratia Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hygeberht similiter Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolwulf Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heardred Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Unwona Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Heaðored Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Ceolmund Episcopus. ✠ Ego Æðelmod Episcopus. ✠ Ego Cyneberht Episcopus. ✠ Ego Wermund Episcopus. ✠ Ego Boduine Abbas. ✠ Ego Utel Abbas. ✠ Ego Fordred. ✠ Ego Wlfheard simul subscripsi et confirmavi. ✠ . . . . . berht . . . presbyteri. ✠ . . . . . mundi presbyteri. ✠ Signum Alhmundi presbyteri. ✠ Signum Ceolmundi presbyteri. ✠ Signum Æðelhardi presbyteri. ✠ Signum Bynnan. [K. C. D., CLVI., from MSS. Cotton, Tib. A. XIII., Nero E. I., Harl. 466o; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 587.]

II. *Two grants of Offa to Rochester, dated at Celchyd<sup>c</sup>.* [K. C. D., CLV. CLVII.]

<sup>a</sup> The evidence for this assembly rests on these three charters; and may be regarded as sufficient, for the agreement between the Worcester and Rochester cartularies is sufficient to afford mutual confirmation, while the variations in the attestations may be regarded as conclusive against collusion. All the Bishops who attest the Worcester charter attest one or other of the Rochester ones, except Ethelmod of Sherborne, Heathored of Worcester, and Ceolmund of Hereford: on the other hand, the names of Weothhun of Selsey, Alheard of Elmham, and Eadgar of London appear in the Rochester charters, and not in the Worcester one: but all these Bishops, so far as can be ascertained from other evidence, were alive at this time. And the same remark applies to the other attestations, *mutatis mutandis*.

<sup>b</sup> The subject of the inheritance of Hemele and Duda was brought up again at the council of Clovesho in A.D. 803, and this agreement was confirmed; see below, under that year.

<sup>c</sup> Of the Rochester charters, which have no ecclesiastical importance, the first (K. C. D., CLV.) is a grant to Bishop Weremund of land for the enlargement of the monastery at Rochester. It is attested by Offa and Egferth, Kings; by Jaenbert and Higbert, Archbishops; by Ceolwulf of Lindsey, Heardred of Dunwich, Unwona of Leicester, Kynebert of Winchester, Alheard of Elmham, Weremund of Rochester, Eadgar of London, and Weothhun of Selsey, Bishops; several abbots and others. The second (K. C. D., CLVII.) is a grant of lands at Bromgeheg, or Bromley, attested by the same Bishops with the exception of Weothhun and Weremund.

A.D. 766 x 791. *Synod under Jaenbert, in which a complaint is made of the injuries done to Christ Church, Canterbury, by the detention of an estate granted by Ethelbald King of Mercia.*

CONC. CLOVESHO, A.D. 798. \* \* \* Item Bregwinus et Janbertus Archiepiscopi, per singulas synodos suas, questi sunt de injuria æcclesiæ Salvatoris illata. [K. C. D., MXIX.; *W.*, I. 162.]

XIV. ÆTHELHEARD <sup>a</sup>, A.D. 791 <sup>b</sup>-805.

[“Æthelheardus gratia Dei humilis Sanctæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus” (*K. C. D.*, *MXXIV.*). “Æthelhardus larga Omnipotentis Dei gratia annuente Dorobernensis ecclesiæ metropolitanus” (*K. C. D.*, *MXIX.*). “Æthilheardus metropolitanæ civitatis in Dorobernia Archiepiscopus” (*K. C. D.*, *CLXXXIX.*).]

- A.D. 791. Elected, in the year of his predecessor's death (*A. S. C.*, *Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 546).
- A.D. 793. Consecrated July 21 (*Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 546) <sup>c</sup>. Traditional date of the foundation of S. Alban's abbey by Offa. Lindisfarne plundered by the Northmen (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 668).
- A.D. 794. Council of Frankfort. Synod of Clovesho (*K. C. D.*, *CLXIV.* *CLXVII.*).
- A.D. 795. Council at London (*K. C. D.*, *CLIX.*, suspected).
- A.D. 796. Death of Ethelred King of Northumbria, April 29: of Offa King of Mercia, July 26: of Eanbald Archbishop of York, Aug. 10: of Egferth King of Mercia after a reign of 141 days, about Dec. 13. Consecration of Eanbald II. of York, Aug. 14. Rise of Eadbert Præn in Kent; succession of Kenulf in Mercia, and Eardulf in Northumbria. Synod of Celchyth under Egfrith (*K. C. D.*, *CLXXII.* *CLXXIII.*, questionable). Grant of land by Egfrith to Ethelmund, attested at Bath by Archbishop Ethelheard, Bishop Heathored of Worcester, and Eadulf elect of Lindsey (*K. C. D.*, *CLXX.* *CLXXI.*).
- A.D. 797. Mission of Abbot Wada to Rome to obtain the restoration of the rights of Canterbury (*Ep. Kenulfi*; p. 523, below). Period of Ethelheard's flight from Canterbury.
- A.D. 798. Council of Pincanhall (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 670). Fall of Eadbert Præn (*Sim. Dun.*, *M. H. B.* 670). Synod of Clovesho (*K. C. D.*, *MXIX.* *CLXXXVI.* *CLXXXV.*). Date of the spurious council of Bapchild (*K. C. D.*, *MXVIII.*).
- A.D. 799. Synod of Celchyth (*K. C. D.*, *MXXXIV.*).
- A.D. 801. Council at Celchyth (*K. C. D.*, *MXXXIII.*). Visit of Ethelheard to Rome. War between Kenulf of Mercia and Eardulf of Northumbria, in which Archbishop Eanbald suffers.
- A.D. 802. Settlement of the dispute between Canterbury and Lichfield by the Pope.
- A.D. 803. Council of Clovesho (*K. C. D.*, *CLXXXIII.* *CLXXXIV.* *CLXXXV.* *MXXIV.*).
- A.D. 804. Synod at Acle (*K. C. D.*, *CLXXXVI.*). Death of Alcuin (*Ann. Petaviani*, *Pertz*, I. 10.).
- A.D. 805. Grant of land by Ethelheard to Christ Church, Canterbury (*K. C. D.*, *CLXXXIX.*). Death of Ethelheard, May 12 <sup>d</sup>.

[ETHELHEARD ARCHBISHOP.]

<sup>a</sup> Ethelheard had been abbot "Hludensis monasterii" (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 667). What monastery is meant by this designation is uncertain. His attestation as priest appears in the charters of the synod of Celchyth of A.D. 789, which renders it probable that he was a Mercian abbot. This hypothesis is further sustained by the facts that it was under Offa's auspices that he was raised to the Archiepiscopate, that his influence in Kent was imperilled by his Mercian leanings, and that he and Kenulf of Mercia cooperated heartily in the deposition of Eadbert Præn and in the abolition of the Archbishopric of Lichfield. A letter of Charles to him conjointly with Ceolwulf Bishop of Lindsey looks in the same direction; and if he were a Mercian abbot, the "Hludense monasterium" may have been situated at the place known later as Luda, or Louth. But Lydd and Luddesdown in Kent may be suggested as possible. William of Malmesbury identifies Ethelheard with a person of the same name who appears in the lists of Bishops as the ninth Bishop of Winchester, whom he further identifies with Ethelheard the third abbot of Malmesbury. That the Archbishop was not identical with Ethelheard of Winchester would seem to be proved by the fact that between the latter and Kinebert, who was Bishop of Winchester from A.D. 786 to A.D. 802, there were two other Bishops, Egbald, who subscribes charters between A.D. 778 and A.D. 781, and Dudd, of whom no more than the name is known. William of Malmesbury is the only writer who knows anything of the abbot of Malmesbury, who, if he ever existed, may have been promoted to Winchester; but William's account of the abbots of the eighth century is inconsistent with what we know of them from the letters of Boniface and Lullus, and no reliance can be placed upon it. There is no reason to suppose that "Hludense monasterium" could be Malmesbury, or that the Mercian King would suffer the promotion of a West Saxon ecclesiastic to the throne of Canterbury.

<sup>b</sup> It is not unlikely that a considerable time elapsed between the election and consecration of Ethelheard, as the Kentish clergy would naturally object to his being consecrated by

the Mercian Archbishop. Some of the coins of Ethelheard bear the inscription "*Ædilheard Pont.*," which has been understood to signify that they were struck in the interval between election and consecration; those inscribed "*Ædilheard Ar.*" being struck after consecration (*Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, V.* 358). However this may have been, there seems no reason to antedate his consecration; for his name appears in no authentic document as Archbishop earlier than A.D. 793, and the earliest letter of Alcuin to him, written apparently as soon as he was consecrated, cannot be dated earlier (see below, p. 474).

<sup>c</sup> The date of the consecration of Ethelheard is given by Florence of Worcester only; as he did not derive it from the Chronicle, it does not require the usual alteration of two years for rectification. The day given was Sunday, a fact which adds some small confirmation. The fact that Florence alone mentions it, seems to show that the information had been preserved in some Mercian Calendar or Chronicle: most likely the former, the notice "*Ordinatio Æthelhardi Archiepiscopi XII. kal. Augusti*" being in form exactly like an entry in the Calendar. This adds to the probability that Ethelheard was a Mercian, and may seem to imply his having been consecrated by the Archbishop of Lichfield. If that were the case, it would be easy to understand why no mention is made of the circumstance in the Canterbury Chronicle or Historians. If however Ethelheard was consecrated by the remaining suffragans of Canterbury, Kinehard of Winchester, Wiothun of Selsey, and Wermund of Rochester were all available for the duty. It would appear certain that he was not consecrated by the Archbishop of York, for the Bishops in their letter to Leo III. (*A. S., I.* 462, and below, under A.D. 805) imply that that custom had fallen into complete disuse.

<sup>d</sup> The death of Ethelheard is placed by the *A. S. C.* in A.D. 803, which may safely be corrected to A.D. 805; as an original act of that year is extant (below, p. 555). The day, May 12, is from the Obituary of Canterbury (*Ang. Sac., I.* 53).

A.D. 792. *Negotiations between Charles the Great and the Princes and Bishops of England respecting an answer to be given to the Eastern Church on Image Worship*<sup>a</sup>.

SIM. DUN., *ad ann.*—Anno D.CC.XC.II. Karolus Rex Francorum misit sinodalem librum ad Britanniam sibi a Constantinopoli direc-



tum; in quo libro, heu, pro dolor! multa inconvenientia et veræ fidei contraria reperientes, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam trecentorum vel eo amplius Episcoporum unanima assertione confirmantium imagines adorare debere, quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex autoritate Divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro, et persona Episcoporum ac Principum nostrorum Regi Francorum attulit. [*M. H. B.* 667; *S.*, *I.* 306.]

<sup>a</sup> This negotiation resulted from the action of the Nicene council of A.D. 787 on the cultus of the sacred icons; in consequence of which the *Libri Carolini* were drawn up and published under the direction of Charles. It is probable that Alcuin, as being the most learned man at the Frank court, and in the closest intercourse with Charles, who at this very time was in consultation with him on the subject of the heresy of Felix and Elipandus, had a share in the composition of the *Libri Carolini*: and possible that that work was based upon Alcuin's letter mentioned in the text. There are however neither in the *Libri Carolini* nor in Alcuin's extant remains any distinct evidences that this was the case, and hence Froben (*Opp. Alc.*, *II.* 459) argues that he was not the author. That the letter of Alcuin mentioned by Simeon was not identical with the *Libri Carolini* is clear from the fact that the latter were published in

Charles's name, the former in the name of the English Bishops and Princes. The Roman Catholic writers, represented most recently by Lingard, not content with arguing that Alcuin was unconcerned in the composition of the *Libri Carolini*, go so far as to question the truth of Simeon's statement given above, as being the unauthorized assertion of a twelfth-century annalist, and not based on Anglo-Saxon authority (*Lingard, Hist. Anglo-Sax. Church*, *II.* 111-116). In this passage however Simeon was no doubt drawing from the ancient annals of the Northumbrian Kings which this portion of his work represents, and which give it its extreme value as representing a contemporaneous record of the eighth century.—The *Libri Carolini* were edited by J. du Tillet in A.D. 1549, and by Goldastus in his *Imperialia Decreta de Cultu Imaginum*, in A.D. 1608.

A.D. 792<sup>a</sup>. *Mercian Witenagemot*<sup>b</sup> at Burford, in which Offa grants land in Buckinghamshire to the monastery of S. Alban. [*K. C. D.*, *CLXI.*]

<sup>a</sup> The grant is dated A.D. 795, May 4; but the mention of the regnal year of Offa enables us to correct it. It is the first grant to the monastery, and is marked by Kemble as spurious; but although the indiction is wrong, the names of the witnesses do not suggest forgery. The early history of S. Alban's is rendered very obscure by the apocryphal history of the foundation given in the Lives of the Offas, attributed to Matthew Paris. It is certain that in the time of Bede a church existed at Verulamium in honour of the martyrdom (*H. E.*, *I.* 7). The Canterbury MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*Domitian A. VIII.*) places the translation of S. Alban in A.D. 793 (*M. H. B.* 338, n. 24); and from an addition to one of the MSS. of Florence of Worcester (*ed. Thorpe*, *I.* 64) we learn that a church was dedicated there Dec. 1st, "Indictione

XIII," i. e. A.D. 805. William of Malmesbury preserves the tradition of the translation of S. Alban by Offa (*G. P.*, *IV.* 179, *ed. Hamilton*, p. 316; *G. R.*, *I.* 87); and Ralph de Diceto dates the finding of the relics Aug. 1, A.D. 793. Matthew Paris describes the foundation by Offa as an act of expiation for the murder of Ethelbert King of East Anglia, whom Offa caused to be put to death (*A. S. C.*, *ad ann.* 792). According to this story, which is in the highest degree legendary, Offa was innocent of the murder, which was perpetrated by his wife Quendrida, and after her death prayed that a divine intimation might be given him of a fit place where he might build a new monastery. He was informed by a ray of light from heaven that his prayer was heard, and he immediately bestowed Winslow in Buckinghamshire on the

## [LETTER OF ALCUIN.]

church which he was about to found. A few days after, at Bath, he was warned in a dream to search for the relics of S. Alban, which he found on the 1st of August, A.D. 793. He then proceeded to Rome to procure the canonization of S. Alban: there he bestowed on the Schola Anglorum an annual payment of a penny from every family in his dominions for ever. Having obtained various privileges for his monastery he returned, obtained a supply of monks from Bec, and appointed Willgod abbot. From this tissue of fabrications, which has not even tradition to accredit it, Spelman has extracted some particulars; recognizing the assembly in which the relics were discovered as *Collatio Verolamii*, the provincial council which advised the journey to Rome as *Concilium Verolamiense* (*S.*, *I.* 308-313; *W.*, *I.* 154, 155), and a third

council on the occasion of the institution of the convent (*S.*, *I.* 314; *W.*, *I.* 157) in A.D. 794. It is curious to find that the writers who invented this story had before them a series of charters which, whether authentic or not, furnish a more probable and consistent account of the foundation. Of these the first is the grant of Winslow referred to above, dated at Burford, and attested by Higbert Archbishop of Lichfield, Ceolwulf Bishop of Lindsey, Heathored Bishop of Hereford, and Unwona of Leicester, with four Mercian abbots, one *princeps*, and eleven *duces*. The Bishops and abbots are known persons, and their attestations involve no anachronism. The charter is on other accounts somewhat questionable. The next S. Alban's charter purports to be granted in a council at Celchyth in A.D. 793; for which see below, p. 478.

Before A.D. 793<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to the brethren of the church of S. Peter<sup>b</sup>, urging them to observe their rule.*

*Sanctissimis in Sancti Petri ecclesia fratribus Deo servientibus*, HUMILIS CLIENTELLUS ALCHUINUS perpetuæ gloriæ salutem.

Sæpissime corporalis speciei amici disjunguntur, sed nunquam caritatis dulcedine separari debent; et ubi vera est dilectio, ibi firma est germanitatis memoria; ubi radix conductæ amicitiae in pectoris thesauro figitur, inde rami floribus fidei vestiti pullulasse certissimum est, usque dum fructibus æternæ beatitudinis refecerint veram habentes inter se caritatem, quam ego opto de mea parvitate vestris firmiter inhærere mentibus, sicut olim mihi antecessores vestri pia voluntate promiserunt.

Locus vero habitationis vestræ mihi valde desiderabilis fuit, licet me conditio peregrinæ conversationis longe tulisset a vobis; quamvis corpore, sed nullatenus caritate, quia omnia quæ apud vos videbam, sive in habitationibus domorum, sive in conversatione vitæ regularis, valde mihi placuerunt, et utinam ut Deo semper placeat pietatis vestræ obedientia, et humilitas, et regularis vitæ observatio. Hæc est laus vestra coram hominibus, ut sive in vestimentis sive in omnibus monachicæ vitæ disciplinis firmiter permanatis, sicut patres vestri, viri Deo amabiles et hominibus honorabiles instituerunt, qui primi fuerunt fundatores congregationis vestræ. Certum est illos sæpius visitare loca habitationis vestræ, et quoscunque inveniant honeste vivere et sua custodire statuta, congaudent illis, et pro eis intercedere apud pium Judicem nullatenus desistunt;

[LETTER OF ALCUIN.]

sed et angelorum visitationes loca sancta frequentare non dubium est. Fertur enim magistrum nostrum et vestrum patronum beatum dixisse BEDAM: "Scio angelos visitare canonicas horas et congregationes fraternas; quid si ibi me non inveniunt inter fratres? Nonne dicere habent, ubi est BEDA? Quare non venit ad adorationes statutas cum fratribus?"

Magna est apud Deum communis oratio, et magna caritatis communio; et multo est melius cum fratribus communiter orare, manducare et dormire, quam in speciali habitatione solum cum periculo manere, quia facilius diabolus expugnare poterit illum qui solus est, quam eum qui fraterno auxilio undique cingitur, dicente Scriptura: "Frater, qui a fratre adjuvatur, quasi firma est civitas." Vestra enim laus est honeste vivere, religionem votorum vestrorum servare. Quid vobis vestimentorum pompa? Major exinde erit reprehensio quam laus; vanitas est enim et superbia, et nihil aliud; et perditio vitæ regularis. Melius est animam bonis ornare moribus, perpetualiter permanentem, quam corpus, quod in pulverem redigitur, pompaticis ornare coloribus; vel luxuriosis conviviis pascere vermium escam.

Hæc cogitate, carissimi fratres! et quid vobis ad æternam proficiat beatitudinem sequimini. Patribus obedite vestris, senes honorate, infirmos visitate, adolescentulos bene docete, ut habeatis, qui super sepulcra vestra stare possint, et intercedere pro animabus vestris. Considerate mentibus vestris, quales sint qui modo in sepulcris jacent, et quam beatæ sint animæ illorum qui in religione, et regulari vita, et castitate corporis, et caritatis obedientia dies suos usque in finem perduxerunt. Horum est regnum cœlorum, quod labore acquisierunt, qui pro vobis intercedant quotidie, quatenus ad illorum societatem, Deo donante, pervenire mereamini. Omnipotens Deus vestræ unanimatis sanctitatem in æterna beatitudine adunare dignetur, domini fratres! [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben., no. 219; *MS. Harl.* 208, fo. 30.]

<sup>a</sup> As no mention of the destruction of Lindisfarne occurs in this letter, it was probably written before A.D. 793.

<sup>b</sup> It appears, from the mention of Bede, that Alcuin is here addressing a Northumbrian Church; and from the mention of the *vita regularis*, that the church addressed was monastic. The church of S. Peter at Wearmouth is most probably the one intended. The special interest of the letter consists in the mention of the canonical hours and the anecdote about Bede. Another of Alcuin's letters is addressed to the monks of the sister monastery of Jarrow (*Ep.* 218), exhorting them to modesty of apparel and temperance; another to the brethren of the two monasteries (*Ep.* 13), warning them by the example of the fall of Lindisfarne; this may be fixed to A.D. 793, as in the following year the Northmen attacked the monasteries at the mouth of the Tyne, and plundered one at least of them (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 668, 669). Of the other letters to

## [LETTER OF ALCUIN TO THE CHURCH OF LINDISFARNE.]

the Northern Churches which do not contain any information sufficiently definite to entitle them to be inserted here, *Ep.* 134 is to Æthelbert Bishop of Hexham, who died in A.D. 796; two to the clergy of York, testifying the gratitude of the writer for the pains taken

with his education (*Ep.* 5 and 6); and another to the clergy of Whithorn, printed for the first time in this work, vol. II. p. 8. Fragments of other letters may be found in Leland's *Collectanea*, II. 392-404, derived from MSS. now *Cotton*, *Tib. A. XV.* and *Vesp. A. XIV.*

A.D. 793<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to the Bishop<sup>b</sup> and Church at Lindisfarne, condoling with them on their troubles, and offering to use his influence with Charles on their behalf.*

*Beatissimi Patris sancti scilicet Cuthberti Episcopi optimis in Christo filiis Hugibaldo Episcopo et omni congregationi Lindisfarnensis Ecclesiæ, ALCHUINUS* DIACONUS, cœlesti in Christo benedictione salutem.

Vestræ vero caritatis familiaritas præsentem multum me lætificare solebat; sed versa vice vestræ tribulationis calamitas, licet absentem, multum me quotidie contristat; quando pagani contaminaverunt sanctuaria Dei, et fuderunt sanguinem sanctorum in circuitu altaris, vastaverunt domum spei nostræ, calcaverunt corpora sanctorum in templo Dei, quasi sterquilinum in platea. Quid nobis dicendum est, nisi plangendum animo vobiscum ante altare Christi, et dicere: Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo, et ne des hæreditatem gentibus, ne dicant pagani, ubi est Deus Christianorum? Quæ est fiducia Ecclesiis Britanniæ, si sanctus Cudbertus suam non defendit cum tanto sanctorum numero? Aut hoc majoris initium est doloris, aut peccata habitantium hoc exegerunt. Non enim quiddam casu contingit, sed magni cujuslibet meriti indicium est. Sed modo, qui residui estis, state viriliter, pugnete fortiter, defendite castra Dei. Mementote Judam Machabæum, quia templum Dei purgavit, et populum a servitute liberavit extranea. Si quid corrigendum sit in moribus mansuetudinis vestræ, citius corrigite. Patronos vestros ad vos revocate, qui vos ad tempus dereliquerunt. Non defuit illis potestas apud Dei clementiam, sed nescimus cur tacuerunt. Nolite gloriari in vanitate vestrum; hæc non est gloria sacerdotum et servorum Dei, sed contumelia. Nolite in ebrietate verba orationum vestrarum delere. Non exeatis post luxurias carnis et avaritias sæculi, sed in servitio Dei et regularis vitæ disciplina firmiter permanete, ut sanctissimi Patres, qui vos genuerunt, vobis protectores esse non cessent. Per illorum vestigia gradientes de illorum precibus securi permaneat. Nolite tantis Patribus degeneres esse filii. Nequaquam illi a vestra cessabunt defensione, si

[LETTER OF ALCUIN.]

vos illorum sequi videbunt exempla. Tamen de ista miseria nolite mente consternari. Castigat Deus omnem filium quem recipit; et ideo forte plus vos castigavit, quia plus dilexit. Hierusalem civitas Deo dilecta Chaldæa flamma periit. Roma sanctorum Apostolorum et innumerabilium martyrum corona circumdata paganorum vastatione disrupta est, sed pietate citius recuperata. Tota pene Europa Gothorum vel Hunorum gladiis evacuata est flammis; sed modo, conservante Deo, velut cœlum stellis, ita ecclesiis ornata fulgescit, et in eis officia vigent et crescunt religionis Christianæ. Hortamini vosmetipsos invicem dicentes: Revertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum, quia magnus est ad ignoscendum, et nunquam deserit sperantes in Se.

Et tu Pater sancte, dux populi Dei, pastor gregis sancti, medicus animarum, lucerna super candelabrum posita, esto forma in omni bonitate cunctis te videntibus. Esto præco salutis cunctis te audientibus. Sit tuus comitatus honestis moribus, aliis exemplum ad vitam, non ad perditionem. Sint tibi epulæ, non in ebrietate, sed in sobrietate. Sint vestimenta tuo gradui condigna. Noli te conformare sæculi hominibus in vanitate aliqua. Inanis ornatus vestimentorum, et cultus inutilis tibi est opprobrium ante homines, et peccatum ante Deum. Melius est animam in perpetuum permanentem bonis ornare moribus, quam corpus cito in pulvere putrescens exquisitis comere vestibus. Vestiatur et satietur Christus in paupere, ut hæc faciens regnet cum Christo. Redemptio viri propriæ divitiæ. Si aurum diligamus, præmittamus nobis in cœlum, ubi servabitur nobis, et quod amemus, habemus. Amemus æterna et non peritura. Veras diligamus divitias et non caducas, sempiternas non transitorias; paremus nobis laudem a Deo, et non ab hominibus. Faciamus quod fecerunt sancti quos laudamus. Sequamur illorum vestigia in terris, ut illorum gloriæ consortes esse mereamur in cœlis. Divinæ pietatis protectio nos ab omni adversitate custodiat, et in cælestis regni gloria cum patribus vestris constituat, carissimi fratres. Cum dominus noster Rex Karolus hostibus per misericordiam Dei subditis domum revertetur, ad illum venire disponimus; et si quid tunc vel de pueris qui in captivitatem a paganis abducti sunt vel de aliis quibusque necessitatibus vestris vestræ sanctitati proficere possumus diligenter ad effectum producere curabimus. Valetate in Christo dilectissimi et confirmamini semper proficientes. [*Alc. Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 8: collated with MS. Cotton Vesp. A. XIV. fo. 121.]

## [LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

<sup>a</sup> The destruction of Lindisfarne by the Northmen occurred in A.D. 793 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 668).

<sup>b</sup> The Bishop is Higbald, who ruled from A.D. 781 to 802.

<sup>c</sup> The last clause of this letter is replaced

in its present position on the authority of the Cotton MS. Froben omits it, but it is clear from the words of William of Malmesbury, who describes it as "in *Epistolæ calce*" (*G. Pontiff., III. § 127*), that it formed part of the letter in the copy which he used.

A.D. 793<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard, admonishing him of his duty and dignity as Archbishop.*

*Pio Patri et sanctæ sedis præsuli Ædilbardo Archiepiscopo, HUMILIS LEVITA ALCUINUS salutem.*

Audiens vestræ salutationis verba dulcissima, et prosperitatis vestræ sanitatem multis pernecessariam, valde me gavisum esse fateor: Domini et Dei nostri Jesu Christi deprecans tota mentis alacritate clementissimam pietatem, quatenus vestram beatitudinem longæva custodiat prosperitate in augmentum sanctæ Sux Ecclesiæ, ut per tuam devotissimam doctrinam verbum vitæ æternæ crescat et currat, et multiplicetur numerus populi Christiani in laudem et gloriam Salvatoris nostri; in quo opere te, frater sancte, laborare tota virtute obsecro. Et quanto plus appropinquat dies remunerationis, tanto magis mercedis tuæ felicitatem accumulare studeas.

Cogita quales habueris antecessores doctores, et summa lumina totius Britanniæ. Inter quorum sacratissima corpora dum oraveris, illorum precibus certissime adjuvaberis, si ab illorum vestigiis te nec sæculi caduca blandimenta subtrahant, nec vani terrores principum formidantem efficiant. Memor esto semper quod guttur tuum tuba Dei debet esse, et lingua tua omnibus præco salutis. Esto pastor, non mercenarius; rector, non subversor; lux, et non tenebræ; civitas firma fide murata, non domus pluviis diruta; miles Christi gloriosus, non apostata vilis; prædicator, et non adulator. Melius est Deum timere, quam hominem; plus Deo placere, quam homini blandiri. Quid est adulator, nisi blandus inimicus? Ambos perdit, se ipsum et suum auditorem. Isti sunt, "qui consuunt pulvillos sub omni cubitu," et oves Christi morbidas faciunt, non sanatas.

Virgam accepisti pastorem et baculum consolationis fraternæ: illum ad regendum, istum ad consolandum. Ut mœrentes consolationem habeant in te, et contumaces correctionem sentiant per te. Potestas judicis est, occidere; tua vero, vivificare. Quid times hominem propter gladium, qui clavem regni accepisti a Christo?

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

Recordare quanta passus est Ille pro te, et non metuas loqui pro Illo. Ille pro tuo amore clavis confixus pependit in cruce, et tu sedens in sella dignitatis tuæ ob timorem hominis tacueris? Non ita, frater, non ita. Sed sicut Ille dilexit te, ita dilige et Illum. Qui plus laborat, plus mercedis accipiet. Si persecutionem patieris propter verbum Dei, quid beatius? Ipso Domino dicente: "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum." Et: "Ibant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habitus sunt contumelias pati pro nomine Jesu." Et: "Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad superventuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis." Si corripueris delinquentem et ad tuam increpationem corrigit se, etiam tibi est merces apud Deum, et sibi erit salus a Deo; si tuam oderit increpationem, illi est damnatio, et tibi beatitudo.

Esto miseris consolator, pauperibus pater, omnibus affabilis, donec intelligas quid cuique respondeas; et semper tua responsio sale sit sapientiæ condita, non temeraria, sed honesta; non verbosa, sed modesta. Sint tibi mores humanitate præclari, humilitate laudabiles, pietate amabiles; ut non solum verbis, sed exemplis erudias tecum viventes, vel ad te venientes. Sit tua manus larga in eleemosynis, prompta in reddendo, et cauta in accipiendo. Præpara tibi thesaurum in cœlis. Divitiæ viri redemptio est animæ illius, quia "beatius est magis dare quam accipere." Invenimus unam margaritam pretiosam; demus omnia, quæ habemus, et emamus illam. Lectio sanctæ Scripturæ sæpius tuis reperiatur in manibus, ut ex illa te saturare et alios pascere valeas. Vigiliæ et orationes assiduæ sint tibi, eo magis quo pro toto populo Christiano intercedere debes. Locus tuus est inter Deum stare et homines, ut Dei legationes deferas ad populum, et pro populi peccatis intercedas ad Deum. Fac te, Ejus donante gratia, dignum ab Eo exaudiri. Hæc dignitas est in vitæ castitate et prædicandi fiducia, Ipsa attestante Veritate: "Sint lumbi vestri præcincti et lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris." In lumbis castitatis sanctitas, in lucernis prædicationis claritas designatur.

Memor esto quod sacerdos angelus Domini Dei est excelsi, et lex sancta ex ore ejus requirenda, juxta quod in Malachia propheta legimus. Speculator quoque est in excelsissimo positus loco. Unde et episcopus dicitur, quasi speculator, qui omni exercitui Christi prudenti consilio providere debet, quid cavendum sit, quidve agendum. Isti sunt, id est sacerdotes, luminaria sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, doctores

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ÆTHELHEARD.]

gregis Christi. Isti in prima acie vexillum sanctæ crucis non segniter sublevare debent, et ad omnem impetum hostilis exercitus intrepidi stare. Hi sunt qui talenta, redeunte Rege nostro Deo Christo cum triumpho gloriæ ad Paternam sedem, acceperunt; et revenienti eodem magno Judici in die ultima discretionis rationem reddituri sunt, quantum quisque ex prædicationis labore lucratus esset in officio suo. Quapropter teipsum, carissime frater, idoneum præpara ministrum sermonis Dei. Alios quoque consacerdotes tuos admone diligentissime in verbo vitæ cum omni instantia laborare; quatenus cum multiplici negotiationis lucro ante conspectum æterni Judicis gloriosi appareant. Estote unanimes in omni consilio pietatis, et constantes in omni iudicio æquitatis. Nullus vos humanæ dignitatis terror separet, nulla adulationis blandimenta dividant; sed quasi acies castrorum Dei firmissima unitate vos conjungite. Sic tandem concordia vestra terribilis apparet omni, qui vult veritati contradicere, Salomone dicente: "Frater si a fratre adjuvatur, civitas firma est."

Vos estis, dicente Veritate, lux totius Britanniæ, sal terræ, civitas super montem posita, lucerna super candelabrum elevata. Item beato principe apostolorum attestante: Vos estis "genus electum, regale sacerdotium." Per vestræ vero prædicationis instantiam nos erimus, quod in eadem sequitur Epistola: "Gens sancta, populus acquisitionis:" quatenus per vos virtus annuntietur Illius, "Qui nos omnes de tenebris vocavit in admirabile lumen Suum. Qui aliquando non populus Dei, nunc autem populus Dei."

Patres itaque nostri, Deo dispensante, licet pagani, hanc patriam bellica virtute primum possederunt. Quam grande igitur opprobrium est, ut nos Christiani perdamus quod illi pagani acquisiverunt? Hoc dico propter flagellum quod nuper accidit partibus insulæ nostræ, quæ prope trecentis quinquaginta annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildæ Brittonum sapientissimi, quod iidem ipsi Brettones propter rapinas et avaritiam principum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam et pigritiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdiderunt. Caveamus hæc eadem nostris temporibus vitia inolescere, quatenus benedictio Divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona, quam nobis in Sua misericordia perdonare dignata est. Ut hoc ipsum omnipotentis Dei largissima efficiat pietas, vos qui clavem regni cœlestis cum apostolis, ligandi solvendique potestatem



[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

accepistis a Christo, aperite assiduis prædicationibus portas cœli populo Dei; et nolite tacere, ne populi peccata vobis imputentur. Requirit enim a vobis animas Deus, quas ad regendum accepistis. Ex subjectorum salute vestra multiplicatur remuneratio.

Pusillanimes consolamini, humiles roborate, errantes in viam veritatis reducite, ignorantibus instruite, scientes exhortamini, et bonis exemplis vitæ vestræ omnes confirmate, contumaces et veritati renitentes virga castigate pastorali, cæteros baculo consolationis sustentate. Et si unanimes eritis, quis vobis resistere poterit? Vel quis cum Deo pacem habebit, si prædicationibus Sux salutis non obtemperarit? dicente ipsa Veritate ad prædicatores verbi Dei: "Qui vos audit, Me audit, et qui vos spernit, Me spernit." Item ad confortandos eos, illisque fiduciam ingerendam loquendi sermonis Dei, eadem Veritas ait: "Quodcunque ligaveritis super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlis; et quodcunque solveritis super terram, erit solutum et in cœlis." Divisa est potestas sæcularis et potestas spiritalis: illa portat gladium mortis in manu; hæc clavem vitæ in lingua. His dicitur: "Ne timueritis eos." De illis dicitur: "Quia corpus occidunt, animam autem occidere non possunt." De spiritalibus quoque dicitur: "Ubi sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine Meo, ibi sum in medio eorum." "Si Deus pro nobis," ait Apostolus, "quis contra nos?" Si Christus in medio Suorum, quis illis nocere poterit? Idcirco vos, sacerdotes, fiduciam habere debetis prædicandi, cæteri vero humilitatem audiendi, et obedientiam faciendi, quæ jubetis. Illi, id est sæculares, sint defensores vestri, vos intercessores illorum, ut sit unus grex sub uno Deo Christo pastore, et fiat hæc patria ab Illo nobis nostrisque nepotibus conservata in benedictione sempiterna; ut ex hac mereamur ad illam pervenire quæ finem non habet et est perpetua pace beatissima.

Ut ad hanc pervenire mereamur, vos sæpius cum Moyse servo Dei devoto pectore dicite: "Respice, Domine, de sanctuario Tuo, et de excelso cœlorum habitaculo, et benedic populo Tuo Israel et terræ quam dedisti nobis." Item cum propheta Dei Joel cum lacrymis clamate: "Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo, et ne des hæreditatem Tuam in opprobrium gentibus." Apostolo Jacobo præcipiente: "Orate invicem, ut salvemini: multum enim valet oratio justi assidua." Item Petrus Apostolus: Omnes unanimes in oratione estote, compatientes fraternitati, humiles et misericordes. Sed et Vas electionis præcepit pro omnibus orationes fieri, pro regibus et

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ÆTHELHEARD.]

omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt positi; quatenus omnipotentis Dei gratia populo Christiano tempora cum prosperitate concedat pacifica, in laudem et gloriam Sui nominis.

Urbs æterna Dei, terræ sal, lumina mundi,  
 Bis sex signa poli, menses et ter quater anni,  
 Atque diei horæ, lapidesque in stemmate Christi,  
 Vestra aperire polum poterit vel claudere lingua.  
 Doctores vitæ, magnæ et medicina salutis.  
 Vos fontes vivi, paradisi et flumina sacra.  
 Vos decus Ecclesiæ, populi spes, janua lucis.  
 Inclyta progenies, Salomonis nobile templum.  
 Per vos, O Patres, nostro sub tempore tota  
 Virtutum meritis fecunda Britannia floret.  
 Vos simul unanimes Christi defendite castra,  
 Et clypeo fidei tela exsuperate nefanda;  
 Pectore concordēs, fortes virtute superna,  
 Judiciis justī, humiles pietate modesta,  
 Doctores populi, ductores et gregis almi,  
 Semper ubique Deo vos vos estote fideles.  
 Multiplicate pio percepta talenta labore,  
 Maxima quod summo capiatis præmia cælo,  
 Cum Christo et sanctis cælestia regna tenentes;  
 Vosque mei memores Christus conservet ubique.  
 Alcuin dicor ego, vestro devotus amori.  
 O vos pastores, Patres, sine fine valete!  
 Et tu sancte Pater, pius Æthelharde sacerdos,  
 Jam valeas, vigeas, Christo donante, per ævum.

[*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 9; *MSS. Cotton, Vesp. A. XIV.* fo. 140; *Tiberius A. XV.* fo. 68.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter appears to have been written soon after Ethelheard's promotion, but not earlier than the destruction of Lindisfarne by

the Northmen, which took place in A.D. 793 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 668).

A.D. 793. *Synod or Witenagemot at Celchyth, in which grants are made by Offa to S. Alban's*<sup>a</sup>. (Probably spurious.)

✠ Regnante Domino nostro Jhesu Christo in perpetuum! Decet igitur ut regalis benignitas omnipotentis Dei et sanctorum martyrum quantum valeat honori provideat. Quia honor Dei, et pia in sanctis

[GRANT OF OFFA TO S. ALBAN'S.]

Ejus devotio, stabilitas est regni terreni, et prosperitas longævæ vitæ et indubitata æternæ mercedis retributio. Unde ego Offa Rex Merciorum, cum Egfrido filio meo, et omni consensu synodali, pro remedio et salute animarum nostrarum, terram quinquaginta mansionum in locis infra dictis, id est, ubi dicitur æt Cægesho, mansiones xxxiiii., Ondæt, Heanhamstede, vi. mansiones, et Stanmere x. mansiones, cum segetibus, pratis, pascuis et silvis, et omnibus rebus mobilibus vel fixis, ad ea prænominata loca rite pertinentibus, Domino meo Jhesu et sancto Albano martyri, cujus reliquias, in spem prosperitatis præsentis et futuræ beatitudinis Divina ostendit nobis gratia, in jus monasteriale tradens donabo; quatinus perpetuo jure præfata terra sancti martyris Albani æcclesiæ deserviat. Et per magnum omnipotentis Dei nomen et terribile Ejus judicium adjuro, immo et impero, quod nullus supervenientibus temporibus, seu Rex seu Episcopus aut aliqua magna vel parva persona, aliquid de his meis donis quæ Deo et sancto martyri Ejus dedicavero, immutare, seu auferre, seu imminuere præsumptuose audeat; nec aliquam molestiam aut æcclesiæ aut silvis ad eam pertinentibus inferre præsumat, sed sit libera omnino ab omni tributo, et necessitate, seu regis, seu episcopi, ducis, judicum, comitum, exactorum etiam, et operum quæ indici solent, necnon et expeditionis et omni edicto publico, perpetuo eam libertate donabo. Sed obsecro quatinus studeant supervenientes reges auxiliare, defendere, et curam illius æcclesiæ habere in omni bonitate, sicut et ego habeo: ut sit illis et regno eorum benedictio et protectio a Domino Deo et sancto Ejus martyre in perpetuum. Si autem quisquam loci hujus curam non habuerit vel eum malitiose tractaverit, sciat et sentiat sancti martyris seipsum benedictione privari et rationem ante tribunal Christi redditurum. Hoc vero monasterium cum his præfatis terris Uuilligoda presbiter habeat et regat dies suos, et monachicam in eo vitam doceat, et quantum valeat, erigat. Post dies autem illius, eligant sibi fratres cum consilio illius episcopi qui super eos erit, si habent dignum et monachicæ vitæ eruditum, ex semet ipsis quem voluerint. Si autem, quod non opto, acciderit quod ibi dignus nequeat inveniri, prævideat ille episcopus, cum consilio fratrum, qui illud monasterium digne secundum regulam monachicæ vitæ gubernare sciat et velit.

Jam jamque, iterum iterumque, in nomine Domini præcipio et adjuro, quatinus eo loco regula sancti Benedicti abbatis doceatur et exerceatur, quantum possibile est, perpetuo jure. Etsi ipsa elemosina

[GRANT OF OFFA TO S. ALBAN'S.]

oret ad Dominum pro faciente, tamen obsecro ut assiduæ intercessionibus pro anima mea, et amicorum meorum, canonicis horis semper in ea ammonentur æcclesia: quatinus omnipotentis Dei clementia, quæ tale thesaurum temporibus meis, gentibus et populis Anglorum aperire dignata est, mihi quoque æternum cœlis thesaurum cum sanctis Suis donare dignetur. Scripta est hæc cartula anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXCIII, indictione III, anno vero Offani Regis Merciorum XXXVI, in loco celebri qui dicitur Celchyth, præsentè synodali conventu, testibusque infra nominatis confirmata. Data die regnante Domino nostro in perpetuum.

✠ Ego Offa hanc donationem meam signo crucis Christi confirmo.  
 ✠ Ego Ecfrius similiter consentio et subscribo. ✠ Ego Ceolulphus Rex ad ipsum consentio. ✠ Ego Cenuulphus Rex consentio. ✠ Ego Beornulphus Rex. ✠ Ego Ludecha Rex. ✠ Ego Uuilaf Rex. ✠ Ego Ecgbirhtus Rex. ✠ Ego Beortulfus Rex. ✠ Ego Burhredus Rex. ✠ Ego Ælfrædus Rex. ✠ Ego Higberctus Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum Æthelheardi Archiepiscopi. ✠ Signum Ceolulfi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Hunuone Episcopi. ✠ Signum Ceolmundi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Ealcheardi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Ælfhuni Episcopi. ✠ Signum Heaberti Episcopi. ✠ Signum Heathorethi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Cyneheardi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Denerferdi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Cenuualchi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Uuermundi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Uuihthuni Episcopi. ✠ Signum Uuynberhti Episcopi. ✠ Ego Uuicga dux. ✠ Ego Æthelmundus dux. ✠ Heardbertus dux. ✠ Brorda dux. ✠ Binna dux. ✠ Esne dux. ✠ Heaberht dux. ✠ Cudberht dux. ✠ Ceol. ✠ Æmund dux. ✠ Ceolueordus dux.—[*K. C. D.*, *CLXII*, from MS. Cotton, Nero D. I. fo. 148; *Mon. Angl.*, II. 228; *Matt. Paris*, *Addimenta*, pp. 237, 238; and see *S.*, I. 313, 314; *W.*, I. 157.]

\* This document is marked by Kemble as spurious; and, if it is really based on anything genuine, must have been interpolated. The form of the charter, granted as it was at a period of transition in both literary and constitutional matters, cannot be regarded as fatal to its original authenticity. It may however be observed that of Abbot Willegod nothing is known except from the legendary history of S. Alban's. The exemptions are much more extensive than those granted in genuine charters. The attestations have been interpolated; the names of the kings, Ceolwulf, Cenwulf, Beornulf, Ludecha, Wilaf, Eg-

bert, Beortulf, Burhred, and Alfred, could only be inserted by way of confirmation, nor would they be part of the original document even if that document were a forgery. The names of the Bishops attesting are for the most part in agreement with the chronology of the period; the names of Heabert and Winbert are however unknown, and that of Cyneheard is probably intended to represent the Bishop of Winchester, Cynebert. The indiction moreover is wrong; it should be "I." On the whole the balance of internal evidence is strongly against, though not conclusively condemnatory of, the authenticity of the record.

A.D. 794. *Attendance of Clergy from Britain<sup>a</sup> at the Council of Frankfort.*

CAROL. MAGN. EPIST. AD ELIPANDUM. \* \* \* Ad impletionem vero hujus gaudii, fraterna cogente caritate, jussimus sanctorum Patrum synodale ex omnibus undique nostræ ditionis ecclesiis congregari concilium, quatenus sancta omnium unanimitas firmiter decerneret, quid credendum sit de adoptione carnis Christi, quam nuper novis assertionibus et sanctæ Dei universali ecclesiæ antiquis temporibus inauditis vos ex vestris scriptis intulisse cognovimus. Immo et ad beatissimum apostolicæ sedis pontificem, de hac nova inventione, nostræ devotionis ter quaterque direximus missos: scire cupientes, quid sancta Romana Ecclesia, apostolicis edocta traditionibus, de hac respondere voluisset inquisitione. Nec non et de Britannia partibus aliquos ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ viros convocavimus, ut ex multorum diligenti consideratione veritas catholicæ fidei investigaretur, et probatissimis sanctorum patrum hinc inde roborata testimoniis absque ulla dubitatione teneatur. \* \* \* \* \*

Post hæc tenet et tertius libellus orthodoxam sanctorum patrum episcoporum et virorum venerabilium fidem, qui in Germania, Gallia, Aquitania et Britannia partibus dignis Deo deserviunt officiis, vestrisque objectionibus sanctarum scripturarum testimoniis roboratas obtinet responsiones. [*Mansi, Conc. XIII. 901.*]

CANON. CONC. FRANC.—I. Conjungentibus, Deo favente, apostolica auctoritate, atque piissimi domni nostri Caroli Regis jussione anno XXVI. principatus sui, cunctis regni Francorum, seu Italia, Aquitania provinciae Episcopis ac sacerdotibus synodali concilio inter quos ipse mitissimus sancto interfuit conventui. Ubi in primordio capitulorum exortum est de impia ac nefanda hæresi Elipandi Toletanæ sedis Episcopi et Felicis Orgellitanæ, eorumque sequacibus, qui male sentientes in Dei Filio asserebant adoptionem. Quam omnes qui supra sanctissimi patres, et respuentes una voce contradixerunt atque hanc hæresim funditus a sancta ecclesia eradicandam statuerunt.

II. Allata est in medium quæstio de nova Græcorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus sanctorum, ita ut deificæ Trinitati, servitium aut adorationem non impenderent, anathema

[COUNCIL OF FRANKFORT.]

judicarentur. Qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitutum renuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condemnaverunt. [*Mansi, Conc. XIII.* 909.]

CAPITULARE FRANCOFORDIENSE, c. LIV.—Commonuit etiam ut Alcuin<sup>b</sup> ipsa sancta synodus in suo consortio sive in orationibus recipere dignaretur, eo quod esset vir in ecclesiasticis doctrinis eruditus. Omnis namque synodus secundum admonitionem domini regis consensit et eum in eorum consortio sive in orationibus receperunt. [*Ed. Baluz., I.* 196.]

<sup>a</sup> That these were English and not Breton appears from the fact that Charles in his letter to Elipandus mentions them apart from the clergy of his own dominions. A letter from Alcuin to Kynebert Bishop of Winchester given immediately below mentions their having met at a synodal assembly. This may have been the council of Frankfort.

<sup>b</sup> Alcuin's seven books against Felix and Elipandus will be found in Froben's edition,

*I.* 783-915. It does not appear from the passage given above that his share in the deliberations of the council was confined to the Adoptionist dispute; and as the action of the Nicene council on Image-worship was annulled by the council of Frankfort, it is quite possible that he may have participated in that proceeding as a representative of the English Church. See above, pp. 468, 469.

A.D. 787 × 802<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to Kynebert Bishop of Winchester, urging him to independent action in behalf of the faith.*

*Venerandæ dignitatis Patri Cunibercto Episcopo,* HUMILIS LEVITA  
ALCHUINUS salutem.

Olim in synodali sanctorum Patrum conventu vestra bonitas nobiscum pepigit pacta caritatis, quæ propter opportunitatem hujus portitoris his litterulis humilitatis nostræ renovare studeat, ne forte longa absentia oblivionem nostri nominis vobiscum fecisses. Caritas oblivionem non patitur, et veritas nulla temporis longitudine maculabitur, maxime in tali p̄sona et tam præclaro sanctitatis viro, cujus latissimus melliflui pectoris sinus multitudinem spiritalium congregare amicorum solet; inter quos parvitatæ meæ nomen aliquem, deprecor, inveniat locum, et vestra nobilissima fidelitas quondam, ut prædiximus, promittere non abhorruit: nec non supplicii obsecratione, Pater mi! depono, ut sanctissimis vestri regiminis fratribus eandem de nobis spiritalem curam habere jubeatis.

Fateor tibi, sanctissime præsul! quod venerabiles fratrum congregationes studiosè amavi, quas in illis regionibus Deo deservire dignis moribus, narrante fama, audivimus; licet nobis datum non esset corporali visione illos aggredi; quem vestra potest pietas pro amore Christi pro nobis loqui, nec ullatenus Deus deerit in remuneratione

[SYNOD AT CLOVESHO.]

vestræ devotioni, vir optime! Decet enim sacerdotalem dignitatem omnibus se deprecantibus pietatis præstare affectum, absentes sacris orationibus adjuvare, præsentibus evangelicæ prædicationis instantia confirmare. Scis optime quanta necessitas est populo Christiano, ut prædicator verbi Dei non taceat, et nostræ celeberrimæ insulæ Britannicæ habitatoribus, ubi quondam multitudo doctorum verba vitæ perpetuæ continua prædicaverunt instantia; sed nunc, peccatis facientibus, rari sunt operarii in messe Domini: sed quo rariores inveniuntur, eo magis necesse est ut illi qui sunt omnimodis jugi sanctæ prædicationis studio ab errore vitæ et superflua multarum consuetudine vanitatum ad modestiam sobrietatis et castitatis exercitium revocare studeat.

Non taceat os sanctitatis tuæ evangelicæ veritatis verba, nec apostolicæ doctrinæ seriem, nec sanctorum patrum mores nobilissimos, ut multi per tuam sanctissimam devotionem erudiantur, et tibi multiplex, Deo Christo donante, merces maneat in æternum. Non potestas regalis, nec arrogantia cujuslibet sæcularis sublimitatis tuam prohibeat a veritate vocem; non adulatio subsequentium, non sæcularis luxuriæ pompa, non deceptibilis auri species, nec ulla terrenæ delectationis voluptas cor sanctitatis tuæ a fiducia studiosi laboris subtrahat; sed omnibus in te lux veritatis luceat, et via salutis æternæ ostendatur. Pauci sunt hujus vitæ dies laboris, et qui plus laborat, plus mercedis accipiet; sed cœlestis beatitudinis remuneratio temporibus permanet æternis. Omnipotens Deus tuam sanctam et venerabilem paternitatem ad exaltationem sanctæ Suae Ecclesiæ multis feliciter annis vivere et proficere concedat, carissime pater. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben., no. 204; *MS. Harl.* 208.]

<sup>a</sup> Possibly written after the Council of Frankfort. The text of the letter is somewhat unsound, but accords with the MS.

A.D. 794. *Synod at Clovesho.*I. *Grant of land at Westbury by Offa to Etkelmund<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ In nomine Summi Tonantis, Qui est benedictus in sæcula! Regibus potentibus et hujus sæculi divitibus, cum fallacibus istius lugubris mundi substantiis quæ omnia sicut umbra evanescent, æternæ vitæ præmia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego Offa Rex a rege regum constitutus, terram IIII. cassatorum in provincia Huiccio-

[SYNOD AT CLOVESHO.]

rum, ubi nominatur Westburg, prope flumen qui dicitur Aven, Æthelmundo fideli meo ministro pro ereptione animæ meæ in libertatem perpetuam sub hac conditione libens concedo; ita ut ab omni tributo parvo vel majore, pupicalium rerum, et a cunctis operibus vel regis vel principis sit imperpetuum libera, præter expeditionalibus causis et pontium structionem et arcium munimentum, quod omni populo necesse est agere, atque ab eo opere nullum excusatum esse. Scripta est autem hæc libertatis cartula ab universo concilio synodali in loco celeberrimo qui nuncupatur Clofes hoas. Quorum signa et nomina infra tenentur.

✠ Ego Offa Rex Dei dono propriam donationis libertatem signo sanctæ crucis confirmo. ✠ Ego Ecgferth, filius Regis, consensi. ✠ Signum Hygeberhti Archiepiscopi. ✠ Signum Ceolulfi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Æthelheardi Archiepiscopi. ✠ Signum Heathoredi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Unwona Episcopi. ✠ Signum Cyneberhti Episcopi. ✠ Signum Deneferthi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Ceolmundi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Coenwalh Episcopi. ✠ Signum Wermundi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Alhheardi Episcopi. ✠ Signum Almundi abbatis. ✠ Signum Beonna abbatis. ✠ Signum Wigmundi abbatis. [K. C. D., CLXVII., from MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII. fo. 52.]

<sup>a</sup> This grant is not dated, but may be safely referred to the year given above by the names of the attesting Bishops, and by comparison

with the following document. See below, under A.D. 798, 804, and 824.

## II. *Record of the restoration of land at Aust to the See of Worcester.*

✠ Omnis itaque hujus vitæ prosperitas, Deo miserante, existit, etiam et futuræ vitæ beatitudo Eo largiente perveniet. Contigit autem in diebus Offani Regis Merciorum quod Bynna, comes Regis, sustulit sine recto hanc terram æt Austan V. manentes, quod Æthelbald Rex ante liberavit, et hoc recte pertinebat ad sedem episcopalem in Wegrin civitate. Tunc fuit synodus in loco qui dicitur Clofes hoas, anno [ab] incarnatione Christi DCCXCIII., regni Offani XXXVII. anno. Tunc Episcopus Heathoredus, cum conscientia totius synodalis concilii referebat, et fiducialiter incunctanterque confirmavit cum testimonio scripturarum illarum quæ Æthelbald Rex ante in æternam libertatem suis processoribus præscripsit. Et tunc Rex cum omni consilio sancti concilii consentiebat, quod Episcopus præfatus salva manu accipiebat in contenditum suam propriam præ-



## [COUNCIL AT LONDON.]

nominatam terram, et hoc cum confirmatione sanctæ crucis Christi omnes munierunt, ut firma et infracta permaneat in ævum.

✠ Ego Offa Rex Merciorum, signo sanctæ crucis confirmavi.  
 ✠ Ego Ecgferth filius Regis, consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum Hygeberhti Archiepiscopi. ✠ Signum Æthelheardi Archiepiscopi.  
 ✠ Signum Ceolwulfi Episcopi. ✠ Heathored Episcopi. ✠ Cyneberhti Episcopi. ✠ Denerferth Episcopi. ✠ Wigmund abbas.  
 ✠ Brorda dux. ✠ Alhmund dux. ✠ Bynna dux. ✠ Wigberht dux.  
 ✠ Heardberht dux. ✠ Uoba dux. [K. C. D., *CLXIV.*, from MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII. fo. 54.]

A.D. 795<sup>a</sup>. *Council at London in which a grant of land is made by Offa to Christ Church, Canterbury*<sup>b</sup>. [Spurious.]

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCC<sup>o</sup>XC<sup>o</sup>[V]<sup>o</sup>. Ego Offa Rex Anglorum XXX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup> anno regni mei, cogitans de salute animæ meæ et de statu regni mei, perveni ad Lundoniam civitatem ad colloquium venerabilis viri Athelardi, et locutus sum cum eo ut aliquid Deo Omnipotenti pro salute animæ meæ darem; qui petivit a me ut aliquod supplementum conferrem sibi ad opus ecclesiæ Sancti Salvatoris in Dorobernia, dicens cum Episcopis omnibus nostræ regionis, esse inhonestum non ditari matrem ecclesiarum a filiis suis regibus, quos fonte baptismatis regeneravit. Ego ergo consensi petitioni illius metropolitani et omnium Episcoporum nostrorum; dedi enim illi nonaginta tributaria terræ bipartita in duobus locis; sexaginta in loco qui dicitur Linghamese et Geddinges circa rivulum qui dicitur Fischesburnan; et triginta in Aquiloni parte fluminis Tamisiæ, ubi appellatur Twiccanhamm; sexaginta ad emendationem ecclesiæ Sancti Salvatoris; triginta vero in Twiccanhamme ad indumentum fratrum qui serviunt Deo in illa sancta ecclesia. Hanc elemosinam humilis et devotus ego Offa Rex Anglorum pro pignore Christianæ fidei totius gentis nostræ offero Deo Omnipotenti, ad Suam sanctam ecclesiam, ut mei memoria et meæ carissimæ gentis ibi celebretur, et Deo commendetur. Erat autem in conventu nostro celeberrimus dies Pentecostes; et conventus famulorum Dei quorum nomina hic scripta sunt; Athelhardus Metropolitanus, Ceoluulfus Episcopus, Unwona Episcopus, Hathoredus Episcopus, Ceolmundus Episcopus, Ealchardus Episcopus, Ælfhunus Episcopus, Cinebyrhtus Episcopus, Deneuerthus Episcopus, Wermundus Episcopus, Weolthunus Epi-

[LETTER OF CHARLES TO OFFA.]

scopus. Omnes isti una mecum clamaverunt ad Dominum in die sancto in ecclesia Sancti Pauli: Spiritus Domini Qui hodie replevit orbem terrarum et omnia continet et scientiam habet vocis Alleluia<sup>c</sup>, et omnes sancti apostoli Dei qui ab Illo Spiritu repleti sunt, tribuat benedictionem sempiternam consentientibus et defendentibus hanc largitatem; condempnet et excommunicet, et in hoc seculo et in futuro, eum qui auferat vel minimam partem hujus doni ab ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris quæ sita est in urbe Cantuariorum; et respondit omnis chòrus *Amen*. Ad confirmandum hoc largitatis donum, hii testes adherant et subscripserunt donum Salvatori nostro; Ego Offa Rex, cum benedictione omnium Episcoporum impono signum sanctæ crucis ad confirmationem hujus doni, michi donanti ad redemptionem, et minuenti ad æternam dampnationem, et sine ullo remedio in inferno, ad æternæ pœnæ cruciatum. Ego Egeuerth Rex consensi et promisi hoc donum semper firmare et augere. Ego Adthelhardus Metropolitanus signum sanctæ crucis impono et in nomine Salvatoris conscribo. Omnes quoque supranominati Episcopi subscripserunt. [*MS. Lambeth* 1212, p. 311.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is corrected by the regnal year of Offa.

<sup>b</sup> This document, which, if genuine, would be of the greatest interest, is given by Kemble from two copies at Canterbury (Reg. A. 1, fol. 189, and Reg. C. 1, fol. 69), with some important variations; e.g. the mention of the Mercians as the nation for whose salvation the offering was made, and the substitution of *Turcanbam* for *Twiccanbanne*. He also adds the attestations of the Bishops in the usual form, and those of three abbots and twelve *principes* (*K. C. D.*, CLIX.).

That the charter in all its existing forms is spurious, may be regarded as proved by the title *Rex Anglorum* assumed by Offa: but the whole wording of the act is abnormal in the extreme, and the omission of any reference to Archbishop Hibert is, to say the least, suspicious. Strangely, however, the attestations are, with that exception, exactly in accord with the date, and must have been taken from an existing genuine charter, which may or may not have contained the details on which the existing forgery is based,

<sup>c</sup> For *Alleluia* Kemble reads *All*.

A.D. 784 × 796. *Letter of Charles the Great to Offa, requesting him to insist on the return home of a Scottish priest, now in the diocese of Cologne, who has eaten flesh in Lent.*

KAROLUS GRATIA DEI REX FRANCORUM ET DEFENSOR SANCTÆ DEI ECCLESIAE *dilecto fratri et amico Offæ Regi salutem.*

Presbyter iste et Scottus apud nos moratus est aliquanto tempore in parrochia Hildeboldi Colonensis Episcopi<sup>a</sup>, sed reprehensibilis factus, ut fertur, a quodam accusatore, quod carnem diebus quadragesimalibus comedisset. Nostri vero sacerdotes iudicare renuerunt, quia

[LETTER OF CHARLES TO ETHELHEARD.]

plenum testimonium accusantium super eum non invenerunt. Tamen nec eum loco consueto habitationis suæ propter infamiam diutius morari permiserunt; ne sacerdotalis honor apud imperitum vulgus vilesceret, vel rumigera loquela aliqui hortarentur violare sanctum jejunium. Visum est nostris sacerdotibus, illum ad sui Episcopi, ubi Deo votum fecit, dirigere iudicium.

Idcirco vestram deprecamur providentiam, ut jubeatis illum secundum opportunitatem temporis et provectionis in suam transponere patriam; ut ibi iudicetur, unde exivit. Nam ibi quoque sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ puritas in moribus et firmitas in fide et honestas in conversatione secundum canonicam sanctionem diligenter observari debent, ut una perfecta et immaculata columba, cujus pennæ deargentatæ et posteriora ejus in specie auri clarescere debent.

Vita salus et prosperitas tibi tuisque fidelibus a Deo Christo detur in æternum. [*Jaffé, Monumenta Carolina*, p. 351; *Baluz. Capit. Reg. Franc.*, I. 198.]

<sup>a</sup> Hildebold was Archbishop of Cologne from A.D. 784 to 819.

A.D. 793 × 796. *Letter of Charles King of the Franks to Archbishop Ethelheard, requesting him to intercede with Offa for some English exiles.*

KAROLUS GRATIA DEI REX FRANCORUM ET LONGOBARDORUM AC PATRIIUS ROMANORUM *Athilhardo Archiepiscopo et Ceoluulfo coepiscopo illius æternæ beatitudinis salutem.*

Nullatenus, vastam terræ longinquitatem vel procellosi maris latitudinem fœderatæ in Christo amicitiae jura disrumpere, fas arbitramur. Sed quanto longiore spacio humana dividitur conversatio, tanto probatiore fide pietatis pactum servari debent. Quia sæpe in præsentia timor vel erubescencia in facie foris ostendit, quod homo intus in corde non retinet, igitur sancta fides in absentia laudabilis extat et in præsentia venerabilis consistit.

Unde et in ejus (amicitiæ) fiducia, quam pia olim allocutione præsentibus pepigimus, hos miseros patriæ suæ exules vestræ direximus pietati; deprecantes, ut pro eis intercedere dignemini apud fratrem meum carissimum Offanum Regem, quatenus pacifice et absque alicujus injustitiæ oppressione in sua liceat conversare patria et cuilibet deservire.

[LETTER OF CHARLES TO ETHELHEARD.]

Nam dominus illorum Umhringstan<sup>a</sup> diem obiit. Qui, ut nobis visum fuit, fidelis suo fuisset domino, si in patria licuisset perseverare. Sed ut mortis evaderet periculum, ut dicere solebat, fugit ad nos; semper paratus se ab omni purgare infidelitate. Quem propter reconciliationem, non propter inimicitias aliquantis per retinimus apud nos.

His vero contribulibus suis si pacem precari valeatis, remaneant in patria. Sin vero durius de illis frater meus respondeat, illos ad nos remittite inlæsos. Melius est peregrinari, quam perire; in aliena servire patria, quam in sua mori. Confido de bonitate fratris mei, si obnixè pro illis intercedatis, ut benigne suscipiat eos pro nostro amore vel magis pro Christi caritate, Qui dixit: "Dimittite, et dimittetur vobis."

Intercedentem pro nobis vestram sanctitatem Divina pietas incolumem custodiat in æternum. [*Jaffé, Monumenta Carolina*, p. 352.]

<sup>a</sup> Of Umhringstan and his fellow exiles nothing is known. Thorpe, in his edition of Lappenberg (*I.* 233), suggests that they had been supporters of Beornred, who had contested the Mercian throne with Offa in A.D.

757, but it is more probable that they were connected with Ethelbert of East Anglia, who was put to death in A.D. 793. See more about them below, pp. 497-499.

A.D. 793 × 796. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred King of Northumbria and his nobles, urging moral and religious reform.*

*Excellentissimo filio Adilredo Regi et amicis dulcissimis Osbaldo<sup>a</sup> patricio et Osbercto duci et omnibus fraternæ dilectionis amicis, ALCHUINUS LEVITA æternæ beatitudinis salutem.*

Suavitas sancti amoris sæpius me cogit de antiqua admonere amicitia, de animarum vestrarum salute, et de fidei veritate, et de pacis concordia, quam habere debetis inter vos; quia amicitia, quæ deseri potest, nunquam vera fuit. Amicus fidelis diu quæritur, vix invenitur, difficile servatur. Vos quærens inveni amicos: servabo amicos, nec dimittam quos amare cœpi. Et si lingua taceat vestra de me, litteræ tamen meæ non taceant de vobis, sed semper admoneo devotionis studio, quorum semper desidero prosperitatis salutem. Cogitate quis vos de multiplici liberavit tribulatione, quoties præsentem, Ejus misericordia, evasistis mortem; quoties de manu inimicorum erepti fuistis. Recordamini quis vobis omnes perdonavit honores quos habetis, prosperitates contulit, sanitates largitus est, omnibus vos vestris fecit inimicis sublimiores. His omnibus bonis

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELRED.]

nolite ingrati esse, quia horum gratia bonorum vitam merebitur sempiternam. Nec hæc felicitas hujus sæculi æterna esse poterit. Studete diligentissime, ut post hos honores terrenos, cœlestes habere mereamini. Omnia hujus sæculi delectamenta velut volatilis fugiunt umbra; et solummodo manet in remuneratione bona quod pro Dei amore egistis. Grandis enim via de terris videtur ad cœlum. Firmissima debet esse scala, per quam ascenditur: facilis est casus ad inferna. Sed hæc facilitas magnam habet difficultatem, sempiternum siquidem ignem, qui urit inextinguibiliter cadentes in illum. Difficultas vero ascensionis in cœlum magnum habet gaudium, dum pervenitur quo ascenditur, beatitudinem siquidem sempiternam.

Si forte quæritis quomodo quis ascendat in cœlum, vel quis quomodo cadat in infernum? Per mala igitur opera ruit homo ad inferna; per bona vero opera ascendit ad superna. Mala itaque sunt opera: delectatio carnalis, ambitio sæcularis, avaritia, et omnis concupiscentia mala, vinolentia, rapina, mendacia, luxuria, fornicatio, invidia, homicidia, ebrietates, commessiones, inimicitia, superbia, et perjuria; dicente Apostolo: "Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt," nisi confessione et longa pœnitentia et eleemosynis multis emendentur. Unumquodque eorum quæ enumeravi, regnum Dei claudere poterit, et infernales pœnas aperire homini. Væ animæ quæ ardentes flammæ semper sustinere cogitur. Bona vero sunt opera per quæ ascendere in cœlum possumus; caritas Dei, honor Illius et timor, vigilia et orationes ad Deum, dilectio hominum, et misericordia in homines, et remissio peccantibus in nos; justitia in judiciis, veritas in verbis, patientia in adversitatibus; nemini reddere malum pro malo; eleemosyna in pauperes, benignitas in omnes homines, pietas ad amicos, fides recta in Deum, spes firma in Illius bonitatem, modestia in vestimentis, et in omni usu sæculi temperantia, continentia in cibo et potu, in mente humilitas, in moribus honestas, in omni vita æquitas. Hi sunt gradus per quos cœlum ascenditur, hi sunt mores qui homines faciunt laude dignos, hæc sunt opera quæ gaudia merentur sempiterna, hæc est sapientia vera, ut homo sibi prævideat quomodo in æternum feliciter vivat. Nullatenus homo perire poterit, sicut animal quodlibet, sed post hanc vitam victurus erit in æternum: bene, propter bona opera; male, propter mala opera; quia Deus unicuique reddet secundum opera sua.

Nolite injustas amare divitias, quia omnis injustitia ulciscitur a

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ÆTHELRED.]

Deo, et melior est benedictio Dei quam omnes divitiæ mundi. Quidquid in sæculo amatur, amittitur; quidquid pro Deo datur, habetur. Cui largus eris, si tuæ animæ tenax? Vel quis tibi fidelis erit, si tu tibi ipse infidelis eris? Cur in alium spem ponis, et tu tibi ipse benefacere non vis? Morieris, O homo! et omnia dimittes quæ habes. Hic vis dives esse peregrinus, et parvi temporis hospes; et non vis ibi esse dives ubi semper eris? Præmitte tibi divitias tuas, ut habeas in æternum quod ames in sæculo. Construe tibi bonis operibus beatam domum. Quam miser erit qui semper arsurus erit in igne, qui tenebris circumdatus horrendis, qui nihil audiet nisi voces fletuum et stridentium dentibus horrorem! qui nihil sentit nisi flammam edaces, et frigora ingentia, et vermium venenatos dentes! Ut hæc horribilia, O amice! evadere valeas, nullus tibi labor durus videri debet, ut ad illam beatitudinem pervenire merearis, æterna pace jucundissimam, æterna gloria felicissimam. Nulla sæcularis ambitio, nulla carnis delectatio, nulla inimicorum vindicta impediatur cursum tuum. Sed curre, dum lucem habes, operare, dum dies est, quatenus ad lucem pervenias perpetuam, ut cum Christo et sanctis Ejus regnare merearis in gloria sempiterna.

Non solum vos, viri clarissimi, et filii carissimi, his meis admonitionibus litterulis, sed et omnes dilectæ gentis principes, et diversarum dignitatum nomina, seu ecclesiasticæ pietatis ordines, seu sæcularis potentiæ sublimitates communi caritatis intuitu, quasi alumnus vestræ dilectioni devotus, deprecor, Dei diligentissime obedire præceptis, prædicatoribus salutis vestræ subditos esse. Illorum est, id est sacerdotum, verba Dei non tacere; vestrum est, O principes, humiliter obedire, diligenter implere. Regis est omnes iniquitates pietatis suæ potentia opprimere, justum esse in judiciis, pronum in misericordia. Secundum quod ille miseretur subjectis, miserebitur ei Deus. Sobrium in moribus, veridicum in verbis, largum in donis, providum in consiliis: consiliarios habere prudentes, Deum timentes, honestis moribus ornatos. Oportet eum non cupidum esse alienæ hæreditatis, non avarum, non violenter rapientem, dicente Apostolo: "Neque fures, neque avari, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt." Et sæpe per rapinas propria amittit, quia Deus gemitum exaudit oppressorum.

Legimus quoque quod Regis bonitas totius est gentis prosperitas, victoria exercitus, aeris temperies, terræ abundantia, filiorum benedictio, sanitas plebis. Magnum est totam regere gentem; a regendo

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELRED.]

vero Rex dicitur; et qui bene regit subjectum sibi populum, bonam habet a Deo retributionem, regnum scilicet cœleste. Valde feliciter regnat in terra, qui de terreno regno merebitur cœleste. Orationibus vero et vigiliis eo instantius ad Deum insistere debet, quo non pro se solummodo, sed et pro totius gentis prosperitate Deum deprecari debet. Similiter principes et iudices populi, in justitia et pietate populo Dei præsint. Viduis, pupillis et miseris sint quasi patres, quia æquitas principum populi est exaltatio. Ecclesiarum Christi sint defensores et tutores, ut servorum Dei orationibus longa vivant prosperitate. Ecclesia enim sponsa est Christi, et qui eam violare nititur, vel rapere quæ sua sunt, vindicat in eum Deus Christus, sponsus sanctæ Suæ Ecclesiæ.

Vidistis quomodo perierint antecessores vestri reges et principes propter injustitias et rapinas et immunditias vitæ, nec ab hujusmodi se peccatis criminum capitalium, Deum timentes, abstinerunt; nec, quod pejus est, immanissima scelerum vulnera, pœnitentiæ medicamentis sanare curarunt; sed computruerunt in peccatis suis, donec repentino terrore cecidit super eos iudicium Dei, et tam infeliciter in conspectu omnium perierunt, quam impudenter sine ulla reverentia pessimis se involvi sceleribus non metuerunt. Heu! quam misere præsentem perdiderunt vitam! Sed multo miserabilius in æternis cruciantur tormentis. Timete illorum perditionem, et a talibus vosmetipsos impietatibus observate, in quibus illi perierunt. Idem enim Deus super vestra vigilat opera, Qui illorum non pepercit sceleribus. Multi vero per rapinas et iniquitates colligere gestiunt, et nesciunt quod utrumque propter avaritiam iniquam et terrena cito perdunt bona et cœlestia nunquam acquirunt.

Illiusmodi, viri fratres, vobismetipsis cavete iniquitates, quatenus Deum omnipotentem in præsentī vita propitium habere mereamini et in futura æternorum largitorem bonorum. Pacem habete inter vos et benignitatem; misericordiam et justitiam ad omnes homines, et castitatem corporis custodite vestri, ut Spiritus Sanctus vestris inhabitet pectoribus, Qui sapiens vobis semper suggerat consilium, vosque ab omni defendat hoste visibili et invisibili. Vestroque domino fideles estote, ut per vestram concordiam regnum dilatetur vestrum, quod sæpe per discordiam minui solebat, dicente Ipsa Veritate: "Omne regnum in se divisum non stabit." Sicuti maxima imperia per dissensiones intestinas dilapsa decrescebant, et e contrario minima quæque civitatis cujuslibet, vel provinciæ, per pacificam con-

[LETTERS OF ALCUIN TO ETHELRED.]

cordiam, regnum crescebat et proficiebat et fortioribus sibi tandem imperabat regnis.

Timete flagellum quod venit super ecclesiam Sancti Cudberti, locum scilicet sanctissimum et multorum sanctorum suffragiis divitissimum, nunc vero miserabiliter a paganis devastatum. Qui hoc non timet et seipsum non corrigit et pro suæ patriæ prosperitate non plangit ad Deum, carneum non habet cor, sed lapideum. Episcoporum est monasteria corrigere, servorum Dei vitam disponere, populo Dei verbum prædicare, et diligenter plebem erudire subjectam. Laicorum est obedire prædicationi, justos esse et misericordes, quatenus Divina benedictio per Suam magnam misericordiam nobis nostrisque nepotibus patriam in bona prosperitate conservare dignetur, quam nostris parentibus per pietatis Suæ dexteram perdonare dignata est. Ad defensionem Sanctæ Suæ ecclesiæ et prosperitatem gentis nostræ Divina pietas vos conservare dignetur. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 10; collated with MS. Cotton, Vesp. A. XIV. fo. 113.]

<sup>a</sup> Osbold was probably the ealdorman or *patricius* who was raised to the throne after the death of Ethelred, and reigned twenty-seven days (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 669). From a letter of Alcuin addressed to him (ed. Froben, no. 167), it appears that he had been strongly urged by Alcuin two years before the death of Ethelred to retire from the world as so many of the Kings and Princes of Northumbria had done, and that he was regarded as having had a share in the guilt

of Ethelred's murder. He was dethroned and exiled, taking refuge first at Lindisfarne, and then with the King of the Picts: but afterwards returned, became a monk, died an abbot in A.D. 799 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 671), and was buried at York.—Osbert was probably the person to whom Alcuin addressed the letters, fragments of which are preserved by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum, I.* § 94).

A.D. 793 × 796. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred King of Northumbria and his nobles on the state of the Church*<sup>a</sup>.

*Domino dilectissimo Adilredo Regi et omnibus optimatibus ejus humilis*  
LEVITA ALCHUINE salutem.

Memor dulcissimæ dilectionis vestræ, viri fratres et patres etiam et honorabiles in Christo domini, desiderans longæva prosperitate patriam Divinam nobis conservare misericordiam quam gratuita largitate per Suam nobis olim contulit gratiam, idcirco sæpius vos, carissimi commilitones, vel præsens si Deus annuerit verbis, vel absens Spiritu inspirante Divino scriptis<sup>b</sup>, ammonere non cesso et quæ ad sospitatem patriæ terrenæ et quod ad beatitudinem perpetuam pertinere noscuntur sæpius iterando, quasi civibus ejusdem patriæ auribus ingerere vestris, uti multoties audita mentibus inolescant ad salutem. Quæ est enim caritas in amicum si utilia tacet amico?



[LETTERS OF ALCUIN TO ETHELRED.]

cui debet homo fidem si non patriæ? cui prosperitatem si non civibus? Duplici enim germanitate concives sumus, unius civitatis in Christo, id est matris ecclesiæ, filii, et unius patriæ indigenæ. Ideo vestra non horrescat humanitas benigne accipere quod mea offerre pro salute patriæ studet devotio, nec culpas vobis invehere me arbitramini sed pœnas amovere velle intelligere. Ecce trecentis et quinquaginta ferme annis quod nos nostrique patres hujus pulcherrimæ patriæ incolæ fuimus, et nunquam talis terror prius apparuit in Britannia veluti modo a pagana gente perpressi sumus, nec ejusmodi naufragium fieri posse putabatur. Ecce ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa, omnibus spoliata ornamentis, locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum, et ubi primum post discessum Sancti Paulini ab Euboracia Christiana religio in Northanimbrorum gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseræ et calamitatis cepit initium.

Quis hoc non timet? quis hoc quasi captam patriam non plangit? vineam electam vulpes deprædarunt; hæreditas Domini data est populo non Suo; et ubi laus Domini ibi ludus gentium; festivitas sancta versa est in luctum. Attentius considerate fratres et diligentissime perspicite, ne forte hoc inconsuetum et inauditum malum aliqua inauditi mali consuetudine promeretur. Non dico quod fornicationis peccata non essent in populo, sed a diebus Ælfwaldi Regis fornicationes, adulteria, et incestus inundaverunt supra terram ita ut absque omni verecundia etiam et in ancillis Domino dicatis hæc peccata perpetrabantur. Quid dicam de avaritia, rapinis et violentis judiciis, dum luce clarius constat quantum ubique hæc crimina succreverint et populus testatur spoliatus? Qui sanctas legit scripturas et veteres revolvit historias et sæculi considerat eventus, inveniet pro hujusmodi peccatis reges regna et populos patriam perdidisse, et dum aliena potentes injuste rapuerunt propria juste perdidit. Signa enim hujus miseræ præcesserunt alia per res inconsuetas, alia per mores insolitos. Quid significat pluvia sanguinis quam quadagesimali tempore Euboraca civitate in ecclesia Beati Petri principis Apostolorum quæ caput est totius regni, vidimus de borealibus domus sereno aere de summitate minaciter cadere tecti<sup>o</sup>? Nonne potest putari a borealibus pœnas sanguinis venire super populum, quod in hoc facto nuper ingruente super domum Dei incessisse videri potest? Considerate habitum, tonsuram, et mores principum et populi luxuriosos. Ecce tonsura quam in barbibus et in capillis paganis adsimi-

[LETTERS OF ALCUIN TO ÆTHELRED.]

lari voluistis! Nonne illorum terror imminet quorum tonsuram habere voluistis? Quid quoque immoderatus vestimentorum usus ultra humanæ necessitatem naturæ, ultra antecessorum nostrorum consuetudinem? Hæc superfluitas principum paupertas est populi. Tales consuetudines olim populum Dei nocuerunt, et eum paganis gentibus dederunt in opprobrium, dicente propheta, "Væ vobis qui vendidistis pauperem pro calceamentis"—id est animas hominum pro ornamentis pedum. Alii enormitate vestium laborant, alii frigore pereunt; alii deliciis et epulis ut purpuratus Dives inundant, et Lazarus ante januam fame moritur. Ubi est fraterna caritas? ubi misericordia quam in miseros habere ammonetur? Satietas divitis esuries est pauperis. Timenda est illa Dominica sententia, "iudicium absque misericordia illi est qui non facit misericordiam." Item Beato Petro Apostolo dicente, legimus, tempus est ut iudicium a domo Dei in qua tanta luminaria totius Brytanniæ requiescunt. Quid de aliis estimandum est locis, dum huic sanctissimo loco iudicium non pepercit Divinum? Non arbitror illorum hoc esse qui in eo habitant loco tantummodo peccatum. Utinam ut illorum correctio aliorum sit emendatio, et quod pauci perpeSSI sunt plurimi pertimescant, et unusquisque dicat in corde suo gemens et tremebundus, "si tanti viri et tam Sancti Patres suam habitationem et requiei suæ loca non defenderunt quis mea defendet?" Defendite patriam precibus assiduis ad Dominum, justitiæ et misericordiæ operibus ad homines; sit vobis moderatus usus in vestimentis et cibo: nihil melius patriam defendit quam principum æquitas et pietas et servorum Dei intercessionem. Mementote quod Ezekias Rex justus et pius una prece impetravit a Deo ut hostium centum octoginta quinque millia una nocte perimerentur ab angelo: similiter idem ipse mortem imminentem sibi lacrimis profusis avertit et quindecim annos vitæ suæ hac prece superaddi promeruit a Deo. Mores autem honestos habete Deo placabiles et hominibus laudabiles. Estote rectores populi non raptores, pastores non prædatores. Deo dante honores accepistis; ostendite observationem mandatorum Ejus ut Eum habeatis servatorem Quem habuistis largitorem. Obedite sacerdotibus Dei, illi enim habent rationem reddere Deo, quomodo vos ammoncant, et vos quomodo obediatis illis. Sit una pax et caritas inter vos; illi intercessores pro vobis, vos defensores pro illis. Super omnia autem caritatem Dei habete in cordibus vestris et eandem caritatem in observatione mandatorum Ejus ostendite. Amate Eum ut patrem ut Ille defendat

## [LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

vos ut filios. Volentes nolentes Illum habebitis iudicem. Attendite bonis operibus ut propitium Eum habeatis vobis, præterit enim figura hujus mundi et omnia caduca sunt quæ hic videntur vel habentur: hoc solum de suo labore potest homo secum adferre quod in elemosynis vel bonis operibus gerit. Omnes oportet nos stare ante tribunal Christi, ut ostendat unusquisque omnia quæ gessit sive bonum sive malum. Cavete tormenta Gehennæ dum vitari possunt, et adquirite vobis regnum Dei et æternam beatitudinem cum Christo et sanctis Ejus in sæcula sempiterna. Deus vos et in hoc terreno regno felices efficiat et æternam vobis concedat cum Sanctis patriam; domini patres, fratres et filii carissimi. [MSS. Cotton, *Vesp. A. XIV.* fo. 123, *Tiberius A. XV.* fo. 34.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is printed here for the first time. It was known to William of Malmesbury, who gives extracts from it in the *Gesta Regum*, lib. I. cap. 70; and in the *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. III. capp. 99, 128.

<sup>b</sup> Alcuin was in England at the time of Ethelred's accession or restoration in A.D. 790, and had been detained in Northumbria for some time after. To this he refers in a letter to his friend and steward Joseph, which may be found in MS. Vespasian, A. XIV., but has never been printed. "Nuper Ethelredus filius Ethelwaldi de carcere processit in solium

et de miseria in majestatem. Cujus regni novitate detenti sumus et nolentes præpediti venire ad vos; vos tamen in prosperitate spectate nos donec fiat volente Deo quod optatis." William of Malmesbury quotes from this, *Gesta Regum*, I. 72. The rest of the letter is interesting in relation to Alcuin's character and wealth, but has no ecclesiastical bearing except so far as it proves that he was not a monk: and it is unfortunately corrupt.

<sup>c</sup> Notes of these portents are to be found in Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 668).

A.D. 796. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard advising him not to desert his Church.*

Acceptis litteris tuis, frater sancte! lætus de salute tua, sed tristis de tribulatione et persecutionibus<sup>a</sup>, quas te pati a gente tua in illis tuis apicibus agnovi. Attamen "beatos esse," Domino dicente, legimus, "qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum." Quapropter suadeo tibi, frater venerande! ut viriliter in fide integra et devotione infatigabili, pro commissis tibi a Christo ovibus certare non cesses, ne mercenarius fugiens, et non pastor firmus, ab Ipso Domino et Pastore omnium deputeris.

Aspice in Eum, "Qui pro ovibus Suis animam Suam posuit," Qui omnibus generaliter præcipiens dixit: "Qui vult venire post Me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam et sequatur Me." Cui gregem Christi abiturus relinquis? Nec hæc dico quasi me excusando ad benefaciendum servis Dei, sed magis te adhortando, ut

[LETTER OF CHARLES TO OFFA.]

bona, quæ incepisti facere, ad finem æternæ salutis perducas. “Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.” Idcirco scripsi ad Offanum Regem ut te adjuvaret, et defenderet sanctam Ecclesiam secundum suam possibilitatem: quatenus tibi liceat Deo servire, et talentum tuum multiplicare in loco, ubi accepisti eum; et mercedem exspectare perpetuæ beatitudinis, dicente Domino tuo: “Euge serve bone et fidelis.” [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 51.]

<sup>a</sup> The troubles of Ethelheard arose from the attempts of the Kentish nobles under Eadbert Præn to shake off the yoke of Mercia. These attempts must have begun, as it would appear from this letter, before the death of Offa; and as Eadbert Præn is regarded in the Kentish Fasti as having reigned three years, not before A.D. 796. Eadbert was in holy orders and spiritually amenable to the jurisdiction of Ethelheard, whose zeal against him, and consequent difficulties in Kent, were probably augmented by his adherence to the

Mercian interest, by which he eventually triumphed. Pope Leo III. empowered him to proceed against Eadbert as an apostate priest (below, p. 524); and in A.D. 798 the struggle was concluded by Kenulf capturing Eadbert and mutilating him (*A. S. C.* 796; *Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 670).

A charter of Egferth to Ethelmund, attested at Bath by Ethelheard (*K. C. D.*, *CLXX. CLXXI.*), may possibly show that the Archbishop's flight took place on the death of Offa.

A.D. 796<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Charles King of the Franks to Offa, promising immunity to pilgrims on the way to Rome<sup>b</sup>.*

CAROLUS, GRATIA DEI REX FRANCORUM ET LONGOBARDORUM, AC PATRICIUS ROMANORUM, viro venerando ac fratri carissimo, Offæ, Regi Merciorum, præsentis prosperitatis et æternæ beatitudinis in Christo salutem. Inter regales dignitates, et sublimiores seculi personas fœderatæ in unanimitate pacis amicitia jura, et sanctæ caritatis concordiam ex intimo cordis affectu servare, multis prodesse solet: et si inimicitia nodos Dominico præcepto dissolvere jubemur, quanto magis vincula caritatis connectere curandum est? Unde et nos, frater dilectissime, antiqui memores inter nos pacti, has vestrae reverentiæ literas dirigere curavimus, ut fœdus in radice fidei firmatum floreret in fructu caritatis; relictisque vestrae fraternitatis epistolis, quæ diversis siquidem temporibus, per missorum vestrorum manus nobis delatæ sunt, singulis competenter vestrae auctoritatis suggestionibus respondere satagentes, primo gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, de catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter invenimus paginis exaratam; agnoscentes vos non solum terrenæ patriæ fortissimos protectores, sed etiam et sanctæ fidei devotissimos esse defensores. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei, et salute animarum suarum beatorum limina Apostolorum adire desiderant, sicut olim

[LETTER OF CHARLES TO OFFA.]

perdonavimus, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant, suo itineri secum necessaria portantes. Sed probavimus quosdam fraudulenter negotiandi causa se intermiscere; lucra sectantes, non religioni servientes. Si tales inter eos inveniantur, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonea; cæteri absoluti vadant in pace. De negotiatoribus quoque scripsisti nobis, quos volumus ex mandato nostro, ut protectionem et patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitime, juxta antiquam consuetudinem negotiandi. Et si in aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclamant se ad nos, vel nostros judices, et plenam jubebimus justitiam fieri. Similiter et nostri, si aliquid sub vestra potestate injusti patiantur, reclamant se ad vestræ æquitatis judicium, ne aliqua inter nostros alicubi oboriri possit perturbatio. De Odhberhto vero presbytero, qui de Roma rediens, pro Dei amore, ut referre solet, peregrinare volens, non vos accusare veniens; sciat dilectio vestra, quod eum cum cæteris exulibus, qui timore mortis sub nostræ protectionis confugerunt alas, Romam direximus, ut sub præsentia domini apostolici, et N. Archiepiscopi vestri<sup>e</sup>, quo se ut vestri innotuerunt apices, voto constrinxerunt, audita causa illorum judicentur; ut in quo pietatis intercessio non profuit, æquitatis indicatio proficiat. Quid nobis cautius esse poterit, quam ut apostolicæ auctoritatis censura causam discernat, in qua aliquorum dissonat sententia?

Petras vero nigras, quas vestra flagitabat reverentia, vobis direxi. Veniat missus, qui consideret, quales animus vester desideret, et ubicunque inventæ fuerint, dari et in vehendo adjuvari libenter mandabimus. Sed sicut vos de longitudine petrarum desiderium vestrum intimastis; ita et nostri de prolixitate sagorum deposcunt, ut tales jubeatis fieri, quales antiquis temporibus ad nos venire solebant. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benedictionem de Dalmaticis nostris, vel palliis ad singulas sedes Episcopales regni vestri vel Æthelredi, in eleemosynam domini Adriani apostolici, patris nostri et amatoris vestri, direximus; deprecantes ut diligenter jubeatis intercedere pro anima illius, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem et dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis carissimum. Sicut et beatus præcipit Augustinus, pro omnibus ecclesiasticæ pietatis intercessionem fieri debere; asserens, pro bono intercedere, facienti proficere. Sed et de thesauro humanarum rerum, quem Dominus Jesus nobis gratuita pietate concessit, aliquid per metropolitanas civitates transmisimus; vestræ quoque dilectioni, ad gaudium

[LETTER OF CHARLES TO OFFA.]

et gratiarum actiones Deo omnipotenti, dirigere studuimus unum baltheum, et unum gladium Huniscum, et duo pallia serica. Quatenus ubique in populo Christiano Divina prædicetur clementia, et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi glorificetur in æternum; pro nobis nostrisque fidelibus, immo et pro cuncto populo Christiano, assiduas fieri faciatis intercessionones, deprecamur; quatenus mitissima superni Regis bonitas regnum sanctæ Ecclesiæ protegere, exaltare, et dilatare dignetur. Deus omnipotens dignitatis vestræ excellentiam ad tutelam sanctæ Suæ Ecclesiæ longæva prosperitate incolumem conservare dignetur, desiderantissime frater<sup>d</sup>. [MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XV. fo. 143; W., I. 158, 159, from a MS. of Ussher, now MS. Bodl. Rawlinson, Misc. 1074; S., I. 315.]

<sup>a</sup> Pope Adrian died Dec. 27, A.D. 795. Ethelred King of Northumbria was killed on the 18th of April, A.D. 796. Offa himself died July 29. The date of this letter must therefore be fixed about April. It appears from a letter of Alcuin to Offa (below, p. 499) that before the present letter was sent the news of Ethelred's death reached Charles.

<sup>b</sup> This letter is given in a mutilated form by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, I. § 93). Wilkins's copy of it seems to have

been overlooked by both Froben and Jaffé; both of whom give a copy of Malmesbury's abridgment (*Opp. Alc.*, II. 618; *Monumenta Carolina*, pp. 357, 358).

<sup>c</sup> See the next letter.

<sup>d</sup> Twelve lines of Ovid are appended to this letter in the MS. They are, *Fasti*, II. 85-90; *Art. Amat.*, I. 615-616; and *Rem. Am.* 501-504. They have no connexion with the subject-matter of the letter.

A.D. 796. *Letter from Alcuin to Offa King of Mercia, informing him of Charles's indignation at the murder of Ethelred King of Northumbria.*

*Excellentissimo viro nobisque desiderantissimo Offa Regi Mercionum*  
HUMILIS AMICUS ALCHUINUS salutem.

Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra quod dominus Rex Karolus amabiliter et fideliter sæpe mecum locutus est de vobis, et in eo omnino habetis fidelissimum amicum. Ideo exules Romam dirigit ad iudicium domini apostolici et Æthelhardi Archiepiscopi; vestræ quoque dilectioni digna dirigit munera, et per episcopales regni vestri sedes in eleemosynam sui et Adriani apostolici benedictiones transmittit, ut jubeatis orationes fieri pro anima illius. Vos vero facite secundum fidem vestram quomodo semper soliti estis facere de amicis vestris. Similiter et Ethelredo Regi et ad suas Episcopales sedes dona direxit. Sed heu! proh dolor! donis datis et epistolis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos, qui de Scotia per vos reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis et nece ejus. Ita Karolus, retracta donorum largitate, in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam et perversam, et homicidam dominorum suorum,

## [ELECTION AT YORK.]

pejorem eam paganis existimans: ut nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quidquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset et mali machinari, jam fecisset. Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Karoli Regis ad vos venire, et patriam reverti; sed melius mihi visum est propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, inter quos nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere, potest. Ecce loca sancta a paganis vastata, altaria perjuriis fœdata, monasteria adulteriis violata, terra sanguine dominorum et principum fœdata<sup>a</sup>. \* \* \* [MS. Cotton, *Tiberius A. XV.* fo. 134; *Leland, Coll.*, II. 402; *W. Malms.*, G. R., I. §§ 70, 72; *Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, nos. 42, 43.]

<sup>a</sup> The rest of the letter is so much effaced as to be illegible.

A.D. 796. *Letter of Alcuin to a powerful man in Northumbria, requesting him to defend the freedom of the election to the Archbishopric of York*<sup>a</sup>.

*Domino omnium dilectissimo* æternam in Christo salutem.

Audiens ab Eanbaldo famulo vestro optatæ prosperitatis vestræ sospitatem, valde me gavisum fateor; quia caritas et fides quæ olim in pectore nostro habitare cœpit, nunquam recedere poterit. Et quanto plus tempus remunerationis appropinquat, tanto magis observare debet: ut qui prius transierit a sæculo, amicum sibi sentiat reliquisse in sæculo. Me vero filium tuum febrium acerbitas et regis tardatio in Saxonia<sup>b</sup> retinuit, ut ad vos venire non potuerim, sicut desideravi. Concedat mihi clementia Divina faciem tuam in lætitia videre, antequam moriar. Opto et obsecro, ut in ea te honoris dignitate, si fieri possit, inveniam, in qua te pergens videbam. Tamen, si aliud aliquid tuo placeat animo, rogo ut nullam violentiam super ecclesiam Christi fieri ullatenus permittas; sed fratres libera electione in timore Dei summi, optimum Deo donante eligant. Quia in sanctis canonibus terribile anathema legitur super omnes, qui violentiam aliquam inferunt super ecclesiam Christi. Scito te semper dilexisse familiam nostram, et plurima illis bona fecisse. Sed nunc maxime indigemus, ut bene illis agamus; ut ubi nobis requies erit æterna, ibi sint quoque intercessores perpetui pro nobis.

Tempus est nunc nobis prævidere dies æternos, et cum omni modestia et integritate, et eleemosynarum largitate, viam nobis præparare ad cœlos. Omnis gloria transitoria est et quasi umbra recedet. Ideo ad æternam bonis operibus properemus gloriam. Omnes sæculi

[ELECTION AT YORK.]

vitemus vanitates, ut ad beatitudines cœlestes pervenire mereamur. Dies hujus vitæ, qui nobis restare videntur, vivamus Deo, ut post hanc Illius consequamur misericordiam. Divina tibi clementia hujus vitæ dies felices concedat, et æternam cum sanctis Suis tribuere gloriam dignetur, domine pater dilectissime. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 49; *MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XV.* fo. 57.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter, which in the Tiberius MS. is headed as addressed to Archbishop Eanbald, and the following are of great importance as illustrating the claim of the clergy of the cathedral church to the free election of the Archbishop. Eanbald I. died August 10, A.D. 796 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 669), and his successor Eanbald II. was consecrated August 14 (*A. S. C., ad ann.*), at Sockburn, by the Bishops Ethelbert, Higbald, and Badwulf. So little time intervening between the two events, it is most probable that the succession of the second Eanbald had been determined on before the death of his predecessor. The unsettled state of Northumbria where Ethelred had been murdered April 18, his successor Osbald dethroned after a reign of twenty-seven days, and Eardulf made King at York on the 26th of May, no doubt rendered delay in the filling up of the see unavoidable. The elder Eanbald acted at the consecration of King Eardulf (*A. S. C., ad ann.* 795), so that there can be no confusion as to the year of his death. Alcuin's letters on this occasion would arrive long after the consecration of his successor.

<sup>b</sup> Charles spent the summer of A.D. 796 in

Saxony (*Chr. Moissiac., Pertz, I.* 302). The following important passage, hitherto unpublished, appears to have been written on the same occasion. It is given in the MS. as a continuation of the letter which in Froben's edition is no. 6:—

“Mox remisissimè Eanbaldum dilectioni vestræ si eum infirmitas gravissima non præoccuparet. Ego quoque vestræ petitionis negligens non fui, sed ille præfatus presbyter me euntem per loca sancta invenit, et Rex cum exercitu Saxoniam venit vastandam; et ego absque ejus convenientia ire non potui, quia talis amicus mei cuilibet simili non est temendus. Dei enim gratia faciente plurimis profuit amicitia quam Deus mihi donavit cum illo. Non enim auri avaritia, testis est Cognitor cordis mei, Franciam veni nec remansi in ea, sed ecclesiasticæ causa necessitatis et ad confirmandam catholicæ fidei rationem, quæ a multis, heu, modo maculari nititur, et desuper contextam Christi tunicam quam milites juxta Christi crucem scindere non ausi sunt, in variis rumpere partes præsumunt.” (*MS. Cotton, Vesp. A. XIV.* fo. 130.) It would appear from this that Eanbald the messenger was a different person from the new Archbishop.

A.D. 796. *Letter of Alcuin to the Clergy of York, urging them to avoid simony in the election of an Archbishop.*

*Dilectissimis amicis salutem.*

Rogo vos per caritatis fidem, ut fideliter et sapienter in electione pontificis faciatis, si necesse sit electionem fieri antequam veniam. Iterum iterumque obtestor vos per nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut nullatenus aliquem sinatis per Simoniacam hæresim Episcopatum acquirere, quia omnino perditio gentis est, si fiet. Et est hæresis pessima, Simoniacam videlicet, quam sanctus Petrus æterno anathemate damnavit. Qui vendit Episcopatum, aurum accipiet, sed et regnum Dei perdet.

Hucusque sancta Eboracensis ecclesia in electione sua inviolata permansit. Videte ne in diebus vestris maculetur. Si illa, quod absit,



[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

auctoritatem amittit ecclesiasticam, timeo ne vos regnum amittatis æternum. Judas vendidit sponsum, id est, Christum. Qui autem vendit sponsam, id est, Ecclesiam, ejusdem criminis reus est: quia Christus et Ecclesia unum corpus sunt, Apostolo teste. Venditor vero necesse est extra Ecclesiam sit; at qui extra Ecclesiam est, ubi erit, nisi cum diabolo in æterna perditione? Nolite metuere veritatem vobis dicentem audisse. Hoc enim quod dico, libri Spiritu sancto prolati testantur. Opto enim vos immaculatos in conspectu Dei esse, et in hoc sæculo feliciter regnare, et in perpetuo gaudere cum Christo. Vivite et valet felices in Christo. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 48.]

A.D. 796. *Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald II. Archbishop of York, admonishing him of his duties in the office to which he has been called.*

*Dilectissimo in Christo filio Eanbaldo Archiepiscopo* DEVOTUS PER OMNIA PATER ALBINUS salutem.

<sup>a</sup> Laus et gloria Domino Deo omnipotenti, Qui dies meos in prosperitate bona conservavit, ut in filii mei carissimi exaltatione gauderem, et aliquem ego ultimus Ecclesiæ vernaculus, Ejus donante gratia Qui est omnium bonorum largitor, erudirem ex filiis meis qui dignus haberetur dispensator esse mysteriorum Christi, et laborare vice mea in Ecclesia, ubi ego nutritus et eruditus fueram, et præesse thesauris sapientiæ, in quibus me magister meus dilectus Aelbertus Archiepiscopus hæredem reliquit. Nunc vero mihi omni intentione precanda est Divina clementia, ut mihi superstes sit in hac vita, qui mihi solatio semper fuit in sua obedientia: non quod mortem meam optare velim, sed ut vita illius prolongetur. Non enim filii patribus, sed patres filiis hæreditare debent.

Ecce, carissime fili! omnia per Deum habes, quæ sperare potuit homo, etiam et plus quam nostra parvitas sperare auderet. Modo vero viriliter fac et fortiter. Opus Domini quod habes in manibus perface ad mercedem animæ nostræ et ad salutem multarum animarum. Non cesset lingua tua in prædicando, non pes tuus in circueundo gregem tibi commissum, non manus tua a laborando, ut eleemosynæ fiant, et sancta Dei ubique exaltetur Ecclesia. Esto forma salutis omnium. In te sit exemplum conversationis sanctissimæ, in te sit solatium miserorum, in te confortatio dubitantium, in te disciplinæ rigor. In te veritatis fiducia, in te totius bonitatis spes.

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

Non te sæculi pompa exaltet, non ciborum luxus enervet, non vestimentorum vanitas emolliat, non adulantium linguæ decipiant, non detraherentium adversitas conturbet, non tristia frangant, non læta elevent. Non sis arundo vento agitata, non flos aura tempestatis decidens, non paries ruinosus, non domus super arenam posita, sed templum esto Dei vivi super firmam Petram constructum, cujus Ipse sit Spiritus Paraclytus inhabitator. Quanti putas possunt esse tibi dies? Finge in animo quasi quinquaginta annos: et ecce hæc finem habent. Nec ad hoc pervenire putandum est. Infirmitas corporis tui te fortem faciat in anima, et cum Apostolo: “Quando infirmor, tunc fortior sum,” castigatio corporis profectus sit animæ. Mitem te et humilem ad meliores ostende, durum et rigidum ad superbos, omnibus omnia factus, ut omnes lucrare posses. Habeas in manibus tuis mel et absinthium, quidquid cui placeat, edat ex illis. Cui de pia prædicatione vesci libeat, accipiat mel; qui dura invectione indigeat, bibat ex absinthio, ita tamen, ut liceat ei mel veniæ sperare, si rosea confusio pœnitentiæ præcedat.

Omnia vestra honeste cum ordine fiant. Tempus statuatur lectioni, et oratio suas habeat horas, et missarum solemnities proprio tempore convenient. “Qui diem sapit, Domino sapit.” Sit modesta in conviviis lætitia; sit casta in jejuniis lætitia; lavetur pœnitentia facies: ungatur oleo misericordiæ caput, ut omnia acceptabilia fiant Domino Deo, Qui te elegit Sibi sacerdotem. “Omnis namque pontifex ab hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in his, quæ sunt ad Deum.” Aaron stabat cum turribulo dignitatis suæ inter vivos ac mortuos, ut ira Dei non ardesceret plus in populo. Sacerdos vero Dei verbi et voluntatis Illius prædicator debet esse in populum, et intercessor ad Deum pro populo, quasi mediator inter Deum et homines. Qui sublimem ascendit locum, cavere debet ne cadat, quia ruina altioris loci periculosior esse dignoscitur. Qui stat, videat ne cadat. Qui jacet, contendat, ut resurgat: et qui currit, caveat ne offendant, ne brævium illius alter accipiat. Omnes quidem stare nos oportet ante tribunal Christi ut referat unusquisque, quidquid in corpore gessit. Tunc non erit tempus oleum emendi, ideo ante prævideamus; nec tunc vacua vasa habeamus. Sint modo lumbi præcincti et lucernæ ardentes in manibus prædicatoris, ut tunc fulgeat sicut sol in regno Patris sui, et pro multiplicatione pecuniæ sibi commissæ laudetur a Domino suo, et honoretur æterna gloria. Noli dominum te putare sæculi, sed dispensatorem; non te numerus propinquorum avarum

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

faciat, quasi illis in hæreditatem congregare debeas. Non deerit occasio congregandi, si cupiditatis, quæ est omnium radix malorum, fomes inardescit. Nullus hæres melior est Christo: nemo tui thesauri fidelior custos est. Nam manus pauperis gazophylacium est Christi. Quod ex tuis obtutibus Illi commendare placeat, hoc per manus miserorum mitte. Duplex fiat eleemosyna tua, una in salvandis animabus, altera in adjuvandis corporibus egentium. Ideo presbyteri duplici honore, juxta Apostolum, digni habendi sunt, quia duplici probantur fungi ministerio. Hilarem datorem diligit Deus; et qui seminat in benedictione, de benedictionibus metet, et qui plus laborat, plus mercedis accipiet. Sint tui socii honestis moribus ornati, non vestimentorum vanitate notabiles, sed morum dignitate laudabiles. Gloria patris, filius sapiens. Non sint ebrietatis sectatores, sed sobrietatis amatores, ut ex illorum bonis exemplis ædificentur plurimi. Non inaniloquium vel scurrilitas, sed sancta ex ore eorum audiatur psalmodia. Non per campos discurrentes vulpes agitando declament, sed tecum equitando, psalmos dulci modulamine decantent. Nunquam sacræ benedictionis pallio induaris absque diaconorum astantium ministerio. Habeas et subdiaconos, cæterosque ordinatim gradus Ecclesiæ, quatenus septiformis in donis Sancti Spiritus Ecclesia septiformi ecclesiasticorum graduum distinctione fulgeat. Habeat unusquisque gradus dignitatis suæ locum et vestimentum; et si in conviviis ordo seniorum in dignitatum servandus est, quanto magis in Ecclesia Christi? Sit clerus in habitu honestatis, et vultu constantiæ; et in voce moderata cantantes, magis Deo placere nitentes quam hominibus. Exaltatio immoderata vocis jactantiæ signum est: sed omnia in humilitate et honeste fiant, et non despiciant Romanos discere ordines<sup>b</sup>, quatenus caput Ecclesiarum Christi, secundum facultatem virium imitantes benedictionem a beato Petro principe apostolorum, quem Dominus noster Jesus Christus caput electi Sibi gregis statuit, habere mereantur æternam. Sicut apis sapientissima omnia, quæ honestatis sunt, discendo probate, et quæ optima esse videntur, eligendo retinete. Prævideat sancta solertia tua magistros pueris, clero segregentur, separati more illorum, qui libros legant, qui cantilenæ inserviant, qui scribendi studio deputentur. Habeas et singulis his ordinibus magistros suos, ne vacantes otio vagi discurrant per loca, et inanes exerceant ludos, vel aliis mancipientur ineptiis. Hæc omnia et solertissima, fili carissime! tua consideret providentia, quatenus in sede principali

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

gentis nostræ totius bonitatis et eruditionis fons inveniatur, et ex eo sitiens viator vel ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ amator, quidquid desiderat anima sua, haurire valeat. Habetis me devotissimum in his omnibus, licet in peregrinis habitantem, adiutorem. Consideret quoque tua diligentissima in eleemosynis pietas ubi xenodochia, id est, hospitalia fieri jubeas, in quibus sit quotidiana pauperum et peregrinorum susceptio, et ex nostris substantiis habeant solatia.

Ecce ego duplici fatigatus molestia, id est, senectute et infirmitate: et forte appropinquat dies metuendus, quo conteratur hydria supra fontem, et recurrat vitta aurea. Revertatur pulvis in terram suam, spiritus ad Deum Qui dedit illum, et valde timidus pavesco, quo examine tunc judicandus sit. Tu, fili fidelissime! labora pro anima patris tui, sive nunc in hoc pulvere mortis, sive tunc in iudicium properantis, ut requiem habeat et etiam veniam peccatorum suorum, ut maculæ, quæ adhæserunt illi ex hac lutulenta habitatione corpusculi, fraterna intercessione abluantur. Sed et post hanc conscriptionem animæ meæ etiam omnes filios meos, fratres et amicos, sive qui mecum sunt in peregrinatione, sive qui tecum versare videntur in patria, tuæ commendo diligentissimæ fidelitati, ut habeas illos quasi proprios, et non extraneos. Ad te respiciant omnes, in te gaudeant, in te consolationem habeant, te honorent quasi patrem; tu illos ama quasi filios, ut sit una pax omnium et concordia in caritate Christi, Qui vos omnes in Sua magna pietate et misericordia cœlesti benedictione abundare faciat, protegat, regat, atque gubernet, et in omni bonitate proficere faciat ad augmentum mentis meæ, et profectum salutis vestræ, ad exaltationem multorum, quatenus plurimi vestris bonis exemplis erudiantur, atque ad vitam vobiscum mereantur venire sempiternam.

Hæc, rogo, cartula melius scribatur, et tecum pergat, tecum maneat, et sæpius vice linguæ paternæ tecum loquatur, fili mi! fili carissime! et fili in Christo desiderantissime. Omnipotens Deus in Sua magna pietate vos ad exaltationem sanctæ Suæ Ecclesiæ multis feliciter annis in hac præsentī vita proficere faciat, et in futura gloriam tibi æternam concedere dignetur. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 50; *MSS. Cotton, Vesp. A. XIV.* fo. 134, *Tib. A. XV.* fo. 53.]

<sup>a</sup> The opening of this letter is given by *W. Malms., G. P., III.* § 113.

<sup>b</sup> This is said to be the earliest mention of

the *Ordo Romanus*: see Froben's note on the subject; and compare the letter to Eanbald given below, p. 508.

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

A.D. 796. *Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald II. Archbishop of York, urging the constant use of S. Gregory's Pastoral.*

*Carissimo filio Symeoni*<sup>a</sup> *sacerdoti* ALBINUS PATER salutem.

Si gaudendum est de ascensu, timendum est de lapsu, quia de altiori loco periculosior est lapsus. Ideo secundum nomen tuum esto superspeculator non solum gregis tibi commissi, sed etiam tui ipsius, ut in paucis diebus laboris plurimam merearis habere mercedem beatitudinis. Tempora periculosa sunt in Britannia; et mors regum miseriam signum est; et discordia captivitatis origo; et festinant vera esse quæ sæpius audisti a nostro prædici magistro. Noli cupidus esse de auro et argento, sed de animarum lucro. Me vero in orationibus et eleemosynis memora quotidie, et te in observatione mandatorum Dei semper; et si tempestas undique immineat, gubernava viriliter navem Christi, ut quandoque cum tuis nautis in portum pervenias prosperitatis. Nunquam a sancta prædicatione lingua sileat, nunquam a bono opere manus torpescat; et quocunque vadas, liber Sancti Gregorii Pastoralis<sup>b</sup> tecum pergat. Sæpius illum legas et relegas, quatenus teipsum et tuum opus cognoscas in illo, ut qualiter vivere vel docere debeas, ante oculos habeas: speculum est enim pontificalis vitæ et medicina contra singula diabolicæ fraudis vulnera. Non mollescat animus tuus in adulatione principum, nec torpescat in correctione subjectorum. Non te decipiant sæculi blanditiæ; non exalitent honores transeuntes; non subvertant favores populi. Esto columna firmissima in domo Dei, non arundo vento agitata. Esto lucerna super candelabrum posita, non sub modio abscondita. Esto omnibus via salutis, non vena perditionis, ut per te plurimi corrigantur, salventur, et ad vitam tecum perveniant sempiternam. Vive, vale feliciter et nostri memor proficias semper in opere Dei. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 57.]

<sup>a</sup> See note, p. 509.

<sup>b</sup> The use of S. Gregory's Pastoral is urged by Alcuin on Arno of Salzburg (*Ep.* 31), on Speratus (*Ep.* 56), on Calvinus (*Ep.* 58), and

on another of his friends (*Ep.* 142). It was enjoined upon all Bishops at their ordination in France under Hincmar; and was published in English by Alfred.

A.D. 796. *Synod of Celchyth under Egferth King of Mercia, in which two grants are made to S. Alban's*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CLXXII., CLXXIII.*] [*Spurious.*]

<sup>a</sup> These charters are both described as drawn up "in loco qui dicitur Celchyth, in

synodo publico." The first is signed by Ethelheard, and the Bishops Unwona of Leicester,

[PROFESSION OF EADULF.]

Weohtun of Selsey, Alhun of Dunwich; and Alhmund who became Bishop of Winchester in A.D. 802: also by Kenulf as King. The second has the same attestations, with the exception of Kenulf and Alhmund. Both are

almost certainly spurious, although, containing the attestation of Cynethritha, they are inconsistent with Matthew Paris's legendary story of her death.

A.D. 796. *Profession<sup>a</sup> of obedience to the See of Canterbury made by Bishop Eadulf<sup>b</sup> to Archbishop Ethelheard<sup>c</sup>.*

*Domino meo vere amantissimo Ethelardo Archiepiscopo* EADULFUS EBORACENSIS HUMILIS EPISCOPUS TUUSQUE AMICUS perennem in Domino salutem. Solet namque sancta ecclesia juxta normulam paternæ traditionis gloriosissimis verbi prædicatoribus, scilicet Episcopis, ex hac luce migrantibus alios iterum Deo auspice in regimen Christianæ plebis præsules promovere; quatinus per eos interim fides sancta augeatur et verbum Dei non deficiat sed magis crescat et currat et multiplicetur in laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, secundum illud Psalmistæ, "Pro Patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii;" cujus videlicet Episcopi, quisquis ille est, fides primum discutienda est, si de Domino bene ipse sentiat quod aliis prædicare conatur: ac sic paulatim quæritur si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si sobrius, si vita castus, si humilis, si affabilis, si misericors, si litteratus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in Scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus. Ad hæc tibi, amantissime pater, me idoneum, ut fertur, non esse respondeo; tamen quantum in me puræ fidei cognitionis est, tibi ocius expedire curabo. Credo Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, atque in Trinitate Deum plenum confirmans et totas tres Personas unum Deum: incarnationem quoque Divinam non in Patre factam neque in Spiritu Sancto sed in Filio tantum, ut Qui erat in Divinitate Dei Patris Filius, Ipse fieret in homine hominis Matris filius, Deus verus ex Patre, homo verus ex Matre; Qui est unus Deus, Creator omnium quæ sunt cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto: Qui passus est vera carnis passione et resurrexit vera carnis resurrectione et animæ resumptione, in qua veniet judicare vivos ac mortuos judicio perenni. Hoc absque ambiguitate credo, hoc laudo, hoc confiteor et per populos prædicare desidero. In hujus etiam summam professionis a reverentissimo Ethelardo Pontifice eruditus, Pontificatus licet indignus promerui dignitatem. Cujus etiam, quanto tempore aura vescar ætherea, jussionibus non reluctor, sed semper obedientiæ meæ humilis colla submittere curabo tibi

## [PROFESSION OF EADULF.]

Ethelarde Archiepiscopo tuisque successoribus in perpetuum. Et si diversi quondam diversa sectarentur, meæ saltem obtemperantiæ servatur diligentia, unde honoris experientiam percepturus sum, ac gloriosissimi quique gentis nostræ præsules perceperunt. Nec ab re est si ad Episcopalem beati Augustini sedem, cui pius præsidet Ethelardus Archiepiscopus, non ego tantum sed et omnes mecum præsules prospiciant ad Doroberniam civitatem unde nobis omnibus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis ordo, beato Gregorio dirigente, ministratur. Sed te precor, amantissime pater, ut quem solita pietate rudimentis fidei imbuisti, tua paterna benedictione non deseras, ut quos affectuosa junxit familiaritas beata remuneratio non separet sempiternos. Hanc præscriptam paginam ego Eadulfus Episcopus mea propria manu cum vexillo Sanctæ Crucis Christi confirmabo et subscribo. Opto bene valeas, pater beatissime semper. Plurimis annis incolunitatem vestram gratulabundus audire merear. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 236; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 248; Anglia Sacra, I. 78.*]

<sup>a</sup> This is the first example of a series of documents of which several specimens will be given as the work proceeds. They are the professions of faith and obedience made by the Bishops to the Metropolitan generally at consecration. If professions on anything like this scale were made before the days of Ethelheard, none of them are preserved. But it is possible that they were introduced in the present form, as they certainly were kept with the utmost care, as evidence of the supremacy of Canterbury, which at this time was so grievously imperilled.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Eadulf is called in this document "Eboracensis;" but the word is clearly an interpolation inserted to uphold the claims of Canterbury to the obedience of York in the eleventh century. The only Archbishops of York who were contemporaneous with Ethelheard were the two Eanbalds, who were never

subject to Canterbury, the dates and circumstances of whose promotion are well known, and whose name was not likely to be confounded with Eadulf. There can be no doubt that Eadulf was the Bishop of Lindsey of that name, who subscribes as "electus" the charters of King Egferth of A.D. 796 (*K. C. D., CLXX. CLXXI.*), and who ruled his see until A.D. 836.

<sup>c</sup> It is possible that this profession was made by Eadulf, not at consecration, but on resumption by Ethelheard of the full rights of his see; but the probability is that it was done at consecration. As a suffragan of Lichfield Eadulf should have been consecrated by Higbert; but as he was still "electus" in the reign of Egferth, and as Higbert's metropolitan authority seems to have collapsed at Offa's death, it is most probable that he sought consecration at Canterbury.

A.D. 796 or later. *Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald Archbishop of York, in answer to questions on the Missal.*

ALBINUS Simeoni<sup>a</sup> sacerdoti salutem.

Gaudeo de tribulatione et prosperitate vestra, fili mi carissime, quia tribulatio corporis salus est animæ; et prosperitas vitæ hujus gaudium est amicorum. Memento, quod omnes sancti tribulationes

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

passi sunt in hoc mundo, quarum acerbitas non est condigna futuræ beatitudinis remuneratione. Qui plus oneris portat in dorso, plus sudoris sentit in corpore. Quid est hujus sæculi honor, nisi grave pondus viatoris? Liber viator felicius vadit quam sarcinarum magnitudine onustus. Tamen ad mensuram unicuique secundum Suam dispensationem dat Deus, aliis sic, aliis vero sic. Sed unusquisque fideliter laboret, ut feliciter regnet cum Christo.

Cuculum<sup>b</sup> vernalem avem vestræ direxi sanctitati cum munusculis parvitatæ meæ: modo vero parvum quid vini direxi vobis et fratribus et amicis; et de stagno libras C. ad opera necessaria faciendâ; et caucellos quatuor. Videtur condignum ut domuscula cloccarum stagno tegatur propter ornamentum et loci celebritatem.

De ordinatione et dispositione Missalis libelli nescio cur demandasti; numquid non habes Romano more ordinatos libellos sacrorios abundanter? Habes quoque et veteris consuetudinis sufficienter Sacramentaria majora; quid opus est nova condere, dum vetera sufficiunt? Aliquid voluisssem tuam incepisse auctoritatem Romani Ordinis in clero tuo, ut exempla a te sumantur, et ecclesiastica officia venerabiliter et laudabiliter vobiscum agantur. Sed rari sunt adjuutores, forte dicis; sed major bonæ intentionis labor majori summæ felicitatis remunerabitur corona: et feliciter laborat, qui sibi construit domum in regno Dei, parvis magna comparans, caducis æterna, terrenis cœlestia emens; propter unius margaritæ emptionem omnia dimittens, ut eam possideat quam invenit, et omnibus prætulit gazarum deliciis.

De infirmitate mea vobis præfatus ales dicere potuit. Gloria Deo! aliquantum melius habemus; sed tamen corporis integritas non revenit. Ideo diligentius jubeatis orare pro nobis, quia tempus appropinquat, quo hoc hospitium deserendum est et ignota appetenda. Sed veniat, veniat vestra post nos oratio et eleemosynarum munera gratissima, nobisque nimium necessaria. Ostendatur fides in filio, ut gaudeat pater in filio sapienti et fideli. Non moritur qui in filio vivit prudenti. Sacræ lectionis studia omnimodis renovate vobiscum, ne pereat labor noster in librorum collectione. Non sit tibi durum pondera auri dare pro acquisitione sapientiæ, cui secundum Salomonem nulla comparari in hoc sæculo poterunt. "Et quid stulto," iterum ait, "divitiæ, si sapientiam emere non poterit?" Quæ habitationem in ejus corde habebit gratam, qui eam diligere probatur. Multitudo sapientum sanitas est orbis et laus civitatis, in cujus arce



[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO THE NOBLES OF KENT.]

habitat. Hæc tuo pectore, Domino Jesu donante te, habitationem habeat, carissime fili, semper in æternum. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 171; *MS. Harl.* 208, fo. 50.]

<sup>a</sup> Simeon is the *sobriquet* under which Alcuin generally addresses the second Eanbald, who had been his pupil; see Ep. 174 (ed. Froben), which is entitled "ad Eanbaldum Archiepiscopum Eboracensis Ecclesiæ cognomento Symeonem," below, p. 534.

<sup>b</sup> Cuculus is another of the pet names given by Alcuin to his disciples; who the owner was is unknown; but there is a letter addressed to him and Calvinus jointly by Alcuin (Ep. 175, ed. Froben), and a poetical lamentation over him also by Alcuin (ed. Froben, II. 237).

A.D. 797<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to the Clergy and Nobles of Kent, urging them to recall the Archbishop, and warning them of the dangers of the invaders from the North.*

*Nobilissimæ genti et populo laudabili, et regno imperiali Cantuariorum*  
HUMILIS LEVITA ALCHUINUS salutem.

Vestri decoris et vestræ salutis valde cupidus has paucas litterulas, ob nimiam vestræ prosperitatis dilectionem, in commune vobis dirigere curavi. Vos vero principium salutis Anglorum, initium prosperitatis, portus intrantium, triumphus laus, sapientiæ origo, et a vobis imperii potestas prima processit, et fidei catholicæ origo exorta est. Apud vos clarissima lumina Britanniaë requiescunt, per quos lux veritatis per totam Britanniam emicuit. In vobis utrumque, et philosophicæ disciplinæ decus emicuit; et sacræ religionis claritas effulsit. In vobis vero fuerunt simul et religiosi doctores ecclesiasticæ fidei, et sapientissimi principes regalis dignitatis, et viri fortissimi in bello, et justissimi in judiciis; morum nobilitate conspicui, consiliis providi, pietate laudabiles, facie honorabiles, vultu venerabiles, et omni dignitate clarissimi. Hæc vos, viri sapientissimi, in quibus modo Cantiaë decus consistit, diligenter considerate, et longas successiones nobilissimorum parentum vestrorum imitare studeamini.

Primo omnium, qui in Ecclesia Christi Deo deserviunt, discant diligenter quomodo Deo placeant, quomodo fidem catholicam, quam primum doctores nostri in eis fundaverunt, obtinere firmiter et prædicare valeant; quia ignorantia Scripturarum ignorantia Dei est: et si cæcus cæcum ducit, cadunt ambo in foveam; et econtra multitudo sapientium salus est populi. Adducite vobis doctores et magistros sanctæ Scripturæ, ne sit inopia apud vos verbi Dei; aut vobis desit, qui populum Dei regere valeat; ne fons veritatis in vobis exsicquetur. Nolite vos contra ecclesiasticam consuetudinem vanitate vestimento-

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO THE NOBLES OF KENT.]

rum ornare, sed moribus vos ostendite nobiles et ornatos, et prædicatione verbi Dei paratos, ut laici et vestri bellatores per vos fortes efficiantur, et populus viam salutis incedat.

Similiter nobiles qui sunt in populo suas dignitates cum consiliis regant, et populo per justitiam præsent, amantes paterna statuta in judiciis magis quam pecuniam, quæ subvertit verba justorum, et unanimi consilio, quod bonum sit, genti vestræ viriliter faciant: et rectores vobis præponite nobilitate claros, morum dignitate pios, justitiæ decore honorabiles, quatenus Divina misericordia vestram gentem gubernare, et conservare, et exaltare dignetur.

Imminet vero maximum insulæ huic et populo habitanti in ea periculum. Ecce quod nunquam antea auditum fuit, populus paganus solet vastare piratico latrocinio littora nostra: et illi ipsi populi Anglorum, et regna et reges dissentiunt inter se; et vix aliquis modo, quod sine lacrymis non dicam, ex antiqua regum prosapia invenitur, et tanto incertiores sunt originis, quanto minores sunt fortitudinis. Similiter et per ecclesias Christi perierunt doctores veritatis; omnes pene vanitates sæculares sequuntur, et disciplinas regulares odio habent: et bellatores illorum magis avaritiæ student quam justitiæ. Discite Gyldum Brettonem sapientissimum, et videte ex quibus causis parentes Brittonum perdidit regnum et patriam: et considerate vosmetipsos, et in vobis pene similia inveniatis. Timete vobis ipsius Veritatis sententiam, quam in ea Ecclesiam expressit dicens: "Omne regnum in se divisum non stabit." Ecce divisio quanta est inter populos et gentes Anglorum, et ideo in seipsis deficiunt, quia inter seipsos pacem non servant et fidem. Revocate ad vos, si vobis videatur, Episcopum vestrum Ædilhardum, virum venerabilem et sapientem, et ejus consilio in melius regni vestri statum corroborate, emendantes in moribus quæ Deo displiceant, et ea studete facere quæ Ejus misericordiam super vos valeant revocare. Non est bonum, ut sedes Sancti Augustini primi prædicatoris nostri vacua permaneat; et alius non potest ullatenus in ejus ordinari locum. Perditio populi est ubique, sacerdotibus suis non obedire, et prædicatores salutis a se expellere. Subjicite vos humiliter pontifici vestro et prædicatori salutis vestræ, quatenus Divina vos gratia in omnibus operibus vestris consequatur. Credite mihi, nullatenus aliter Deum vobis propitium habere potestis: per illum potestis, credo, pacem habere præsentem, et salutem sperare sempiternam. Inite consilium prosperitatis vestræ, et viriliter facite, quod bonum in-

## [PROFESSION OF TIDFERTH.]

veniatis; et convertimini ad preces et orationes et jejunia, quatenus Divina vobis propitietur misericordia, et conservet vos in laude et salute vestra, et concedat vobis incolumem habitationem in patria vestra, et gloriosum in æterna patria imperium. Dextera omnipotentis Dei vos protegat et regat, et exaltare dignetur præsentī felicitate, et æterna beatitudine, viri fratres desiderabiles et venerabiles. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 59; *MS. Harl.* 208, fo. 66.]

A.D. 798. *Profession of obedience made by Tidferth<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Dunwich to Archbishop Ethelheard.*

*Domino meo vere amantissimo Ethelardo Archiepiscopo* TIDFREDUS TUUS IN CHRISTO FAMULUS. Scio, beatissime, quicumque sacrum ordinem non tam meritorum præsumptione, quam commissæ plebis salute recipere cogitat, primum necesse habet per se catholicæ fidei experientiam innotescere, quatinus fundamentum summæ religionis eo perfectius promoveatur quo initia illius a vero opifice Christo sumant exordium: ergo sicut universalis docet ecclesia, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus una Deitas, et coæternalis mihi prædicanda est, singularemque in Trinitate Personam unum Deum fore fatendum. Non quod triplex sit in illa Trinitate Deorum numerus, sed quod in tribus Personis Patrem et Filium nuncupamus et Spiritum Sanctum unam in Divinitate essentiam et inseparabilis æternitatis gloriam; prædicamus Christum quoque Omnipotentis Dei Filium in carne natum, baptizatum, et pro nobis passum et sepultum, et die tertia resurgentem; in cœlos quoque visualiter ascendentem, iterumque judicare seculum per ignem venturum, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam sine ambiguitate speramus. Ita quoque Episcopalis sedis Doroberniæ civitatis fateor, beatissime Pater, in omnibus ubique auctoritatis imperio coram Deo et Christo Jesu humiliter catholicæ fidei cultor existere protegendo, roborando, obediendoque pariter cum omni devotione et pura cordis diligentia, ad illam prædictam sedem omnibus diebus vitæ meæ perdurare in ævum.

Ego Tidfredus mea propria manu cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmando roborabo et subscribam. [*MS. Cotton, Cleop. E. 1; Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 256.]

<sup>a</sup> Aelhun, Tidferth's predecessor, died in A.D. 797 (*A. S. C.*, in *MS. Domitian A. VIII.*).

Tidferth attests a charter of the synod of A.D. 798; below, p. 515.

A.D. 798. *Synod at Clovesho.*

I. *Recovery of a monastic estate of the See of Canterbury, at Cookham in Mercia, and exchange of it for lands in Kent.*

Regnante inperpetuum Deo et Domino nostro Jhesu Christo! Ego Athelhardus larga omnipotentis Dei gratia annuente Doro-bernenſis eccleſiæ metropolitanus, cum præſtantiffimo Rege nostro Cenulfo, convocans univerſos provinciales Episcopos nostros, duces et abbates et cujuſcunq; dignitatis viros, ad ſynodale concilium in locum qui nominatur Cloveſho, ibi ſollicito ab eis ſcrutinio quæſivimus qualiter apud eos fides catholica haberetur, et quomodo Chriſtiana religio exerceretur. Hiis ita exquisitis, una omnium voce ita reſponſum eſt: “Notum ſit paternitati tuæ, quia ſicut primitus a ſancta Romana et apoſtolica ſede, beatiffimo Papa Gregorio dirigente, exarata eſt, ita credimus; et quod credimus abſque ambiguitate, quantum poſſumus exercere ſatagimus.” Poſtquam autem ſuper hiis uberius tractatum eſt, ita exorſi ſumus: “Necceſſarium eſt, fratres cariffimi, eccleſias Dei et venerabiles viros qui jam multo tempore terrarum diſpendio et abſumptione cirographorum miſerabiliter laboraverant, corrigere.” Hiis dictis, prolatae ſunt inſcriptiones monaſterii quod vocatur Coccham in medium, terrarumq; ſibi adjacentium; quod videlicet monaſterium, cum omnibus ad illud pertinentibus terris, Rex inclytus Merciorum Athelbaldus eccleſiæ Salvatoris quæ ſita eſt in civitate Dorobernia dedit; utque illius donatio perſeverantior fieret, ex eadem terra ceſpitem et cunctos libellos præmemorati cœnobii, per venerabilem virum Cuthbertum Archiepiſcopum miſit, et ſuper altare Salvatoris pro perpetua ſua ſalute, poni præcepit. Sed poſt mortem præfati pontificis, eaſdem inſcriptiones Dæiheah et Oſbertus, quos idem pontifex alumnos nutritiv, maligno acti ſpiritu furati ſunt, et Cenulfo Regi Occidentalium Saxonum detulerunt; at ille, accipiens ſtatim teſtimonia litterarum, prædictum cœnobium cum omnibus ad illud rite pertinentibus ſuis uſibus coaptavit, neglectis prænominati Archiepiſcopi Cuthberti dictis et factis. Item, Bregwinus et Janbertus Archiepiſcopi per ſingulas ſynodos ſuas, queſti ſunt de injuria eccleſiæ Salvatoris illata; et apud Cenulfum Regem Occidentalium Saxonum, et apud Offam Regem Merciorum qui videlicet sæpememoratum cœnobium Coccham et alias urbes quamplurimas Cenulfo Rege abſ-

[SYNOD AT CLOVESHO.]

tulit, et imperio Merciorum subegit. Tandem Cenulfus Rex sera ductus pœnitentia, telligraphia, id est, libellos quos a supradictis hominibus Dæiheh et Osberto injuste perceperat, cum magna pecunia, ecclesiæ Christi in Doroberniam remisit, humillime rogans ne sub tantæ autoritatis anathemate periclitaretur. Verum Rex Offa præmemoratum cœnobium Coccham, sicut sine litteris accepit, ita quanto tempore vixit, detinuit, et absque litterarum testimonio suis post se hæredibus reliquit. Secundo autem anno regni Cenulfi facta est synodus sicut supra est prælibatum apud Clovesho; at ego Athelhardus gratia Dei Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus, et Cuba primicerius mecum, et multi alii ex illa ecclesia Christi sapientes, libellos præfati cœnobii Coccham, in concilium detulimus; cumque coram synodo relictis fuissent, omnium voce decretum est justum esse ut metropolis ecclesia sæpepræfatum cœnobium Coccham, cujus inscriptiones in suo gremio habebat, perciperet, quo sub tanto tempore tam injuste spoliata fuerat. Tunc autem placuit mihi Athelhardo Dei gratia archisacerdoti et Cynedrythæ abbatissæ quæ eodem tempore sæpedicto cœnobio præfuit, ac senioribus ex utralibet parte, Cantia scilicet et Bedeforde, ad hoc ibidem congregatis, quatenus ipsa Cynedrytha in regione Cantia daret mihi pro commutatione sæpe-præfati cœnobii, terram centum et decem manentium, sexaginta cassatorum videlicet in loco qui dicitur Fleote, et triginta in loco qui dicitur Teneham, in tertio quoque loco ubi dicitur Craeges æwelma, viginti. Quas scilicet terras olim Rex Offa sibi viventis conscribere fecit, suisque hæredibus post eum; et post eorum cursum vitæ, ecclesiæ quæ sita est apud Beodeford consignari præcepit. Hoc etiam coram omni synodo elegimus; ut ipsa abbatissa a me percipiet sæpe-nominatum cœnobium cum suis inscriptionibus; et ego terras et libellos terrarum illarum quas mihi in Cantia reddit, ab ea acciperem, quatenus nulla in posterum inter nos hæredesque nostros et Offæ Regis surgat controversia, sed quod sub tam nobilis synodi testimonio inter nos confirmatum est indirupto fœdere servetur in perpetuum. Ego quoque Athelhardus Archiepiscopus concedo Cynedrythæ abbatissæ monasterium quod situm est in loco qui dicitur Pectanegge ad habendum, quod mihi Rex pius Egfridus hæreditario jure possidendum donavit atque conscripsit. [K. C. D., *MXIX.*, from MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 312; *W.*, I. 162, from MS. Cotton, Claudius D. II. fo. 81.]

II. *Acknowledgment of the right of Æthelric son of Æthelmund to bestow his lands and charters as he pleases*<sup>b</sup>.

SYN. ACL. A.D. 804.—\* \* \* Ego Æthelric filius Æthelmundi cum conscientia synodali invitatus ad synodum et in iudicio stare in loco qui dicitur Clofeshoh, cum libris et ruris id est æt Uestmynster, quod prius propinqui mei tradiderunt mihi et donaverunt, ibi Æthelhardus Archiepiscopus mihi regebat atque iudicaverat cum testimonio Coenuulf Regis et optimatibus ejus, coram omni synodo, quando scripturas meas perscrutarent, ut liber essem terram meam atque libellos dare quocumque volui. \* \* \* [K. C. D., CLXXXVI., and see below, A.D. 804.]

III. *Exchange of land at Hrempingwic by Kenulf King of Mercia with Oswulf, and subsequent bestowal of it on the Monastery of Liming*<sup>c</sup>.

✠ Semper ex toto corde nobis cum propheta considerandum atque dicendum est . . . magna multitudo dulcedinu . . . cujus super nos m . . . cujus bonita . . . imus quod . . . non inmemor . . . inspirante bonitatis. Ego . . . ente rector et imperator Merciorum regni . anno secundo imperii nostri . dabo et perpetuo jure possidendum sub sanctæ crucis titulo concedo . Oswulfo<sup>d</sup> duci et ministro meo aliquam terram in loco qui vocatur Hrempingwiic et alia nomine Hafingseota in australe parte fluminis qui dicitur Limin . ea. In vicæ alteræ terræ qui dicitur Bobingseata. Uti in diebus ejus habeat possideat et feliciter optineat. Suisque post se heredibus vel cuicumque hominum . . . o fidei . . . sicut superius . . . placita voluntate frua . . . terim prout se cuicumque . . . bendam restituat in perpetuum. Hæc sunt nomina Episcoporum ac principum qui hoc mecum in synodo consentientes subscripsi.

✠ Ego Coenuulf Rex hanc munificentiam sub sanctæ crucis titulo confirmo et sic ex ordine subscripsi. ✠ Æthelhard Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Hygeberht Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Hathored Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Unwono Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Cyneberht Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Hathoberht Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Eadulf Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Utel Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Alhhard Episcopus consensi et

## [SYNOD AT CLOVESHO.]

subscripti. ✠ Wiothun Episcopus consensi et subscripti. ✠ Tidfrith Episcopus consensi et subscripti. ✠ Alhmund abbas. ✠ Beonna abbas. ✠ Wigmund abbas. ✠ Forthred abbas. ✠ Signum manus Brordan principis. ✠ Heaberhti ducis. ✠ Esne ducis. ✠ Wigberhti ducis. ✠ Aethelmundi ducis. ✠ Eadgari ducis. ✠ Wiggan ducis. ✠ Ceolmundi ducis. ✠ Beornnothi ducis. ✠ Heardberhti ducis. ✠ Cyddan ducis.

✠ Dispensante ac guvernante superna clementia, ego Osulf dux pro perpetua redemptione ac salute animæ meæ meique conjugis Beornthrythe, hanc prædictam mariscam dabo et concedo ad illam ecclesiam quæ sita est in illo venerabile monasterio quod dicitur æt Liminge, perpetualiter habendam et feliciter perfruendum; hac vero condicione interposita ut unicuique anno post XII. mensibus migrationis nostræ tempus, ab illa familia æt Limingge celebretur quamdiu fides catholica in gente Anglorum perseveret; cum jejuniis divinisque orationibus in psalmodiis et missarum cælebrationibus, seu etiam in refectioe fratrum in cibo in potu, juxta quod fraternitati vestræ videtur quod producere poteritis et in vestra bonitate confidimus. Unaque panis cum cibo vernaculo vel paupere illius monasterii die illa tradatur. Hocque in posterum successoribus vestris præcipere præcamus,

FRATERNITATEM VESTRAM SUPERNA CLEMENTIA CUSTODIAT, IN ÆVUM.

[*K. C. D.*, *CLXXV.*, from MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 97.]

<sup>a</sup> The existence of these three documents is a sufficient proof of the holding of an assembly at Clovesho in A.D. 798. The first is dated in the second year of Kenulf; the second, extracted from a document of A.D. 804, refers to a synod at Clovesho for which it would be difficult to find any other date; and the third is attested by a list of Bishops which can hardly be made to fit any other year. The negotiation of Ethelheard with Kenulf and Kynethritha shows that the Archbishop had recovered his position in Kent. It is probable therefore that this assembly would undertake the consideration of the restoration of the ancient status of Canterbury; and it may very probably have been to it that Ethelheard showed the memorial on the subject which, as we learn from Kenulf's letter to Leo, was forwarded to Rome at this time, but which is unfortunately lost (see below, p. 523).

<sup>b</sup> See below, under A.D. 804, and A.D. 824.

<sup>c</sup> The charter is given here as printed in Kemble from the original. The attesting Bishops are Ethelheard of Canterbury; Higbert of Lichfield; Heathored of Worcester, who died A.D. 798 (*Flor. Wig.*); Unwona of Leicester; Kynebert of Winchester; Heathobert of London; Eadulf of Lindsey; Utel of Hereford; Alheard of Elmham; Wiothun of Selsey; and Tidferth of Dunwich, whose predecessor Aelfhun died in A.D. 797 (*A. S. C.*, ad annum). As Heathored and Tidferth sign together, and the year 798 was the last of the one and the first of the other, this act may be safely referred to the synod at Clovesho, although it does not mention the place.

<sup>d</sup> Osulf was ealdorman of East Kent. His will is in existence (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXVI.*), and afforded material for subsequent litigation. See below, under A.D. 810, and A.D. 844.

APPENDIX TO THE SYNOD OF CLOVESHÖ OF A.D. 798<sup>a</sup>.I. *Misdated act of the Council of Clovesho of A.D. 803.*

A. S. C., ad A.D. 796.—Her on ðyson gearæ Ceolwulf Myrcna cing ouerhergode Cent, and gefeng Eadberht Præn heora cing, and gebundene lædde on Myrce, and let him pytan ut his eagan and ceorfan of his handa. And Aðelard arcebiscop of Cantwarebyrig sette synoð and getrymde and gefæstnode, ðurh ðas papan hæse Leones, ealle ða ðing be Godes mynstran, ða wæron gesett be Wihtgares dæg and be oðra cinga dæge; and ðus cwæð; Ic Aðelard, eadmodarb' of Cantwarebiri, mid anmodan ræde ealles sinoðes, and mid . . . ealra . . . ðare gegaderunga ealra ðara mynstra, ðam be ealdan dagan frignesne was geaiven fram geleaffullan mannum; on Godes naman and ðurh his bifigendan dom, ic bebeode, swa swa ic hæte hadde of ðan papan Leone, þæt he nonforð nan ne dyrstlæce ceosan him hlauordas of læwedan mannan ouer Godes erfyrthnyse. Ac eal swa swa hit ys on ðan gewrite ðe se papa hæfð giuen, oððe ða haligan weras gesettan, ðe beoð ure fæderas and ure lareowas be haligum mynstrum, swa hi beliuon unawemmed butan ælcra ansæce. Gif æni mann ys þæt þis Godes and uræs papan and ure bebod healdan nelle, ac farseoð and far naht healdað, witan hi þæt hi sculon gifan gescead toforan Godes

In this year Ceolwulf (Kenulf) King of the Mercians ravaged Kent, and took Eadbert Præn their King, and led him bound into Mercia, and caused his eyes to be put out and his hands to be cut off. And Ethelheard Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a synod, and confirmed and ratified, by command of Pope Leo, all the things concerning God's monasteries that were established in Wihtgar's (Wihtred's) day, and in the day of other Kings, and thus said, "I Ethelheard, humble Archbishop of Canterbury, with the unanimous counsel of all the synod and with . . . of all . . . to the congregation of all the monasteries to which in old days immunity was given by faithful men, in the name of God, and by his awful doom I enjoin, as I have command from Pope Leo, that henceforth none dare to choose themselves lords over God's heritage, from laymen. But as it is in the writ which the Pope has given or as those holy men have established, who are our fathers and teachers, concerning holy monasteries; thus let them continue in-violate without any gainsaying.

"If there be any man who will not hold this command of God, and of our Pope and of us, but contemns it and holds it for nought, let them



[SYNOD AT CLOVESHÖ.]

domsetle. And ic Aðelhard arb' and twelf biscopan, and mid þrim and twentigan abbodan, þis ylce mid rode tacne Christes getrimmað and gefæstnad. [Ed. Thorpe, from MS. Cotton, Domitian A. VIII.]

know that they shall give account before the judgment-seat of God. And I Ethelheard, with twelve Bishops and with three and twenty abbots, confirm and ratify this same with the sign of Christ's rood."

## II. *Misdated and miscalled Council of Beccancelde<sup>b</sup>.*

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXCVIII. congregatum est magnum concilium in loco, ubi nominatur Baccancelde, præsidente eodem concilio Cenulfo Rege, necnon reverentissimo Archiepiscopo Athelardo, cum Episcopis, abbatibus, et multis aliis idoneis personis. Tunc idem venerabilis pater, et primas totius Britaniæ Athelardus, sic exorsus est.

"Ego Athelardus, gratia Dei humilis sanctæ Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, unanimo consilio totius sancti sinothi, in nomine Dei omnipotentis et per Ejus tremendum iudicium præcipio, sicut ego mandatum a Domino apostolico Leone Papa percepi, ut ex hoc tempore nunquam temerario ausu super hæreditatem Domini, id est ecclesias, laici præsumant seculares dominium suscipere; sed sicut in privilegiis ab apostolica sede datis habetur, seu etiam ab apostolicis viris in initio nascentis Ecclesiæ traditum est, per sanctos canones, vel etiam a propriis possessoribus monasteriorum constitutum est, ea regula et observantia disciplinæ, sua monastica jura studeant observare.

Si ergo, quod absit, ipsi hoc nostrum mandatum et domini apostolici præceptum spreverint, et pro nihilo ducunt; sciant se a præsentī Ecclesiæ justorum segregatos, et in die iudicii ante tribunal Christi, nisi ante emenda-verint, rationem reddituros."

Hæc sunt nomina sanctorum Episcoporum et abbatum, qui, cum totius sanctæ sinothi consensu, pro confirmatione prædictæ rei signum sanctæ crucis subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Athelardus, Archiepiscopus Dorobernensis civitatis, signum sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

✠ Ego Hædde Episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Worr Episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eguinus Episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Fortherus Episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Signum Aldulfi Episcopi Licifeldensis.

✠ Ego Eadulf, Siddensis Episcopus, subscripsi.

✠ Ego Osmundus, Lundoniensis Episcopus, subscripsi.

✠ Ego Tudfridus, Dammocæ Episcopus, subscripsi.

✠ Ego Forthredus abbas subscripsi.

[SYNOD AT CLOVESHO.]

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ✠ Ego Daniel Episcopus subscripsi.     | ✠ Ego Wernbrihtus Legorensis subscripsi.              |
| ✠ Ego Eadbrith Episcopus subscripsi.   | ✠ Ego Ealhmundus, Episcopus Wintoniensis, subscripsi. |
| ✠ Ego Acca Episcopus subscripsi.       | ✠ Ego Wermundus, Hrofensis Episcopus, subscripsi.     |
| ✠ Ego Inguualdus Episcopus subscripsi. | ✠ Ego Felogyldus abbas subscripsi.                    |
| ✠ Ego Heardrid Episcopus subscripsi.   | ✠ Ego Wlfredus archidiaconus subscripsi.              |
| ✠ Ego Nohbertus Episcopus subscripsi.  |   |

[MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 311; K. C. D., MXVIII.; W., I. 162.]

<sup>a</sup> Although there can be little doubt that no such council as that here described was held in either year, it seems better to refer the entry of the Chronicle to A.D. 798, as the writer clearly supposed that it followed the defeat and capture of Eadbert Præn.

<sup>b</sup> The entry in the Chronicle (Domitian A. VIII.) is taken originally no doubt from an imperfect copy of the Act of the council of Clovesho of A.D. 803; see below, p. 545: it does not mention the place at which this council was held, but the enactment is nearly word for word the same: the number of Bishops answers to that of those attending in A.D. 803; and the number of abbots coincides within two. The compiler of the Canterbury Cartulary, from which the account of the council of Beccanceld is taken, has improved

on the entry of the Chronicle, first, by giving the council a place, and, secondly, by furnishing a list of signatures. The place is suggested probably by the council held at Beccanceld under Wihfred, p. 238 above: the list of Bishops is derived from two sources; the first column is from the Act of the council of Clovesho of A.D. 716 (above, p. 301); the second from the genuine Act of A.D. 803 (below, p. 545). It should be said that in a copy of the "council of Beccanceld" in the Register A. I of Christ Church, Canterbury, the names of the witnesses are omitted; but this seems to have been a mere accident, for they are found in the much earlier Cartulary, Lambeth 1212, and in other MSS. used by Wilkins and Kemble: as Claudius D. 2, foll. 30, 31; Harl. 1757; and in the *Evidentiæ*, ap. Twysden, c. 2211.

A.D. 798. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard, advising him to do penance for having deserted his Church, and to attempt to heal the schism in the province<sup>n</sup>.*

*Summæ dignitatis viro, atque ecclesiasticæ bonitatis Patri Athelhardo, Archiepiscopo, FIDELIS FILIUS ALCUINUS perpetuæ bonitatis in Christo salutem.*

Dulcissima caritatis verba filius noster per vos revertens retulit, simul et amabilia benignitatis vestræ munuscula habuit in manibus; in quibus lætatus, te olim conductam etiam agnovi in memoria habere amicitiam, sicut in viro perfecto veritas semper probata fulgescit. Unde tuæ bonitati gratias ago, ex toto cordis desiderio optans, te longæva prosperitate populo præesse Christiano, et sanctam sedem dignis exaltare honoribus; quam ad tempus, propter impios invasores regni, dereliquisti secundum consilia sacerdotum Christi, ut præfatus mihi referebat puer. De qua re, quid sentirem, tua me veneranda

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

per illum auctoritas interrogare ratum putavit. Quid mea parvitas aliud habet dicere, nisi sanctorum Christi sacerdotum assentire consilio? si tamen tantam habent auctoritatem illius suggestiones, ut lupo veniente pastor fugere debeat, quanta est evangelica excellentia, quæ mercenarium nominat, non pastorem, qui lupi rabiem timidus aufugit. Forte objiciunt, Veritate dicente: "Si persecuti vos fuerint in hac civitate, fugite in aliam." Discernendum tamen est de cujus temporis fuga, vel de qua persecutione hoc dictum est, et de quibus iterum Ipsa Veritas dicat: "Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis, mercenarius autem fugit." Quod optime in homiliis beati Gregorii Papæ, prædicatoris nostri, per te legens intelligere poteris. Tu tibi ipsi conscius es, pro qua causa reliqueris sedem tuam; si timore mortis aut tormentorum immanitate, aut idololatriæ execratione: sicut olim sanctissimus ejusdem sedis pontifex Laurentius velle legitur; qui tamen apostolica auctoritate castigatus, ab incepto resipuit consilio. Tamen quæcunque causa fuerit, bonum videtur, caritatis meæ consideratione, ut pœnitentia inde agatur. Quod, ut videtur, honeste fieri poterit, si communi totius gentis consensu jejunium indicatur (tu propter relictam sedem, illi propter acceptum errorem) ut Deus vobis omnibus propitiatur. Orationes quoque, et eleemosynæ et missarum solemnia fiant diligenter ubique, ut Deus deleat quicquid inde a quolibet vestrum actum est. Tua quoque veneranda sapientia specialiter deducat in domum Dei lectionis studium, ut sint ibi legentes juvenes et chorus canentium et librorum exercitatio, ut per tuam diligentiam renovetur illius sanctæ Ecclesiæ dignitas, ut habeant unde in seipsis possint eligere sibi pontificem. Simul et prædicatio tua in omnibus locis fiat, sive pro Episcopis omnibus in communi synodo, de justis ordinationibus et prædicationis instantia, et officiis ecclesiasticis, et baptismi sanctitate, et eleemosynarum largitione: sive pro pauperum cura per singulas ecclesias atque parochias, maxime in veneranda gente cui te Deus pastorem præesse voluit. Sæpe miles vulneratus fortius pugnat, sicut bos lassus fortius figit ungulam. Sicut diabolus lætatus est de fuga, fac ut gaudeat Christus de multiplici animarum a te profectu; et tua merces major crescat, dicente Ipsa Veritate: "Majus gaudium est in cœlis coram angelis Dei super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, quam super nonaginta novem qui non indigent pœnitentia." Hæc omnia omnino diligentissime considerans, in Christi caritate semper proficias; amans Illum ex toto corde, tota virtute et tota

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

mente, Qui te exaltavit, honorificavit et conservavit in diem salutis tuæ.

Vanissimum vero vestimentorum cultum, et conviviorum immoderatum usum omnino, quantum valeas, expellere a te tuisque consacerdotibus, vel magis omni clero et ecclesiasticæ dignitatis gradibus diligentissime studeas. Beatus Petrus, princeps apostolorum, trinam negationis maculam triplici confessionis veritate abluit; tu fugam simplicis erroris multiplici prædicationis bono abluere. Et ut maxime sanctarum Scripturarum lectio per tuam sanctissimam curam renovetur, et ecclesiastica dignitas ubique exaltetur, et sancta sedes, quæ prima fuit in fide, prima sit in omni sapientia, et sanctitate, et honore; ut ibi interrogans inveniatur, ignorans discat quod cupiat, sciens videatur quod laudet. Et ut Ecclesiæ unitas, quæ partim discissa est non rationabili, ut videtur, consideratione, sed quadam potestatis cupiditate, si fieri possit, pacifice adunetur, et scissio resarciatur, bonum videtur esse cum consilio omnium sacerdotum Christi et coepiscopi Eboracensis<sup>b</sup> Ecclesiæ deliberare; ita tamen, ut pater pius<sup>c</sup> pallio diebus suis non exuatur, licet ordinatio Episcoporum ad sanctam et primam sedem recurat. Hæc omnia tua sanctissima sapientia consideret, ut caritatis concordia fiat inter primos pastores ecclesiarum Christi.

Si quid ergo superflue in his meis litterulis dictaverim, tua sancta patientia benigne, obsecro, suscipiat, nec mihi scribenti imputet, sed tibi jubenti injungat. Nec ego præsumptuosa temeritate egi, sed humili obedientia; considerans, quid multis proficere potuisset, sive culpa esset, sive non esset, in fuga. Tamen quantum mea devotio considerare potuit, melius est ea facere quæ suadeo, quam omittere. Omnino affectuosa caritate admoneo, ut instanter prædices verbum Dei; hoc est officium tuum, hæc merces tua, hi fructus operis, hæc sacerdotis dignitatis, laus et honor; quatenus multiplici laboris fructu in conspectu Domini Dei sui appareat, et dignus efficiatur desiderabilem audire vocem: "Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam; intra in gaudium Domini Dei tui." Omnipotens Deus paternitatem vestram ad exaltationem sanctæ Suae Ecclesiæ in omni opere perfecto multipliciter florere faciat, sanctissime Pater! [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 60; *MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XV.*; *W.*, I. 159, 160.]

<sup>a</sup> Written apparently after the defeat and capture of Eadbert Præn, and Ethelheard's

return to his see.

<sup>b</sup> The notices of intercourse between the

## [LETTER OF KENULF TO LEO.]

Churches of York and Canterbury at this period are far more rare than those of the communication of either with foreign Churches. It cannot however be inferred that the meeting

between Ethelheard and Eanbald here proposed is the same as that mentioned below, p. 532.

<sup>c</sup> The "pater pius" is Higbert Archbishop of Lichfield.

A. D. 798. *Letter of Kenulf King of Mercia to Pope Leo III., requesting him to answer his question on the diminution of the rights of the See of Canterbury.*

*Domino beatissimo et vere amantissimo Leoni, sanctæ et apostolicæ Sedis Romanæ Pontifici, KENULFUS GRATIA DEI REX MERCIORUM, CUM EPISCOPIS, DUCIBUS, ET OMNI SUB NOSTRA DITIONE DIGNITATIS GRADU, sincerissimæ dilectionis in Christo salutem.*

Gratias omnipotenti Deo semper agimus, Qui ecclesiam, Suo pretioso sanguine adquisitam, inter diversas mundi hujus procellas, novis semper, prioribus ad vitam sumptis, suescit ducibus ad portum salutis attrahere, eamque nova luce infundere, quatenus nullo sit tenebrarum errore fuscata, sed viam veritatis inoffenso pede gradiatur: unde merito omnis per orbem exultat Ecclesia, quia cum omnium verus Remunerator bonorum gloriosissimum gregis Sui pastorem Adrianum perpetuo remunerandum super æthera duxisset, Suis tamen ovibus pia erexit providentia prævium, qui scit ovile Dominicum ad caulas non inferius vitæ agitare. Nos quoque merito, quos extremitas orbis tenet, eodem modo præ cæteris gloriamur, quia illius sublimitas nostra salus est, illius prosperitas nobis perennis exultatio; quia unde tibi apostolica dignitas, inde nobis fidei veritas innotuit: quapropter opportunum arbitror tuis sanctis jussionibus aurem obedientiæ nostræ humiliter inclinari, et quæ tuæ pietati rite nobis sequenda videantur toto nisu implenda; quæ vero rationi contraria deprehensa fuerint citius declinanda, ac interim a nobis omnimodis resecanda. Sed modo ego Kenulfus, gratia Dei Rex, excellentiam tuam humilis exoro, ut te sine offensione animi vestri, de profectu nostro, ut optamus, liceat alloqui, quatenus me in gremium pietatis tuæ tranquilla pace percipias, et quem meritorum nulla facultas erigit, larga benedictionis tuæ ubertas ad plebem suam regendam locupletet; ut una mecum gentem, quam vestra apostolica auctoritas fidei rudimentis imbuit, per intercessionem tuam contra impetus exterorum Omnipotens erigat, et per se regnum, quod Ipse Deus dedit nobis, dilatare dignetur. Hanc benedictionem omnes, qui ante me sceptro præfuere Merciorum, meruerunt ab antecessoribus tuis adipisci; hanc ipse humilis peto, et a vobis, O sanctissimi! impetrare cupio, qua-

[LETTER OF KENULF TO LEO.]

tenus in primis adoptionis sorte me tibi filium suscipias, sicuti te in patris persona diligo, et totis obedientiæ viribus semper amplector. Decet enim inter tantas personas fides sancta servari, et inviolata caritas custodiri; quia paterna pietas filiorum felicitas in Deo esse credenda est, secundum illud Ezechiæ, “Pater filiis notam faciet veritatem Tuam, Domine.” In quibus verbis te, amande genitor, imploro, ut filio tuo, tam si indigno, veritatem Domini tuis verbis sacrosanctis notam facere non deneges, ut per tuam sanam eruditionem, Deo adjuvante, ad melioris vitæ propositum merear pervenire. Quin etiam, dulcissime, cum omnibus Episcopis nostris, et cujuscunque apud nos dignitatis persona, deprecor uti nobis de multimodis inquisitionibus, super quibus maximam subtilitatem vestram dignum duximus perquirere, benigne respondeas, ne sanctorum traditio patrum, et ab illis tradita nobis regula, quasi incognita per aliquid vitietur in nobis; sed sermo tuus directus nobis in caritate et mansuetudine veniat, ut per Dei misericordiam profuturum in nobis perficiat fructum. Primum namque est quod pontifices nostri ac peritissimi quique in nobis dicunt quod contra canones et apostolica statuta, quæ nobis a patre beatissimo Gregorio dirigente statuta sunt, sicut vos scitis, auctoritas Dorovernensis metropolitani in duas scindatur parochias, cujus, eodem patre mandante, ditioni subjacere debent Episcopi duodecim, sicut per ecclesias nostras legitur in epistola quam fratri et Coepiscopo Augustino direxit de duobus Londoniæ et Eboracæ metropolis Episcopis, quam etiam apud vos haberi non dubitamus. Sed ipse primum pontificalis apex, qui tunc Londoniæ sub honore et ornamento pallii fuerat conscriptus, pro eo Dorovernensi oblatus est, atque concessus. Nam quia beatæ recordationis Augustinus, qui verbum Dei, imperante Gregorio, Anglorum genti ministrabat, et gloriosissime Ecclesiis præfuit Saxoniam, in eadem civitate diem obiit, et corpus illius in basilica beati Petri apostolorum principis, quam successor ejus Laurentius sacravit, conditum fuisset, visum est cunctis gentis nostræ sapientibus quatenus in illa civitate metropolitanus honor haberetur ubi corpore pausat qui his partibus fidei veritatem inseruit. Cujus itaque, sicut vos scitis, dignitatis honorem primum Rex Offa, propter inimicitiam cum venerabili Janberto et gente Cantuariorum acceptam, avertere, et in duas parochias dissipare, nisus; et piissimus coepiscopus et antecessor vester Adrianus, rogatu prædicti regis, facere cœpit quod prius nemo præsumpsit, et Merciorum præsulem pallio extulit. Neutrum

[LETTER OF KENULF TO LEO.]

tamen ex his culpamus, quos Christus, ut credimus, æterna victoria triumphat. Sed tamen excellentiam vestram humiles exoramus, quibus a Deo merito sapientiæ clavis collata est, ut super hac causa cum sapientibus vestris quærat, et quicquid vobis videatur, nobis postea servandum, rescribere dignemini; ne tunica Christi inconsultis alicujus inter nos dissensionis scisma patiatur, sed per vestram sanam doctrinam, ut desideramus, ad veræ pacis unitatem dirigatur. Magna enim humilitate simul et dilectione hæc tibi scripsimus, Papa beatissime, clementiam tuam profusius precantes quatenus ad ea, quæ a nobis necessario explicita sunt, benigne et juste respondeas. Sed et illam epistolam, quam Ethelardus Archiepiscopus coram cunctis provincialibus Episcopis nostris multiplicius de suis, ac totius Britanniae causis et necessitatibus, tibi scripsit, pio amore perscrutari digneris, et quicquid de rebus, quæ in ea scripta sunt, fidei norma poscat, pagina nobis veritatis patefacere memineris: ergo præterito anno legationem meam et Episcoporum per Wadan abbatem misimus; at ille, accipiens illam legationem, segniter, immo insipienter, deduxit. Sed modo tibi modicum, amoris gratia, munus per Birine presbyterum et Fildas et Cheolberth ministros meos, pater amande, mitto, quod est centum viginti mancusas, cum litteris, precans te ut benigne suscipias, et benedictionem tuam nobis donare digneris. Omnipotens Deus te longævo tempore ad laudem Sux sanctæ Ecclesiæ custodiat incolumem. [*W. Mals. Gesta Regum, lib. I. § 88, ed. Hardy, pp. 120-124; W., I. 163, 164.*]

A.D. 798. *Letter of Pope Leo III. to Kenulf King of Mercia, in reply to his question, and acknowledging the receipt of his presents.*

*Domino excellentissimo filio Cænulpho Regi Merciorum seu omnibus dilectissimis Episcopis atque gloriosissimis Ducibus* LEO PAPA.

Inclitæ excellentiæ vestræ per harum transvectores literarum videlicet Bryne presbyterum et Cildas seu Ceolberht ministros, vestros recepimus apices; quos relegentes, plenos fide et olitana traditione erga beatum Petrum principem apostolorum ejusque vicarium repperimus roboratos. Et sicut prædecessores vestri Christianissimi Reges semper ex eadem beati Petri Ecclesia fontem veritatis hauriebant et inreprehensibilem orthodoxamque fidem, ita et vestra excellentia protectricem et doctricem prorsus utens usque tenus amplectere et tenere habebit. Quod vero inquisistis unde

[ANSWER OF LEO TO KENULF.]

contigisset quod beatæ recordationis Adrianus Papa et antecessor noster Dorovernensis Episcopi auctoritatem contra morem minuisset, et in duas Archiepiscopias sedes auctoritate sua confirmaret, ad quod veraciter respondimus quod non aliter hoc fecisset nisi pro eo quod Rex vester præcellentissimus Offa suis literis testatus est, ut in id omnium vestrum una voluntas et unanima esset petitio, vel propter vastitatem terrarum vestrarum et extensionem regni vestri, nec non et aliis quam plurimis causis et utilitatibus. Pro his præcipue causis honorem pallii Merciorum Episcopo dominus Adrianus apostolicus direxit. Illud vero quod in vestris referebatur apicibus nos interrogare, si summi Pontificatus auctoritas in civitate Lundonia, ubi beatus Augustinus Sancto Gregorio dirigente honorem pallii percepit, canonica licentia possit haberi: nos nequaquam illis summi Pontificatus auctoritatem tribuere audent; sed primatum illum sicuti Doroverni constitutus est, primam sedem et concedimus et censes promulgamus: quia sanctus et venerabilis prædecessor noster Cælestinus<sup>a</sup> Papa nos docuit inquit: ‘Non sit vana gloriatio; palliatis Episcopali more qui Episcopi sunt sequantur.’ Et ideo canonice oportet illum primatum existere et vocari, et per ordinem sicut a prædecessoribus nostris constituitur, Archiepiscopalem sedem ita venerare et honorare in omnibus. De illa vero epistola quam Ædelheardus reverentissimus et sanctissimus nobis emisit, quemadmodum poposcit vestra excellentia, eademque liquidius relegentes sicut decebat, sanctitate ejus enucleatius reddidimus responsum: quia nos de clerico<sup>b</sup> illo apostata qui ascenderat in regnum, similem illum deputantes Juliano Parabatæ, anathematizantes abjicimus, salutem animæ ejus procurantes. Nam si adhuc in ipsa persisteret iniqua actione, nobis celeriter enuntiare studemini, ut nos apostolicum communitorium omni generalitati tam principibus quamque cuncto populo insulæ Brytanniæ morantibus adhortantes mittamus, ut eum a nequissimo expellere regno et salutem animæ illius procurare. Nam pro hujusmodi regi<sup>c</sup> valde nimisque beatificavimus et laudavimus fratrem nostrum præfatum Archiepiscopum: quia pro fide orthodoxa animam suam posuit. Vestram autem scientes fructificatam in omnibus bonis præcelsa scientia ad memoriam deducimus, qualiter sanctæ recordationis quod Offa Rex pro victoria regni, quam tenuit beato Petro auctori suo signiferum et comitem in ipso regno utens atque amplectens, coram synodo<sup>d</sup> tam omnibus Episcopis seu principibus atque optimatibus cunctoque populo insulæ Brytanniæ morantibus, quamque



[ANSWER OF LEO TO KENULF.]

et nostri fidelissimi missi Georgii et Theophylacti, sanctissimis Episcopis, votum vovit eidem Dei apostolo beato Petro clavigero regni cœlorum, ut per unumquemque annum scilicet quantos dies annus habuerit, tantos mancasas eidem Dei apostolo Ecclesiæ nimirum CCCLXV. pro alimonia pauperum et luminariorum concinnatione emittere quod et fecit: ut tam ipse quamque in posteriori ejus qui ipso regno tenere videntur, usque in perpetuo propter ejusdem regni victorias B. Petro suis almis suffragiis concedente. Et si vestra excellentia ampliores victorias et honores in ipso habere regno cupit, instar persolvens per eam amplius quam amplius in perpetuum permaneat confirmatum, ut ipse Dei apostolus semper per vos in ipso victoriam concedat regno et in vita æterna cum sanctis omnibus sine fine vos regnare faciat. [MS. Cotton, Vesp. A. XIV. fo. 172; Anglia Sacra, I. 460, 461.]

<sup>a</sup> See the letter of Pope Celestine I. to the Bishops of the province of Vienne and Narbonne, *Labbe, Conc., II. c. 1621.*

<sup>b</sup> Eadbert Præn; see above, p. 496.

<sup>c</sup> So the MS. We should probably read *re*, or *negotio.*

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 445.

A.D. 798. *Profession*<sup>a</sup> *of obedience made by Denebert*<sup>b</sup> *Bishop of Worcester to Ethelbeard.*

PROFESSIO DENEBERTI WICCIORUM EPISCOPI. — Piissimo prosatori atque in didascalutus sullimissimo ordine amantissimo, Ethelardo Archiepiscopo, Ego Denebertus electus<sup>c</sup> servunculus servorum Dei, perennem in Domino sospitatis salutem. Scio enim vere quod me tam indignum Ecclesiæ quæ est in provincia Huiciorum cum Episcopatus officio præesse jussisti; quia mihimet ipse conscius sum quod neque secularium rerum scientia promptus sim nec Divinis, quod his omnibus majus est, spiritualibusque ornamentis nisi paucis tantummodo instructus sum ut tanti honoris prærogativa extollar. Sed quia peritorum esse solet Dei domesticorum, ut excellentia tuæ sagacitatis novit, bene divertendi ab iis quæ sunt male acta et assuetos faciendi quæ sunt perfectorum instrumentis propalata, qua de re omissis retroactis piaculorum retinaculis, quæ quantæ vel qualescumque recesserunt perlongum est intendere modo, nunc autem cum prædestinantis Dei auxilio, et tuæ vere sanctæ jussionis fulcimine, cum omni humilitatis summissione, tantum culmen præsulatus accipiam, atque obnixè geniculans obsecro paternitatis tuæ almitatem, uti me digno vel indigno discipulo utilimæ opitulationis solacium,

[PROFESSION OF DENEBERT OF WORCESTER.]

tam in rebus fugacibus saluberrime, quam etiam in sullimissimis Divinorum dogmatum cum tua divinitus concessa potestate impendere digneris. Ego autem juxta ritum sacri nostri canonis et secundum ecclesiasticam regulam, quemadmodum virium possibilitas permittit, omnem obedientiæ famulatum cum intima cordis devotione, una cum omnibus qui mecum sunt in Domino, tuis piis præceptis exhibiturum esse, veridico fine tenus profiteor ore; insuper et orthodoxam catholicam apostolicamque fidem sicut didici, paucis exponam verbis, quia scriptum est quicumque vult<sup>d</sup> salvus esse ante omnia opus est illi ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides autem catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur; neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes: alia enim est Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti: sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, æqualis gloria, coæterna Majestas: Pater a nullo factus est, nec creatus, nec genitus: Filius a Patre solo est; non factus, nec creatus sed genitus: Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. In hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres Personæ coæternæ Sibi sunt et coæquales: ita ut per omnia sicut supra dictum est, et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit. Suscipio etiam decreta Pontificum, et sex synodos catholicas antiquorum heroicorum virorum, et præfixam ab eis regulam sincera devotione conservo. Hæc est fides nostra, evangelicis et apostolicis traditionibus atque auctoritate firmata, et omnium quæ in hoc mundo sunt catholicarum Ecclesiarum societate fundata: in qua nos per gratiam Dei omnipotentis permanere usque ad finem vitæ hujus confidimus et speramus. Amen. Trinitas inseparabilis unaque Deitas ac sempiterna societas, vos ab æthrali arce protegens potentiæ, sine tenus orantes pro nobis feliciter defendat: Necnon etiam, pater beatissime almitati tuæ sanctitatis veridica professione confiteor Dobrobernsi Ecclesiæ stabile obedientiæ meæ præceptum præbere, votorum meorum sine ulla ambiguitate, usque ad calcem vitæ meæ perseverando ad illam prædictam sedem, tibi Ethelarde Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, perenni titulo crucis Christi firmando, roboravi. Bene valete. [MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. I.; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 251.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 507, note a.

<sup>b</sup> The promotion of Deuebert is placed by Florence in A.D. 798. As he is not here using the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the state-

ment does not require the usual rectification of two years. Denebert attests charters from A.D. 801 to A.D. 817.

<sup>c</sup> As Denebert calls himself electus, it is

## [NORTHUMBRIAN COUNCIL.]

most probable that this profession was made at consecration.

bearing of some importance on the history and introduction into England of the Athanasian Creed.

<sup>d</sup> This document will be found to have a

A.D. 798 or 799. *Northumbrian Council of Pincanbalh* <sup>a</sup>.

SIM. DUN., A.D. 798. Eodem quoque anno qui est annus III.<sup>b</sup> Cenwlf prædicti regis, synodo congregata in loco qui appellatur Pincanhalh, præside Eanbaldo Archiepiscopo aliisque quam plurimis principalibus et ecclesiasticis viris, multa de utilitate Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ gentisque Northanybrorum omniumque provinciarum consiliati sunt, et de observatione Paschalis festi, et judiciorum Divinorum atque sæcularium, quæ in diebus justorum regum et ducum bonorum atque sanctorum Episcoporum aliorumque sapientum, monachorum scilicet atque clericorum, quorum prudentia et justitia atque Divinis artibus status regni Northanhymbrorum suaviter et inedicibiliter redolebat his temporibus. Rationabili vero consilio providebant ut de honore Ecclesiarum Dei servorumque Ejus necessitatibus disputarent et servitium Domini augerent; ut pro his mercedem æternæ retributionis bonam reciperent. Præcepit dominus antistes Eanbaldu recitari quinque synodorum fidem, de quibus in Historia Anglorum sic habetur <sup>c</sup>:—

“Suscipimus sanctas et universas quinque synodos beatorum et Deo acceptabilium patrum, sicut præsentis libri continet textus. Glorificamus sane et adoramus atque veneramur Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sicut isti glorificaverunt, nihil addentes vel subtrahentes. Et anathematizamus corde et ore quos anathematizaverunt prædicti patres, glorificantes Deum Patrem Omnipotentem sine initio, et Filium Ejus Unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante sæcula, et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter, sicut prædicaverunt hii quos supra memoravimus sancti apostoli et prophetæ et doctores, et nos credimus, propter quod et locuti sumus. Hos itaque prædictos patres nos pie atque orthodoxe juxta Divinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum professi, credimus constanter, et confitemur secundum sanctos patres proprie et veraciter, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum Trinitatem in Unitate consubstantialiam, et Unitatem in Trinitate, hoc est, unum Deum in tribus subsistentibus Personis consubstantialibus, æqualis gloriæ et honoris.”

His dictis et confirmatis, reversi sunt ad propria, laudantes Deum pro omnibus beneficiis suis. [*M. H. B.* 670; *W.*, I. 161; *S.*, I. 316.]

[MERCIAN SYNODS.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 444, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 798 can only be regarded as the third year of Kenulf, by supposing that the few days of A.D. 796 during which he reigned after Egferth's death were regarded as his first year. It is uncertain whether the council, of which nothing further is known, belongs to A.D. 798 or 799. If the date were taken by the annalist from the Acts of the Assembly,

it clearly belongs to the latter year; but there is no apparent reason why a Northumbrian council should date by the years of a Mercian king. It is more probable that the regnal year was inserted by the annalist, and that he places it in A.D. 798 in pursuance of his more ancient authority.

<sup>c</sup> See *Bede, H. E., IV.* 17, and above, pp. 141, 142.

A.D. 799<sup>a</sup>. *Synod at Celchyth<sup>b</sup>, in which an agreement is made between Kenulf King of Mercia and Wiothhun Bishop of Selsey.*

CONC. CLOVESHO, A.D. 825. . . . sicut et ante prius at Cælchythe iudicatum est inter Cœnulfum Regem et Wehthunum de ejusdem terræ assumptione, coram Archiepiscopo Æthilheardo, tertio anno Cœnulfi Regis. [*K. C. D., MXXXIV.*: see below, under A.D. 825.]

<sup>a</sup> This dispute is fixed by the document quoted above to A.D. 799; but there is another charter touching the same lands also confirmed in a council at Celchyth, and dated A.D. 801. (See below under that year.)

<sup>b</sup> To this synod may possibly be referred a charter (*K. C. D., CLXXV.*) containing a

grant of land by Kenulf to Abbot Balthun, attested by Ethelheard and four Bishops, and dated at "Colleshyl," which is probably a clerical error for Celchyth. It mentions the conclusion of peace between Wessex and Mercia on the same occasion, but is marked by Kemble as spurious.

A.D. 799. *Witenagemot<sup>a</sup> or Synod at Tamworth, in which certain lands in Kent are restored to the See of Canterbury by Kenulf King of Mercia.* [*K. C. D., MXX.*]

<sup>a</sup> The existence of this assembly is known only from the grant here referred to. It is attested by Archbishops Higbert and Ethelheard, and by Bishops Unwona of Leicester, Cynebert of Winchester, Tidfierth of Dunwich, Eadulf of Lindsey, Alheard of Elmham, Heathored of Worcester, Utel of Hereford, Wiothhun of Selsey, and Headbert or Hathobert of London. The act of Kenulf on this occasion was probably a step in the rehabilitation of the see of Canterbury. It is recorded in another form in the MS. Lambeth 1212,

in which an imprecation on transgressors is added, "ex parte omnipotentis Dei et omnium sanctorum, et nostra scilicet totius sancti concilii in quo hic in Nomine Domini congregati sumus" (*K. C. D., MXXI.*). This charter however does not specify any place or date, and as it is either a mere abstract or memorandum of the fuller one (*K. C. D., MXX.*) which does not contain the curse, it cannot be regarded as proof that the act was done in a formal, much less an ecclesiastical council.

A.D. 799 × 801. *Profession of faith and obedience made by Wulfhard<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Hereford to Archbishop Ethelheard.*

PROFESSIO WULFARDI HEREFORDENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Dei summi fateor tibi in primis, O Ethelarde summe sacerdos, Ego Wulfardus gratia Dei humilis Herefordensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus, quod absque

## [PROFESSIONS OF BISHOPS.]

omni ambiguitate credo in primum et novissimum Deum, unum ac verum, trinum Personis unum subsistentia, Qui est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, Deus unus, incomprehensibilis, inæstimabilis, ineffabilis, invisibilis, quia quod est et quod erit hoc semper fuit Qui semper est; quia in Deo iteratio non est sed semper Trinitas similis in æternum perfectio est; sicut Ipse de Se testatur dicens "Audi Israel Deus tuus unus est," Cui cœlum sedes est et terra scabellum pedum Ejus. In hac professione fidei sacerdotale officium Ejus de Quo loquimur dono percipio et hanc semper obtemperantiæ semitam ad Metropolitanam Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ sedem, vita comite, subsequi satago sine aliqua dissimulatione et ambiguitate, tibi Ethelarde Archiepiscopo tuisque successoribus, signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi. Hanc patres secuti sunt, hanc filios ingredi et observare necesse est. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 272; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 253.*]

<sup>a</sup> Utel, the predecessor of Wulfhard, attests charters as late as A.D. 799. The first in which Wulfhard occurs as a witness is of

A.D. 801 (*K. C. D., MXXIII.*, and p. 531, below).

A.D. 793 × 801. *Profession of a Bishop of Sherborne<sup>a</sup> to Archbishop Ethelheard.*

Athelardo Archiepiscopo confessio fidei breviter dicenda, sed tamen firmiter tenenda. Est enim fides sperandarum rerum, argumentum non apparentum, ut Apostolus ait. Habeo namque unam Trinitatis Majestatem in anima mea conditam, ut Job de resurrectione. Est enim hæc spes mea in sinu meo composita. Diffidebam enim aliquid de majore gradu quem accipere cogor, recordans Apostolum Paulum dixisse: "Qui Episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat." Sed et hæc pietatis vestræ præcordiis latere non patiar, quia hujus regiminis non spontanea voluntate sed plurimorum Sciraburnensis Ecclesiæ famulorum precibus necnon Principum jussionibus, coactus ascendi, non illo decreto quo nos aut Rex aut Principes nostri beneficiis suis ad hoc invitent, sed cotidie, quod pejus est, miseriarum damnis ecclesiasticos viros affligi cernimus. Non enim desiderium habui hujus ministerii laborem intrandi, quia prius cœnobialis vitæ congregationem circumplexi et omnem sæcularem vel spiritualem sufficientiam in illa conversatione tenui secundum Apostoli dictum, "si habemus victum et vestitum in his contenti sumus," et maxime quia meipsum coram Deo et hominibus nimium peccatorem novi et indignum tam magni

## [PROFESSION OF A BISHOP.]

honoris etiam nomen accipere, ut quidam Sapientum ait, "Magnus quidem honor sed grandis labor:" et Sanctus Gregorius pater noster in Deo, "Difficile possum alios ad litus perfectionis deducere qui adhuc in delictorum fluctibus versor." Hoc saltem de nobis ultimis et pene pessimis dicendum est, quod sanctitatis vir de semetipso proferebat. Et alibi: "Quis ergo regnum quis opes, quis gloriam quærit innoxie, si et illi extiterunt noxia qui ea habuit non quæsita?" Idcirco his sententiis admonitus excellentiæ vestræ almitatem humillima prece depono, cum vestris obtutibus præsentabimur, si hoc vobis placet, ut gradum nobis imponatis, vestris orationibus adjuvemur et Divinis adstipulationibus sustentemur, et nos cum omni humilitate promptam obedientiam vobis et verbis confitebimur, et actibus subsequemur favendo, fulciendo, firmando, Archiprimum pontificalis apicis metropolitanæ Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ, inviolabili fide sectando, laborando, certando, quam diu vita comes fuerit, in omnibus ubique viribus meis, ut clemens omnipotens Indultor adjuvet statum regni vestri prosperis successibus. Testem invoco Deum in omnibus me sine fine mansurum, absque ulla ambiguitate, usque ad calcem vitæ meæ perseverando ad illam prædictam sedem, tibi Ethelarde Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus; perenni titulo Crucis Christi firmando roboravi. [*MS. Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 254; *Anglia Sacra*, I. 79.]

\* This profession may belong either to Bishop Denefrith, who ruled at Sherborne from A.D. 793 to A.D. 796 or later; or to

Wigbert, his successor, who attests charters from A.D. 801 onwards.

A.D. 801<sup>a</sup>. *Synod at Celchyth, in which an agreement is made between Kenulf King of Mercia and the Bishop of Selsey.* [Questionable.]

✠ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis .DCCC.I. regni vero Cœnulphi Regis Merciorum anno quinto, orta est aliqua dissensio inter Cœnulphum et Wethunum Episcopum Australium-Saxonum de terra illius prædicti Episcopi, id est, in Denton .XXV. Dicebat Rex ut rectius attingere deberet ad monasterium in Beadyngham; dicebat Episcopus quod ejus antecessoribus dudum datum fuerat ad æcclesiam quæ est in Selesegh. Cogitabat Rex eum in aliqua parte suæ hæreditatis dispoliare, nisi Episcopus prædictæ provinciæ Wethun cum testimonio ac verbis canonicis regem respisceret, ac perniciosam meditationem regalis potentiæ mitigaret, et humili supplicatione poposcit ut eum

## [SYNOD AT CELCHYTH.]

insontem innocentemque non condemnasset, neque deprivasset hæreditati æcclesiæ. Tunc Rex verbis legalibus Episcopo promendo consentiens, concessitque Episcopo ut ad propria cum cedula remeasset, ibidemque sine ullo conflictu sempiternaliter cum suis successoribus mansisset. Et hoc coram omni synodo at Celchithe ascribere demandavit, ut nullus successorum ejus eum in aliquo molestet vel æcclesiam agitare sub hoc testimonio quorum nomina caraxata esse videntur.

Ego Cænulf Rex Merciorum hoc consensi et subscripsi ✠. Signum manus Hugberti Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Æthilhardi Archiepiscopi ✠. Signum manus Ealdwlf [Episcopi] ✠. Signum manus Cunberhti Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Uiberti Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Deneberti Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Wlfhardi Episcopi ✠. Signum manus Eadwlf Episcopi ✠. [*K. C. D.*, *MXXIII.*, from Register of Dean and Chapter of Chichester, B. XVIII. fol. 6.]

<sup>a</sup> This document, found in a Register of the fifteenth or end of the fourteenth century, can scarcely be regarded as sufficient evidence for the holding of a synod at Chelsea in A.D. 801. The dispute between Kenulf and Wroththum about lands in Denton is stated elsewhere (*K. C. D.*, *MXXXIV.*, and above, p. 528) to have come before a synod at Celchyth in the third year of Kenulf; and it is possible that this document in its authentic form related to that synod, the date being altered in transcription. The names of the witnesses are also suspicious; Bishop Ealdwulf of Lichfield appearing in the same list with his predecessor Higbert.

An endorsement of a charter of Offa, made in a council at Celchyth by Pilheard, a comes of Kenulf (*K. C. D.*, *CXVI.*), is attested by Archbishop Ethelheard, and by Bishops Unwona of Leicester, Aldulf of Lichfield, Utol of Hereford, Eadulf of Lindsey, Denebert of Worcester, Hathobert of London, Cynebert of Winchester, Wigbert of Sherborne, Alheard of Elmham, and Tidferth of Dunwich. It belongs almost certainly to A.D. 801: it is here given from Kemble:—

“Has igitur cartulas donationum vel commutationum prænominatorum Regum Æthelbaldi videlicet atque Offani cum ad me usque pervenerunt; Ego Pilheardus misellus comis Regis Mercionum Cænwlfi justissime adquirens accipi, easque in synodali conciliabulo juxta locum qui dicitur Cælchith coram Rege jam nominato Mercionum et præsulibus Ecclesiarum Dei, necnon et ducibus seu principibus, produxi et per pecuniam piissimo jam

tum domino meo Rege Mercionum libertatem terrarum illarum consecutus sum, id est CC. solidis, et ut postea in diebus meis vel successorum meorum omni anno XXX., ut ab omnium fiscalium redituum operum onerumque seu etiam popularium conciliorum vindictis nisi tantum prætium pro pretio, liberæ sint in perpetuum. Trium tamen causarum pupillarum ratio reddatur. Hoc est instructio pontuum et arcis. Verum etiam in expeditionis necessitatem vires V. tantum mittantur. Hujus rei gestæ hi fideles testes aderant quos hæc cartula comprehendit.

(✠) At nunc ego Cænulfus Deo dispensante Rex Mercionum propriæ donationis meæ libertatem signo Sanctæ Crucis libentissime subscribo ✠. ✠ Ego Æthelheardus Deo largiente Archiepiscopus signum venerandæ crucis subscripsi. ✠ Ego Unwona Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Aldulf Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Utol Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Eadulf Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Deneberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Hathoberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Cyneberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Wigberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Alheard Episcopus. ✠ Ego Tithferth Episcopus. ✠ Ego Wihthum abbas. ✠ Ego Beonna abbas. ✠ Ego Folcred abbas. ✠ Ego Cænwlf Dei dono Rex Mercionum consentiendo subscribo. ✠ Ego Heathoberht. ✠ Ego Æthelmund. ✠ Ego Esne. ✠ Ego Heardberht. ✠ Ego Ceolmund. ✠ Ego Wigga. ✠ Ego Croda. ✠ Ego Cuthred. ✠ Ego Osulf. ✠ Ego Beornoth. ✠ Ego Cynhelm. (*MS. Cotton, Aug. II. 27.*)

A.D. 801<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard, congratulating him on the result of a conference with Archbishop Eanbald, and advising him about his journey to Rome.*

*Sanctissimo Patri et in membris Christi valde venerando Ædilbardo Archiepiscopo* ALCUINUS DIACONUS in Christi caritate salutem.

Audiens salutem et prosperitatem vestram, et conventum cum filio meo Enbaldo Eboracensi Episcopo, satis mihi placuit; sperans ex vestræ sanctitatis colloquio Ecclesiarum Christi honores exaltari, et Deo in eis servientium vitam corrigi, quæ magna ex parte diu corrupta viluit, et pene laicorum vanitate cœquata est, ita ut tonsura tantummodo discreta videatur, cæterum moribus multa ex parte consimilis, seu in vestimentorum vanitate et arrogantia, et conviviorum superfluitate, et aliis rebus quæ vestra sancta sagacitas optime novit. Ideo suasi aliis litterarum mearum apicibus sanctitati vestræ, permanere in patria, nolens lumen Britanniæ extinguere, nec tubam veritatis tacere; sed factum fiat quod Deo placeat et proficiat Ecclesiis Christi. Si ea voluntate vadas qua in litteris beatitudinis tuæ legebam, optime mihi placere fateor, si tamen invenias, qui vestrum bonum impleat desiderium.

Revertere, revertere, Pater sancte, peracta pietatis legatione, ad oves perditas, ne grex sine pastore per spineta vitiorum corruens erret, qui vix pastore præsentem corrigi potuit. Sicut duo oculi in corpore, sic vos duos per totius Britanniæ latitudinem lucere credo atque opto: noli dextrum patriæ subtrahere oculum. Memento sanctissimos antecessores tuos, Patres et pastores nostros, qua sollicitudine laboraverunt in verbo Dei et in salute populi Christiani, ut illorum sequens vestigia eorum merearis consortio frui in cœlesti gloria.

Si vero ad dominum regem pervenias, admone socios tuos, maximeque clericos, ut honorifice se observent in omni religione sancta, in vestimentis et in ordine ecclesiastico, ut totius bonitatis, ubicunque vadas, semper relinquant exemplum. Prohibe eos auro vel sericis uti vestimentis in conspectu domini Regis; sed humili habitu incedant, secundum consuetudinem servorum Dei; et per omnia loca cum pace vadas et conversatione honesta cognito tibi more et consuetudine hujus gentis.

Misi tibi, sicut demandasti mihi, sellam, qua ego caballicare solitus sum, sic paratam, sicut solent Ecclesiarum pastores in hac regione



[ALCUIN'S ADVICE AS TO THE JOURNEY.]

habere; caballum quoque, qui portaret sellam, vosque supersedentes, si placeat pietati vestræ. Puerum meum direxi<sup>b</sup>, ut nostri honorifice vos suscipiant, secundum quod habeam facultatem, et vestræ sanctitatis jussio fiat; per quem potes mihi demandare iterum litteris de itinere vestro, utrum ad sanctum Martinum<sup>c</sup> protectorem nostrum et intercessorem vestrum vestra bonitas in revertendo venire cogitet. Prosperum iter vobis faciat Deus; angeloque Ejus comitante Spiritus Sanctus prospere vos ducat atque reducat; et multos faciat feliciter annos in sancta proficere prædicatione ad salutem multorum, et augmentum mercedis vestræ in æterna gloria, dulcissime et desiderantissime Pater!

In fine vero hujus cartulæ deprecor caritatem vestram ut mei nominis habeatis memoriam in sanctis orationibus vestris, sicut sæpius rogavi vestraque promisit benignitas; sed modo maxime obsecro ut apud sanctos apostolos et martyres Christi mei habeatis memoriam, sicut apud sanctum Martinum vestri habere dulce habemus. Bene valeas, vigeas et floreas in omni bonitate, domine sancte. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 173; *MS. Tiberius A. XV.* fo. 125.]

<sup>a</sup> Written on receiving the news that Ethelheard had set out for Rome; the date is fixed by the other letters of the series. The *A. S. C.* states that the Archbishop and Bishop Kynebert of Winchester went to Rome in A.D. 799, which may be corrected to A.D. 801.

<sup>b</sup> Alcuin's servant met the Archbishop and his companions at S. Josse sur Mer, where Alcuin had a cell. (See below, p. 534).

<sup>c</sup> S. Martin's, Tours, of which Alcuin was Abbot from A.D. 796.

A.D. 801. *Letter of Alcuin to Charles the Great, commending Archbishop Ethelbeard and his companions.*

*Domino desiderantissimo David Regi* FLACCUS MATRICULARIUS, æternam in Christo salutem.

Dulcedo dilectionis vestræ, et fiducia probatæ pietatis, sæpius me hortatur vestræ auctoritati dirigere litterulas, officioque syllabarum indagare, quod fragilitas corporis obstat voluntati implere posse. Sed rerum novitas supervenientium novos iterum cogit edere apices, ut cartula ferat cordis affectum, et fundat preces ad aures pietatis vestræ: quæ nunquam, ut vere fateor, cassatæ in conspectu misericordiæ vestræ fuerunt. Nec meas pro vestra stabilitate ei salute cassatas in conspectu Dei credo, quia libenter Divina suscipit gratia lacrymas quæ ex caritatis fonte profluunt.

Dictum est mihi, aliquos ex amicis Flacci tui, Edelardum scilicet,

[ALCUIN'S ADVICE TO EANBALD.]

Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ metropolitanum, et primæ sedis in Britannia pontificem, vestram adire velle pietatem: ministrum quoque olim Offanæ Regis Ceilmundum<sup>a</sup> de regno Mercionum: sed et Torhc-mundum Hedilredi Regis fidelem famulum, virum in fide probatum, strenuum in armis: qui fortiter sanguinem domini sui vindicavit. Hi omnes mihi valde fuerunt fideles, et adjuutores itineris mei, vel meorum defensores puerorum, huc illucque discurrentium. De quibus optimam vestram deprecor clementiam, solita benignitate suscipere eos, quia mihi necessarii fuerunt unusquisque in loco suo. Sæpius cognovi sacerdotes religiosos, et in Christi servitio devotos; nec non viros fortes, et fideles in sæculari dignitate, vestræ laudabiles esse æquitati. Nam optimus quisquis, et in sua sibi ipsi probatus conscientia, bonos diligere non dubium est, edoctus omnipotentis Dei exemplo, Qui summum est bonum. Et omnis rationabilis creatura, quantum boni habet, Ejus bonitate illuminata habere certissimum est; Ipsa Veritate dicente: "Ego sum lux mundi. Qui sequitur Me, non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitæ."

Perpetuam Christi tribuat tibi gratia lucem,  
Cum sanctis pariter, David amate Deo.

[Alcuin, *Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 64.]

<sup>a</sup> We learn from this and the following letter that Ethelheard's companions on his journey to Rome were Ceolmund, a servant of Offa, and Torhtmund, a servant of Ethelred of Northumbria; to whom the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* enables us to add Kynebert Bishop of Winchester. Nothing more is known about either of the former: and as Kynebert ap-

pears no more in the attestations of charters, it is probable that he either stayed at Rome or died on the journey. The letter of Alcuin to Eanbald (below) mentions two Bishops, but who the other was is unknown. In the same letter Alcuin states that he has furnished the travellers with a letter of recommendation to Charles.

A.D. 801. *Letter of Alcuin to Eanbald Archbishop of York, urging him not to desert his Church in consequence of the hostility of King Eardulf<sup>a</sup>.*

*Filio votorum meorum Simeoni sacerdoti* ALBINUS salutem.

Romam eunti viro religioso coepiscopo tuo Ædilhardo occurrit illi apud sanctum Idochum missus meus. Sicut me per suam voluntatem benigne susceptus est, habens secum alios duos Episcopos, amicosque nostros Ceommundum atque Torctmundum, pro quorum solatio litteras meas direxi domino meo David Regi. Inter alia siquidem quæ mihi ipse præfatus venerabilis pater litteris suis mandare curaverat, de vestra tribulatione innotuit nobis; cujus causa has consolatorias litteras caritati vestræ dirigere studui, deprecans vos, in con-

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO EANBALD.]

spectu Dei viriliter agere, et forti animo esse. Nec semper nox, nec semper dies, sed vices suas agunt; ita hujus sæculi adversitas vel prosperitas. Hodie tempestas imminet, sed cras serenitas arridet. Figatur spei anchora in Christum. Qui lætatur in prosperis, timeat adversa; et qui adversis fatigatur speret prospera cito advenire. Aurum perfecti decoris non erit, nisi fornace ardoris probetur. Arbitror ex te ipso tuæ partem tribulationis oriri, qui forsitan inimicos Regis recipias, vel inimicorum illius possessiones tutaris. Si vero juste patiaris, quid turbaris? Si vero injuste, cur non recorderis sanctorum tribulationes? "Job audistis," dicit Jacobus apostolus, "et finem Domini vidistis." Qui particeps est tribulationis sanctorum, particeps erit et gloriæ. Noli fugam meditari, sed coronam sperare.

Sta fortiter in acie, quasi signifer castrorum Christi. Si fugit vexillum ferens, quid facit exercitus? Si tuba tacet in castris, quis se præparat ad bellum? Si dux timidus erit, quomodo salvabitur miles? "Necdum," dicit Apostolus, "usque ad sanguinem restitistis; et oblitus estis consolationis vestræ; castigat Deus omnem filium quem recipit." Pro paternæ pietatis castigatione filius contristari non debet. Impii fremebant super justos, dicit Scriptura, "sed Dominus conteret dentes eorum," et ad nihilum redigit impetus eorum. Lege diligenter quomodo senex Matathias in ipsa morte imminente hortatus est filios suos, ut viriliter agerent et fortiter debellarent adversarios Dei; et quomodo sancti per tribulationes coronati sunt, et quam, non dicam parva, sed etiam nulla sit gloria peccatoris, dicens inter cætera: "A verbis viri peccatoris non timueritis, quoniam gloria ejus stercus et vermis. Hodie extollitur, et cras non invenitur; quoniam conversus est in terram suam, et cogitatio ejus periit."

Nec longe antiquorum exempla temporum quærere opus est, dum habes præsentia sufficienter. Tu ipse vidisti quomodo perierunt reges principes qui adversati sunt antecessoribus tuis et Ecclesiæ Christi: nunquid Deus in horum dormit sceleribus, quia æstimant se impune posse insanire, nec putant oculum Dei vigilare super eorum insaniam? Stulti facti sunt in sapientia sua, non timentes Deum judicem. Tua vero patientia et bona voluntas oret pro illis, ne forte det Deus illis pœnitentiam, et fiant ex inimicis amici Dei facti; sin autem illorum perditio præfinita est, tua siquidem Sanctitas nullatenus erit sine remuneratione æternæ felicitatis. Sicut fumus illorum evanescit superbia, et tua patientia sicut lux splendet in diem perfectum.

[DECISION OF POPE LEO ON THE RIGHTS OF CANTERBURY.]

Harum obsecro lectio litterarum animum tuum confortet viriliter agere, et constanter stare in acie exercitus Christi. Quis trepidare debet Christo duce, et præeunte agmina certaminis sui? Prior ille portavit crucem suam ad passionem, pati pro mundi salute paratus, clamans omnibus: "Qui vult venire post Me, abneget semetipsum, tollat crucem suam et sequatur Me." "Ego sum lux mundi; qui sequitur Me, non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitæ:" "Ego sum via, veritas et vita." His testimoniis roboratus intrepido pede curre post Christum, ut Ejus misericordiam merearis habere in æternum.

Scio diem appropinquasse meum, et gaudeo te superstitem habere. Tu vero de anima mea age sicut fidelis filius de patre; et sicut Cuculo præcepi tuæ dicere beatitudini, factum habeo; miserante Deo in Christo quietus vivere desiderans, qui ait: "Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenientis requiem animabus vestris." Summa Dei gratia te comitetur in omni via tua, defendat, regat et gubernet, fili mi, fili dilectissime! [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 174; *MS. Harl.* 208. fo. 24.]

<sup>a</sup> The quarrel of Eardulf with Kenulf King of Mercia, "propter susceptionem inimicorum ejus," is placed by Simeon of Durham in A.D. 801 (*M. H. B.* 672). As Eanbald's quarrel is supposed by Alcuin to be referable to the same cause (qui forsitan inimicos Regis recipias), it

is probable that he was suspected by Eardulf of intriguing with Mercia. The subject is mentioned by Alcuin in a letter to Calvinus (ed. Froben, no. 58). Eardulf's original difficulties arose from his adultery. See the fragment of Alcuin in *Leland, Coll.*, II. 402.

A.D. 802. Jan. 18<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Leo III. to Ethelbeard, confirming the ancient rights of the See of Canterbury.*

LEO EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Athelardo Archiepiscopo Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ* in perpetuum. Pontificali discretioni præcipue convenit præsulibus *Æcclesiarum* secundum eorum irreprehensibilem fidem audientiam prebere, et eorum quæ per beatum Petrum principem apostolorum et nos gerere desideraverint, quæ canonicis non refragentur sanctionibus, effectum concedere; ut cum id quod desiderant obtinuerint, flagrantiores erga eorum religionis amorem existant. Exhortanda itaque nobis est ac prædicanda tua fraterna almitas, pro diocesibus Angliæ tibi commissis, videlicet *Episcoporum* seu *monasteriorum* tam *monachorum* quam *clericorum* et *puellarum*; quæ sicut abolitanis temporibus tua *Æcclesia* tenuit, ut in sacro scrinio nostro requisita cognovimus, ita tibi tuisque successoribus tenenda

[DECISION OF POPE LEO ON THE RIGHTS OF CANTERBURY.]

confirmamus. Omnes Anglorum Æcclesias sanctus ac egregius prædicator Gregorius ordinavit, atque catholice confirmavit beato Augustino Archiepiscopo, sincello suo, subjectas fore in ævum per sacrum usum pallii. Et ideo ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis, cui a Domino Deo potestas ligandi atque solvendi concessa est dicente: "Quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam, et portæ inferni non prævalebunt adversus eam; et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, et quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in cælis, et quodcunque solveris super terram erit solutum in cælis;" immo et secundum institutam sacrorum canonum censuram, licet immeriti ejusdem Petri clavigeri regni cælorum vicem gerentes, tibi, Athelarde, tuisque successoribus, omnes Anglorum æcclesias sicut a priscis temporibus fuere, in perpetuum in ipsa tua metropolitana sede, per subjectionis cognitionem, irrefragabili jure concedimus obtinendas. Si quis vero, quod non optamus, contra hanc diffinitionis nostræ vel apostolici privilegii auctoritatem venire temptaverit, ex apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut si Archiepiscopus vel Episcopus fuerit ex ordine præsulatus sit dejectus. Similiter presbyter vel diaconus, aut alius quilibet minister sacri ministerii si fuerit, ab ordine sit depositus. Si autem ex numero laicorum fuerit, tam rex quam princeps, aut quælibet magna sive parva persona sit, a sacræ communionis participatione se noverit alienum. Hanc privilegii paginam auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis, cujus ministerio fungimur, tibi, Athelarde, tuisque successoribus in perpetuum concedimus obtinendam. Ad cujus firmitatem manibus nostris subscripsimus, illudque nomine nostro signari mandavimus. Quam etiam a Sergio scriniario nostro scribi præcepimus, mense Januario. Data XV. kalendas Februarii, per manum Eustachii primicerii sanctæ Sedis apostolicæ, imperante domino Karolo, piissimo consule, Augusto a Deo coronato, magno pacificoque imperatore; anno secundo post consulatum ejusdem domini, indictione .X<sup>ma</sup>. [*W. Malms. Gesta Pontificum, lib. I. § 38, ed. Hamilton, pp. 57-59; W., I. 160, 161, from MS. Cotton, Faustina B. VI.*]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is placed by Wilkins under A.D. 797. It is difficult to say why, as the

letter bears its own date and contains nothing whatever inconsistent with it.

A.D. 802<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Leo III. to Kenulf King of Mercia, informing him of the privilege granted and confirmed to Æthelheard.*

*Domino excellentissimo filio Kenulfo, Regi Merciorum provinciæ Saxonix,*  
LEO PAPA.

Veniens ad sacratissima limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, tam orationis vota fideliter solvens, quamque nostræ apostolicæ Sedi causam sui sacerdotii suggerens, reverendissimus et sanctissimus frater noster Ethelardus Archiepiscopus Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ obtulit nobis vestræ regalis excellentiæ syllabas; quibus in duabus epistolis a vobis directis, plenis fidei rectæ, magnam humilitatem vestram reperientes, omnipotenti Deo referimus grates, Qui vestram prudentissimam excellentiam in omnibus ornavit ac decoravit, erga beatum Petrum apostolorum principem, et nobiscum habere dilectionem, et in omnibus apostolicis humiliter consentire censuris. Porro in una ex illis epistolis reperimus qualiter gratia nostræ apostolicæ functionis, si juxta fuissetis, animam vestram pro nobis posuissetis benigne; immo et nostræ prosperitati multum in Domino congaudeatis, et quando nostræ dulcissimæ admonitionis litteræ ad vestræ unanimitatis perveniunt aures, cum omni suavitate cordis et gaudio spiritali, quasi filii, paternum munus suscipere fatemini. Fatebatur vero et hoc, quod aliquantulam ex vestra facultate benedictionem nobis offerri demandastis, id est centum viginti mancusas, quas cum magno amore pro animæ vestræ salute suscepimus. Et prædictus Archiepiscopus cum sociis suis honorifice ac benigne a nobis susceptus est, et adjuvari eum in suis necessitatibus libenter fecimus. Interea credentes vestræ prudentissimæ excellentiæ, ubi ferebatur in ipsis tuis regalibus apicibus quod nostris apostolicis sanctionibus nullus Christianus contraire præsumit; ideo totis nisibus nostris ea quæ tuo regno expediunt emittere atque prædicare conamur, ut ea quæ vobis prælatus frater noster Ethelardus Archiepiscopus, seu tota synodus evangelicæ atque apostolicæ doctrinæ sanctorumque patrum, nec non prædecessorum sanctorum nostrorum pontificum, canonica censura prædicante, vestræ regali excellentiæ, seu cunctis principibus gentis vestræ, et universo populo Dei, edisserit, nequaquam in orthodoxa eorum doctrina quippiam resistere debeatis, Domino ac Redemptore nostro in evangelio dicente, ubi ait: "Qui vos recipit, Me recipit; et qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetæ, mercedem

[DECISION OF POPE LEO ON THE RIGHTS OF CANTERBURY.]

prophetæ accipiet." Quanto magis pro ipso sæpedito Archiepiscopo, quem nobis valde nimisque collaudastis, sicuti et est videlicet clarissimus atque peritissimus, et quia illum scitis prudentem, bonis ornatum moribus, Deo et hominibus dignum; ecce fili dulcissime et amantissime atque præstantissime, Rex bone, in his tuis assertionibus collaudamus Deum omnipotentem Qui talem vobis demonstravit antistitem, qui, sicut verus pastor, indicare verbis secundum doctrinam sanctarum scripturarum dignam pœnitentiam valet, et eruere, qui sub ditone sacerdotali ejus existunt, animas eorum ex inferno inferiore, et ab igne inextinguibili deducens eos et infraducens in portum salutis, et offerre pro illis hostiam dignam et immaculatam in conspectu divinæ majestatis omnipotenti Deo. Et quia multum nobis prænominatus Archiepiscopus in omni sanctitate sua et vitæ conversatione ultro citroque placuit, valde nimis ei credentes, ex auctoritate ei beati Petri apostolorum principis, cujus vel immeriti vices gerimus, talem præbuimus præsulatum, ut si quispiam ex subjectis suis, tam regibus et principibus quamque universo populo, transgressus fuerit Dominica mandata, excommunicet eum usque pœniteat, et, si impœnitens fuerit, sit vobis sicut ethnicus et publicanus. De vero Ethelardo jam facto Archiepiscopo Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ, sicut a nobis poposcit vestrorum præsulum excellentia, ut ei justitiam faceremus de ipsis diocesisibus suis, tam Episcoporum quamque monasteriorum, quibus illicite, ut vos cognovistis, expoliatus est, et a venerabili sede ejus, quas dudum tenuit, ablatae sunt, nos, per omnia enucleatius trutinantes, in sacro scrinio nostro reperimus sanctum Gregorium, prædecessorem nostrum, in integro ipsam parochiam numero duodecim beato Augustino syncello suo Archiepiscopo tradidisse, et confirmasse Episcopos consecrandi. Unde et nos, veritate ipsa reperta, ordinatione seu confirmatione nostra apostolica auctoritate eas illi in integro, sicut antiquitus fuerunt, constituentibus reddidimus, et privilegium confirmationis, secundum sacrorum canonum censuram, Ecclesiæ suæ observandum tradidimus. [*W. Malms. Gesta Regum, lib. I. § 89, ed. Hardy, pp. 124-127; W., I. 165.*]

<sup>a</sup> Issued apparently as soon as Ethelheard left Rome, and dated more precisely by its reference to the preceding letter.

A.D. 802. *Letter of Alcuin to Ethelheard, congratulating him on the recovery of the dignity of his See, and advising him to use his power firmly and discreetly.*

*Domino sanctissimo atque omni honore dignissimo Æthelhardo Archiepiscopo,* HUMILLIMUS CHRISTI FAMULUS ALCUINUS in Domino salutem.

Audita prosperitate itineris vestri atque reversionis in patriam, et qualiter apostolica benignitate suscepti fuistis, toto cordis affectu animoque lætissimo gratias egimus Domino Deo sempiterno, Qui magno clementiæ dono viam vestræ peregrinationis prospero direxit itinere, et dedit vobis gratiam in conspectu patris apostolici et legationis effectum, votique compotem redire in patriam concessit; et primi doctoris patriæ nostræ sanctissimam sedem ad pristinum dignitatis culmen per te iterum exaltare dignatus est; quæ cujusdam dissensionis scissura quorundam invidiosa contentione ad horam discissa esse videbatur, quorum inconsiderata contentio tunicam Christi dividere non metuebat, quam milites Romani in passione Redemptoris nostri scindere ausi non fuerunt. Felix qui unitatem pacis fraterno amore conservare studet, sed ille multo felicior qui pio labore ab aliis disrupta caritatis viscera ad unius compagem corporis reformare nititur. Igitur nunc gratia operante Divina, membrorum unitas capiti cohæret proprio, et sacerdotalis dignitas antiquo gratulatur honore, et germana pax inter summos Britanniaë pontifices splendescit, et sub duabus metropolitanorum civitatibus una pietatis et concordiaë viget voluntas sicut in litteris vestræ beatitudinis lectum intellexi.

At nunc potestate corrigendi accepta et libertate prædicandi condonata, nolite timere, nolite tacere. Silentium in sacerdote perniciæ est populi. Mementote vos oculos esse patriæ, cælestis sapientiæ luce referti, illuminate patriam sanctæ prædicationis splendore, adunate consacerdotes vestros in communi concilio oportuno tempore et loco; jungite dextras concordiaë, diruta renovate, restituentes dignitatem; apostolicam recogitantes intentionem, qui ait, "Omnia omnibus factus, ut omnes lucrifacerem:" Estote in discissa resarcite, conturbata ordinate, unicuique personæ suam fortitudine aries quem sapientissimi Salomonis paradigma decantat, ubi ait, "Aries non est Rex qui resistat ei." Divisa est sacerdotalis atque regalis potentia; illa portat clavem in lingua cælestis regni,



## [COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

ista gladium ad vindictum reorum. Sed multo præstantior potestas quæ vivificat quam illa quæ occidit; quia melior est vita quam mors, melior est æterna beatitudo quam temporalis jocunditas, quæ multis maculatur adversitatibus, cum illa perpetuis permanet lætitiæ bonis. Si hæc tanto desiderio amatur temporalis vita, quæ cito finienda est, quanta aviditate diligenda est illa, cujus beatitudo nunquam finem habitura est, in qua paucorum hujus vitæ labores dierum æternæ gloriæ remunerabuntur requie? Non sit durum sacerdotibus Christi loqui pro Christo et prædicare Christum; si lingua non cessat in prædicando Christum, Christus non deerit in remunerando. Verba proferat sacerdos in salutem audientium, multiplicet sibi honores in regno Dei, in quo ut feliciter regnare mereatur, hic instanter prædicare non cesset, sanctæque prædicationis verba exemplis bonorum operum confirmare studeat, ut videat auditor in vita illius quod audit ex ore ejus, memor Ipsius veritatis sententiæ, qua distinguit prædicatores non facientes et facientes prædicatores; ubi ait, "qui solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno cælorum, qui autem fecerit et docuerit, hic magnus vocabitur in regno cælorum." Perpetua Redemptoris nostri pietas te, sanctissime pater, cum omnibus Britanniæ sacerdotibus in omni sanctæ prædicationis verbo, in omni religiosæ vitæ conversatione, ad salutem totius populi Christiani æterna benedictione regere, exaltare et conservare dignetur. [MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XV. fo. 129; MS. Bodl., Rawlinson, Misc. 1074.]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is printed here for the first time: fragments of it are preserved by William of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, I. §§ 9, 10, ed.

Hamilton, pp. 17, 18, and are given by Froben as Epist. 62 and 63.

## A.D. 803. Council of Clovesho.

I. October 6. *Act of Denebert Bishop of Worcester, recording the termination of the dispute between the See of Worcester and Wulfheard the son of Cussa*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Ea quæ secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam ac synodalia decreta salubriter definiuntur, quamvis solus sermo sufficeret, tamen pro evitando futuri temporis ambiguetate fidelissimis scripturis et documentis sunt commendata, Quapropter ego Deneberhtus Episcopus fui memorando pristinæ locutionis antecessoris mei Hiothoredi Episcopi et Wulfheardi

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

circa terram illam æt Intanbergum simul etiam æt Bradanleage tunc Wulfheardus iterum coram synodali testimonio confirmavit cum signo crucis Christi Deneberhto Episcopo et ejus familiæ in Weogorna civitate, ut ille noluisset unquam avertere ab ecclesia ante nominata præter ut ante veraciter ac firmiter definitum haberet ut hoc per omnia firmum et fixum perpetuo inter eos permaneret. Hæc commemoratio facta est in loco qui dicitur Clofeshos anno Dominicæ Incarnationis .DCCC.III. Indictione .XI. die II. non. Octobris.

✠ Ego Æthelheard Archiepiscopus. ✠ Ego Aldwlf Episcopus. ✠ Ego Werenberht Episcopus. ✠ Ego Eadwlf Episcopus. ✠ Ego Deneberht Episcopus. ✠ Ego Wulfheard Episcopus. ✠ Ego Wigberht Episcopus. ✠ Ego Alhmund Episcopus. ✠ Ego Alheard Episcopus. ✠ Ego Tidferth Episcopus. ✠ Ego Osmund Episcopus. ✠ Ego Weremund Episcopus. ✠ Ego Wihtun Episcopus.

✠ Ego Cænwulf Rex Merciorum consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heaberht princeps consensi. ✠ Ego Beornoth princeps. ✠ Ego Ceolward princeps. ✠ Ego Cynehelm princeps. ✠ Ego Wigca presbyter consensi. ✠ Ego Wigheard presbyter. ✠ Ego Byrnwald presbyter consensi. ✠ Ego Aldred presbyter consensi. [K. C. D., CLXXXIII., from three MSS.; Harl. 4660, f. 7; Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII. f. 8; Cotton, Nero, E. I. f. 388; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 588.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 465.

II. October 12. *Act of the Council recognizing the rights and dignities of the See of Canterbury, and abolishing the metropolitan dignity given to Lichfield*<sup>a</sup>.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONÆ VOLUNTATIS.

✠ Scimus autem quod multis in Deum fideliter confidentibus notum et manifestum est, et nihil tamen illis placabile in eo visum est, qui in gentibus Anglorum commorantur, quod Offa Rex Merciorum in diebus Jaenberhti Archiepiscopi cum maxima fraude honorem et unitatem sedis Sancti Agustini patris nostri in Dorovernensi civitate dividere et discindere præsumsit: et quo modo post obitum prædicti pontificis Æthelheardus Archiepiscopus Dei gratia donanti illius successor post curricula annorum erga plurima Dei ecclesiarum jura limina apostolorum et apostolicæ Sedis beatissimum

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHÖ.]

Papam Leonem visitare contigit: inter alias necessarias legationes etiam discissionem injuste factam Archiepiscopalis sedis narravit: et ipse apostolicus Papa ut audivit et intellexit quod injuste fuisset factum statim sui privilegii auctoritatis præceptum posuit et in Britanniam misit et præcipit ut honor Sancti Agustini sedis cum omnibus suis parrohhiis integerrime redintegraretur juxta quod Sanctus Gregorius nostræ gentis apostolus et magister composuit et honorabili Archiepiscopo Æthelheardo in patriam pervenienti per omnia redderetur, et Cœnwlfus Rex pius Merciorum ita complevit cum senatoribus suis. Anno vero Dominicæ Incarnationis .DCCC.III. Indictione .XI. die .III. idus Octobris.

Ego Æthelhardus Archiepiscopus cum omnibus .XII. Episcopis sancto sede beati Agustini subjectis per apostolica præcepta domini Papæ Leonis in synodo qui factus est in loco celebri qui vocatur Clofeshoas unianimo consilio totius sancti synodo, in nomine Dei omnipotentis præcipientes et omnium sanctorum Illius et per Ejus tremendum judicium; ut numquam Reges neque Episcopi neque principes neque ullius tyrannicæ potestatis homines honorem Sancti Agustini et suæ sanctæ sedis diminuere vel in aliquantula particula dividere præsumerint; sed in eo per omnia dignitatis honore plenissime semper permaneat quo utique in constitutione beati Gregorii et in privilegiis apostolicorum suorum successorum habeatur nec non etiam et in sanctorum canonum rectum haberi sanctionibus videatur. Nunc etiam Deo cooperanti et domino apostolico Papæ Leoni, ego Æthelhardus Archiepiscopus et alii Coepiscopi nostri et nobiscum omnes dignitates nostri synodi cum vexillis crucis Christi unanimiter primatum sanctæ sedis firmantes; hoc quoque præcipientes et signo sanctæ crucis scribentes, ut Archiepiscopalis sedes in Liccidfeldensi monasterio numquam habeatur ex hoc tempore, neque in alio loco aliquo nisi tantum modo in Dorobernensi civitate, ubi Christi Ecclesia est, et ubi primus in hac insula catholica fides penituit et a Sancto Agustino sacrum baptismum celebretur: insuper etiam cartam a Romana Sede misam per Hadrianum Papam de palleo et de Archiepiscopatus sede in Liccedfeldensi monasterio cum consensu et licentiâ domini apostolici Leonis Papæ præscribimus aliquid valere, quia per subreptionem et male blandam suggestionem adipiscebatur, et idcirco manifestissimis signis cælestis Regis primatum monarchiæ archiprincipatus permanere canonicis et apostolicis munitioibus statuimus, ubi sanctum evangelium Christi per beatum patrem

[COUNCIL OF CLOFESHO.]

Agustinum in provincia Anglorum primum prædicatur: et deinde per gratiam Sancti Spiritus late diffusum est. Si quis vero contra apostolicus præceptis et nostrorum omnium ausus sit tunicam Christi scindere et unitatem sancte Dei Ecclesiæ dividere; sciat sed nisi digne emendaverit quod inique contra sacras canones fecit æternaliter esse damnatum.

Hic sunt nomina sanctorum Episcoporum et abbatum qui præscriptum cyrographi cartulam in synodo qui factus est æt Clofeshoum, anno adventus Domini .DCCC.III. cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi firmaverunt.

✠ Æthelheardus Archiepiscopus. ✠ Aldwlfus Episcopus. ✠ Werenberhtus Episcopus. ✠ Alcheardus Episcopus. ✠ Wigberhtus Episcopus. ✠ Alhmundus Episcopus. ✠ Osmundus Episcopus. ✠ Eadwlfus Episcopus. ✠ Deneberhtus Episcopus. ✠ Wifthunus Episcopus. ✠ Tidfrithus Episcopus. ✠ Wlfheardus Episcopus. ✠ Alhmundus presbyter abbas. ✠ Beonna presbyter abbas. ✠ Forthredd presbyter abbas. ✠ Wigmundus presbyter abbas. [K. C. D., CLXXXV., from MS. Cotton, Aug. II. 61; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 107; *W.*, I. 166; *S.*, I. 324, abridged.]

<sup>a</sup> This important record is given here, as the council; it is the final determination of the printed by Kemble from the original Act of Lichfield controversy.

III. October 12. *Termination of a dispute between Denebert Bishop of Worcester, and Wulfhard Bishop of Hereford, about lands at Cheltenham and Beckford, and of other quarrels.*

✠ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC.III. Indict. XI. vero qui est annus VII. regni Cenwulfi pii Regis Merciorum, factum est sinodale conciliabulum æt Clofeshoum, præsidente Æthelheardo Archiepiscopo; ubi cum universi provinciales Episcopi, cum abbatibus et presbyteris de necessariis et pluribus universæ Æcclesiæ statutis congregarentur, ibi etiam inter alia plura facta est contentio inter Deneberhtum, Weogernensis Æcclesiæ antistitem, Wlfheardumque Herefordensem præsullem. Sunt autem monasteria in parochia Deneberhti Celtanhom, Beccanford, quæ olim in antiquis diebus ad Herefordensem Æcclesiam præstita fuerunt, in quibus postulabat suam pastum qui ei episcopali jure pertinebat, ipse Deneberht sibi reddi. Wlfheard autem e contra narrabat, ut ei nullam dare debuisset, neque umquam antecessores illius aliquam ibi haberent. Et si erat umquam,

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHÖ.]

jam XXX. annis et eo amplius nemo illum, neque antecessores ejus, hujuscemodi pastu pulsaret neque tangeret. Deneberht autem cum testimonio narrabat, ut Wermund Episcopus pastum acciperet æt Beccanforda, Hathoredus similiter æt Celtanhomme, insuper et ipse Wulfheard ei pecuniam daret pro pastu, hæcque cum testimonio conprobavit. Cum vero hujuscemodi hinc et inde multa contenderunt, ventum est ad sermonem, ut Archiepiscopus Deneberhtum rogabat dimidia sibi hujus pastus præstare et altero anno semper æt Beccanforda suam refectionem acciperet, altero æt Celtanhomme. Ille autem respondebat se et velle et debere in omnibus ejus parere præceptis; hoc modo tamen in testimonio totius synodi in diem ejus præstare et non amplius; idque litteris confirmare ut scient omnes qui ejus sunt successores, quod ipse nunquam intermittit, quod Weogernensi Æcclesiæ ad utilitatem recte pertinet. Hæc autem pacis conciliatio facta est sub die .IIII. Idum Octobrium. Eodem die in simili contentione placiti sunt Werenberhtus mediterraneorum Anglorum Episcopus, et Aldulfus Licetfeldensis præsul, Wigberhtus similiter Sciraburnensis antistes et Almundus Wentanæ pastor Æcclesiæ tale aliquid inter se habentes, omnes ad veræ fraternitatis pacem adunati, perrexerunt unusquisque ad suam. Erat autem dies V. feria et hii sunt testes hujus pacis.

✠ Ego Æthiheard Archiepiscopus consensi. ✠ Ego Aldulf Episcopus. ✠ Ego Werenberht Episcopus. ✠ Ego Eadulf Episcopus. ✠ Ego Deneberht Episcopus. ✠ Ego Alheard Episcopus. ✠ Ego Tidferth Episcopus. ✠ Ego Wigberht Episcopus. [K. C. D., CLXXXIV., from MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII, fo. 22; W., I. 168; S., I. 326.]

IV. October 12. *Act of the Council forbidding the election of laymen or seculars as lords of Monasteries*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ Ego Æthelheardus gratia Dei humilis sanctæ Dorobernensis Æcclesiæ Archiepiscopus unanimo consilio totius sancte synodi congregationibus omnium monasteriorum quæ olim a fidelibus Christo Domino perpetuam in libertatem dedita fuerunt, in nomine Dei omnipotentis, et per Ejus tremendum judicium præcipio, sicut et ego mandatum a domno apostolico Leone Papa percepi, ut ex hoc tempore nunquam temerario ausu super hereditatem Domini laicos et sæculares sibi præsumant dominos eligere; sed sicut in privilegiis ab apostolica Sede datis habetur, seu etiam ab apostolicis viris in

[COUNCIL OF CLOVESHO.]

initio nascentis æcclesiæ traditum est per sanctos canones vel etiam a propriis possessoribus monasteriorum constitutum, ea regula et observantia disciplinæ sua monastica jura studeant observare. Si ergo quod absit ipsi hoc nostrum mandatum et domni apostolici Papæ spreverint et pro nihilo ducunt, sciant se ante tribunal Christi nisi ante emendari voluerint rationem reddituros. Hæc sunt nomina sanctorum Episcoporum et venerabilium abbatum et presbyterorum et diaconum qui cum totius sancti synodi consensu pro confirmatione prædictæ rei, signum sanctæ crucis subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Æthelheardus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus Dorobernensis civitatis signum sanctæ crucis subscripsi. ✠ Æthelheah abbas. ✠ Feologeld presbyter abbas. ✠ Wlfheard presbyter. ✠ Wer-noth presbyter. ✠ Beornmod presbyter. ✠ Wlfred archidiaconus.

✠ Ego Aldulfus Liccedfeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Hygberht abbas. ✠ Lulla presbyter. ✠ Monn presbyter. ✠ Wigferth presbyter. ✠ Eadhere presbyter. ✠ Cuthberht presbyter.

✠ Ego Werenberht Legorensis civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Allmund presbyter abbas. ✠ Beonna presbyter abbas. ✠ Forthred presbyter abbas. ✠ Wigmund presbyter abbas. ✠ Eadberht presbyter. ✠ Berhthæth presbyter. ✠ Eadred presbyter. ✠ Æthelhæh presbyter. ✠ Eanred presbyter. ✠ Mon presbyter.

✠ Ego Eadwulf Syddensis civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Eadred presbyter abbas. ✠ Dæghelm presbyter abbas. ✠ Plegberht presbyter. ✠ Eadwlf presbyter. ✠ Hereberht presbyter. ✠ Heathored presbyter.

✠ Ego Deneberht Wegeranensis civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Hyseberht abbas. ✠ Thingferth abbas. ✠ Pæga abbas. ✠ Freothomund abbas. ✠ Coenferth presbyter. ✠ Seleræd presbyter.

✠ Ego Wulfheard Herefordensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Cuthred abbas. ✠ Strygel presbyter. ✠ Dycga presbyter. ✠ Monn presbyter. ✠ Heathobald diaconus. ✠ Werferth.

✠ Ego Wigberht Sciraburnensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Muca abbas. ✠ Eadberht abbas. ✠ Berhtmund abbas.

✠ Ego Ealhmund Wintanæ civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Cuthberht abbas. ✠ Cufa abbas. ✠ Marcus abbas. ✠ Lulla abbas. ✠ Nothheard presbyter. ✠ Wigthegn presbyter.

[COUNCIL OF CLOFESHO.]

✠ Ego Alhheard Elmhamis Ecclesiæ Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Folcberht presbyter. ✠ Freothuberht presbyter. ✠ Eadberht presbyter. ✠ Wulflaf presbyter. ✠ Hunfrith diaconus. ✠ Beornhelm diaconus.

✠ Ego Tidfrith Dummuca civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Wifheard abbas. ✠ Lull abbas. ✠ Ceolhelm presbyter. ✠ Cynulf presbyter. ✠ Tilberht presbyter. ✠ Eadberht presbyter.

✠ Ego Osmund Lundenensis civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Heahstan presbyter abbas. ✠ Wighard presbyter. ✠ Tidhun presbyter. ✠ Freothored presbyter. ✠ Æthelhelm.

✠ Ego Wermund Hrofensis civitatis Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Lullingc presbyter. ✠ Tuda presbyter. ✠ Beagnoth presbyter. ✠ Heahberht presbyter. ✠ Wigheard presbyter. ✠ Heard diaconus.

✠ Ego Wihthun Selesegi Ecclesiæ Episcopus signum crucis subscripsi. ✠ Ceolmund abbas. ✠ Dudd presbyter. ✠ Eadberht presbyter. ✠ Beorcol presbyter. ✠ Heahferth. ✠ Cynebald<sup>b</sup>.

Actum est in celebri loco qui vocatur Clofeshoas. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCIII., Indictione XI., die quarta idus Octobres. [*K.C.D.*, *MXIV.*, from the original document, Chart. Ant. Cantuar., C. 195; *W.*, I. 167; *S.*, I. 324; *MS. Lambeth* 1212, pp. 401, 402.]

<sup>a</sup> This is the genuine Act on which the spurious one of the council of A.D. 798 is founded. See above, p. 516.

<sup>b</sup> This Act, being signed by the principal clergy of the several dioceses as well as the Bishops, is most interesting as giving an exact idea of the composition of the ecclesiastical council of the time. It is impossible to identify all the monasteries which are represented on this occasion by their abbots; but the following seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty.

1. In the diocese of Canterbury, S. Augustine's is represented by Wernoth, who succeeded in A.D. 822 to the abbacy. (See, however, below, p. 576, note <sup>b</sup>). Feologeld is the person who became Archbishop on the death of Wulfred: Beornmod is the person who became Bishop of Rochester in A.D. 804. Wulfred the Archdeacon, an office which appears for the first time in this pontificate, succeeded Ethelheard as Archbishop in A.D. 805. Abbot Æthelheah is an unknown person; he may have been abbot of Liminge, Reculver, or Folkstone, or Minster.

2. Among the clergy of Lichfield, Hygbert abbot is probably the late occupant of the Archiepiscopal throne.

3. In the diocese of Leicester may be recognized Beonna, abbot of Medeshamstede; Alhmund, Forthred, and Wigmund appear constantly in Mercian charters, but there is no evidence to fix their monasteries. The death of Forthred is noted in the *A. S. C.* in A.D. 803; to be corrected to A.D. 805.

4. In "Syddensis civitas" we get the legal title of the Lindsey Bishopric, for the first time. The locality of Sidnacester is unknown; see above, p. 129. Dæghelm was probably abbot of Bardney.

5. In the diocese of Worcester, Thingferth was abbot of Evesham: this diocese contained very many monasteries, of which Breedon, Winchelcomb, and Deerhurst may have been represented by the other abbots.

6. Of the monasteries of the diocese of Hereford nothing is known.

7. Muca, who appears among the clergy of Sherborne, was abbot of Glastonbury.

8. In the diocese of Winchester, Cuthbert is

## [SYNOD AT ACLE.]

probably the abbot of Malmesbury of that name. The two West Saxon dioceses contained a considerable number of small monasteries, such as Bradford, Frome, Tisbury, Nursling, Chertsey, and perhaps Abingdon; but the boundaries of the two are uncertain, and it is possible that until the time of Edward the Elder the two Bishops ruled in common, or the Bishop of Sherborne acted in subordi-

nation to the Bishop of Winchester.

Of the monastic establishments of the East Saxon and East Anglian dioceses nothing is known, nor of those of Rochester and Selsey. It is possible that in some of these cases the abbot was the head of the cathedral establishment, as at York at the beginning of the preceding century when Wilfrid II. was "Vicedominus et Abbas" under John of Beverley.

A.D. 804. *Synod or Witenagemot at Acle; in which Æthelric declares his intention as to the disposal of his estates.*

✠ In nomine Domini Dei summi, Rex regum, Qui in altis habitat et prospicit omnia cœlestia et terrestria! Anno ab Incarnatione Christi DCCCIII., Indictione XII., Ego Æthelric, filius Æthelmundi, cum conscientia synodali invitatus ad synodum, et in iudicio stare in loco qui dicitur Clfeshoh, cum libris et ruris, id est æt Westmynster<sup>a</sup>, quod prius propinqui mei tradiderunt mihi et donaverunt; ibi Æthelhardus Archiepiscopus mihi regebat atque iudicaverat cum testimonio Cœnwlf Regis et optimatibus ejus coram omni synodo, quando scripturas meas perscrutarent, ut liber essem terram meam atque libellos dare quocunque volui. Postea commendavi amicis meis ad servandum, quando quæsivi sanctum Petrum et sanctum Paulum, pro remedio animæ meæ, et, iterum me revertente ad patriam, accepi terram meam et prætium reddidi, quasi ante pacti sumus et pacifici fuerimus ad invicem. Facta est autem post paucos annos alia synodus æt Aclea. Tunc in illo synodo coram Episcopis, Rege et principibus ejus, rememoravi pristinæ libertatis meæ quæ mihi ante iudicatum est, et cum licentia eorum testificavi in præsentis testimonio, quemadmodum meam hæreditatem dare voluissem, et sic dixi: Hæc sunt nomina illarum terrarum quæ dabo ad locum qui dicitur Deorhyrst, pro me et Æthelmundo patre meo, si mihi contingat ut illic corpus meum requiescat; Todanhom, et æt Sture, Scræfleh, et Cohhanleh, ea conditione ut illa congregatio vota eorum faciat firma, sicut mihi promiserunt. Iterum dabo Wærferthe XI. manentium Bremesgræfan et Feccanhom, ut habeat suum diem et postea reddat ad Wigorna ceastre. Verum etiam do XXX. manentium Under Ofre ad Gleawecestre. Et quando mihi contingat exitus diei mei, tunc dabo Ciolburge matri meæ, si diutius vivit quam ego<sup>b</sup>, terram XLIII. manentium æt Westmynster et æt Stoce, ut habeat suam diem, et postea reddat ad Weogernensem Ecclesiam. Pro qua



[SYNOD AT ACLE.]

re ea vivente ut ibi habeat protectionem et defensionem contra Beorclinga contentione; et si aliquis homo in aliqua contentione juramentum ei decreverit contra Berclingas, liberrima erit ad reddendum, cum recto consilio propinquorum meorum, qui mihi hæreditatem donabant et meo quo ei dabo; et si non habeat patrocinium in civitate Weogornensi, postea primum quærat ad Archiepiscopum in Cantia. Et si ibi non habeat, sit libera cum ruris et libris ad eligendum patrocinium ubi placitum sibi fuerit. Si aliter fiat, ut non opto, aliquis homo contendat contra libros meos vel hæreditatem indigne, tunc habet Aldwlfus Episcopus in Licetfelda istius cartulæ comparem, et amici et necessarii mei et fidelissimi alias, id est Eadberht Eadgaring et Æthelheah Esning, ad confirmationem hujus rei. Rogo etiam Æthelric, pro amore omnipotentis Dei, et præcipio et obsecro per omnes virtutes cælorum, ut nullus homo hanc positionem crucis Christi, quæ tantorum virorum testimonio confirmata est, non præsumat minuere. Si ausus est aliquis confirmationem istam infringere, deleatur de laude Dei, si non satisfactione emendaverit.

✠ Ego Cænwlw, Rex Merciorum, hanc munificentiam signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelheardus Archiepiscopus Dovernensis civitatis signum sanctæ crucis subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldwlfus Licetfeldensis Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Werenberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Denebyrht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Wulfheard Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Eadwulfus Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Heaberht dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornoth dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ciolward dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cynehelm dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wicga dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wigheard dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Byrnwald dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldred dux consensi et subscripsi. [K. C. D., *CLXXXVI.*, from MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII. ff. 49, 195; *Mon. Angl.*, I. 591.]

<sup>a</sup> Kemble (*Saxons in England*, II. 191) has argued from this expression that Westminster was locally connected with Clovesho, and that that place must be sought in the hundred of Westminster in Gloucestershire. But the Westminster here mentioned seems rather to be the monastery at Westbury; and the hundred of Westminster owes its name, given at a much later period, to the fact that the abbey of Westminster in Middlesex possessed a great portion of the land contained in it. Here, moreover, it is clear that the synod was held at Clovesho, but the lands were situated at Westminster.

The fact that these proceedings were completed at a council at Aclea, shows either that there was a Mercian meeting-place of that name, or that Mercian business might be treated outside of the kingdom. It is observable, however, that with the exception of the Archbishop only Mercian Bishops attest the charter. On the special business here despatched, see above, pp. 483, 514, and below, p. 592.

<sup>b</sup> Ceolburga, abbess of Beorclea, died in A.D. 805 (*A. S. C.*, *Flor. Wig. ad ann.*), i. e. probably A.D. 807.

A.D. 804. *Profession of faith and obedience made by Beornmod<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Rochester to Archbishop Ethelheard.*

PROFESSIO BERMODI RUFENSIS EPISCOPI. — Quoscumque ad percipiendum sacerdotii apicem gratia Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi per ora Suorum fidelium vocat, hos nimirum sanctæ Ecclesiæ ritus per assidua hortatur exempla et docet, quatinus ei qui inter provinciales Episcopos primatum habere ex concessa desuper auctoritate conspicitur, libellos fidei suæ pariter et obedientiæ sinceriter offerant. Scilicet ut tanto promptius alacriusque subjectis benedictionem, favente Spiritu Sancto, prælatus impendat, quanto securior certiorque redditus fuerit de recta credulitate et religiosa vita ipsorum; et ut eo cautius diligentiusque dignitatem propriam jam ordinati servare studeant quo se, prius quam ordinarentur, ea quæ æquitati congruebant firmissime promisisse cognoscunt et norunt. Quapropter ego Bermod, ad suscipiendam ac dispensandam Ecclesiam Rufensem electus ab Ethelardo Archiepiscopo et a servis Domini in Cantia constitutis, profiteor me coram sancta et colenda atque adoranda Trinitate illam fidem sine intermissione tenere, prædicare, defendere, quam Orthodoxi et probabiles patres salubriter ab universis Christianis tenendam, confitentiam, defendendamque, Divinitus edocti sanxerunt. Necnon et spondeo memet secundum sacra canonum instituta ac veneranda Pontificum apostolicæ Sedis decreta, in quantum Dominus scientiam et possibilitatem contulerit, vigilanter victurum, ordinationesque legitimas vita comite celebraturum. Sed et tibi, reverentissime et sanctissime Archiepiscopo Ethelarde, capiti meo honorem debitum atque parentiam devotam in cunctis quæ exigente quavis necessitate ecclesiastica jusseris exhibiturum humiliter, nihilque adversitatis seu læsionis contra beatitudinem tuam aut contra orthodoxam Ecclesiam quam rite gubernas, vel ipsum qui eam post tuum decessum rector est, aliquando, in quocumque negotio, suadente prava versutia, peracturum, sed ut condecet fidem firmam, caritatem non fictam, amicitiam puram, obtemperantiam veram, erga sanctionem vestram, usque ad calcem vitæ meæ conservans, omne subsidium quod vobis impertire potuero præstiturum libenter. Quod si forte quippiam de pollicitationibus istis quæ ultronea voluntate hic scripsi, cæca ignorantia vel pertinacia seducente fuero, quod absit, transgressus, tota id mente et virtute juxta vestræ potestatis censuram corrigere nitar, dummodo non cesses doctor et auxiliator meæ

[PROFESSION OF BEORNMOD.]

mediocritatis existere, quatinus venerabilem gradum quem largiente Domino per impositionem manus tuæ nunc percipere debeo, irreprehensibiliter valeam custodire, et talentum sacerdotalis officii coram Christo, quando cum servis Suis de donis pridem collatis rationem ponere cœperit, cum lucro acceptabili præsentare. Quod si aliquando, quod nullatenus suspicor fore, hanc ipsam satisfactionem neglexero vel tardavero agere, et ad defensionem perpetrati excessus indignis quibuslibet excusationibus et adiutoriis sæcularibus uti præsumpsero, tunc canonica ultione districte percellar. Ego Bermodus electus hanc paginam tibi Ethelarde tuisque successoribus, veluti vadem fidelem ad Doroberniam civitatem, mea propria manu cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmando subscribo. ✠ [*Reg. Cant. A.* 1, fo. 239; *MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E.* 1; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 258; *Thorpe, Registrum Roffense*, pp. 19, 20; *Anglia Sacra*, I. 79.]

\* The consecration of Beornmod is placed by the majority of the MSS. of the Chronicle in A.D. 802; which may be corrected on the usual principle to A.D. 804. It cannot be

placed earlier than A.D. 803, in which year his predecessor was at the council of Clovesho. The first charter which is attested by Beornmod is of A.D. 805.

A.D. 798 x 804. *Letter of Alcuin to the two Bishops of East Anglia.*

*Sanctissimis et venerabilibus patribus Alchardo et Tifredo Episcopis*  
ALCHUINUS LEVITA salutem.

Deprecor piissimam bonitatem vestram, ne parvitatæ meæ litteras præsumptiosas æstimetis. Vestræ igitur caritatæ fiducia easdem scribere ausus sum, quia humilitas Christiana nullum spernere debet, sed omnes benigne suscipere pio dilectionis gremio; quam in vobis opto abundanter per Spiritum Sanctum splendescere, ut flumina de ventre vestro aquæ vivæ, id est, doctrinæ sacræ, sicut in Evangelio ipsa Veritas ait, sufficienter fluere videantur.

Vestrum est omnibus prædicare verbum Dei, omnibus lucere in domo Dei, ut omnes per vos veritatæ lumen agnoscant, et per pascua perpetuæ beatitudinis deducantur. Os vestrum tuba debet esse Dei Christi, quia linguæ auctoritatæ vestræ claves sunt cœli habentes potestatem aperire et claudere; pœnitentibus aperire, resistentibus veritati claudere. Quapropter tantæ excellentiæ vosmetipsos dignos bonis moribus effcite, scientes laudem esse sacerdotum prædicationis assiduitatem. Non est ludus sæcularis sacerdotalis honor; sed magna diligentia in mandatis Dei seipsum exercere debet sacerdos Christi, ut exemplis simul et verbis populum erudiat Christianum.

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

Laudabat mecum vestram bonam conversationem venerabilis frater Lullo<sup>a</sup> abbas. Ideo supplex ego vestræ sanctitati meipsum commendare curavi, deprecans ut jubeatis nostri nominis per vestras Ecclesias aliquantulam fieri memoriam. Non pro meis meritis, sed pro Christi caritate hæc ipsa flagitare præsumpsi. Facite exinde, sicut de vestra bona pietate confido. Deus Dominus augeat vos meritorum gratia, et proficere faciat in omni sanctitate et prædicatione verbi Dei, carissimi et desiderabiles patres. [*Alcuin, Epistt.*, ed. Froben, no. 206; *MS. Harl.* 208, fo. 49.]

<sup>a</sup> Lull appears as an East-Anglian abbot at Clovesho, in A.D. 803 (above, p. 547).

A.D. 793 × 804. *Letter of advice and exhortation from Alcuin to Ethelheard*<sup>a</sup>.

*Reverentissimo patri Æthelbardo Archiepiscopo* ALCHUINUS LEVITA perpetuæ beatitudinis salutem.

Audiens sapientiæ decorem in corde et veritatis constantiam in ore vestro, beatam æstimabam gentem tam pium et prudentem habentem doctorem, necnon et tam probatum intercessorem apud Deum; quia sacerdotis ministerium est inter Deum hominesque stare et sanctarum turrubulo orationum inter vivos mortuosque discernere. Ille est gallus succinctis lumbis, prædicator optatæ auroræ quæ nunquam tenebris fuscatur. Ille est aries cui regalis potentia resistere non poterit; ille est speculator in turre virtutum consistens, prævidens castris Christi, ne quis inimicus hostili mucrone clam succinctus incautum quemlibet vulnerare valeat. Ille est splendidissima in domo Dei lucerna, omnes ignorantia tenebras discutens, ut sola veritas [vel sol verus] luceat in cordibus credentium. Hanc altissimam vicariamque apostolici honoris dignitatem diligentissime secundum sapientiam tibi a Deo datam, dulcissime pater, considera. Honora cum apostolo ministerium tuum, prædica verbum Dei omni pietatis instantia. Messis quidem multa est, sed operarii pauci. Quapropter instantius laborandum est tibi ut simul gaudeas cum seminantibus. Opus summum est sacerdotis prædicare verbum Dei, extirpareque de agro Dominicæ possessionis peccatorum spinas: [scilicet opus summum sacerdotis] seminare mundissimum evangelicæ veritatis frumentum, navare prius navalia, et non seminare super spinas, ne forte erumpentem boni seminis herbam spineta scelerum suffocent. Ubi multæ segetes, ibi manifesta fortitudo bovis.

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ÆTHELHEARD.]

Bos est bene laborans sacerdos in populo Christi [scilicet prædicans] qui veniet in exultatione portare manipulos suos ad horreum Regis æterni; Qui eum œconomum [dispensatorem] familiæ Suæ constituit ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram. Beati qui seminatis super omnes aquas; aquæ sunt populi, seminator verbi Dei prædicator est; qui servat ventum nunquam seminat; qui timet terrenas potestates tacet a prædicatione veritatis; habens locum regiminis sed opus rectoris negans, luporum rabiei non resistens sed mercenaria timiditate fugiens, transitorium metuens perdere honorem magis quam cælestem nitens acquirere gloriam. Hos tales si forte inveniantur in sede ecclesiasticæ dignitatis, tua sanctissima, pater optime, fducialiter censura castiget, ut solus de omnium habeas mercedem labore, quia tu solus pallii honore et clarissimæ sedis dignitate omnes excellere videris. Sit tua dextra sceptro æquitatis armata, et sinistra clipeo pietatis honesta. Illinc potentibus splendeat veritas, hinc miseris auxilietur pietas, quatenus omnibus tuæ auctoritatis prosit devotio; [scilicet sis tu] omnibus omnia factus cum apostolo, ut ex omnium salute tibi æternæ beatitudinis lucra multiplicentur. Meique deprecor ut habeas in sanctis orationibus tuis memoriam. Festinabit et non tardabit dies amara, quam nullus effugere valeat, sed non est [scilicet illa dies] metuenda [scilicet illi] qui paratus est pulsanti aperire. Sed quantum me peccatorem scio, tantum me fateor metuere illam, ne forte pondere peccatorum suppressus capud in conspectu iudicis mei elevare non audeam; adjuva, pater piissime, adjuva obsecrantem, et inter sanctorum reliquias patrum et prædicatorum nostrorum, lacrimis pietatis tuæ aliquid hujus gravissimi ponderis minue de cervice mea. Quia quo tua bonitas instantius deprecetur pro me et liberior ab hac sarcina impietatis meæ caput levare audeam, cogita quanta tibi sit merces in salute fraternæ prosperitatis, quanto majore, Redemptoris Divina operante gratia per te, cingeris corona, tanto majore gloria coronatus stabis ante tribunal Redemptoris nostri.

Misi dilectioni vestræ unam cuppam argenteam et unam olosericum et vestitum caprinum camissaleque lineo [vel um], deprecans caritatis intuitu ea modica respicere, magis caritatis fidele munus intendens quam specierum raritatem.

Pontificalis apex pater Æthelharde valeto,  
 Omnipotens tribuat prospera cuncta tibi.

[LETTER OF ALCUIN TO ETHELHEARD.]

Sis decus Ecclesiæ, Christi præcepta sequaris,  
 Clarus in officio, cautus in eloquio.  
 Sit tibi larga manus, lætum cor, Christus in ore,  
 Egregii mores et pietatis amor.  
 Ad te qui veniat tristis non exeat umquam;  
 Sis spes pauperibus, atque salus miseris;  
 Præuius esto Dei populo ad cælestia regna,  
 Ut te namque sequens pergat ad astra poli.  
 Insepe veridicis vitalia semina verbis  
 Cordibus humanis, crescat ut inde fides.  
 Luceat in tenebris, oriens ceu Lucifer, atris  
 Exemplis, verbis, lumen ubique tuum.  
 Non te divitiæ sæcli, non magna potestas,  
 Blanditiis faciat vera tacere quidem;  
 Nec Rex nec iudex etiam nec carus amicus  
 Os sacrum claudat a pietate tuum.  
 Est breve nam tempus vitæ et præsentis in annis,  
 Atque pede tacito mors citius properat,  
 Exossisque tuæ digitis ferit ostia vitæ;  
 Ingrediens secum quicquid habes rapit.  
 Nunc idcirco diem atque hoc inamabile tempus  
 Prævideas semper nocte dieque tibi,  
 Utque domus patrem vigilantem Christus ab arce  
 Inveniat veniens, tumque beatus eris.  
 Felix illa dies vocem qua Judicis almi  
 Auditurus eris proque labore tuo  
 Tunc gaudens "intra nimium Mi serve fidelis  
 Æterni æternus regna beata Patris."  
 Tunc memor esto mei, et dic "mitissime Christe  
 Pauperis Albini nunc miserere precor."  
 Nos nunc velivoli pelagi spectamus in horis  
 Quando Deo adveniat, quando serena dies.  
 Tuque iter hoc nostrum devoto pectore posco  
 Ad Christum precibus auxiliare piis.

[MSS. Cotton, *Vespasian A. XIV.* fo. 152,  
*Tiberius A. XV.* fo. 123.]

<sup>a</sup> Printed here for the first time. The words in brackets are interlined in the Vespasian MS.

[GRANT OF ÆTHELHEARD TO HIS CHURCH.]

A.D. 805. *Gift of land by Archbishop Ethelheard to the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, in pursuance of a synodal decision.*

Ego Æthilheardus metropolitanæ civitatis in Dorobernia Archiepiscopus, pro amore Domini nostri Jesu Christi et pro absolutione meorum criminum, terram quattuor aratorum, nomine æt Burnan, in occidentali parte Beorahames, sanctæ familiæ Ecclesiæ Christi in propriam possessionem donabo; et obsecro in nomine Domini omnes pontifices nostros successores, ut omne bonum quod in illa terra lucrificetur fratres sibi singulariter ad mensam suam habeant et ad alteram necessitatem faciant qua illis bona et spontanea voluntate maxime utile videatur. Hanc prænominatam terram quidam homo bonus nomine Aldhun, qui in hac regali villa inlustris civitatis præfectus fuit, pro intuitu æternæ mercedis, fratribus nostris ad mensam tradidit; sed sancta Ecclesia Christi sine norma justitiæ cum rapacitate cujusdam Regis de sua terra privata est, et nos auxiliante Domino iterum illam justo et synodali judicio restituere huic sanctæ familiæ curavimus. Rogamus etiam amicos nostros, id est, reges et pontifices et omnes qui potestatem in hac provincia habeant, ut semper augere his fratribus et non minuere suum bonum dignentur; et certe credimus eo magis Deum omnipotentem illis augere æterna bona in cælestibus regnis.

Actum fuit .DCCC.V. anno Incarnationis Christi, XIII. Indictione.

Testium nomina hic infra caraxata sunt:

✠ Ego Æthilheard Archiepiscopus cum vexillo crucis Christi confirmavi. ✠ Ego Biornmod Episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Eanred præpositus. ✠ Biornhard præpositus. ✠ Monna presbyter. ✠ Cuba presbyter. ✠ Wlfhard presbyter. ✠ Ciolstan presbyter. ✠ Oswlf presbyter. ✠ Paul presbyter. ✠ Heamund presbyter. ✠ Heremod presbyter. ✠ Wlfred archidiaconus. ✠ Guthmund. ✠ Eadred diaconus. ✠ Goda subdiaconus. ✠ Wine.

✠ Ego Cuthred Rex Cantix consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cudaman abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Feologeld abbas et subscripsi. ✠ Aldberht subscripsi. ✠ Oswlf dux subscripsi. ✠ Esne subscripsi. ✠ Berhtnoth subscripsi. ✠ Heahfirth subscripsi. ✠ Sigehard subscripsi. [K. C. D., CLXXXIX., from the original MS. Cotton, Aug. II, 55; MS. Lambeth 1212, fo. 314.]

XV. WULFRED<sup>a</sup>, A.D. 805-832.

[“Wulfredus gratia Dei Archiepiscopus” (*K. C. D.*, *CXCI*). “Wulfredus Domini inspirante gratia Christi Ecclesie antistes” (*K. C. D.*, *CXCV*). “Archipontifex Wlfredus Metropolitanus” (*K. C. D.*, *CC*).

- A.D. 805. Consecrated<sup>b</sup>. Synod at Acle.
- A.D. 806. Receives the pall (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.; *A. S. C.*, ad A.D. 804; *Flor. Wig.*, ad ann. 804; *M. H. B.* 341, 547).
- A.D. 807. Probable date of the death of Cuthred King of Kent<sup>c</sup>, and of the beginning of Wulfred's difficulties with Kenulf (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.).
- A.D. 808. Banishment and restoration of Eardulf King of Northumbria (*Einbard. Ann.*, *Pertz*, I. 195, 196).
- A.D. 809. Wulfred has a grant of land at Beoreham from Kenulf dated at Croydon, and confirmed by the Kentish nobles at Canterbury in A.D. 810 (*MS. Lambeth 1212*, p. 390).
- A.D. 810. Synod at Acle (*K. C. D.*, *CCLVI*). Eanred King of Northumbria (*Sim. Dun. Hist. Dun.* c. 13).
- A.D. 811. Witenagemot at London (*K. C. D.*, *CXCVI*). Dedication of Winchelcomb Abbey (*K. C. D.*, *CXCVII*. Questionable). Wulfred bestows land on Christ Church (*K. C. D.*, *CXCV*).
- A.D. 812. Wulfred exchanges lands in East Kent with Kenulf (*K. C. D.*, *CXCIX*). He has a grant of land at Feversham attested by bishops Ethelnoth, Denebert, and Ethelwulf, dated Oct. 31 at London (*MS. Lambeth 1212*, p. 390).
- A.D. 813. Wulfred grants a privilege to the family at Christ Church, Canterbury (*K. C. D.*, *CC*).
- A.D. 814. Wulfred, with Wigbert Bishop of Sherborne, visits Rome “pro negotiis Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ,” and returns (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.; *Flor. Wig.*, *A. S. C.*, ad A.D. 812, 813). He attests a charter of Kenulf, Dec. 26th (*K. C. D.*, *CCCIII*).
- A.D. 816. Great Council of Celchyth. First year of the “ducatu” or hegemony of Egbert of Wessex (*K. C. D.*, *MXXXV*).
- A.D. 817. Wulfred attests charters of Kenulf (*K. C. D.*, *CCXI*, *CCXII*). Probable commencement of his great quarrel with him.
- A.D. 821. Charter of Kenulf to the monastery of Abingdon (*K. C. D.*, *CCXIV*).
- A.D. 822 or late in A.D. 821. Death of Kenulf and Kenelm. Succession of Ceolwulf as King of Mercia (*Flor. Wig.*, *A. S. C.*, ad A.D. 819; *M. H. B.* 342, 547.) Witenagemot at Bydictun (*K. C. D.*, *CCXVI*).
- A.D. 823. Witenagemot at Werburgingwic, attended by Wulfred, Ethelwald Bishop of Lichfield, and Beornmod of Rochester, in which a grant is made to Wulfred, May 26 (*K. C. D.*, *CCXVII*). Deposition of Ceolwulf; Beornwulf King in Mercia, Baldred in Kent.
- A.D. 824. Synod or Witenagemot of Clovesho (*K. C. D.*, *CCXVIII*; *A. S. C.*, *Flor. Wig.*, ad A.D. 822; *M. H. B.* 342, 547). West-Saxon Witenagemot (*K. C. D.*, *MXXXI*).
- A.D. 825. Synod at Clovesho. Conquest of Cornwall by Egbert (*A. S. C.*, ad A.D. 823). Defeat of Beornwulf at Ellandune by Egbert (*A. S. C.*, ad A.D. 823). Conquest of Kent and deposition of Baldred<sup>d</sup>.



## [WULFRED ARCHBISHOP.]

- A.D. 826. Death of Beornwulf King of Mercia and succession of Ludecan (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.).
- A.D. 828. Death of Ludecan King of Mercia, and succession of Wiglaf, who is immediately expelled by Egbert (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.).
- A.D. 830. Restoration of Wiglaf King of Mercia (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.).
- A.D. 831. Wulfred attests an act of Wiglaf King of Mercia, Aug. 28 (*K. C. D.*, CCXXVII.).
- A.D. 832. Death of Wulfred<sup>e</sup> (*R. Wendover*, ad ann.), March 24 (*A. S.*, I. 53.)]

<sup>a</sup> Of Wulfred's previous history nothing is known except that he had been archdeacon under Ethelheard. He was, therefore, in all probability a Kentish man, and he certainly had considerable private estates in that kingdom; see *K. C. D.*, CXCIV., CXCIX., CCXXV. This may account for the fact that he had no difficulties with the Kentish nobles, whilst after the first few years of his pontificate he was engaged in constant struggles with Mercia. It is observable that whilst the coins of Ethelheard bear the names of Offa and Kenulf on the reverse, those of Wulfred that are extant bear only the inscription of "Dorobernia Civitas," or "Doroberniæ Civitatis," or the name of the moneyer. See *Ruding, Annals of the Coinage*, vol. V. pl. 13.

<sup>b</sup> According to a MS. note in a 17th century hand in MS. Cleopatra E. I, Wulfred was consecrated July 21, A.D. 807. See also *Ang. Sac.*, I. 790. By itself this is of no authority, and the year is certainly wrong; but the day, if not confounded with that of the consecration of Ethelheard (July 21, A.D. 793), may have been found by the annotator in some early Kalendar. There is, however, more reason to suppose that the ceremony took place a few days later; see p. 559, note <sup>a</sup>, below.

<sup>c</sup> The Chronicle dates this in A.D. 805; but as Cuthred reigned nine years from A.D. 798, not from A.D. 796, the later date, which is given by Roger of Wendover, is preferable.

<sup>d</sup> The difficulties of the chronology which arise from the mistaken date of A.D. 800 for 802 as the year of Egbert's accession here become almost overwhelming; the years 825-828 being years of war and affording no perfectly trustworthy charters by which the faulty chronology of the Chronicles can be corrected. The following may be regarded as an approximation:—

1. Egbert's expedition against the Britons of Cornwall, dated by the Chronicles and by Florence of Worcester in A.D. 823, is placed by Henry of Huntingdon in the 24th year of Egbert, and may be fixed by the charters (*K. C. D.*, MXXXIII., &c.) to A.D. 825.

2. The conquest of Kent by Ethelwulf and Ealhstan is dated by the Chronicles and by

Florence in A.D. 823. Henry of Huntingdon gives King Baldred, however, a reign of eighteen years, which, counting from the death of Cuthred in A.D. 807, brings down the date to A.D. 825. Roger of Wendover, who represents an early independent authority, places it in A.D. 827. Upon this point a subordinate, but not unimportant, question arises; namely, at what date did Ethelwulf become King of Kent. There is a charter of Egbert to Rochester dated A.D. 823, but corrected by the Indiction to A.D. 828, in which the King states that he has made Ethelwulf King in Kent (*K. C. D.*, CCXXIII.); and another dated A.D. 845, but corrected by Kemble to A.D. 830, which Ethelwulf attests as "Rex Cantuariorum" (*K. C. D.*, CCXXIV.). He is also spoken of as King in the will of Wulfred, which must have been drawn up in its present form about A.D. 833 (*K. C. D.*, CCXXV.). On the other hand, there is a charter of Egbert as King of Kent dated A.D. 773, to be corrected to A.D. 833, in which no mention is made of Ethelwulf (*K. C. D.*, CCXXXIV.); and one of A.D. 835, attested by him as *filius regis*.—All that can be certainly concluded is that he was entitled King of Kent some years before his father's death.

3. The date of the defeat of Beornwulf at Ellandune is placed by the Chronicles and Florence in A.D. 823, to be corrected as usual to A.D. 825; to which year it is referred by Roger of Wendover. The death of Beornwulf is placed by the two former authorities in the same year; but by Roger of Wendover in A.D. 826, with which computation agrees the statement which gives him four years. His successor, Ludecan, reigned two years, falling in A.D. 828 (*R. Wendover*), before Egbert. Wiglaf succeeded, but was immediately expelled, and after three years of exile admitted to the throne as a tributary of Wessex. He calls A.D. 831 the first year of his second reign (*K. C. D.*, CCXXVII.), and A.D. 836 the seventh (*K. C. D.*, CCXXXVII.). This second reign must therefore have begun sometime after August 31, A.D. 830 (*K. C. D.*, CCXXXVII.); and this computation confirms Roger of Wendover's reckoning.

<sup>e</sup> The death of Wulfred is placed by the

[SYNOD AT ACLE.]

Chronicles and Florence in A.D. 829; by Henry of Huntingdon in the year after the accession of Wiglaf (*M. H. B.* 733); by Roger of Wendover in A.D. 832. As he attests the charter of Wiglaf, August 28, A.D. 831, and as his obit was kept at Canterbury on the 24th of March (*Ang. Sac.*, I. 53), it is probable that he died in A.D. 832; with which would agree the computation of twenty-eight years to his pontificate, if we may so correct the

statement of the Canterbury writers, who give it as "XXXVIII." (*Ang. Sac.*, I. 3, 83; *Ger-vase*, 1642, &c.). The document known as the will of Wulfred seems to have been drawn up after his death; at all events it is attested by his successor (*K. C. D.*, CCXXV.); but this might be by way of confirmation.—Wulfred's archdeacon, we learn from this will and another charter (*K. C. D.*, CCXXIV.), was Kynehard.

A.D. 805, August. *Synod or Witenagemot of Acleah, in which Cuthred King of Kent grants lands at Bockholt to Wulfred.*

✠ ANNO ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi DCCC<sup>o</sup>.Uo. indictione XIII., Ego Cuthred Rex Cantiã cum licentia Cœnulf Regis Merciã, octavo anno regni mei a Deo concessi, Wulfredo sedenti in Archiepiscopatus solio<sup>a</sup> duorum aratorum terræ in perpetuum donabo. Est itaque terra illa composita in occidentali parte XII. manentium quæ dicuntur Bocholt; hec duo aratra supra prædicta a quibusdam *campus armentorum* id est *Hritbra leah* appellantur; hoc autem modo, quasi pro compensatione in prætio XXX. mancusarum illi hanc prænominatam terram tradere curabo, ut communem silbam secundum antiquam consuetudinem cum ceteris hominibus abeat; potestas quoque ipsi datur ut in libertate terram habeat quamdiu vivat et postea cuicumque hominum voluerit in æternam libertatem derelinquat: si quis hanc largitionem illi augeat augeatur illi a Deo vita; si quis deminuerit, quod absid, deminuetur sibi gloria in Christo nisi satisfacione emendaverit.

Hujus confirmationis signa in celeberrimo loco Hacleah nominato exponuntur II. nunas sanctas agustus die sabbati quo transfiguratus est Christus.

✠ Ego Cœnwlf Rex Merciorum consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cuthred Rex Cantiã<sup>b</sup> consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Aldwlf Episcopus. ✠ Werenberht Episcopus. ✠ Deneberht Episcopus. ✠ Eadwlf Episcopus. ✠ Wulfhard Episcopus. ✠ Alhheard Episcopus. ✠ Tidferth Episcopus. ✠ Osmund Episcopus. ✠ Wiohthun Episcopus. ✠ Wigberht Episcopus. ✠ Alhmund Episcopus. ✠ Beornmod Episcopus. [✠ Halmund abbas. ✠ Beonna abbas.] . . . . . ✠ Wernoth abbas. ✠ Dudan abbas. ✠ Feolageld abbas. ✠ Heaberht dux. ✠ Beornnoth dux. ✠ Cynehelm dux. ✠ Tidwlf dux. ✠ Wicgga dux. ✠ Ceolward dux. ✠ Ceolberht dux. ✠ Dynne dux. ✠ Wigheard

[LETTER OF THE BISHOPS TO LEO III.]

dux. ✠ Byrnwald dux. ✠ Heardberht comes. ✠ Cuthred presbyter. [K. C. D., CXC., from the original MS. Cotton, Augustus, II. 87; MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 389.]

<sup>a</sup> As this charter is granted to Wulfred "sedenti in Archiepiscopatus solio" on the 6th of August, his predecessor having died on the 12th of May preceding, it would appear to be certain that the election, if not also the consecration, of the new Archbishop had taken place between these two dates. It appears further from a charter of A.D. 811 (K. C. D., CXCVI.), that the 1st of August in that year was regarded as falling in the sixth year of Wulfred, a statement which implies that his consecration took place later than August 1, A.D. 805. If this may be relied upon, and if the words of the charter given above really imply that Wulfred was Archbishop at the time of the granting of the charter, the date of his consecration must be placed between August 1 and August 6; or, supposing it to have been, as was usual, performed on a Sunday, on the 3rd of August. Although this charter does not expressly describe Wulfred as Archbishop, there is another charter of Cuthred, also confirmed by Kenulf, and attested by eleven out of the twelve Bishops who attest the above, and by Wulfred as Archbishop (K. C. D., CXCI.); and as it seems improbable

that Kenulf and Cuthred should hold two synods attended by all the Bishops of the province, in Kent, within two years, for the death of Cuthred cannot be thrown later than A.D. 807, it may be reasonably inferred that this second charter, which is undated, was granted in the same assembly; in which case the absence of the attestation of Wulfred may be accounted for on the ground that he was the recipient of the grant. If this be admitted as probable, it follows that Wulfred was elected and consecrated by the assembled Bishops on this occasion; and as the solemnity would most naturally take place at Canterbury, that the Acleah or Hacleah at which the charter was granted was within two or three days' journey of that city.

<sup>b</sup> Cuthred was made King of Kent by his brother Kenulf on the deposition of Eadbert Præn (*Flor. Wig., App. M. H. B.* 635); i.e. in A.D. 798 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 670). His eighth year thus falls in A.D. 805. He reigned nine years (*Flor. Wig. l. c.*; *H. Hunt., M. H. B.* 734), and his death may be referred accordingly to A.D. 807, although placed by the Chronicle two years earlier.

A.D. 805<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of the English Bishops to Pope Leo III. on the obligation of the Archbishop elect to go to Rome for his Pall.*

OMNES EPISCOPI ET SACERDOTES TOTIUS BRITANNIÆ INSULÆ venerabili Papæ Leoni salutem in Christo.

Notum fore cupimus almitati vestræ, sicut legimus in historiis Anglorum, scribente Beda, historiographo et laudabili doctore nostro, quod non tam ingens labor incumbere anterioribus nostris, scilicet pallii gratia Romam usque fatigari, quemadmodum postea mos inolevit. Scripsit namque ipse præfatus doctor, quod beatus papa Gregorius Augustinum prædicatorem genti Anglorum direxerit, non Episcopum ordinatum, sed monachum, cum aliis ejusdem religionis cooperatibus. Ipse namque Augustinus post conversionem prædictæ gentis ab Ætherio, Arelatensi Archiepiscopo Archiepiscopus ordinatus est, juxta quod jussa sancti patris Gregorii acceperat. Postea vero Augustinus successorem sibi Laurentium, adhuc vivens, ordinavit, exemplum sequens beati Petri, principis apostolorum, qui Clementem adiutorem et successorem sibi consecrasset perhibetur. Post Laurentium Mellitus sedem Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ suscepit.

[LETTER OF THE BISHOPS TO LEO III.]

Et post Mellitum, Justus; qui ambo susceperunt scripta exhortatoria a pontifice Romanæ et apostolicæ sedis Bonifacio, data sibi ordinandi Episcopos auctoritate; cujus auctoritatis ista est forma. "*Dilectissimo fratri Justo* BONIFACIUS. Pallium per latorem præsentium fraternitati tuæ benignitatis studiis invitati direximus, concedentes etiam tibi ordinationes Episcoporum, exigente opportunitate, Domini præveniente misericordia, celebrare; ita ut Christi evangelium plurimorum adnunciatione in omnibus gentibus, quæ necdum conversæ sunt, dilatetur<sup>b</sup>," et cætera. Nam iste Justus antea ab Augustino Episcopus ordinatus est, sicut et Mellitus. Ipse quoque Justus ordinavit Paulinum Episcopum; et Honorius papa misit pallium ipsi Paulino, ubi gentem Nordanhymbrorum cum suo rege ad fidem Christi, Paulino evangelizante, conversam esse didicit. Qui Paulinus, post obitum prædicti Justi, Honorium Dorovernensi Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopum ordinavit; cui etiam præfatus papa Honorius misit pallium et literas, in quibus continentur hæc:

"*Dilectissimo fratri Honorio* HONORIUS salutem. Juxta vestram petitionem et filiorum nostrorum regum vobis, per præsentem nostram præceptionem, vice beati Petri, apostolorum principis, auctoritatem tribuimus, ut quando unum ex vobis Divina ad se jusserit gratia evocari, is, qui superstes fuerit, alterum in loco defuncti debeat Episcopum ordinare: pro qua etiam re singula vestræ dilectioni pallia pro eadem ordinatione celebranda direximus, ut per nostræ præceptionis auctoritatem possitis Deo placitam ordinationem efficere: quia, ut hæc vobis concederemus, longa terrarum marisque intervalla, quæ inter nos ac vos obsistunt, ad hæc nos condescendere coegerunt; ut nulla possit ecclesiarum vestrarum jactura per cujuslibet occasionis obtentum quoquomodo provenire, sed potius commissi vobis populi devotionem plenius propagare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater<sup>c</sup>."

Item Albinus vel Alquinus maximus librarius scripsit ad Offam, regem Anglorum, dicens, quod Archiepiscopus semper ab Archiepiscopo debeat ordinari, et pallium ei debet mitti a domno apostolico. Sed regum dissensiones hanc turbaverunt ordinationem, ita ut non potuerit fieri, quod fieri debuit; quamvis sancti canones firmissime decrevissent, nunquam ob regum dissensiones ecclesiastica statuta violari debuisse. Tunc temporis impleverunt sancti et apostolici viri illud laudabile præceptum Salvatoris nostri, dicentis: "Gratis accepistis, gratis date." Tunc sine viribus elanguit Simoniaca

## [LETTER OF THE BISHOPS TO LEO III.]

hæresis, quia non pecunia emebatur donum Dei, sed gratis, sicut Ipse jusserat, donabatur. Timendum est tamen vendentibus gratiam Dei hoc quod Petrus apostolus Simoni dicebat: "Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione; non est tibi pars, neque sors in sermone hoc." [*Anglia Sacra*, I. 461, 462, from MS. Cotton Vesp. A. XIV. fo. 176; *W.*, I. 166.]

<sup>a</sup> As this letter appears to have been written on the occasion of a vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and as the only such vacancy during the pontificate of Leo III. was that caused by the death of Ethelheard, it may be regarded as probably to be dated in A.D. 805, and possibly to have been drawn up in the council in which Wulfred was elected. The letter is apparently a fragment only, and may in its integrity have contained an account of the election of the Archbishop and a petition for the pall to be sent to him. It may be questioned whether the Pope Leo in question were Leo III. or one of the later popes bearing that name. On the one hand, there is scanty evidence of the prevalence of the

custom of going to Rome for the pall before this date; and the Archbishops of York certainly did not do so; moreover, the reference to Alcuin as a great authority, within so short a time after his death, may seem to point to a later date. It is, on the other hand, almost impossible to point out the coincidence of a vacancy at Canterbury with the pontificate of any of the later popes of the name of Leo: and the letters which appear in close proximity with this in the Cotton MS. can be referred only to Leo III. According to the Chronicle, Wulfred received his pall the year after his consecration (*M. H. B.* 341), that is, A.D. 806.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 73.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 84.

A.D. 808. *Appeal of Eardulf the deposed King of Northumbria to the Pope and Emperor, and his restoration to the throne by their interference.*

EINHARD. ANN., *ad ann.* 808.—Interea Rex Nordanhumbroꝝ de Britannia insula, nomine Eardulf<sup>a</sup>, regno et patria pulsus, ad imperatorem dum adhuc Noviomagi moraretur venit, et patefacto adventus sui negotio, Romam<sup>b</sup> proficiscitur, Romaque rediens per legatos Romani pontificis et domini imperatoris in regnum suum reducitur. Præerat tunc temporis Ecclesiæ Romanæ Leo Tertius, cujus legatus ad Britanniam directus est Aldulfus<sup>c</sup> diaconus de ipsa Britannia, et cum eo ab imperatore missi abbates duo Hrotfridus<sup>d</sup> notarius et Nantharius abbas de Sancto Audemaro. [Ed. Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.*, I. 195.]

<sup>a</sup> Eardulf was deposed and banished after a reign of twelve years (*H. Hunt.*, *M. H. B.* 735), that is, dating the beginning of his reign from May, A.D. 796, in the latter half of A.D. 807, or the beginning of A.D. 808. The Imperial Court was at Nimeguen at Easter, A.D. 808. The *A. S. C.* (*M. H. B.* 341) places the deposition in A.D. 806, which may be thus corrected to the usual extent. Simeon of Durham, however (*Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.*, II. 5, ed. Twysden, c. 13), places the banishment in the tenth year of Eardulf; and makes Ælfwold hold the kingdom for two years,

after which Eanred the son of Eardulf succeeds for thirty-three years. Roger of Wendover places the expulsion of Eardulf in A.D. 808, and the accession of Eanred in A.D. 810.

<sup>b</sup> The visit of Eardulf to Rome which followed his visit to the Emperor almost immediately; and the whole transaction seems to have been concluded before the end of the year. It appears from the second letter of Leo, given below, that the legates had returned to Rome before the 31st of December.

<sup>c</sup> Aldulf, called by Leo *Hadulf*; see below.

<sup>d</sup> Hrotfridus, abbot of S. Amand (*Pertz*).

[LETTER OF LEO III. TO CHARLES ON ENGLISH AFFAIRS.]

A.D. 808. *Letter of Leo III. to the Emperor Charles, on the relations between the Kings of Northumbria and Mercia and their respective Archbishops.*

*Domino piissimo et serenissimo, victori ac triumphatori, filio amatori Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Karolo augusto, LEO EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.*

Explere verbis, clementissime fili, non valeo, quantum vestro opere vestraque vita delector. Magnas igitur omnipotenti Deo gratias reddimus. Quia in ore cordis experimento dulcis fit sapor caritatis, cum impleatur, quod scriptum sit: "Sicut aqua frigida sitienti, sic nuntius bonus de terra longinqua."

Serenitatis itaque vestræ suscepti plenam consolationis epistolam, continuo, ut decuit, gratiarum actiones omnipotenti Deo rettulimus, Qui vestram imperialem potentiam pacis ecclesiasticæ fecit esse custodem. Ipsa namque fides vos servat, quam erga sanctam Dei catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, fautricem et auxiliatricem in omnibus petitionibus vestris, atque in sacerdotali unitate, servatis. Cumque vos jugo pietatis cor vestrum humiliter nostræ pusillanimitati subditis, cælesti gratia agitur: ut omnia, quæ circa Deum et vestræ piissimæ voluntati agere cupitis, Divino adjutorio suffragati ad perfectionem secundum vestrum benivolum desiderium deducitis et vestrum brachium forte contra inimicos sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ et vestros extenditis. Dilectionem igitur atque firmam caritatem, quam erga serenitatem vestram gerimus, est Deus in cælis scrutator corda et renes, Qui scit, qualem amorem et sollicitudinem de vestra diutissima prosperitate cottidie habemus. Quia post Deum et sanctos Suos nullum consolatorem habemus nisi solam vestram a Deo protectam imperialem potentiam, unde semper exspectamus defensionem et consolationem.

Relectis itaque vestris imperialibus syllabis, repperimus in eis, quatinus Helmengaudus comes, vester nosterque fidelis, omnia, quicquid a nobis audivit, vobis per singula nuntiavit. Sed si omnia, quæ cotidie patimur, vobis insinuasset, tam ipse quam etiam ceteri missi vestri, qui istis partibus veniunt, fastidium eos auribus vestris facere credimus. Nescimus enim, si vestra fuit demandatio, quod missi vestri, qui venerunt ad justitiam faciendam, detulerunt secum homines plures et per singulas civitates constituerunt. Quia omnia, secundum quod solebat dux, qui a nobis erat constitutus, per distractionem diversarum causarum tollere et nobis more solito annue tribuere, ipsi

eorum homines peregerunt. Et multam collectionem fecerunt de ipso populo. Unde ipsi duces minime possunt suffragium nobis plenissime præsentare. Sed valde nobis gravis esse videtur, si vobis fastidium facimus. Confidimus enim in Dei misericordia, quia in vestris temporibus sancta Dei ecclesia tranquilla atque pacifica persistere habebit.

De autem omnibus bonis et prosperis, quæ circa missum nostrum, quem in partibus Britanniæ ad Anglorum gentem direximus, omnia pro amore beati Petri apostoli fautoris vestri operati estis, sicut solita est vestra clementia, magnas gratias vestræ pietati exinde agimus; quia semper in solatio sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ et adjutorio orthodoxæ fidei decertatis. Sed sicut nobis per vestram honorabilem epistolam insinuastis, quod Eardulfus Rex de regno suo ejectus fuisset, jam hoc per Saxones agnoveramus. Unde maxime ipsum missum nostrum pro ipsa nequitia illic direximus. Magnum enim gaudium et magna lætitia in corde nostro ascendit pro eo, quod vestra pietas misit missos suos, et vivum eum ad vos usque perduxistis. Et valde de vita ejus delector; quia et vester semper fidelis extitit, et ad nos missos suos dirigebat. Pro qua re vestra imperialis defensio ubique multipliciter resonat.

De vero epistolis, quibus vobis Eanbaldus Archiepiscopus et Cœnulfus Rex atque Wado<sup>a</sup> emisissent, relegentes, repperimus eorum dolositatem, quam inter se habent. Unde valde contristamur. Quia ipse prædictus Cœnulfus Rex nec suum Archiepiscopum<sup>b</sup> pacificatum habet nec istum Eanbaldum idem Archiepiscopum. Nam et de eorum divisione cotidie in confessionem beati Petri apostoli, licet velut inmeriti, preces fundimus, ut eos omnipotens Deus pacificet et discordiam, quam inter se habent, absolvat. Et sicut cœpit vestra serenitas in ipsam pacem nobiscum decertare, sic incessanter elaborare dignemini, quatinus vestra mercis copiosa accrescat in cælis.

Misistis siquidem nobis, ut nostræ apostolicæ auctoritatis adhortatoriam epistolam sæpe fato Eanbaldo Archiepiscopo cum idoneum missum nostrum mitteremus: ut ad hanc sanctam apostolicam sedem cum suis consentaneis venire debuissent, aut in vestra præsentia rationes deducendum. Nos vero statim ipsam epistolam dictavimus et vobis emisimus. Sed si placet serenitati vestræ, quod ipsam nostram epistolam per vestrum idoneum missum ipsis in partibus ad missum, quem ibidem direximus, misissetis, ut una cum prædicto misso nostro ipsum Archiepiscopum adhortasset, quatinus aut hic in

[LETTER OF LEO III. TO CHARLES.]

nostra præsentia aut ibidem in vestra una cum sociis suis conjunxisset, valde nobis recte visum fuerat. Quia missum nostrum nondum suscepimus; et ipsi homines dolosi sunt, ut ne, missos super missos suscipientes, in dolositate eveniant. Verumtamen nos missum nostrum præparamus, donec secundum vestrum placitum demandetis. Et si placet vestræ imperiali potentiæ, ut missum nostrum ibidem dirigamus, vos nobis per vestram insinuationem significare jubeamini; et nos statim ipsum missum nostrum dirigemus secundum vestram voluntatem.

Omnipotens enim et misericors Deus Sua vos protectione longa per tempora conservare dignetur, atque æterna gaudia cum sanctis omnibus faciat possidere. Piissimum domini imperium gratia superna custodiat, eique omnium gentium colla substernat.

## EMBOLIM.

Pro tanto amore tantaque dilectione atque fide, quam erga vestram serenitatem gerimus, ea, quæ agnoscere valemus, silere non possumus.

Jesse vero Episcopus<sup>e</sup>, serviens vester, aliud servitium vobis facere potest. Nam missaticum per patrias deportare, non nobis videtur quod idoneus sit, neque ad secretum consilium provocandus. Sed rogamus vestram clementiam, ut de hac re clementer considerare debeatis; quia nos omnes in vestro servitio salvi existere cupimus.

De autem sacerdotalibus causis, unde nobis ad detrimentum venire speramus, quæ nos non sic possumus emendare, vobis insinuamus, ut interrogetis Helmengaudum et Hunfridum fideles vestros, quando a nobis absoluti sunt et in Ravenna conjunxerunt, et ab Archiepiscopo ad prandium invitati, id est Dominico die ad palmas: quales lectiones et quales ammonitiones ante ipsa mensa recitatas audierunt, sicut decet in sancto quadragesimali tempore, quando omnes de suis facinoribus Deum deprecantur, ut mereantur emendare. Sed et ea, quæ ibidem audierunt, nobis turpitudine est vobis in scriptis insinuare. [*Jaffé, Monumenta Carolina*, pp. 311-315; *Mansi*, XIII. 969.]

<sup>a</sup> The "dux" Wada had been in arms against Eardulf as early as A.D. 798, when he was defeated and banished (*Sim. Dun., M.H.B.* 670). This revolt against Eardulf was occasioned by an act of adultery, according to Alcuin (*Leland, Collectanea*, II. 398). It is probable that Wada took refuge with Kenulf, who was engaged in war on account of the Northumbrian exiles in A.D. 801 (*Sim. Dun., M. H. B.* 672). Archbishop Eanbald seems

to have been involved early in the quarrel (above, pp. 534, 535), but what his relations to the contending kings were at this moment, is uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> We learn incidentally from this that the quarrel between Wulfred and Kenulf was now notorious; but the open hostility between them must be dated a few years later; see below, p. 586.

<sup>c</sup> Of Amiens.



A.D. 808. *Letter of Leo III. to the Emperor Charles, excusing his messenger Aldulf the deacon, and sending him with the messenger of Archbishop Eanbald to the Imperial Court.*

*Domino piissimo et serenissimo, victori ac triumphatori, filio amatori Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Karolo augusto, LEO EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.*

Omnes enim, qui se nobis fideles asseruerint, si vestræ imperiali potentiae sic fideles non extiterint, ita ut omnes pacem atque dilectionem, quam Deo miserante erga sanctam Dei catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam matrem vestram et nos geritis, cognoscere valeant, vacua est spes eorum, et labor eorum sine fructu, et inutilia sunt opera illorum; exceptis his, qui per ignorantiam in aliquod, ut homo, fefellerint. Verumtamen et ipsi corrigendi esse judicamus.

Misit siquidem nobis vestra serenitas: eo quod Hadulfus diaconus, missus nostræ apostolicæ sedis, cum a vobis more solito benigne et honorifice susceptus esset et usque ad portum maris deductus atque exinde ad navigationem commode absolutus, et—cum verteretur—ad vos primum se velle venire profiteretur, noluit missum vestrum expectare, qui eum usque ad vos deduceret; sed, arrepto itinere quasi fugiens, cum vos illum per dies aliquot exspectaretis, ad vos venturum sperantes, spem vestram delusit. Et quoniam missum Eanbaldi Archiepiscopi—qui et ipse litteras suas ad vos misit petens, ut prædictum legatum ejus ad vos venientem bene susciperetis, et eum ad nos venire permetteretis—sed neque ille secundum domini sui præceptum peragere studuit.

Quam ob rem credat nobis vestra serenitas, karissime ac dulcissime fili, quia per nullum iniquum quodlibet consilium hoc facere perpassi sunt; sed, ignorantes sæculi hujus solertia, hanc stolidam occurrencem perfecerunt.

Nos vero, apostolica suffulti auctoritate, secundum vestram voluntatem vestræ imperiali potentiae eos dirigere non omittimus. Sed precamur clementiam vestram: ut pro amore beati Petri apostoli fautoris vestri—in cujus servitio prædictum Hadulfum diaconum sub juramento emisimus, immo etiam in ipsum, quod nobis sub jurando pollicitus est, ut ad profectum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ et vestrum atque nostrum decertare debuisset et pacem in ipsa insula seminare

[MISSION OF THE DEACON ALDULF.]

studuisset, iterum ipsis in partibus remittimus—nullam pro hac re sustineat tribulationem; ut cum propheta dicere valeat: “Corripiet me justus in misericordia.” Quis enim vestram a Deo datam sapientiam inludere valebit? cum superna gratia sicut vos procul dubio credimus ut habeatis. Sed quia homines sumus et fallimur, petimus pietatem vestram, ut hanc eorum noxam beato Petro apostolo concedere non dedignemini; ut ab ipso clavigero regni cælestis premium mercedis suscipere mereatis.

De autem quod nobis emisit vestra serenitas, fraudulentam eos habere legationem, quam vobis ostendere timuerunt, et quia propter hoc tam festinanter profecti sunt, ut Ardulfi Regis iter Romam prævenire potuissent; omnes epistolæ, quæ de partibus illis nobis perlatæ sunt, pro vestra satisfactione vobis emisimus legendas.

Prædictum vero missum Eanbaldi Archiepiscopi, in quantum Deo auspice agnoscere valuimus, in omnibus Dei famulum eum comperimus. Unde obnixè quæsumus vestram imperialem potentiam, ut pro eo, quod ad fautorem vestrum beatum Petrum apostolum directus est, melius illi sit, et non deterius; sicut modis omnibus esse credimus, quamquam ignoranter fefellit. Quia valde pertimescimus, ne ipse populus acquisitionis sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ per quamlibet occansionem certamen prædecessoris mei domni Gregorii beatissimi papæ, quod ipsis in partibus posuit, meis temporibus infructuosum existere videatur, nec mihi in iudicio eveniat. Quid plura dicimus? Sicut per eorum stultitiã agnovimus in aliquod vestrum furorem, ita per infusionem sancti Spiritus velocius a vobis vestram sentiamus misericordiam.

His præmissis, omnipotens et misericors Deus Sua vos a malis omnibus protectione custodiat et, quoniam vita vestra bonis omnibus valde est necessaria, post longa adhuc tempora vos ad cælestis patriæ gaudia perducatur. Piissimum domini imperium gratia superna custodiat, eique omnium gentium colla substernat.

Prædictæ vero epistolæ, quæ de Saxonix partibus nobis missæ sunt, magnopere precamur clementiam vestram, ut eas nobis remittere jubeatis. Quia eorum verba pro pignore retinemus.

Absoluta pridie Kal. Januar.<sup>a</sup> [*Jaffé, Monumenta Carolina*, pp. 315-317; *Mansi*, xiii. 974.]

<sup>a</sup> It would appear from this letter and the extract immediately following that Aldulf made two journeys to England on the pope's behalf: whether Eardulf was restored on the

first or second occasion it is impossible to say; the native historians say nothing about his restoration.

A.D. 809. *Letter of Leo III. to the Emperor Charles, mentioning the capture and deliverance of the legate Aldulf.* [Extract.]

*Domino piissimo et serenissimo, victori ac triumphatori, filio amatori Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Karolo Augusto, LEO EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.*

Remeante ad nos, Deo annuente, Sabino religioso Episcopo de partibus transmarinis, obtulit nobis serenitatis vestræ epistolam continentem de injuncta sibi legatione, vel captu atque redemptione Aldulfi diaconi<sup>a</sup>, missi nostri. De quo in magno mœrore manemus, quousque omnipotens Deus illum ad nos usque per vestrum deducat solatum. . . . [Jaffé, *Monumenta Carolina*, pp. 317, 318; *Mansi*, XIII. 972.]

<sup>a</sup> The story is thus told in Einhard's Annals (*Pertz*, I. 196), *ad ann.* 809. "Postquam Ardulfus Rex Nordanhumbroborum reductus est in regnum suum, et legati imperatoris atque pontificis reversi sunt, unus ex eis, Aldulfus

videlicet diaconus, a piratis captus est, cæteris sine periculo trajicientibus, ductusque ab eis est in Brittainia, a quodam Cœnulfii Regis homine redemptus est Romamque reversus."

A.D. 810. *Synod at Aclea, in which a dispute about the will of Oswulf Ealdorman of East Kent is settled*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ In nomine Dei summi Regis Æterni! Plerumque etenim contingere solet ut res possessæ hæreditatis acquisitæ in contentionem plerisque et altercationis conflictum deveniunt, nisi cum idoneis testibus et subscriptionibus sapientium et fidelium personarum testimoniis tractata et confirmata fuerint. Quapropter sapientes salubrem consilium prudentium quærunt, et cyrographorum cautionibus et heroicorum virorum testimoniis confirmantur, ne imposterum aliquibus altercationibus vel scrupulo falsi suspicionis corrumpuntur aut nebulo ignorantiae in aliquo fuscetur. Idcirco etenim Oswulf Dei gratia dux atque princeps provinciæ Orientalis Cantiae circa suæ propriæ hæreditatis jura tractare studuit. Et hoc coram beatæ memoriæ Wulfredo Archiepiscopo coramque abbatis Wernotho atque Feolgeldo cæterisque fidelissimis et religiosissimis, Ceolstano videlicet, Æthelhuno, atque Heremodo, presbyteris æcclesiæ Christi, necnon sæpe coram sociis suis et amicis fidissimis, qualiter post discessionem suam circa hæreditatem suam imposterum agere voluisse, id est ut post dies uxoris suæ et filii ejus Eardulfi, filiæ quoque suæ

[SYNOD AT ACLE.]

Ealfthrythæ, ad æcclesiis Dei omnia dare Deo et sanctis Ejus sibi in sempiternam hæreditatem sub eorum testimonia dare præcepit, a sicut in altera kartula manifeste et lucide comprobatur. Sed tamen post obitum Oswlfi ducis, surrexit excitata a quibusdam quæstio et contentio magna circa hæreditatem Oswlfi contra uxorem ejus Beornthrythæ; cujus altercationis conflictum neque a domino Archiepiscopo nec ab aliquibus personis inferioribus ullo modo sedare potuit, sed utrique partes ad synodale concilium advocari et invitari jubebantur: et cum ad synodum devenissent et diligenti investigatione veritatis sententia utrarumque partium a sancto synodo, quæ facta est in loco præclaro æt Aeclea, quærendo examinaretur, inventum est nihil justius nec rectius esse posse constare, quam sic perseverare hæreditatem Oswlfi sicut ipse Oswlfus prius proprio arbitrio per omnia donare coram prædictis testibus decreverat, atque ita hoc etiam ab illo sancto synodo perpetuæ perdurare dejudicatum est. Insuper etiam sancta illa synodus decrevere statuit ut illa altercatio nunquam amplius per aliquam inquietudinis discordiam post illum diem et deinceps excitando moveretur, et hoc cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi perenniter perdurare conscripserunt. Et si quis post hæc alicujus personis homo diabolica instigatus temeritate insurrexerit, qui hoc kanonica et synodalia decreta infringere temptaverit, a societate sanctorum omnium et a cœtu congregationis et communis ipsorum sciret se esse alienatum synodali judicio statuerunt. . . . [K. C. D., CCLVI, from *Somner, Antiquities of Canterbury*, ed. Battely, App. p. 77.]

<sup>a</sup> This synod took place thirty-four years before the final adjudication by Archbishop Ceolnoth in A.D. 844; and as no other reference to it exists, must on the authority of this document be thrown back to A.D. 810. Oswulf attests a charter of Cuthred about A.D. 805; but we have no Kentish charters between A.D. 805 and 810 which would

enable us to approximate more closely to the date of his death.

The document upon which the litigation arose is still preserved, in the *Cotton MS. Aug. II.* 79; a copy of it is found in the *Lambeth MS.* 1212, p. 406; and it is printed in *K. C. D.*, CCXXVI.

A.D. 805 x 811. *Profession of obedience made by Ethelnoth<sup>a</sup> Bishop of London to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO ETHELNODI LUNDONIENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Altithroni Conditoris æterni, Ego Ethelnodus electus Lundoniæ, humilis Christi famulus, suppliciter profiteor quia cum Omnipotentis Dei

[PROFESSIONS OF ETHELNOTH AND WIGTHEGN.]

auxilio Cujus consilium stat et omnis voluntas fiet, quia libenter quamdiu erit halitus in me et spiritus in naribus meis, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Salvatoris mundi, tibi Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, quem superna prævidet gratia et nobis prædestinat in patrem, devota et fideli mente deservire et obedire desidero, et illam sanctam et apostolicam fidem quam patres nostri digne servaverunt cum omni humilitate et obedientia Divina simul et humana, sicut prædecessores mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Ecclesiæ Christi subjuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter per omnia fateor. Et quod illi, hic et ibi, juste plebi Dei prædicaverunt et custodiendo impleverunt, hoc prædicare et observare non cesso, favente et volente pio Domino Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo, et obtemperantiæ semitam ad metropolitanam Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ sedem, vita comite, usque ad finem vitæ meæ cum auxilio Dei custodiam conservans, tibi que triumphali tropheo Crucis Christi reverentissimo præsuli Wulfredo sponsonum mearum manu propria perpetualiter finxera feci. ✠.  
 [MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 260; Reg. Cant. A. 1, fo. 243.]

<sup>a</sup> Ethelnoth succeeded Osmund (who was present at the synod of Acle in A.D. 805) before A.D. 811, when he is found attesting the interpolated charter of Winchelcomb, K. C. D.,

CXCVII. He also attests an unpublished charter of Kenulf dated A.D. 812, Oct. 31, at London (MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 391).

A.D. 805 × 811. *Profession of obedience made by Wigthegn<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Winchester to Archbishop Wulfred.*

PROFESSIO WIGTHEGNI WENTANI EPISCOPI.—In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Wigthegnus, humilis licet indignus ad episcopalem sedem Wentanæ civitatis electus, imprimis profiteor tibi, reverentissime pater Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, quod absque ambiguitate credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, Filium natum ac passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute. Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante seculum et regni Ejus non erit finis. Et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores Patres nostri devote servaverunt, cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sic ut prædecessores mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter fateor. Necnon et tibi, pater beatissime Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, veridica professione profiteor stabile obedientiæ præbere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsæ cogitationis, usque ad

[WITENAGEMOT AT LONDON.]

terminum vitæ meæ. ✠ Ego Wigthegnus mea propria manu perenni signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 261; *Reg. Cant. A. 1*, fo. 252.]

<sup>a</sup> The first occasion on which Wigthegn appears as attesting a charter is in A.D. 811, when, under the name of *Wignob*, he subscribes the forged or interpolated charter of Winchelcomb. From A.D. 814 onwards he regularly attests the acts passed in the greater synods and witenagemots, to A.D. 826, in which year the West-Saxon charters are witnessed both by him and by the person who is named as his successor in the ancient lists, Hereferth. This fact seems to point to an

unrecorded division of the bishopric of Winchester, on which more will be said later on. Whether Wigthegn is identical with the Bishop Wigferth who, according to the Chronicles, fell with Hereferth at the battle of Charmouth, is uncertain; but as no Bishop of the name of Wigferth at this period is known, it is probable that he was so. An ealdorman named Wigferth was, however, in existence in A.D. 833, and he may be the person intended.

A.D. 811. Aug. 1. *Witenagemot at London, in which Cœnulf sells lands in Kent to Archbishop Wulfred.*

✠ In nomine Dei summi Regis æterni. Anno autem incarnationis Ejusdem Domini Salvatoris mundi Jesu Christi DCCC°XI°. Indictione vero III., porro quoque imperii piissimi Regis Merciorum Cœnulf anno XV°, præsulatus etiam Wulfredi Archipontificis anno VI°. prima Kalendarum die Augustarum<sup>a</sup>, in loco præclaro oppidoque regali Lundaniæ vicu, concilium pergrande collectum habebatur: in quo videlicet ipso Rex Cœnulf atque Wulfred Archiepiscopus cum Coepiscopis illius duobus, verbi gratia Deneberht Huiciorum Episcopo, Æthelwulf Episcopo Australium Saxonum, cum principibus ducibusque et majores natu, quorum nomina infra craxantur. Inter alias quoque diversarum rerum causas in illo habentes concilio interpretatas, placuit pio Regi Cœnulfo cum consilio et consensu totius concilii illius, id est Episcoporum, principum, ducum, judicumve, majorumque natu, pro honore Dei Omnipotentis ac pro expiatione piaculorum ejus, atque pro reverentissima dilectione Wulfredi Archiepiscopi, seu etiam pro ejus larga pecuniarum remuneratione hoc est centum et viginti VI. mancosas pro his rebus in Occidentale Cantia in regione suburbanaque regis oppido ibi ab incolis Roegingaham nuncupato, terram duorum aratruum in locis nominatis illic ðæt Suiðhuning lond æt Grafon æa, atque rerum in civitate Dorovernia in Australe parte Ecclesie Salvatoris duas possessiunculas et tertiam dimediam, id est in nostra loquella ðridda half бага, et prata duo ad eas prius et modo pertinentia in orientale parte Sture fluminis sita. Cœnulf Rex has terrulas sui proprie puplicæ juris cum prædicto

[WITENAGEMOT AT LONDON.]

concilii consensu, ac pro cunctis antedictis causis, Wulfredo suo Archipontifici donare ac conscribere in propriam atque in perennem hæreditatem habendum fruendumque et ad tractandum cum campis, pascuis, pratibus, silvis, saltibus piscuosis, ac maritimis fretibus, paludibus, vallibusque dulcis salsuginesque salisque stationibus coctionesque, et cum cunctis fructibus interius exteriusque vel aliunde usquam ad eas rite vel umquam pertinentia, in talem sibi usum qualem semet ipsi utillimum optimumve fore videretur, firmiter plenterque dejudicavit. Integrum quoque libertatem his terrulis atque ruriculis Rex Cœnulf cum auctoritate supra dicti concilii decreverat, ut perpetue sint liberatæ ab omnibus publicis tributis et a cunctis regalium rerum vel operum debitis, sive principum seu ducum vel procuratorum, aut etiam ab omni sæcularium causarum rerumve gravidine, exceptis his debitis, id est pontis instructionem, et contra paganos expeditionem, atque arcis munitionem destructionemve, cum tamen hoc universo populo opportunitas summa poposcerit et necessitas eximia hoc agendum cunctos undicumque coherceret, tunc et illi rite sua reddent.

✠ Ego Cœnulf Domini misericordia Rex Merciorum hujus nostræ dationis ac libertatis remunerationem mente consona propriisque manibus crucis Christi signo confirmare roborareque st . . . . .

✠ Ælfþryð Regina consentiens subscripsit. ✠ Sigred Rex subscripsit. ✠ Wulfred Archiepiscopus Christi gratia subscripsit. ✠ Deneberht Episcopus subscripsit. ✠ Beornmod Episcopus subscripsit. ✠ Æthelwulf Episcopus subscripsit. ✠ Heardberht princeps subscripsit. ✠ Beornnoð princeps subscripsit. ✠ Cynehelm princeps subscripsit. ✠ Eadberht dux consentiens subscripsit. ✠ Ecgwulf dux consentiens subscripsit. ✠ Eanberht dux consentiens subscripsit. ✠ Heahferð dux consentiens subscripsit. ✠ Cyneberht propinquus ejus subscripsit. ✠ Cœnwald propinquus ejus subscripsit. ✠ Æðelheah pedes sessor subscripsit. ✠ Cuoenburg abbatissa subscripsit. ✠ Seleburg abbatissa subscripsit. ✠ Cuðred presbyter subscripsit<sup>b</sup>. [K. C. D., CXCVI., from MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 10.]

<sup>a</sup> This date is of importance in its bearing on the question of Wulfred's succession; see above, p. 559.

<sup>b</sup> Another act of Kenulf, attested by the same witnesses for the most part, and probably

executed in the same assembly, is preserved. It is a grant to Rochester (K. C. D., CXCVIII.), found among the Cottonian Charters and in the *Textus Roffensis*.

A.D. 811. *Synod of Bishops on the occasion of the dedication of the Abbey of Winchelcomb<sup>a</sup>.* [Questionable as to date and details.]

✠ Regnante Domino nostro in ævum per sæcula cuncta; anno vero incarnationis ejusdem Salvatoris mundi Domini nostri Jhesu Christi DCCCXI. Indictione autem quarta, imperii vero nostri a Deo dati anno XV. die vero V. idus Novembris. Ego Cœnulfus Rex Merciorum hoc opusculum, Deo auxiliante atque favente in plenitudine, provincia Wictionum inchoavi, famoso in loco quem solicoli antiquo nomine Winclcumba appellare suescunt. Æcclesiam, quæ modo pulcherrima clarescit, scemate jam nempe preparata enituit, ibi Wulfredus quoque præsul Cantuariæ in honore Jhesu Christi Domini nostri beatæque Mariæ genetricis Dei, quæ suo contulit gremio Regem Quem cœli capere terraque nequierant, dedicavit. Ibi quoque meum in Domino corpus pausare decrevi. Complacuit autem mihi Kenulfo, ut ad consecrationem antenominatæ æcclesiæ universos accercissem Merciorum optimates, Episcopos, principes, comites, procuratores, meosque propinquos, necnon et Cuthredum Regem Cantuariorum, atque Sigredum Regem Orientalium Saxonum, cum omnibus qui testes nostris synodalibus concilialibus aderant. Quam vero basilicam ad laudem et ad honorem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et pro amore Reginæ cœlestis, atque expiatione piaculorum meorum, ædificavi, non modo ad roborationem hæreditatis meæ, atque ad solidationem apostolici privilegii quod mihi apostolici pontifices cum auctoritate beati Petri principis apostolorum, direxerunt. Ego etenim Kenulfus, Dei arridente gratia Rex Merciorum, ad gratiarum actionem pro devotione illorum, qui mihi et meæ hæreditati benivola mente cum auctoritate apostolorum affirmatione atque cunctorum synodalium nostrorum reconciliationem firmiter roboraverunt: jam autem pro confirmatione meæ hæreditatis, quam dominus Leo Papa primus affirmabat cum suo privilegio, et postea Paschalis summus pontifex, cum præceptis suæ autoritatis, et universis Merciorum optimatibus, in tribus synodis, unanimo concilio, in perpetuam hæreditatem mihi meisque hæredibus dona mea omnibus archontis Merciorum necnon et aliarum provinciarum, in auro argentoque, et in omnibus utensilibus meis, lætus erogavi, necnon in equis electissimis, unicuique secundum dignitatem gradus sui, et universis qui agros non habebant, libram in argento purissimo tribui,



atque in auro mundissimo, unicuique presbitero, mancussum tradidi unum, et omni servo Dei solidum unum; et ea dona innumerabilia sunt sicut nostram regalem dignitatem decebat; quæ nullus enumerare valet, neque numeranda sunt, quæ tunc meæ erogavi genti, ea conditione, ut mihi meisque hæredibus plena libertate hæreditas mea eo firmior atque stabilior æternaliter perduraret. Ego Kenulphus etiam Rex Merciorum vexillum sanctæ crucis in quo passus est Jhesus Christus, Dominus noster, ad hoc conquisivi, ut animæ meæ, et omnium bonorum sæcularium, seu hæredum immobiliter patrocinando, contra tumultum pravorum tutatrix atque defensatrix perpetuis temporibus permansisset. Et si quis aliquid ab hoc vexillo per vim studeat auferre, majoris sive minoris personæ, sciat se anathematis vinculo innodatum, et a sanctæ crucis tutela coram Deo in die iudicii separatum, nisi ante hic cum satisfactione emendaverit: et ab illo patrocinio prædicto sanctam istam æcclesiam, sub almæ Trinitatis nutu, atque angelorum, et archangelorum, patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, virginum, atque omnium sanctorum protectione corroboratam sciatis permanere. Hoc quoque ego Kenulfus Rex, et omnes qui in nostris synodalibus conciliis testes atque conscii hujus rei præsentati fuissent, dijudicavimus atque unanimo consensu constituimus, ut si homo aliquis culpabilis vitæ suæ aut in aliquo delicto, occulte, publice delinquens, pervenisset ad apicem hæreditatis meæ, et nostram æcclesiam, atque vexillum salutiferæ crucis requireret, firmissimam ibi pacem atque indulgentiam inveniret; et nullus fuisset homo aliqua audacitate fretus, quoquo modo torvave cogitatione, aliquid per vim exinde rapere, nec diminuere, neque agros meæ hereditatis foras transdonare, vel accommodare, nisi ad tempus et ad conditionis statutum unius hominis<sup>b</sup>; sed immobiliter permansissent quasi in nostris tribus synodis firmiter decrevimus æternaliter perdurare. Hii omnes hujus rei veritatis testes extiterunt, et sacratissimo crucis Christi signaculo roborando confirmaverunt.

✠ Ego Kenulphus Rex Merciorum hujus definitionis reconciliationem signo sanctæ crucis confirmavi. ✠ Ego Cuthredus Rex Cantuariæ consentiens signum salutiferæ crucis impono. ✠ Ego Siredus Rex Orientalium Saxonum signum crucis salutiferæ corroborans impono. ✠ Ego Wulfredus Cantuariæ Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldulfus [Licetfeldensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Denebert [Wigorniensis] Episcopus consensi

## [FOUNDATION OF WINCHELCOMB ABBEY.]

et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Werenbrihtus [Leogerensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wulfhærdus [Hecana quæ nunc Hereford dicitur] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Tilferdus [Hagustaldensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelwulfus [East-Anglorum] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadwulfus [Cridiatunensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alchbertus [Suth-Saxonix] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelnothus [Lundoniensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wibertus [Scireburniensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beormodus [Rovecestrensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wignothus [Exoniensis] Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eambeorhtus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heardbearhtus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornothus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cynhelmus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolberhtus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldredus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wulfredus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heaferthus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ciolferthus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heatferthus dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Plesa dux consensi et subscripsi. [K. C. D., CXCVII., from MS. Cotton, Tib. E. IV.]

<sup>a</sup> The monastery of Winchelcomb was founded by Kenulf King of Mercia; and he was buried there (*Flor. Wig., App. M. H. B.* 638). The exact date of the foundation is not given by any ancient authority, but Roger of Wendover, who must have possessed materials unknown to the earlier writers extant, places it early in Kenulf's reign (*ad ann.* 798); and the same conclusion may be drawn from William of Malmesbury (*G. R., I.* § 95), and from the Annals of Winchelcomb, which are of the 12th century (*MS. Cott., Tib. E. IV.*). According to this version of the story, in its fullest form, Kenulf summoned to the dedication thirteen bishops and ten *duces*; all of whom were present, as were also Sired King of Essex, Cuthred King of Kent, and Eadbert Præn, who had been lately conquered and was on this occasion set at liberty. Wulfred is also mentioned as the Archbishop. If there be any truth in these details the dedication must have taken place between A.D. 805, when Wulfred was consecrated, and A.D. 807, which is the latest date possible for Cuthred's death. The matter is, however, complicated by the existence of the forged or interpolated charter of foundation of Winchelcomb; and it is not easy to determine whether the particulars given by

Roger of Wendover are drawn from the charter, or the charter was fabricated out of those materials. The charter is too important to be omitted in this place; it must be sufficient to point out the following marks of forgery: (1) the mention of the presence of Cuthred, who died in A.D. 807; (2) the confirmation of Pope Paschal I., whose pontificate begins in A.D. 817. Of course the three synods mentioned in the charter fall to the ground with the charter itself. The episcopal attestations however stand on different ground, and may, like the date, have been taken from a genuine charter of the date, which may or may not have had reference to Winchelcomb. Setting aside the names of the sees, which are clearly interpolated and interlined in the MS., the Bishops assumed to be present are: Archbishop Wulfred, Aldulf of Lichfield, Denebert of Worcester, Wulfhard of Hereford, Werenbert of Leicester, Tidferth of Dunwich, Ethelwulf of Selsey, Wigbert of Sherborne, Beormmod of Rochester, and Eadulf of Lindsey, all of them prelates who are known from other evidences to have flourished during the years preceding and following this date: of the others, *Alchbert* is probably Alheard of Elmham, who appears here for the last time. Wignoth is Wigthegn of Winchester, and Ethel-

## [GRANT OF WULFRED TO CHRIST CHURCH.]

noth is the Bishop of London of that name, both of whom appear here for the first time. In all these cases the attestations appear genuine. Many of the names of the *duces* may also be identified in genuine charters of Kenulf.

<sup>b</sup> This clause probably contains the germ of the true charter upon which in the last note the present fabrication has been supposed to be based. At all events, in the reign of Alfred, A.D. 897, before the above document took its present form, this limitation of the power of alienating lands belonging to Winchelcomb or to the inheritance of Kenulf for more than a single life was considered to be in force. In a Worcester charter of A.D. 897 (*K. C. D.*,

*CCCXXIII.*) this regulation is stated to be found among the title-deeds ("hæreditarios libros") of Kenulf, and to have been transgressed by Quenthrytha and Ælfleda her successor, who must have been successively abbesses of Winchelcomb. A reference to these title-deeds of Winchelcomb will be found below, in the act of the council of Clovesho of A.D. 825. The limitation in the case of monastic estates generally is to be found in the acts of the council of Celcyth of A.D. 816, cap. VII.; but it is not impossible that Kenulf's adoption of it may have suggested the general rule.

A.D. 813. *Privilege granted by Archbishop Wulfred to the family of Christ Church, Canterbury*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ In nomine Sanctæ Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Anno ab Incarnatione Ejusdem Dei et redemptionis mundi DCCCXIII. Indict. VI. præsentente Christi gratia Archipontifice Wlfredo metropolitano sedem Æcclesiæ Christi, quæ sita est in Dorovernia civitate, anno VII. episcopatus ejusdem Archiepiscopi, Divina ac fraterna pietate ductus, amore Deo auxiliante, renovando et restaurando pro honore et amore Dei sanctum monasterium Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ reædificando refeci, auxiliantibus ejusdem Ecclesiæ presbiteris et diaconibus cunctoque clero Domino Deo servientium simul. Ego Wlfredus misericordia Dei archisacerdos pro intimo cordis affectu dabo et concedo familia Christi habere et perfruere domos quas sivi [sibi] proprio labore construxerunt, jure perpetuo hæreditatis munificentia, illis viventibus seu decedentibus, cuicumque relinquere vel donare voluerint, unusquisque liberam habeant facultatem in eodem monasterio donandi, sed nec alicui foras extra congregationi. Ita etiam in Christi caritate obsecrans præcipio omnibus successoribus meis hanc prædictam donationem inconcussa et inviolatam salva ratione servandam sine fine semper in ævum, hac tamen conditione ut Deo humiliores et gratiores omnium beneficiorum Dei semper existant, seduloque frequentatione canonicis horis Ecclesiam Christi visitent, orantes ac deprecantes pro seipsis propriis piaculis, et pro aliorum remissione peccatorum misericordiam Domini implorent. Necnon domum refectionis et dormitorium communiter frequentent juxta regulam monasterialis disciplinæ vitæ observant. Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus et vita nostra et bona conversatio

[GRANT OF WULFRED TO CHRIST CHURCH.]

nobis nostrisque proficiat in bonum. Si quis illorum per audaciam suæ malæ voluntatis hanc prædictam constitutionem irritam habere et in oblivionem deducere, et congregare convivias ad vescendum et bibendum seu etiam dormiendum in propriis cellulis, sciat se quisquis ille sit reatum esse propriæ domi et in potestate Archiepiscopi ad habendum et cuicumque ei placuerit donandum, autem manentem itaque hanc kartulam in sua nihilominus firmitate.

✠ Ego Wlfred gratia Dei Archiepiscopus signo sanctæ crucis Christi firmans subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wernoth<sup>b</sup> presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wulfheard presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heamund presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Oswulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolstan presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Tudda presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Diornoth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Guthmund presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cuthberht presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Coenhere consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Brunheard consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hæhferth consensi et subscripsi. [K. C. D., CC., from *Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury*, ed. Battely, App. p. 35.]

<sup>a</sup> This is a document of great importance in its bearing on the monastic character of the cathedral clergy of Canterbury, and incidentally on the condition of monachism in general throughout England. It is to be observed that with the exception of the mention of the rule of monastic discipline compelling the use of a common refectory and dormitory, there is no expression in the document that would lead us to consider the clergy as monastic, whilst there is much that is inconsistent with Benedictine rigour. It seems natural to conclude that the inmates of the monastery, all of whom are spoken of as clerks, now retained scarcely even the name of monks, and were in a condition far more resembling that of "canons." The common refectory and dormitory were a part of the machinery of the canonical rule of Chrodegang of Metz, which is the earliest attempt that met with any success in the Western Church to reduce the clerks of the Bishop's household to the observance of a common rule of life. Two centuries after this, an attempt was made to force this rule, then known as the Rule of Lorraine, on the secular cathedrals in England; but in vain. It is probable that this charter of Wulfred marks an earlier crisis of the same sort, and that it should be studied in conjunction with the enactments of the

council of Aix-la-Chapelle on the discipline of canons (*Labbe, Conc., VII. 1310, &c.*). The name of canons as applied to cathedral clerks has not yet occurred in documents of English origin (see above, p. 461); and yet the customs of monachism had apparently become extinct in this their original seat; for although the Canterbury tradition (*A. S. C., ad ann. 870*) placed their extinction under the pontificate of Ceolnoth, they are evidently obsolete under Wulfred. We are unable to say whether the cathedral monastery at Canterbury originally contained both monks and secular priests, the latter of whom may have gradually edged out the former; or all the inmates, clerical and lay, were monks, in which case the decay of monastic discipline proceeded from internal causes simply; but it is clear from the advice of Alcuin to the brethren, as to dress and behaviour (above, p. 509), that the spirit of monachism, if not the name also, was rapidly vanishing; whilst the canonical rule, except so far as may be gathered from the charter of Wulfred, met with no acceptance. The word *monk*, if retained at all, was sharing the change that befell the companion word *monastery* or *minster*.

<sup>b</sup> Wernoth appears in the list of abbots of S. Augustine's as the 15th abbot, but the date

## [PROFESSION OF HEREWIN.]

A.D. 822 is clearly wrong, and it would seem almost more probable that he was attached to Christ Church. The fact that he is called *abbot* is not inconsistent with either the original abbacy of the Archbishop, or the unmonastic character of the *family*. As early as A.D. 718 Wilfrid II. of York is described as "vice-

dominus et abbas" of the church there, before his exaltation to the archiepiscopal see; and the title of *prior* as belonging to the head of the cathedral monastery was not yet in use in England. Wernoth is mentioned in connexion with Christ Church, above, p. 567.

A.D. 814. *Assembly of Bishops, Abbots, and Ealdormen under Kenulf King of Mercia*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCVII.]

<sup>a</sup> Of this assembly nothing is known except from the grant of Kenulf to Swithnoth, extant among the Harleian charters, 83 A. 1. The attestations only are of importance; they are those of Archbishop Wulfred, Aldulf of Lichfield, Werenbert of Leicester, Denebert of Worcester, Eadulf of Lindsey, Wulfhard of Hereford, Tidferth of Dunwich, Sibba of

Elmham, Beornmod of Rochester, Ethelnoth of London, Wigbert of Sherborne, Wigthegn of Winchester, Bishops; of Wilheard, Wigmund, Rethun of Abingdon, Piot, Tidbald, Wulfhard, and Cuthwulf (perhaps of Evesham), abbots; sixteen *duces*, and four undescribed witnesses.

A.D. 814 × 816. *Profession of obedience made by Herewin<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Lichfield to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO HEREWINI LICIFELDENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Altithroni Conditoris Regis æterni. Ego Herewinus humilis Christi famulus licet indignus ad Episcopalem Licifeldensis Ecclesiæ sedem electus ad regendam eam Deoque servandam, suppliciter confiteor cum Omnipotentis Dei auxilio, et quantum voluerit mihi gratia superna sapientiam revelare et commodare vitam in hoc sæculo, quod ego sanctæ Salvatoris mundi Dorobernensi Ecclesiæ, et venerando Patri Wulfredo Archiepiscopo ejusque successoribus quem superna providet gratia et nobis prædestinat in patrem, devota et fidei mente semper deservire et obedire desidero, stabilemque me esse permanentem sine aliqua dissimulatione et disceptatione, omnibus diebus quamdiu spiritus est in naribus meis et vita comes fuerit, nunquam me declinare ad dexteram neque ad sinistram ab illa sede sancta Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ, quæ caput est totius gentis Anglorum, sed sine aliquo scrupulo diabolicæ fraudis, et humili devotione et sincera mente, illi præfato patri Wulfredo Archiepiscopo et successoribus ejus, quem Divina gratia ad illam sanctam sedem prædestinat Episcopum, deservire et obedire omnibus viribus meis, Deo omnipotenti confiteor; et illam sanctam apostolicam fidem quam Patres nostri, Divina simul et humana, sicut prædecessores mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Ecclesiæ Christi subjuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter per omnia fateor. Et quod illi hic et ibi juste plebi Dei prædicaverunt et custodiendo impleverunt, hoc prædicare et observare non

[PROFESSION OF RETHUN.]

cesso, favente et volente pio Domino Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo. Hanc scriptam paginam ego Herewinus mea propria manu cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi subscribo et confirmo. ✠ [MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 245; Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 287.]

<sup>a</sup> Herewin's first appearance in a charter is in A.D. 816 (*K. C. D.*, CCLX.), and his successor Ethelwald appears first in A.D. 822. Wharton (*A. S.*, I. 431), on the authority of

two Cotton MSS., fixes Ethelwald's consecration to A.D. 818; and no attestation of Herewine is to be found later than A.D. 817.

A.D. 814 × 816. *Profession of obedience made by Rethun<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Leicester to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO RETHUNI LEGORACENSIS EPISCOPI.—Cum enim invisibilis Deus Creator omnium pro Sua pietate et pro maxima necessitate humani generis mundo per carnem visibilis apparuit, atque Sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam sacro Suo sanguine comparavit, eamque per sanctos apostolos electosque doctores rectam in Eum docuit fidem habere; postea mos sanctæ ecclesiæ inolevit ut quando alicujus provinciæ Episcopus aut de sæculo migraret, aut alia qualicunque conditione Deus voluisset, ut eo vivente, ad illam parochiam novus institueretur Episcopus, libellum suæ confessionis suæque fidei atque ejus obedientiæ sinceriter suo metropolitano debuisset offerre; quapropter ego Hrethuinus, licet indignus, ad Episcopalem Legoracensis Ecclesiæ sedem electus, humiliter coram omnibus sanctis profiteor sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem veramque Unitatem, atque totam illam Ecclesiasticam fidem quam Orthodoxi et probabiles patres sanxerunt, me vita comite credere custodire et prædicare. Necnon et spondeo me ipsum sacra semper Canonum instituta, ac veneranda Pontificum decreta, in quantum septiformis Spiritus mihi scientiam contulerit, usque ad calcem vitæ meæ servare, et semper cum pastore Christo pro Ejus ovibus contra lupinos morsus et tyrannorum incursiones stare et dimicare. Tibique, venerande pater Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, atque tuæ metropolitane Sanctæ Dorobernensi Ecclesiæ, me semper humili devotione obedire velle profiteor usque ad finem vitæ meæ, stabilemque me esse permanentemque sine aliqua dissimulatione et disceptatione. Tuamque adhuc paternitatis clementiam, quasi curvatis genuum poplitibus supplex, humilis per Christum obsecro, ut tua sacerdotali auctoritate meorum commissorum pondera, Christo Jesu patrocinium pietatis præstante, deleas et indulgeas, meque semper summo patri docere erudire

[COUNCIL OF CELCHYTH.]

et custodire dignare Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Ego Rethunus Presbyter et Abbas atque electus primum cartulam hanc meæ confessionis et fidei atque humilis obedientiæ tibi Reverentissimo patri Wulfredo, tuisque successoribus me semper in posterum ad Doroberniam civitatem quasi vadem firmam humiliter me ipsum trado. Et hoc quoque mea propria manu cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmabo et subscribam. ✠ Conservet nos in pace Christi clementia. Amen. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearn, p. 246; *Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 256.*]

<sup>a</sup> Rethun was abbot of Abingdon before his promotion, and as such attests charters as late as A.D. 814. The Abingdon charter of A.D. 815, purporting to be granted at a synod at Celchyth, and dated A.D. 811 (*K. C. D., CCVIII.*), is a forgery. Rethun attests charters as Bishop from A.D. 816 to A.D. 839.

The Chronicle of Abingdon (ed. Stevenson) places Rethun in the time of Offa, and makes him undertake the abbacy after being expelled from his Mercian see; vol. I. p. 15; but this, as well as most of the other details about him in that work, is legendary and false.

A.D. 816. July 27. *Council of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury<sup>a</sup> at Celchyth, under Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury and Kenulf King of Mercia<sup>b</sup>.*

### I. *Acts of the Council.*

Regnante ac gubernante Deo et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Qui dispensat orbem terrarum in æquitate, Quique cælum et omnem creaturam Suo virtute penetravit, necnon cuncta Patris imperio ac pariter Sancti Spiritus gratia sursum atque deorsum mirabile in modum perficiet atque discernit; et eodem Domino donante, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCXVI., Indictione VIII., hæc synodus congregatum fuerat die VI. kal. Augustus, in loco famoso, qui dicitur Celichyth, præsidente vero Wlfredo Archiepiscopo, cæterisque adseidentibus australiis Anglorum Episcopis: id est, Beornmodus, Hrovensis Ecclesiæ; Æthelwulfus, Selesegæ Episcopus; necnon Wigthegn et Wigberhtus, Occidentalium Saxonum Episcopi, Dæneberhtus, Huicciorum Episcopus, Vulfheard quoque Herefordensis antistes, vel etiam reverentissimi Merciorum Episcopi, Herewino et Ræthuno; insuper Eadwlfus, Lindisfarorum Episcopus, honorabilesque Orientalium Anglorum Episcopi, Sibbano et Tidfritho, seu Æthelnotho, Lundoniæ civitatis Episcopo<sup>b</sup>; porro Cænwulfo, Regis Merciorum anno XX<sup>o</sup>.; qui tunc tempore præsens adfuit cum suis principibus, ducibus, et optimatibus; dum undique sacri ordines præsules cum abbatibus, presbiteriis, diaconibus pariter, tractantes de necessariis, et utilitatibus æcclesiarum Dei.

Cap. I. *De fide et canonibus retinendis.*

KAP. I. Primo in loco exposuimus fidem catholicam, et orthodoxam quoque Cristianam legem, atque præcepta canonicas, quæ a sanctis patribus fuere constituti, didicimus, nos velle cum omni diligentia illa, inlibata et incorrupta custodire fatemur, et alios hoc idem docere, instruere, atque firmare, ut per hoc mereamur nostrorum percipere indulgentiam peccatorum.

Cap. II. *De modo consecrandi ecclesias.*

KAP. secundo. Ubi æcclesias ædificentur, a propriæ diocesi Episcopo sanctificatur; aqua per semetipsum benedicatur, spargatur, et ita per ordinem completa, sicut in libro ministeriale<sup>e</sup> habetur. Postea Eucharistia, quæ ab Episcopo per eodem ministerium consecratur, cum aliis reliquiis conditur in capsela, ac servetur in eadem basilica. Et si alii reliquias intimare non potest, tamen hoc maxime proficere potest, quia Corpus et Sanguis est Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Seu etiam præcipimus unicuique Episcopo, ut sciat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata.

Cap. III. *Ut concordēs omnes invicem diligant.*

KAP. tertio confirmavimus: Ut undique inter nos stabile permaneat concordia, et intimæ pacis caritisque devotio. Ut sit omnium una voluntas in opere et sermone, vel in iudicio sine cujusquam adulatione et disceptatione; quia unius ministerii sumus conservi, unius fabricationis cooperatores, unius membra totium nostrum, cuius caput est Christus. Ideo, quasi condecet, sicut conjuncti sumus in uno spiritu per fidem et dilectionem, ita condecet nostro gradui actus nostros atque verba sine simulatione servare in timore et amore Dei omnipotentis, atque diligenter pro invicem orare; ut per illud mereamur accipere coronam vitæ, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus Se.

Cap. IV. *Ut Abbates et Abbatissæ probi eligantur per Episcopum et Conventum.*

KAP. quarto consideramus decreta: Ut habeat unusquisque Episcoporum potestatem in sua propria diocesi abbatem vel abbatissam eligere, et hoc cum consensu et consultu familiæ; et ab omnibus



[COUNCIL OF CELCHYTH.]

diligenter inquiratur et investigatur castitas, hujusmodi ab omnibus capitalibus delictis immunis nabetur. Id est, ut nec in occisioni hominis, aut procreandis filiis, vel etiam in graviore et publico furto sit coinquinatus, intra claustra monasterii regulariter suam vitam duxerit: prudens et acutus in sermone, ne per ejus instantiam<sup>d</sup> et taciturnitatem pereat grex commissus. Et iterum aspiciat Episcopus, ut pro nullius amore, vel competenti pecuniæ, aut ex propinquitate quis plus eligatur, quam decet, nec ullatenus sine consensu familiæ, nec familia sine concordia Episcopi; sed in unum conjunctis, et secundum ordinem per omnia increpare<sup>e</sup> permittatur et habeatur.

Cap. V. *Ut Scoti<sup>f</sup> non admittendi sacra ministrare.*

KAP. quinta interdictum est: Ut nullus permittatur de genere Scottorum in alicujus diocesi sacram sibi ministeria usurpare, neque ei consentire liceat ex sacro ordine aliquot attingere, vel ab eis accipere in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum, vel etiam Eucharistiam populo præbere, quia incertum est nobis, unde, en ab aliquo ordinentur. Scimus quomodo in canonis præcipitur, ut nullus Episcoporum, presbiterorum invadere temptaverit alius parrochiam, nisi cum consensu proprie Episcopi. Tanto magis respuendum est ab alienis nationibus sacra ministeria percipere, cum quibus nullo ordo metropolitanis, nec honor aliquis habeatur.

Cap. VI. *Ut judicia Episcoporum, et quæ signantur vexillo crucis, firma sint. Et de vocato ad Synodum.*

KAP. sexta sancitum est: Ut non frangatur judicium Episcoporum, quæ a nobis nostrisque prædecessoribus synodale decreta constituta sunt, sed firma et inrefragabilis ita permaneant; seu ætiam de omni re, quotquot cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi roboratum est, sic stare servareque præcipimus, nisi forsitan Rex vel princeps antecessorum suorum manuum impositiones pro nihilo ducant, et illud non emendare neque cessare pertimescant, idipsum in se suisque hæreditariis sustineant, sicut scriptum est: "In quocunque judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini." Et iterum, si quis accusatoribus suis invitatur ad synodum, et ei obvianti non tardaverit, semel, secundo, tertia vice paratus rationem ponere, et accusator renuit, et suam causam movere differat; postea judicabimus nihil ab eo plus exigatur, sed suo proprio sit contentus.

Cap. VII. *Ut prædia et telligraphia monasteriorum non alienentur, nisi, &c.*

KAP. septima constitutum est: Ut nec Episcopi, neque abbates abbatissasve, quæ regimina vel territorias monasteriorum percipiant ad servandum; ut nulli eorum licitum sit aliquot de possessionem agrorum ecclesiarum minueri, vel alicui in hæreditatem deputare, nisi in dies et spatium unius hominis, et hoc cum consensu et licentiæ familiæ; et iterum reddatur Ecclesiæ. Tamen serventur libros primordiales cum aliis telligraphis, ne inposterum aliquot scrupulum contradictionis innitere conantur. Quia valde periculosum est illis, qui deputantur custodes cenubiarum, et defensores constituti, illud distribuere ac auferre, quod ab aliis, pro suorum animarum salute, Deo omnipotenti et sanctorum reliquis in propriam hæreditatem concedantur; nisi rationabilis causa poposcit adjuvari contra invasionem famis, et deprædationem exercitus, et libertatem obtinere. Alioquin indurpta et integra servantur, ne inopie dispoliati periclitantur; sed magis unusquisque sit sui proprie contentus, illud distribuat propinquis vel alienis, secundum meritum qualitatis.

Cap. VIII. *Ut Deo dedicata sic perpetuo maneant, nisi, &c.*

KAP. VIII<sup>a</sup>. statutum est: monasteria, quæ semel dedicata sint cum consilio Episcoporum, et in primis statuitur regularis vita, seu etiam abbas vel abbatissa ab Episcopo benedicatur, sic in perpetuo permaneant monasterias et res, quæ ad eas pertinent, nisi causa penuriæ pro rapacitate secularium ita inviolabiles stare non possunt, judicabimus Episcopo cum suo auctoritate magis licuisse ovilem Christi defendere, quam in luporum faucibus invasione dimittere. Et hoc fieri præcipimus pro magna necessitate familiæ, ne ex cupiditate avaritiæ causæ intellegatur. Attamen ubi investigatur primitus constitutum regulares vita, et in ea electione abbatum vel abbatissarum, et eorum consecratia a suorum Episcoporum, nec ultra ullatenus fieri dominium, nec abitatio secularium, quia hoc capitulum nullus estimat noviter a nobis constitutum; sed si quis desiderat, in synodo Calcidanesse<sup>h</sup> repperire non pigiat. Ideo ex nostra auctoritate idipsum confirmamus, et in nomine omnipotentis Dei ita servare præcipimus, sicut in antiquis canonicis capitulis constitutum repperimus, et ab apostolicis viris initio primitivæ Æcclesiæ mandatum esse didicimus. Sic ea regula et observantia monastica sua disciplina et æcclesiastica jura sine

[COUNCIL OF CELCHYTH.]

macula observare præcipimus. Sin autem aliquis, quod non optamus, presbiter aut diaconus, vel aliquis ex numero clericorum, seu ancillarum Dei, ausi fuerint hoc nostrum mandatum et apostolicorum virorum institutiones spernere, et pro nihilo ducere; sciant se sui gradui privari, et a sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ participatione sequestratos, et a communione electorum omnium eos esse anathematizatos, vel etiam in tremendo iudicio ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi rationem esse reddituros, nisi ante cum humili satisfactione voluerint emendare.

Cap. IX. *Ut describenda sint iudicia Synodorum.*

KAP. VIII. sancimus in illa præfata synodo, ut unusquisque Episcoporum debeat describere iudicium illud, qui in qualicumque synodo constitutum est, vel ad illius parochiam pertineat. Seu etiam constituimus, ut cum rationem et ordinem describeret, qualis annus Domini computatur, aut a quali Archiepiscopo, et aliis adsedentibus Episcopis, investigatum et constitutum est illud iudicium; ne forte aliquis homo in suo parochia, cui rectum sit iudicium constitutum, per falsam machinationem et malam versutione a recto iudicio declinaverit. Sed semper maneat firma atque immobilis in conscientia illius Archiepiscopis, et istius Episcopi, cujus sit diocesum, et ille habeat aliam cartam ad suam sedem episcopalem, aliam ille, ad quem illud iudicium pertineat, ne in posterum aliquod scrupulum iniquitatis adplicatur.

Cap. X. *Ut Episcoporum fiant exequiæ.*

KAP. X<sup>ma</sup>. jubetur: Et hoc firmiter statuimus adservandum tam in nostris diebus, quamque etiam futuris temporibus, omnibus successoribus nostris, qui post nos illis sedibus ordinentur, quibus nos ordinati sumus: ut quandocunque aliquis ex numero Episcoporum migraverit de seculo, tunc pro anima illius præcipimus ex substantia uniuscujusque rei decimam partem dividere, ac distribuere pauperibus in elemosinam, sive in pecoribus et armentis, seu de ovibus et porcis, vel etiam in cellariis; necnon omnem hominem Anglicum liberare, qui in diebus suis sit servitute subvictus, ut per illud sui proprie laboris fructum retributionis percipere mereatur, et indulgentiam peccatorum. Nec ullatenus ab aliquo persona hoc capitulo contradicatur, sed magis, quasi condecet, a successoribus augeatur, et ejus memoria semper in posterum, per universas Æcclesias nostræ ditione subactos, cum Dei laudibus habeatur et honoratur. Prorsus orationes

[COUNCIL OF CELCHYTH.]

et elemosinas, quæ inter nos specialiter conductam habemus; id est, ut statim per singulas parrochias singulis quibusque ecclesiis, pulsato signo, omnis famulorum Dei cœtus ad basilicam conveniat, ibique pariter XXX. psalmos pro defuncti anima decantent. Et postea unusquisque antistes et abbas DC. psalterios, et CXX. missas celebrare faciat, et tres homines liberet, æt eorum cuilibet tres solidos distribuatur, et singuli servorum Dei diem jejurent, et XXX. diebus canonicis horis expleto synaxeos æt VII. beltidum<sup>i</sup>, Pater noster pro eo cantetur; et hoc expleto, tricessima item die obitus sui tam bene reficiantur, sicut in cujuslibet apostolorum natali die refici soleant, et per omnes Ecclesias tam fideliter pro eo agant, sicut moris habeant pro eorum domesticos fidei exorando facere. Ut communi intercessionis gratia, commune cum sanctis omnibus regnum percipere mereantur æternam.

Cap. XI. *Ut nec Episcopi nec Presbyteri alterius Parochiam aut munus invadant.*

KAP. undecima; præcipimus, sicut priscis temporibus a sanctis patribus traditam esse repperitur: ut nulli Episcoporum liceat alterius parrochiam invadere, vel etiam aliquod alterius ministeriæ ad se pertrahere in aliqua consecratione ecclesiarum, vel presbyterorum, diaconorumque, nisi solus Archiepiscopus, quia caput est suarum Episcoporum. Sed et alii sui proprii sint contenti, aut cum consensu et licentiæ illius Episcopi, in cujus diocesi est, ministrat. Si quis ultra fecerit, emendat iudicio Archiepiscopi, nisi ante proprii diocesi Episcopi reconciliare voluerit.

Et idipsum presbyteriis præcipimus, ut nullus majorem negotiam ad se desiderat, quam a proprio Episcopo concedatur, nisi in solo baptismo et ægritudine infirmorum tantum. Sed tamen omnibus presbyteriis præcipimus, ut ulli denegatur ubique baptismi ministerium præstare; et si quis per suam negligentiam rennuerit, cessat a ministerio usque ad tempus correctionis, et cum humili satisfactione reconciliaverit proprio Episcopo. Sciant etiam presbyterii, quando sacram baptismum ministrant, ut non effundant aquam sanctam super capita infantium, sed semper mergantur in acria<sup>k</sup>; sicut exemplum præbuit per Semetipsum Dei Filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mergatus in undis Jordanis. Ita necesse est secundum ordinem servari et haberi. [MS. Cotton, Vesp. A. XIV. fo. 147-151; S., I. 327; W., I. 169-171; translated in *Johnson's Canons*, ed. Baron, I. 30-309.]

## [COUNCIL OF CELCHYTH.]

<sup>a</sup> This document is printed from the only known ancient copy: it has been thought better to give it with all its corruptions in spelling and grammar, than to reprint the revised but unauthoritative version of Spelman and Wilkins. The rubrics are given by Spelman, and are probably his own. They are not found in the original MS.

<sup>b</sup> All the Bishops of the southern province are present; no notice whatever is taken of the province of York.

<sup>c</sup> The service for the dedication of a church is given at length in *Egbert's Pontifical*, ed. Greenwell (Surtees Soc.), pp. 26-40.

<sup>d</sup> For *instantiam* Johnson proposes, and Wilkins adopts, the reading *insipientiam*.

<sup>e</sup> For *increate* Johnson proposes, and Wilkins reads, *inceptare*.

<sup>f</sup> This canon should be read in conjunction with the measures taken in France

and Germany to restrain the action of the "Scotti" on similar grounds; see the 43rd canon of the council of Chalons, A.D. 813 (*Labbe*, VII. 1281), for an instance closely coincident with the present.

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 575, note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Conc. Chalcedon., sess. XV. can. 16, 23.

<sup>i</sup> This word is explained by Spelman as meaning a *rosary*; but Du Cange remarks that the *rosary* is of much later invention. Schilter proposed to read *bellidum*, and explain it of the singing of prayers, from *biddan*, to pray, and *leoth*, a song. It seems more natural to derive the word from *Bel* (A.S.) a bell, and *Tid* (A.S.) time; and to explain it in reference to the seven canonical hours (*tidum*) at which the prayer-bell rang.

<sup>k</sup> This word stands for *aqua*, or possibly for *lavacro*.

## II. *Grant of land at Whittington, Spetchley, and other places in Worcestershire, by Kenulf King of Mercia to Denebert Bishop of Worcester*<sup>a</sup>.

✠ Gubernante Altithrono Tonanti cunctaque mundi monarchia moderanti Qui est et Qui erat et Qui venturus est, Cujus melliflua gratia adridenti ego Cœnwulf Rex Merciorum regimina sceptri cum consilio et consensu pantorum procerum prætorumque meorum quorum infra caraxata liquescunt vocabulæ, meo præclaro atque præposito pontifici, Deneberto videlicet et ejus delecta Wegernensis æcclesiæ congregationi, hoc libertatis et expeditionis privilegium de istis territoriis componere decrevi. Hoc est Huitingtun et Speacleah-tun, et Teolowaldingcoto; et hæc ab oriente est fluminis Sæbrino, et his luculentissimis est liquidata confinibus; ab aquilone et oriente amnis illa protendens quæ est Saloweorpe et de ea in Headleage et sic in reliquos dudum ascriptos territoriorum terminos. Et iterum in occidente Sabrinæ hæc terra est in Weogorena leage XXX. manentes ita circumquaque terminata videtur; inprimis of Moseleage in Subbingwic, et deinde in Lawern, exin certe in Hagan quæ post se trahitur in Temedam. Liberam quoque terram istam conscripsi ab omnibus aliis sæcularibus rebus durisque servitutibus, modicis et magnis, notis ignotis, præter tantum his tribus causis arcis et pontis constructione et expeditione; atque a pascua regis et principis vel subditorum eorum. Similiter hanc quoque XXV. manentium in alia loca qui dicitur æt Ceadresleage cum eadem libertatis privilegio, campis, sylvis, omnibus modis liberam conscripsi. Et si malus homo in aperta scelere tribus vicibus deprehensus sit ad vicum regalem red-

[COUNCIL OF CELCHYTH.]

datur. Propter hanc videlicet libertatem istam Episcopus et ejus familia mihi tradiderunt XIII. manentes duobus in curtis in loco quæ appellatur Æt Sture. Peracta est enim hæc donatio anno Domini Incarnationis DCCCXVI., Indictione namque nona, regni vero nostri a Deo concessi XX<sup>o</sup>.: augmentem vero vel servantem hanc nostræ donationis libertatem omnipotens Deus dies suas et vita hic et in futuro augeat, corroborat et benedicat: minuentem utique vel frangentem hanc in magno seu in modico ejus districte examen Ejus nisi ante cum satisfactione emendaverit.

✠ Cœnwulf Rex Merciorum. ✠ Wulfrith Archiepiscopus. ✠ Herewine Episcopus. ✠ Raethhun Episcopus. ✠ Deneberht Episcopus. ✠ Wulfheard Episcopus. ✠ Eadulf Episcopus. ✠ Ælfthryth Regina. ✠ Wigberht Episcopus. ✠ Æthelulf Episcopus. ✠ Tidferth Episcopus. ✠ Sibba Episcopus. ✠ Beormoth Episcopus. ✠ Æthelnoth Episcopus. ✠ .....lheard abbas. ✠ Eanmund abbas. ✠ Wihtred abbas. ✠ Tilberht abbas. ✠ Peot princeps. ✠ Eadberht dux. ✠ Wigheard dux. ✠ Wulfred dux. ✠ Eadferth dux. ✠ Wulfred dux. ✠ Alhheard dux. ✠ Heardberht dux. ✠ Beornoth dux. ✠ Dynne dux. ✠ Mucel dux. ✠ Sigred dux. [K. C. D., CCX., from MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII. ff. 1, 171.]

<sup>a</sup> From this grant, which may be confidently referred to a witenagemot held in conjunction with the council, we learn the names

of the other magnates who joined with the Bishops in the deliberations.

A.D. 817. *Two Mercian Witenagemots<sup>a</sup>, in which grants are made to the see of Worcester attested by Archbishop Wulfred.* [K. C. D., CCXI. CCXII.]

<sup>a</sup> Both the charters on which these assemblies depend for evidence are to be found in the Worcester Cartulary (*MS. Cotton, Tiberius E. XIII.*). They are important as marking the last occasion upon which Wulfred and Kenulf appear in friendly action, and as fixing thus the date of the beginning of the great and obscure quarrel of Kenulf with the Archbishop which lasted until A.D. 825. The attestation of Wulfred appears in the first of the charters with those of the Mercian Bishops Herewin, Hrethun, Denebert, and Eadulf; in the second with those of Herewine, Denebert, and Wulfheard. Wulfred's attestation appears no more in Kenulf's charters: an abstract of a grant of Kenulf to him, dated A.D. 821, is found in the Canterbury Cartulary (*MS. Lambeth 1212*, p. 316; *K. C. D., MXXIX.*); but

as the compiler of the Cartulary adopted A.D. 819 for the death of Kenulf, this grant, if genuine at all, must be referred to his successor Ceolwulf.

This being so, the commencement of the great quarrel (which lasted for six years under Kenulf) must be fixed to A.D. 817.

We learn from the letter of Leo III. to Charles, given above, p. 563, that as early as A.D. 808 the King and Archbishop were upon unfriendly terms. It may be further observed that the grant of land made by Kenulf to Wulfred in A.D. 811 (above, p. 570) was purchased with a payment of 126 mancuses; they exchanged lands in A.D. 812 (*K. C. D., CXCIX.*), and Wulfred bought of Kenulf in A.D. 814 (*K. C. D., CCT.*); from which facts nothing beyond distinct business

## [WITENAGEMOT AT LONDON.]

relations can be inferred. The visit of Wulfred to Rome in A.D. 814 (*A. S. C., ad 812; R. Wendover, 814*) may have had reference to the coolness now existing, complaints being made at Rome by Kenulf against Wulfred about this time (below, p. 597). The origin of the great quarrel must be sought in a similar series of circumstances to that which caused the establishment of the archbishopric of Lichfield; the jealousy felt by the Mercian King towards the Kentish Primate, which arose after the deaths of Ethelheard and Cuthred, and was probably intensified by the dislike of the friendship of the Archbishop with the Emperor. The immediate occasion is stated to have been the seizure by Kenulf of the Kentish monasteries of South-Minster (in Thanet) and Reculver; in consequence of which (if the record may be trusted) the whole nation was deprived of the benefits "of primordial authority and of the ministry of holy baptism" for six years. These six years may be regarded as extending from A.D. 817 to A.D. 822 inclusive, and after the death of Kenulf to the date of the reparation by his successor. It is difficult to believe that so strange and unprecedented an event as a virtual interdict should have taken place unmentioned by any of our annalists; but the evidence for it depends on an original contempo-

rary act (*MS. Cotton, Augustus II, 78*), and ancient versions of the same recorded in the Cartularies of Canterbury and Worcester. About midway in the six years, Kenulf attempted in a council at London (see immediately below) to bring the Archbishop to submission, and extort from him other lands and payments, in consideration of which he was to be held guiltless before the Pope. Wulfred agreed to this, but was deceived by Kenulf, and lost for three years more the profits of South-Minster and Reculver. On the death of Kenulf, his daughter Cwendritha or Kynedritha retained these estates as a part of her inheritance, and an arrangement was made in a council at Clovesho under Beornwulf in A.D. 824 (below, p. 594). This also was ineffectual; but after a negotiation between the Archbishop and Abbess at Oslafeshau (below, p. 596), the quarrel was arranged at Clovesho in A.D. 825. Some difficulty exists as to the dates of these several negotiations, it being uncertain whether the three years following the council of London are included in the six years during which the abeyance of ecclesiastical discipline is stated to exist. On the whole it seems safest to regard them as so included. The above is a general statement of the circumstances, the details and further difficulties of which will be found stated below.

A.D. 819 × 821. *Witenagemot and Council at London, in which the quarrel of Wulfred and Kenulf is discussed and a reconciliation proposed.*

CONC. CLOVESHU, A.D. 825.—\* \* \* Postea etiam ille prædictus Rex Cœnwulf cum suis sapientibus, ad regalem villam Lundoniæ perueniens, ad hoc eodemque concilium illum Archiepiscopum cum suo fœdu fœnoreque principum suorum invitabat. Tuncque in eodem concilio cum maxima districtione illo Episcopo mandavit quod omnibus rebus quæ illius dominationis sunt dispoliatus debuisset fieri, omnique de patria ista esse profugus, et nunquam nec verbis domne Papæ nec Cæsaris seu alterius alicujus gradu<sup>a</sup>, huc in patriam iterum recipisse, nisi hoc consentire voluisset; hoc est quod illam terram at Jogneshomme<sup>b</sup> CCC. manentium reddidisset istamque pecuniam tradidisset CXX. librarum. Sed et ille Episcopus hanc reconciliationem diu recusans, spontaneaue voluntate omnino insons nolens consentire; sed tamen tandundem præ ista supradicta increpatione rapacitatis et fugæ coactus, hac conditione hanc reconciliationem sic invitatus consensit, ut omni potestate obœdientiaque quæ ad illius episcopalem sedem pertinebant juxta auctoritatem gradus ejus dignus

[PROFESSION OF HEABERT.]

fuisset, sicut prædecessores ejus juxta justam ordinem in pristinis temporibus ante per omnia habuerant. Sed et hocque ille Rex Cœnwulf illo Episcopo reconciliavit, ut omnium supradictarum sugillationum discordiarumque insontem et securum contra domne papan fecisset; aut si hoc facere non potuisset illam pecuniam quam ei dedisset iterum Episcopo omnia reddidisset. Sed nihil hujus condictæ conditionis impletum est. Sed hæc continua omnia fallata sunt, quia post eadem reconciliationem tribus annis integris<sup>c</sup> æt Suthmynstre tam in pastu et pecunia vestimentisque ac omni obœdientia quæ ad illam archiepiscopalem sedem pertinebat sine omni honore fraudatus est, aliisque in locis per plurimos illius parochiæ inhonoratus est. \* \* \* [K. C. D., CCXX., from the original, MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 78.]

<sup>a</sup> A parallel for these expressions must be sought in the words of the Annals of Einhard (above, p. 561) applied to the case of King Eardulf of Northumbria; to which Kenulf probably alluded. They may be regarded as a proof of the jealousy with which he regarded imperial interference, and suggest some intercourse between the Emperor Lewis and Wulfred. The interference of the Pope would

seem to have been first sought by Kenulf.

<sup>b</sup> This place is called in the Canterbury version (below, p. 602) Leogeneshamme; the charters give no clue to its locality.

<sup>c</sup> Probably until the death of Kenulf in A.D. 821, or to the accession of his successor Ceolwulf in A.D. 822. See above, p. 586, note <sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 822. *Profession of obedience made by Heabert Bishop of Worcester to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROMISSA HEABERHTI EPISCOPI<sup>a</sup>.—In nomine Dei Summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Heaberhtus humilis servunculus servorum Dei in Domino sospitatis salutem. Scilicet indignus ad episcopalem sedem electus Wegerniense civitatis, in primis confiteor tibi, reverentissime pater Wlfrede Archiepiscopo, continentiam meam et dilectionem meam ad te, quod absque omni ambiguitate et absque ulla falsitatis commentione Credo in Deum, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, [Fili]um natum et passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum et regni Ejus non erit finis: et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres nostri devote servaverunt cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores mei ipsa sancta sede Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter per omnia fateor; necnon et tibi, pater beatissime et amantissime Wlfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus veredico professione confiteor stabilem obedienciæ



## [CONSECRATION OF KING CEOLWULF.]

præbere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsi cogitationis usque ad terminum vitæ meæ.

✠ Ego Heaberht mea propria manu perenni signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi<sup>b</sup>. [*Reg. Cant. A. I. fo. 282.*]

<sup>a</sup> Heabert is called in the lists of Bishops Eadbert, but in the charters generally Heaberht. His promotion is placed by Florence in A.D. 822, and he attests charters from that date to A.D. 845.

<sup>b</sup> At the end of this document, in the Canterbury register, are the words "Promissa Wermundi Episcopi," showing that the scribe

was copying from a record in which the profession of a Bishop named Weremund followed that of Heabert. This would probably be that of Weremund Bishop of Dunwich, whose signature is attached to a charter of A.D. 824 (*K. C. D., CCXVIII.*), and whose consecration must have followed that of Heabert.

A.D. 822. Sept. 17. *Witenagemot on the occasion of the consecration of Ceolwulf<sup>a</sup> King of Mercia.*

✠ In nomine Jhesu Christi Salvatoris Mundi Qui est et Qui erat et Qui venturus est; per Quem reges regunt et dividunt regna terrarum; sicut dispensatur universæ terre distribuit secundum mensuram Sui propriæ voluntatis: ita iedem Dei gratia concedente, Ego Ceolwulf Rex Merciorum vel etiam Contwariorum, dabo et concedo Wlfredo venerabile Archiepiscopo aliquam partem terre juris mei; id est V. aratrorum in provincia Cantixæ ubi nominatur Mylentun in propriam potestatem, ad abendum, possidendum, commutandumque vel etiam post se relinquendam cuicumque ei karorum placuerit, cum omnibus usis ad eam rite pertinentibus, cum campis, silbis, pratis, pascuis, aquis, molinis, piscationibus, aucupationibus, venationibus, et quicquit in se abentibus. Insuper etiam hanc prædictam terram liberabo ab omni servitute secularium rerum, a pastu Regis, Episcopis, principum, seu prefectum exactorum, ducorum, canorum, vel equorum seu accipitrum, ab refectione et habitu illorum omnium qui dicuntur fæstingmen<sup>b</sup>, ab omnibus laboribus, operibus, et oneribus, sive difficultatibus quit plus minusve numerabo vel dico, ab omni gravitatibus maioribus minoribus, notis ignotis, undique liberata permaneat in æfum, nisi is quattuor causis que nunc nominabo: expeditione contra paganos ostes, et pontes constructione, seu arcis munitione vel destructione, in eodem gente, et singulare pretium foras reddat, secundum ritum gentes illius. Æt tamen nullam penam foras alicui persolvat set semper sine aliqua vi ullius causæ, in integritate liber et segura perseveret, Wlfredo Episcopi et erediibus ejus in posterum, cum certissimis terminis

[CONSECRATION OF KING CEOLWULF.]

suis<sup>c</sup>; ab oriente Cymesinc; in australe se Hole Welle; et occidente Diorente; ab aquilone Scorham: silba similiter qui dicitur Cert ab occidente; et aquilone Greotan Edescas lond, in oriente Cymesinges Cert et in austra Ondred; item in Ondrede pastum et pascua porcorum, et armentum seu caprorum suis locis; in Hyrst Sciofingden; Snad Hyrst. Et siquis scire desiderat quare hanc donam tam devotissime dedissem vel liberassim; sciat illi recitatur quod inprimis pro amore Dei omnipotentis et pro venerabili gradui preticti Pontificis, seu etiam consecrationis meæ quam ab eo eodem die per Dei gratiam accepi; nec non pro ejus placabili pecunia, id est anulus aureus abens LXXV. mancusas; ut ab eo accepi.

Actum est anno Dominice Incarnationis DCCCXXII. Indictione XV. die vero XV. kal. Octob. in loco regale qui dicitur Bydictun<sup>d</sup>; is testis consentientibus et scribentibus quorum nomina infra abentur.

✠ Ego Ceolwulf Rex Merciorum hanc meam donationem proprio manu subscribo. ✠ Ego Wulfred Archiepiscopus consensiens subscribo. ✠ Ego Æthelwald Episcopus consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Rethhun Episcopus consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Wulfheard Episcopus consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Heaberht Episcopus consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Sigered dux consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Eadberht dux consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Wulfred dux consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Muca dux consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Eatferth dux consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Bofa dux consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Piot presbyter consensi et subscribo. ✠ Ego Eadbald. ✠ Ego Cyneberht. ✠ Ego Wighelm. ✠ Ego Beadheard. ✠ Ego Tunred. [K. C. D., CCXVI., from MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 93<sup>e</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> The exact date of the death of Kenulf cannot be ascertained. The Chronicle fixes it in A.D. 819, that is, making the usual correction, A.D. 821, with which Roger of Wendover agrees, and which is borne out by the existence of the dated charter of Abingdon (K. C. D., CCXIV.). Henry of Huntingdon gives him a reign of twenty-six years (M. H. B. 735), which might bring the date of his death down as late as A.D. 822. He left a son, S. Kenelm, a child, who was assassinated by the connivance of his sister Kynethritha, the abbess with whom Archbishop Wulfred's litigation took place, within a short time after his father's death. The child seems to have borne the title of King, and to have reigned nominally for a few months (*Flor. Wig., M. H. B.* 547, 638; *M. Westm.* p.

154). The day of Kenelm's murder was kept on the 17th of July. We may infer from this that Kenulf died at the end of A.D. 821 or early in A.D. 822; and that Kenelm's reign extended until July. On his death Ceolwulf, his uncle, succeeded. The annalists give Ceolwulf a reign of two years, which must however be regarded as dating from the death of Kenulf.

<sup>b</sup> "Fæstingmen" is explained by Du Cange as meaning "commendati;" it occurs in Kenulf's charter to Abingdon (K. C. D., CCXIV.).

<sup>c</sup> The lands in question are in the neighbourhood of Kemsing (Cymesinc), Shoreham (Scorham), and Chart (Cert), in Kent.

<sup>d</sup> Bydictun, as the scene of Ceolwulf's consecration, must have been a place of some importance; but it is very difficult to identify it. The name does not occur elsewhere, and it

## [PROFESSION OF HUNFERTH.]

is not clear whether the kingdom with which Ceolwulf was there invested was that of Kent or that of Mercia. Boddington in Gloucestershire, Bodington in Northamptonshire, or Buttington in Montgomeryshire, may be sug-

gested as likely.

° Another act of Ceolwulf, in reference to the dispute between the see of Worcester and Wulfheard son of Cussa, may be found in *K. C. D.*, *CLXXXIII.*

A.D. 816 × 824. *Profession of obedience made by Hunferth Bishop of Elmham to Archbishop Wulfred.*

PROFESSIO HUNFERDI<sup>a</sup> HELMEANENSIS EPISCOPI.—Cum enim omnipotens et misericors Deus, pro Sua pietate et misericordia et pro maxima necessitate humani generis, mundo per carnem visibilis apparere dignatus est, atque sanctam catholicam Ecclesiam sacro Suo sanguine adquisivit eamque per Suos prædicatores electosque doctores orthodoxam in Eum docuit fidem habere, postea mos inolevit ut quotienscunque alicujus provinciæ Episcopum de hoc seculo ad Dei judicium pervenire contigerit atque alium pro eo quem Divina providentia prædestinat ad illam sedem ordinare, in primis necesse est ut libellum obedientiæ suæ sincera mente et secunda offerat. Scilicet ut tanto promptius alacriusque subjectis benedictionem, favente Spiritu Sancto, prælatus impendat quanto securior certiorque redditus fuerit de recta credulitate et religiosa vita, ut eo cautius diligentiusque dignitatem propriam jam ordinatus studeat, quo se priusquam ordinaretur ea quæ æquitati congruunt firmiter recognoscere et noscere reperitur. Quapropter ego Hunferdus ad suscipiendam ac dispensandam Helmeanensis Ecclesiam electus atque constitutus, profiteor me coram sancta et colenda atque adoranda Trinitate illam fidem sine intermissione tenere, prædicare, defendere, quam probabiles patres salubriter ab universis Christianis tenendam confitentem defendendamque Divinitus edocti sanxerunt. Sed et tibi, reverentissime et amantissime Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus ad illam primitivam et honorabilem sedem Doroberniæ civitatis cum omni humilitate et obedientia Divina simul et humana, quanto tempore mihi voluerit Deus vitam commodare in isto seculo, totis viribus meis deservire et obedire satago. Ego Hunferdus electus hanc paginam tibi, Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, veluti vadem fidelem ad Doroberniam civitatem mea propria manu cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmando subscribo. ✠ [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 263; *Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 267.*]

<sup>a</sup> Sibba was Bishop of Elmham at the council of Celchyth in A.D. 816. Hunferth appears as his successor in the ancient lists (*M. H. B.* 618). His name does not appear

in the attestations of the charters, unless he be the same as Humberht who sigus from A.D. 824 onwards and is made his successor in the lists.

A.D. 816 × 824. *Profession of obedience made by Ceolbert<sup>a</sup> Bishop of London to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO CEOLBERHTI EPISCOPI.—In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Ceolberht licet immerito, tamen prærogante ac Divina dispensante gratia, ad episcopalem sedem Lundoniæ civitatis electus, humiliter coram omnipotenti Deo et omnibus sanctis Ejus, confiteor sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem et veram Unitatem, ecclesiasticamque fidem quamquam ac probabiles priores patres nostri sanxerunt et . . . me vita canonicè credere custodire et prædicare Deo auxiliante, curando semperque tota intentione mentis et corporis cum almo prospectori Christo propitiante pro ovibus Ejus contra sevis lupinorum ac tyrannorum bachationes luctare et laborare, tibi que, reverentissime et dilectissime Wulfredi Archiepiscopi, tuisque successoribus atque metropolitano sancto Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ, omnibus diebus meis quamdiu in sæculo . . . semper humili devotione servire et obedire velle profiteor, præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

✠ Has supra dictas sententias meæ confessionis et obedientiæ ego Ceolberht cum vexillo crucis Christi confirmo et subscribo. [*Reg. Cant. A. I. fo. 244.*]

<sup>a</sup> Ceolbert appears first in charters in A.D. 824, and continues to attest down to A.D. 839. It will be observed that this document, in common with several others which are in

the Canterbury Register but are not found in the more ancient copy of the Professions in *MS. Cleopatra E. 1*, is very unsound in text.

A.D. 824. Oct. 30. *Synod and Witenagemot at Clovesho under Beornwulf<sup>a</sup> King of Mercia.*

A. S. C., ad A.D. 822.—\* \* \* And senoth wæs æt Clofeshoo. [*M. H. B. 342.*]

I. *Decision of the suit between the See of Worcester and the FAMILY at Berkeley touching the inheritance of Ethelric<sup>b</sup>.*

✠ Regnante inperpetuum Domino nostro Jhesu Christo, Qui mundi monarchiam Sua semper virtute gubernat in æternum! anno vero ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi DCCCXXIII. Indictione autem II. regnante Beornulfo, Rege Merciorum, factum est pontificale et sinodale conciliabulum in loco qui dicitur Clfeshoas, præsi-

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

dente ibi Rege præfato, ac venerando viro Wulfredo Archiepiscopo illo conventu regente ac moderante. Illic omnes Episcopi nostri, et abbates, et universi Mercensium principes, et multi sapientissimi viri congregati adessent, ubi, inter alia plura colloquia, aliqua contentio allata est inter Heaberhtum Episcopum, et illam familiam æt Berclea, de hæreditate Æthelrici filii Æthelmundi, hoc est, monasterium, quod nominatur Westburh. Habuit autem Episcopus ante nominatus terram illam cum libris, sicut Æthelricus ante præcepit, ut ad Weogernensem Æcclesiam redderetur. Statuta est autem atque decreta ab Archiepiscopo, et ab omni sancta sinodo illa consentienti, ut Episcopus, qui monasterium et agellum cum libris haberet, cum juramento Dei servorum presbyterorum, diaconorum et plurimorum monachorum, sibi in propriam possessionem terram illam cum adjuratione adjurasset. Et ita finita est præscripta illa contentio coram Episcopo: post XXX. noctes illud juramentum to Westmynstre<sup>o</sup> deductum est. Quapropter, si quis hunc agrum ab illa Æcclesia in Ceastre nititur evellere, contra decreta sacrorum canonum sciat se facere, quia sancti canones decernunt, quicquid sancta synodus universalis cum catholico Archiepiscopo suo adjudicaverit, nullo modo fractum vel irritum esse faciendum. Hæc autem gesta sunt. Hii sunt testes et confirmatores hujus rei, quorum nomina hic infra notantur, a die III. kal. Novembris.

✠ Ego Beornulf, Rex Merciorum, hanc cartulam synodalis decreti signo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmavi. ✠ Ego Wlfred Archiepiscopus hanc synodalem sententiam cum signo gloriosæ crucis corroboravi. ✠ Ego Cæthelwald Episcopus consensi. ✠ Hræthun Episcopus consensi. ✠ Eadwulf Episcopus consensi. ✠ Heaberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Beonna Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Wigthegn Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Cioberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Wermund Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Cynred Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Hunberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Eanmund abbas consensi. ✠ Ego Cuthwulf abbas consensi. ✠ Ego Wih-tred abbas consensi. ✠ Ego Wilferth abbas consensi. ✠ Ego Beornoth dux. ✠ Sigered dux. ✠ Eadwulf dux. ✠ Mucel dux. ✠ Eadberht dux. ✠ Ecgberht dux. ✠ Alhheard dux. ✠ Uhtred dux. ✠ Ludeca dux. ✠ Bynna, frater regis. ✠ Piot presbiter. ✠ Cyneberht. ✠ Nothhelm præco a domno Eugenio<sup>d</sup> Papa. ✠ Bola. ✠ Aldred theloniarius consensi. ✠ Wighelm. ✠ Beadheard. ✠ Eadbald consensi.

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHOU.]

✠ Æt ðam aþe was æt Westmynstre efen fiftig mæsse-preosta and X. diaconas, and ealra oþra preosta sixtig and hund teontig.

✠ Her sindon ðara mæsse-preosta naman ðe on þam aþe stodon and on wæron.

✠ Friomund abbas. ✠ Eadberht abbas. ✠ Ecgberht abbas.  
 ✠ Cuthbald presbiter. ✠ Hehstæf presbiter. ✠ Brada presbiter.  
 ✠ Ecgmund presbiter. ✠ Brada presbiter. ✠ Sugca presbiter.  
 ✠ Eadgar presbiter. ✠ Alhere presbiter. ✠ Badheard presbiter.  
 ✠ Monn presbiter. ✠ Plegberht presbiter. ✠ Tidberht presbiter.  
 ✠ Cuthberht presbiter. ✠ Ciolheard presbiter. ✠ Ecgheard presbiter.  
 ✠ Hehferth diaconus. ✠ Berthelm diaconus. ✠ Wigerht presbiter.  
 ✠ Berthun presbiter. ✠ Regngar presbiter. ✠ Cuthberht presbiter. ✠ Snyda presbiter.  
 ✠ Berthred presbiter. ✠ Tidberht presbiter. ✠ Berhtwulf presbiter.  
 ✠ Alhmund presbiter. ✠ Wigerht presbiter. ✠ Hwita presbiter.  
 ✠ Beorhred presbiter. ✠ Hunlaf presbiter. ✠ Cyne-mund presbiter.  
 ✠ Byrnhelm presbiter. ✠ Heathberht presbiter. ✠ Wighelm diaconus.  
 ✠ Cynemund diaconus. ✠ Monn presbiter. ✠ Cuthbald presbiter.  
 ✠ Alhmund presbiter. ✠ Luhede presbiter. ✠ Ecgberht presbiter.  
 ✠ Tidbald presbiter. ✠ Esne presbiter. ✠ Preost presbiter.  
 ✠ Dudeman presbiter. ✠ Eadberht presbiter. ✠ Monnel presbiter.  
 ✠ Beornwald presbiter. ✠ Eastmund presbiter. ✠ Mecga presbiter.  
 ✠ Wigerht presbiter. ✠ Beornred presbiter. ✠ Ceofa diaconus.  
 ✠ Dynne diaconus. [K. C. D., CCXVIII., from MSS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XIII. fo. 47, Nero E. I. fo. 387.]

<sup>a</sup> Beornwulf King of Mercia succeeded Ceolwulf in A.D. 823 (*R. Wendover; A. S. C., ad A.D. 821*). His third year was A.D. 825 (*K. C. D., CCXX*); and after reigning four years he was succeeded by Ludecan in A.D. 826 (*R. Wendover, ad ann.; A. S. C., ad A.D. 825; Flor. Wig., ad A.D. 823*).

<sup>b</sup> The inheritance of Ethelric, the monastery at Westbury, has been the subject of more than one synodal deliberation already; see above, pp. 483, 514, 549.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 549.

<sup>d</sup> Eugenius II. became Pope before the end of June A.D. 824.

## II. Discussion of the case of Archbishop Wulfred and Abbess Cwoenthrytha.

CONC. CLOVESHOU., A.D. 825.—\* \* \* Postea vero contigit ut in temporibus prædicti Beornwulfi Regis ad illamque prænominatam synodum æt Clofeshoum<sup>a</sup> ille Archiepiscopus Wlfred Cwoenthrytham

[WITENAGEMOT AT ACLE.]

abbatissam hæredem Cœnwulfi cum eadem hæreditate illius invitabat.

[K. C. D., CCXX.; W., I. 171.]

\* It seems the safest to refer the discussion of this obscure case to the synod of A.D. 824, as there is no evidence of the holding of such an assembly in A.D. 823, the first year of Beornwulf, to which the business now trans-

acted is referred by Wilkins. It is unnecessary to anticipate here the record of the next year of the transactions dispatched at this session. See below, p. 598.

A.D. 824. *Witenagemot or Synod of Wessex<sup>a</sup> under Egbert, held at Acle.*

\* \* \* Scripta est enim hæc scedula in loco celebri ubi dicitur Acleah; anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC.XXIII. Indictione II. anno Ecgberti Regis XXIII. sub testimonio optimatum suorum ac principum gentis Saxonix necnon episcoporum quorum nomina subter adnexa notantur.

✠ Ego Ecgbertus Divina ordinante gratia Occidentalium-Saxonum Rex hanc meam donationem signo Dominico in solium Domino roborando confirmo. ✠ Ego Wigthegnus Episcopus civitatis Wentanæ consentiendo confirmandoque subscribo. ✠ Ego Ælfstanus electus in episcopatum Scireburnensis Æcclesix consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus Byrhtelm præfecti. ✠ Signum manus Burheardi præfecti. ✠ Signum manus Wlfheardi præfecti. ✠ Signum manus Hunes præfecti. ✠ Signum manus Hiutomannes præfecti. [K. C. D., MXXXI., from *Cod. Winton.*, MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 15,350, fo. 37 b.]

<sup>a</sup> The act of which the date and attestations are here given is merely a gift of land by Egbert to his "præfectus" Wulfheard, and contains nothing of ecclesiastical import. The mention of Acle, however, seems to show that it was executed in a formal assembly. It is observable that this is the first extant charter of Egbert, and that it establishes the fact that his reign began in A.D. 802. It also fixes the date of the consecration of Bishop Ealhstan or Elfstan of Sherborne, in opposition to a large array of authorities (*A. S. C., M. H. B.* 350;

*Asser, M. H. B.* 475; *Eitelwerd, M. H. B.* 513; *Flor. Wig., M. H. B.* 553), all of which place his death in A.D. 867, and give him a pontificate of fifty years. As his predecessor Wigbert disappears from English history in A.D. 816, we may reconcile the statements by supposing him to have been elected to the see seven years before his consecration; but it is more probable that the original authority, who is probably Asser, writing from memory, made a mistake of ten years.

A.D. 825. *Profession of obedience made by Herefrith<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Winchester to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO HEREFERDI WINTONIENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Hereferdus humilis servunculus servorum Dei, in Domino sospitatis salutem. Licet indignus ad episcopalem sedem electus Wintaniæ civitatis Æcclesix,

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHO.]

imprimis confiteor tibi, reverentissime pater Wulfredi Archiepiscopo, continentiam meam et dilectionem meam ad te quod absque omni ambiguitate et absque ulla falsitate commemoratione, Credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum . . . natum ac passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum et regni Ejus non erit finis; et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres nostri devote servaverunt cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores mei ipsa sancta sede Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper servare velle humiliter per omnia fateor; necnon et tibi pater beatissime et amantissime Wulfredo Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, veredico professione confiteor, stabilem obedientiæ prævere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsi cogitationis usque ad terminum vitæ meæ.

✠ Ego Hereferd mea propria manu perenni signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi. [*Reg. Cant. A.* 1. fo. 253.]

<sup>a</sup> Herefrith attests charters first in A.D. 825 and 826. According to the *A. S. C.* he was killed at the battle of Charmouth in A.D. 833 [836.] As Wigthegn continued to be Bishop of Winchester until at least A.D. 828, it seems almost necessary to suppose that Herefrith was appointed as a coadjutor. The Profession however contains no indication that this was the case. It is probable that the West-Saxon kingdom under Egbert or Ethelwulf had its number of Bishops increased: Ethelred the Archbishop of Canterbury who succeeded in A.D. 870 had

previously been Bishop of Wiltshire (*A. S. C.*, ad A.D. 870). Yet there is no record of the foundation of a see in Wiltshire before the reign of Edward the Elder. We must therefore suppose that occasional shire-bishops were appointed in this kingdom, perhaps without distinct sees, such as are found in the next century as Bishops of Berkshire, Cornwall, &c.; and that Herefrith being one of these may yet have taken his *title* from the see to whose Bishop he was coadjutor.

A.D. 825. *Conference between Archbishop Wulfred and Abbess Cwentbrytha at Oslafeshlaw<sup>a</sup>, at which a reconciliation is arranged.*

<sup>a</sup> This seems to have been merely an informal meeting for the arrangement of the agreement which was shortly after recognized

and confirmed at Clovesho (*K. C. D.*, CCXX.; *W.*, I. 171). It is, however, called a Council in the Worcester Register, below, p. 603.

A.D. 825<sup>a</sup>. *Council at Clovesho under Beornwulf King of Mercia, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the twelve suffragan Bishops.*

I. *Record of the suit between Archbishop Wulfred and Abbess Cwentbrytha, and of its termination by agreement.*

✠ Anno vero Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCXXV. Indictione III. de diversis Saxonix partibus congregatum est synodale concilium



[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

in loco præclaro quæ nominatur æt Clofeshoum, præside autem huic venerabili concilio Wlfredo Archiepiscopo anno XX.<sup>b</sup> episcopatus sui, seu etiam Beornwlfō Regi Merciorum anno III. regni ejus; cæterisque Episcopis et abbatibus necnon et ducibus omniumque dignitatum optimatibus ecclesiasticarum vel sæcularium personarum; ecclesiarum Dei utilitatem et necessitatem tractantes atque scrutantes, monasterialisque vitæ regulam et observantiam, seu etiam generositatem stabilitatemque regni terrestris consiliantes ac quærentes. Inter ea etiam ab omnibus illic in eadem synodo residentibus trutinatum ac quæsitum fuerat, quis cum justitia et æquitate conservatus fuisset, quis autem cum injustitia et violentia fraudatus dispoliatusque in sua persona fieret. Tantundem vero inter aliarum allocutionum verba patefactum est, quod præfatus Archiepiscopus Wlfredus per inimicitiam et violentiam avaritiamque Cœnwulfi Regis, sive quæ hic in nostra propria gente peracta sunt, seu etiam ultra mare ad illam apostolicam sedem per ejus jussionem et inmissionem adlata sunt. Hoc est vero quod in testimonio totius populi omni dominatione propria privatus est, vel in his liberis monasteriis æt Suthmynstre et æt Ræculfo omnibus rebus ac possessionibus quæ ad illos pertinebant cum violentia ac rapacitate ejusdem præfatæ Regis dispoliatus est. Nec ille solus Episcopus his aliisque rebus per plurimos inhonoratus fuisset, sed per eadem supradictas accusationes et discordias tota gens Anglorum VI. ferme annorum curricula sua primordiali auctoritate sacræque baptismatis ministerio privata est. Postea etiam ille prædictus Rex Cœnwulf cum suis sapientibus ad regalem villam Lundoniæ<sup>e</sup> perveniens ad hoc eodemque concilium illum Archiepiscopum cum suo fœdu fœnoreque principum suorum invitabat. Tuncque in eodem concilio cum maxima districtione illo Episcopo mandavit quod omnibus rebus quæ illius dominationis sunt dispoliatus debuisset fieri, omnique de patria ista esse profugus, et nunquam nec verbis domne Papæ nec Cæsaris seu alterius alicujus gradu huc in patriam iterum recipisse, nisi hoc consentire voluisset: hoc est quod illam terram æt Jogneshomme CCC. manentium reddidisset, istamque pecuniam tradidisset CXX. librarum. Sed et ille Episcopus hanc reconciliationem diu recusans spontaneaue voluntate omnino insons nolens consentire; sed tamen tandundem præ ista supradicta increpatione rapacitatis et fuge coactus hac conditione hanc reconciliationem sic invitatus sensit, ut omni potestate obœdientiaque quæ ad illius episcopalem sedem pertinebant juxta auctoritatem

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

gradus ejus dignus fuisset, sicut prædecessores ejus juxta justam ordinem in pristinis temporibus ante per omnia habuerant. Sed et hocque ille Rex Cœnwulf illo Episcopo reconciliavit, ut omnium supradictarum succussionum discordiarumque insontem et securum contra domne papan fecisset; aut si hoc facere non potuisset illam pecuniam quam ei dedisset iterum Episcopo omnia reddidisset. Sed nihil hujus condicte condicionis impletum est. Sed hæc continua omnia fallata sunt, quia post eadem reconciliationem tribus annis integris æt Suthmynstre tam in pastu et pecunia vestimentisque ac omni obœdientia quæ ad illam archiepiscopalem sedem pertinebat sine omni honore fraudatus est, aliisque in locis per plurimis illius parochiæ inhonoratus est. Postea vero contigit ut in temporibus prædicti Beornwulfi Regis ad illamque prænominatam synodum æt Clofeshoum<sup>d</sup> ille Archiepiscopus Wlfred Cwœnthrytham abbatisam heredem Cœnwulfi cum eadem hereditate illius invitabat, emendationemque sibi omnium supradictarum molestiarum injuriarumque postulavit, quas ille idem Rex Cœnwulf sibi et Ecclesiæ Christi ac parochiæ ejus iniqua pravitate perpetrasset. Tunc vero omnis ille synodus ad æquitatem invenerunt huncque judicium unanimo consensu constituerunt, quod illi Episcopo reddere omnia debuisset quod violentia abstulerat, in omnibus rebus quibus cum aliqua injuria in omni spatio illa spoliata fuerat, et alteram similem partem ad hoc ipsum adjecisse, et omnem usum emendasse qui in ipsa spatio confRACTA fuerat. Postea autem placuit Beornwulfo Regi pro amicitia hereditatis Cœnwulfi Regis heredesque illius cum suis sapientibus illo prænominato Archiepiscopo istarum supradictarum rerum reconciliationem et emendationem diligentissime facere decrevisset; humilique præce deposcebat ut huic reconciliatione pro amore Dei et amicitia illius adneret, quia hereditas et heres ejus ad intercessorem et ad patronem eum expetivit. Hoc est ut terram C. manentium in quattuor locis suscipere deprecabat; id est æt Hearge, Herefrething lond, et æt Wembalea, et æt Geddinggum<sup>o</sup>. In postremo autem ille prænominatus Episcopus illius Regis allegationibus accommodans, non tamen spontanea voluntate sed pro amore Dei et amicabile amicitia illius Regis, hanc prædictam reconciliationem consentiendo suscepisset, ut illa abbatisa Cwœnthryth filia Cœnwulfi heresque illius hanc prædictam terram computati C. manentium illo Archiepiscopo, cum propriis et antiquis telligraphis et cum eadem libertate quam ante habuerat, in perpetuam hereditatem ad habendam et possi-

## [COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

dendam, postque dies ejus cuicumque ei placuerit derelinquendum tradiderat. Insuper etiam ille Beornwulf Rex cum testimonio consilioque ejusdem synodi illam terram que ante non fuerat liberata hujus prædictæ donationis eadem libertate liberabat, sicut et altera terra æt Hearge jam dudum liberata fuerat et in altera kartula conscripta habetur. Sed statim ista prædictæ reconciliatio confracta est, quia XII. mensibus istius prænominatæ terræ III. manentes abstracte sunt, librosque XLVII. manentium in tribus locis reddita non fuerunt: hoc est æt Boclonde, et æt Wembalea, et æt Herefrething londe. Iterumque secundo anno<sup>f</sup> postquam hæc omnia ita peracta sunt, hæc eadem abbatissa illius Episcopi colloquium flagitabat, eumque in provincia Hwiccorum expetivit illo in loco quæ nominatur Oslafeshlau, eique suam insipientiam confessa est retardate reconciliationis, hoc est illius terræ quod ante negaberat. Tuncque in eodem loco Episcopus illa abbatissa præsentem exponebat, quod ille omnium antiquorum causarum quas ante reconciliaverunt liberatus fuisset, cum illa perfecta non fuerunt quæ ante spondata habuisset. Tum autem illa abbatissa cum omni humilitate promiserat, ut omne quod ei reddita non fuerat cum omni devotione diligentissimæ emendare voluisset, quosdamque libros quos ante non habebat in eodem concilio illi reddebat; agellum quoque III. manentium pro ejus amabili amicitia ad illam prænominatam terram æt Hearge donabit. Similiter etiam et in provincia Cantix XXX. manentium terram ubi dicitur æt Cumbe cum ejusdem libellis, ad emendationem illi in sempiternam hereditatem donasset, ut ista prædicta reconciliatio stabilis firmaque permaneret, ut omnis hereditas Cœnwulfi heredesque illius firmaliter sint liberati. Tuncque Episcopus hoc idem consensit, hac conditione ut illorum prædictorum agellorum nomina de antiquis privilegiis quæ sunt æt Wincelcumbe eradati fuerint, iterumque in posterum non sunt prolati. Si autem iterum aliqua altercatio ab alicui herede Cœnwulfi in posterum elata fuerit, absque omni dubitatione sciat se liberum esse measque heredes, et Ecclesiam Christi justitiam et emendationem ad heredem illam requirere, omniaque superscripta injuria inreconciliata permanere. Hæc sunt autem nomina illorum hominum quæ ex alia parte conscribuntur, qui cum totius synodalis auctoritate hujus reconciliationis testes adfuerunt et signo sanctæ crucis Christi propriis manibus conscripserunt:

✠ Ego Cwœnthrith abbatissa hanc reconciliationem propriis manibus cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi roborabo et subscribo. ✠ Ego

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

Beornwlf Rex Merciorum cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmabo et subscribo. ✠ Ego Wlfredus, gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hanc eadem reconciliationem cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi roborabo et subscribo. ✠ Ego Æthelwald Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Redhun Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadwulf Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hæberht Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornmod Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beonna Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wigthægn Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alhstan Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Humberht Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Willred electus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolberht Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cynred Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cuthwulf presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Willferth presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eanmund abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eanmund presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Torhthelmꝰ prior consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wiohtred abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Piott presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornnoth dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadberht dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadwulf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ecgberht dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alchhard dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cyneberht dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigered dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Mucel dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cuthred dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadwulf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wulfred dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Bynna frater regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldred consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wighelm consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldred consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Bola pediseucus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alhstan consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadbald consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Feologeld presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Oswulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hunferth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cœna presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osmund presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Tudda presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Brunhard presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Deornoth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Bægmond presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hunred presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cynehard diaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wigmund diaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Dæg-

## [COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

mund diaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wihtred presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wærhard consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadwulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Duda consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cœnhard consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alhhere consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ælfgyth consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beonne consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Bægswith consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aloburgh consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æxgburg consensi et subscripsi. [K. C. D., CCXX., from the original MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 78.]

<sup>a</sup> The abridgment of this document found in the Worcester and Canterbury Cartularies, and given below, gives A.D. 822 as the date of the act, but, retaining the Indiction correctly, shows that it has been tampered with, not perhaps dishonestly, after the publication of the Chronicles in which the council is dated A.D. 822.

<sup>b</sup> The twentieth year of Wulfred, strictly speaking, began in August A.D. 824, and ended in August A.D. 825; but a year must have elapsed since the council of A.D. 824; and the date cannot be regarded as critically exact. It seems scarcely necessary to point out that notwithstanding the similarity of the questions treated at this council and that of A.D. 824 they were really two different assemblies; not only is the existence of a council at Clovesho earlier in the reign of Beornwulf recognized in the present charter, but a piece of evidence exists in the names of the witnesses which supplies a clear and interesting proof. The charter of A.D. 824 is

attested by a Bishop Weremund, who was the 10th Bishop of Dunwich. The present charter is attested by Wilred, as Bishop elect, who was the 11th. Of the other charters of this council one bears the attestation of Wilred as Bishop (p. 605). This note, although slight, proves the distinct existence of the two synods, and fixes the relative dates of the three charters. It also seems to imply very conclusively that Bishop Wilred was consecrated during the session of the council.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 587.

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 594.

<sup>e</sup> Of these places, Hearge is Harrow, Wembalea is Wembley, and Geddingcum is Yeading, all in Middlesex.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 596. Oslafeshlan is probably the original name of the hundred which now, either from some act of S. Oswald or by an easy corruption, is called Oswaldslaw.

<sup>g</sup> This appears to be the first case of the occurrence of this title in a contemporary English document.

## II. *Abridgment of the above record, preserved in the Canterbury and Worcester Cartularies.*

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCXXII., Indictione III.<sup>a</sup>, de diversis Saxonix partibus congregatum est synodale concilium in loco præclaro, qui nominatur Clovesho; præsidente huic venerabili concilio Beornulfo, Rege Merciorum, et Wlfredo Archiepiscopo, cæterisque Episcopis et abbatibus, omniumque dignitatum optimatibus, ecclesiasticarum scilicet et sæcularium personarum, utilitatem et necessitatem ecclesiarum, monasterialisque vitæ regulam et observantiam, stabilitatem quoque regni pertractantes.

Interea ab omnibus in eadem synodo residentibus quæsitum est, quomodo quis cum justitia sit tractatus, seu quis injuste sit despoliatus.

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

Inter multa itaque quæ ibi acta et dicta sunt, monstratum est; quia præfatus Archiepiscopus Wlfredus per delationem et inimicitiam et violentiam, avaritiamque Ceonulfi Regis multas injurias perpessus sit, et de sua justa dominatione injustissime privatus, tam per ea quæ hic inter nos, scilicet in Anglia, illi sunt illata, quam per illa quæ per jussionem prænominati Cenulfi Regis ad apostolicam sedem perlata sunt; nec ille solummodo sæpe nominatus Archiepiscopus, sed per easdem accusationes et discordias tota gens Anglorum per sex annorum ferme curricula, sua primordiali auctoritate sacrique baptismatis ministerio privata sit. Super hæc omnia quadam vice idem Rex Ceonulfus cum suis consiliariis veniens ad villam regalem Lundeniam, constituit diem cum magna indignatione quo idem Archiepiscopus veniret ad eum. Quo cum venisset, præcepit Rex, ut, relictis omnibus rebus suis, citissime de Anglia decederet; nec aliquam spem haberet redeundi amplius, nec per præceptum domini Papæ, nec pro precibus imperatoris, nec alicujus alterius personæ, nisi consentiret voluntati ejus, dimittendo ei villam trecentorum manentium nomine Leogeneshamme: insuper daret sibi, videlicet regi, centum viginti libras denariorum.

Hanc autem reconciliationem prædictus vir Wlfredus, diu recusans, contradixit. Cumque amici viri Dei et optimates Regis, qui illum plurimum dilexerunt, viderent rapacitatem et violentiam Regis; instigabant Archiepiscopum, ut regiæ voluntati eo tenore pareret, quatenus idem Rex discordiam, quam per nuncios suos inter Apostolicum et Archiepiscopum composuerat, dissiparet; omnem quoque potestatem et dignitatem, quæ ad primatem sedem pertinebat, eidem patri, juxta auctoritatem, quam antecessores ejus priscis temporibus excellentius habuerunt, ei restitueret. Quod si hoc Rex facere nequivisset, pecuniam et terram, quam ab Archiepiscopo exigebat, iterum ei redderet. Hac igitur conditione assensum pater reverendus præbuit. Sed nihil hujus prædictæ conditionis impletum est. Nam tribus integris annis post eandem reconciliationem, potestate, quam antecessores ejus et ipsemet ante illam discordiam habuerunt super Suthmenstre, tam in pastu, pecunia, vestimentis, quam obedientia, quæ ad sedem metropolitanam pertinebant, privatus remansit.

Post mortem autem Ceonulfi Regis, cum Beornulfus Rex regnaret, idem pater Archiepiscopus Wlfrethus invitabat Cenedrytham abbatisam, hæredem filiamque Cenulfi Regis, ad prædictum concilium; quo cum pervenisset, omnibus in concilio audientibus, conqueritur Archi-

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

episcopus de injuriis et molestiis sibi et Christi Ecclesiæ a patre suo illatis, emendationemque ab ea, si justum est, postulat. Tunc omne concilium pro justitia invenit, et hoc unanimo consensu decrevit: ut illa omnia, quæ pater ejus Archiepiscopo injuste abstulerat, juste eidem reddere debuisset, iterumque tantundem pro emendatione. Insuper omnem usum emendare quem in illo spatio præfatus pater perdiderat. Quod ipsa humiliter spondit.

Placuit itaque Beornulfo Regi cum suis sapientibus, pro amicitia Cenulfi Regis et hæredum illius, prænominato Archiepiscopo supradictarum rerum diligentissime reconciliationem et emendationem facere. Quia autem hoc prænominato Regi Beornulfo placuit, et humili prece id deposcebat, pro amore et amicitia illius consensit. Hæres enim sæpe nominati Regis Ceonulfi expetiverat eundem patrem, patronum et intercessorem habere, deprecabantque eum humili devotione, ut pro plena reconciliatione, susciperet in quatuor locis terram centum manentium, id est, Hareghes, Herefrodingland, Wambelea, Geddinge. Tunc Archiepiscopus pro amore Dei, et amicabili amicitia Regis Beornulfi, huic reconciliationi consensit: ea conditione, ut præfata abbatissa prænominatam terram eidem Archiepiscopo, illam terram scilicet centum manentium, cum libris, quos Angli dicunt *Landboc*, et cum eadem libertate, quam ante habuerat, in perpetuam hæreditatem traderet. Beornulfus autem Rex, cum testimonio totius synodi, liberam omnino proclamavit.

Ista quoque reconciliatio nec hac vice rata fuit, quia post hæc ista promissio XII. mensibus imperfecta remansit. Retenti sunt enim tres manentes de prædicta conditione, et libri quadraginta septem manentium; scilicet liber de Bockland, liber de Wambelea, liber etiam de Herefrethinglande.

Sequenti vero anno hæc eadem abbatissa flagitabat colloquium cum sæpe nominato viro, qui tunc temporis erat in regione Wicciorum in loco, qui dicitur Oslaveshleu, ibi enim tenebat concilium; ubi cum virum Dei invenisset, confessa est insipientiam tardatæ reconciliationis. Archiepiscopus vero cum magna dulcedine ostendebat se esse omnino liberum de sæpenominata reconciliatione; de sua autem parte, id est, abbatissæ, plura deesse, quæ reddere debuisset. At illa coram posita concilio suffusa levi pudore, omnia quæ deerant humiliter promisit se reddituram. Libros etiam quarundam terrarum, quos ante non promiserat, cum terris, in eodem concilio Archiepiscopo libenti animo reddebat. Agellum quoque quatuor manentium, pro

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

ejus amicitia, adjecit apud Hergam. Terram quoque triginta manentium, ubi dicitur Cumbe, cum libello ejusdem terræ, pro emendatione Archiepiscopo dedit, ut firma amicitia inter omnes hæredes Cenulfi Regis et Archiepiscopum stabilis permaneret. Archiepiscopus autem hiis omnibus assensum præbuit hac conditione, ut nomina prædictorum agellorum sint abrasa de antiquis privilegiis, quæ pertinent ad Wincelcumbe, ne in posterum aliqua controversia excitetur de hoc, quod synodali auctoritate finitum est, et signo crucis firmatum. [MS. *Lambeth* 1212, p. 316; *W.*, I. 172, from MS. Wigorn. c. 5, and MS. Cotton, Claudius D. II. fo. 32.]

<sup>a</sup> The Lambeth MS. reads "Item eodem anno," referring back to A.D. 822; but preserves the Indiction. The document is not a mere abridgment of the original, but has some remarkable omissions; especially that of the mention of Southminster and Reculver in the

account of the origin of the dispute, and that of the attestations. On the other hand, on the subject of the negotiations which induced Wulfred to submit to Kenulf at the council at London it is somewhat more full.

### III. *Synodal decision about the wood pasture at Sutton.*

✠ In nomine Trino Divino Qui est Deus benedictus in sæcula, Amen.

þy gere ðe wes from Cristes gebyrde agæn eahta hund wintra and xxv and sio æfterre indictio wæs in rime<sup>a</sup> and wæs Biornwulfes rice Mercna cyninges, ða wæs sionðlic gemot on ðære meran stowe ðe mon hateð Clofeshoas, and ðær se siolfa cyning Biornwulf ond his biscopas ond his aldormenn ond alle ða wioton ðisse ðiode ðær gesomnade wæron; ða wæs tiolo micel sprec ymb wuduleswe to Suðtune ongægum west on Scyrhylte waldon; ða swangerefan ða læswe forður gedrifan ond ðone wudu geþiogon ðon hit aldgeryhto weron: ðon cuæð se biscop and ðara hina wiotan ðet hio him

In the year that was agone from Christ's birth eight hundred and twenty-five winters, and the Indiction was second in number, and it was the reign of Beornwulf King of the Mercians, there was a synodal meeting in the famed place which is called Clovesho. And there the same King Beornwulf and his Bishops and his caldormen and all the witan of this nation were assembled. Then there was very great speech about the wood pasture at Sutton towards the west in Shireholt. The swainreeves would drive the pasture further and feed off the wood further than the old rights



## [COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

neren maran ondeta, ðon hit aræded wæs on Aedelbaldes dæge, ðrim hunde swina mæst; ond se biscop ða tugen ahten twæde ðæs wuda ond ðæs mæstes. ða geræhte Wlfred arcebiscop ond alle ða wiotan ðet se biscop ond ða higen mosten mid aðe gecyðan ðet hit sua wære aræden on Aedelbaldes dæge, ond him mare to ne sohte: ond he ða sona se biscop beweddade Eadwulfe ðæm aldormen ðæs aðæs biforan allum ðæm wiotum, ond him mon ðone gelædde ymb xxx næhta to ðæm biscopstole et Wiogoerna Ceastre; in ða tiid wæs Hama suangerefa to Suðtune ond he rad ðæt he wæs et Ceastre and ðone aað gesæh ond gesceawade, sua hine his aldormon heht Eadwulf, ond he hine hweðre ne grette.

extended. Then said the Bishop and the wisemen of the convent that they were liable to him for no more than had been decided in Ethelbald's time, namely, mast for three hundred swine; and the Bishop and the convent held two parts of the wood and the mast. Then Archbishop Wulfred and all the witan directed that the Bishop and the convent must declare on oath, that it was so decided in Ethelbald's day and that they did not seek for more. And he the Bishop then forthwith engaged to Eadwulf the ealdorman to make oath before all the witan, and they then led him about thirty nights after to the bishopstool at Worcester. At that time Hama was swainreeve at Sutton, and he rode so that he was at Worcester and saw and beheld the oath, as his ealdorman Eadwulf commanded him, and yet he did not greet him.

Hii sunt nomina et vocabula qui in synodali concilio fuerunt congregati: ✠ Signum manus Biornwulfi Regis Merciorum. ✠ Wulfred Archiepiscopus consensi hanc conditionem. ✠ Cethelwald Episcopus consensi. ✠ Hraethun Episcopus consensi. ✠ Heaberht Episcopus consensi. ✠ Bionna Episcopus consensi. ✠ Eadwulf Episcopus consensi. ✠ Wilred Episcopus consensi. ✠ Wigthegn Episcopus consensi. ✠ Alhstan Episcopus consensi. ✠ Humberht Episcopus. ✠ Ceolberht Episcopus. ✠ Cynred Episcopus. ✠ Torhthelm prior. ✠ Eanmund abbas. ✠ Wihtred abbas. ✠ Cuthwulf abbas. ✠ Eanmund abbas. ✠ Eadberht dux. ✠ Biornnoth dux. ✠ Sigered dux. ✠ Cuthred dux. ✠ Eadwulf dux. ✠ Mucel dux. ✠ Uhtred dux. ✠ Alheard dux. ✠ Bolam. ✠ Aldran. ✠ Bynna. ✠ Wighelm. ✠ Heabert. ✠ Eadgar presbiter. ✠ Wigberht presbiter. ✠ Heahstæf presbiter.

[COUNCIL AT CLOVESHÖ.]

✠ Brada presbiter. ✠ Cuthbald presbiter. ✠ Regengar presbiter.  
 ✠ Cuthbert presbiter. ✠ Ecgmund presbiter. ✠ Heahferth diaconus.  
 ✠ Wighelm diaconus. ✠ Cyneberht diaconus. Mid allra  
 oðerra priosta butan ðissum mæsse-priostum efen LX. [K. C. D.,  
 CCXIX., from *Smith's Appendix to Bede*, p. 768, derived by Smith  
 from a MS. in the possession of Lord Somers; *Thorpe's Diplomatarium  
 Anglicanum*, pp. 70, 71.]

<sup>a</sup> The Indiction is wrong, but the document is clearly genuine, and is proved to belong to A.D. 825 by the attestation of Bishop Wilred; see above, p. 601, note.

IV. *Determination of the suit between the Bishop of Selsey and the King of Mercia touching lands at Denton in Sussex.*

✠ In nomine Domini! Anno ab Incarnatione Christi DCCC.XXV., Indictione tertia, anno secundo<sup>a</sup> regni Beornulfi Regis Merciorum, synodus fuit ad Clobesham, præsidente Archiepiscopo Wulfredo; post mortem vero Cœnulfi Regis Merciorum multæ discordiæ et innumerabiles dissonanciæ extollebantur contra uniuscujusque principalium personarum, regum et episcoporum, et pastorum æcclesiarum Dei, erga plurima sæcularia negotia; ita ut multum dispoliatæ fuerant per loca diversa Æcclesiæ Christi in rebus, in terris, in tributo, in omnibus causis . . . . . ea Episcopus Australium-Saxonum Cœnredus fuerat spoliatus de aliqua parte terræ illius XXV. æcclesiæ quæ vocitatur Deanton, quod Plegheard abbas dudum tradidit ad sedem episcopalem quæ est in Selesegh, cum corpore suo, quod ei Rex Offa ante condonaverat et conscriperat de hæreditate æcclesiæ Bedingehomes, quam ipse sibi adquisierat in hæreditatem propriam. Tunc in præfata synodo judicatum est ut ille Episcopus, cum consensu et unanimi consilio episcoporum et abbatum seu principum, in jus proprium æcclesiæ hæreditatem sine ullo obstaculo accipiat; sicut et ante prius at Cælchythe<sup>b</sup> judicatum est inter Cœnulfum Regem et Wehthunum de ejusdem terræ assumptione, coram Archiepiscopo Æthilheardo, tertio anno Cœnulfi Regis. Et hæc acta sunt coram omni consilio at Clobeshom, cum consensu et licentia Regis et principum et Archiepiscoporum, quorum nomina infra annotantur, et cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi impresserunt et confirmaverunt.

Ego Wulfredus Archiepiscopus signum Salvatoris pro ampliori firmitate conscribo et confirmo has testimoniæ causas ✠. Æthelwal[d] Episcopus ✠. Ceobberht Episcopus ✠. Redwin Episcopus ✠.

[PROFESSION OF HUMBERT.]

Eathberht Episcopus ✠. Eadulf Episcopus ✠. Wihtrud abbas ✠. Syred dux ✠. Eadwlf dux ✠. Eadberht dux ✠. Ealhstan ✠. Ealdred ✠. Eadbald ✠. Si quis vero, quod absit, hanc munificentiam frangere temptaverit, sciat se anathematizatum [et] ab omni synodali societate separatum, nisi ante satisfactione Deo et hominibus emendaverit. [K. C. D., MXXXIV., from the Register of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester.]

\* In this case the regnal year of Beornwulf is wrong; but the only existing copy of the act is of the 14th century, and as the year of

the era and Indiction agree, the probability is that it belongs to A.D. 825.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 528.

A.D. 826. *West-Saxon Witenagemot at Southampton under Egbert, in which several grants are made and confirmed to the church of Winchester.* [K. C. D., MXXXIII. MXXXV. MXXXVI. MXXXVII.]<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> All these grants are from the Codex Wintoniensis, now MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 15,350; and all are attested by three Bishops, Wigthegn, Ealhstan, and Hereferth; two of them (K. C. D., MXXXIII. and MXXXV.) confirm two distinct charters of Egbert, both of which are described as begun Aug. 19, A.D. 825, at Creodantreow, when the King was marching against the Britons, and completed Dec. 26 at Southampton. The second and third charters give also their own date as A.D.

826, Indiction IV., the 24th year of Egbert's reign and the 14th of his *ducatus*, hegemony or Bretwaldaship. Whether these details are prejudicial to the authenticity of the records, all of which are derived from the same source, cannot be certainly determined, West-Saxon charters having been hitherto too few to furnish a trustworthy rule. Another charter (K. C. D., MXXXVIII.), bearing the same date, has a set of attestations that belong to A.D. 926 mixed up with those of A.D. 826.

A.D. 828 or 830<sup>a</sup>. *Profession of obedience made by Humbert Bishop of Lichfield to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO HUMBERTI LICHEFELDENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Humbert humilis servulus servorum Dei in Domino sospitatis salutem: licet indignus ad episcopalem sedem electus Licetfeldensis Ecclesiæ, inprimis confiteor tibi, reverentissime pater Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, continentiam meam et dilectionem meam ad te, quod absque omni ambiguitate et absque ulla falsitatis commentione Credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, [Fili]um natum ac passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum et regni Ejus non erit finis: et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres nostri devote servaverunt cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Doro-bernensis ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper servare me humiliter per

## [PROFESSION OF EADULF.]

omnia fateor: necnon et tibi, pater beatissime et amantissime Wulfrede Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus veridica professione confiteor stabilem obedientiæ præbere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsæ cogitationis usque ad terminum vitæ meæ.

✠ Ego Humberht mea propria manu perenni signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi. [Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 286.]

<sup>a</sup> According to the Chronicle, Ethelwald Bishop of Lichfield died in A.D. 828 (correct A.D. 830), the year of Wiglaf's restoration. Humbert appears in the ancient lists as his successor. He is not, however, noticed by his successor Kynferth, who mentions in his Pro-

fession the three preceding Bishops of his see; nor can his name be certainly identified in charters, another Humbert, Bishop of Elmham, flourishing at the same time. He probably ruled only for a very short time.

A.D. 825 × 831. *Profession of obedience made by Eadulf Bishop of Hereford to Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury*<sup>a</sup>.

PROFESSIO EADULFI.—In nomine Altithroni pii Salvatoris mundi, Ego Eadulfus electus Christi famulus humiliter confiteor, quia cum omnipotentis Dei misericordia Cujus consilium stat et omnis voluntas fiet, semper quamdiu erit halitus in me et spiritus in naribus meis, sanctæ Ecclesiæ Christi et tibi Wulfrede gratia Dei Archiepiscopo tuisque successoribus, quem superna prævidens pietas prædestinavit in patrem, necnon devota et fideliter mente et pura cordis stabilitate semper deservire et obedire nitor; et illam sanctam et apostolicam fidem quam prædecessores nostri digne servaverunt cum omni humilitate et obedientia, Divina simul et humana, sicut patres mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper custodire me velle humiliter per omnia confiteor. Et quod illi ubique plebi Dei juste prædicaverunt et prædicando servaverunt hoc prædicare et custodire non cesso, favente et volente Domino Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo. Ego Eadulfus hanc cartulam confessionis nostræ mea propria manu perenni titulo signo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando subscribo. ✠. [MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 262.]

<sup>a</sup> This profession contains no mention of the see of the writer: but his successor Bishop Diorlaf enumerates his three predecessors as Cuthwulf, Eadulf, and Beonna; and the name

of Eadulf appears as attesting a charter of A.D. 836 in company with his namesake the Bishop of Lindsey (*K. C. D.*, CCXXXVII).

XVI. FEOLOGELD<sup>a</sup>, A.D. 832.

[A.D. 832. Elected April 25. Consecrated June 9. Died August 30. (*A. S. C.*, *ad* A.D. 829.)]

<sup>a</sup> Feologeld appears as the 16th Archbishop of Canterbury in the ancient lists (*M. H. B.* 616). The dates of his promotion and death are recorded only in MS. Domitian A. VIII. of the Chronicle, and in this MS. only occurs any other mention of him (*M. H. B.* 405). All the MSS. of the Chronicle however record the death of *Abbot* Feologeld in connexion with the appointment of Ceolnoth. Although the authority of the MS. Dom. A. VIII. is not so good as that of some of the other MSS., it ought to be trustworthy as regards Canterbury, and being supported by the authority of the ancient Lists, it has been accepted as conclusive although there are difficulties about it. The statement that the consecration took place on a Sunday is important; June 9th was not a Sunday in A.D. 829, but in A.D. 832, to which date the pontificate of Feologeld must be assigned, Wulfred's death being fixed to March in that year. This undesigned coincidence seems to show that the Chronicler had

authority for his statement, although he has misplaced it. There are no coins of Feologeld, nor any charters in which his name appears as Archbishop. Instead of him, some of the later lists of the Archbishops mention Swithred (*M. H. B.* 616; *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 217); and in a copy of the ancient lists, in the Bodleian MS. (297) of Florence of Worcester, the name of Swithred is inserted as if it were a second name of Feologeld. Feologeld is unknown to Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Wendover, and the Chronicle of Melrose. He is recognized by William of Malmesbury, Ralph de Diceto, and all the Canterbury biographers. The very short time that intervened between the dates assigned to his promotion and death must account for this obscurity respecting him. As abbot, he attests many charters of the pontificates of Ethelheard and Wulfred, from A.D. 803 onwards. His abbey was a Kentish one (above, p. 547), and probably in Canterbury itself.

[CEOLNOTH ARCHBISHOP.]

## XVII. CEOLNOTH, A.D. 832-870.

[“Mid Godes gefe ercebiscop” (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXVIII. CCXXXI*). “Gratia Dei Archiepiscopus” (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXXIV. CCXL*). “Gratia Dei Metropolitanus Archiepiscopus” (*K. C. D.*, *CCLVI*).

- A.D. 833<sup>a</sup>. Elected June 29; consecrated Aug. 27 (*Gervase*, 1643; *Ann. Roffenses*, *A. S.*, *I.* 85). Introduces secular clerks into Christ Church, Canterbury (*MS. Dom. A. VIII. ad an.* 995). Attests a grant of Egbert of Wessex to Abbot Dunne (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXXIV*).
- A.D. 835. Ceolnoth attests the will of Abba the reeve (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXXV*).
- A.D. 836. Ceolnoth attests a grant of liberties to Hanbury in an assembly of Bishops (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXXVII*).
- A.D. 837. Wigmund<sup>b</sup> becomes Archbishop of York. Ceolnoth attests the will of Badanoth Beotting (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXXVIII*).
- A.D. 838. Ceolnoth attests a grant of Egbert to Rochester (*K. C. D.*, *CCXXXIX*). Council at Kingston (*K. C. D.*, *CCXL. MXLIV*). Ceolnoth has a grant of land in Kent from Ethelwulf as King of Kent “cum consensu et licentia patris mei Ecgberti Regis Occidentalium Saxonum,” dated at Canterbury, Nov. 19 (*MS. Lambeth 1212*, p. 392).
- A.D. 839. Death of Egbert<sup>c</sup> and succession of Ethelwulf as King. Embassy of Ethelwulf to the Emperor Lewis. Ceolnoth attests a grant by Ethelwulf at “Wiëganweoras” (*K. C. D.*, *CCXLI*).  
Death of Wiglaf King of Mercia; succession of Berhtwulf<sup>d</sup>.
- A.D. 840, 841. Mercian and West-Saxon Witenagemots.
- A.D. 842. Ceolnoth attests a grant of land by Ethelwulf to Eanulf, made at Andredeseme (*K. C. D.*, *CCLIII*); and another to Ceolmund (*K. C. D.*, *CCLIV*).
- A.D. 844. Synod or Witenagemot at Canterbury (*K. C. D.*, *CCLVI. MXLVII*). Grant to Malmesbury mentioning the liberation of the “decima mansio” (*K. C. D.*, *MXLVIII*).
- A.D. 845. Grant of Ethelwulf to Badanoth, Nov. 19 (*K. C. D.*, *CCLIX*). Mercian Witenagemot at Tamworth, Dec. 25 (*K. C. D.*, *CCLVIII*).
- A.D. 847. Ethelwulf takes to himself a grant of land, with the consent of his Bishops and Witan assembled at Dorchester (*K. C. D.*, *CCLX*), Dec. 26.
- A.D. 848. Mercian Witenagemot at Repton, attended by five Bishops (*K. C. D.*, *CCLXI*).
- A.D. 850. Grant of Ethelwulf King of Wessex and Ethelstan King of Kent to Rochester, attested by Ceolnoth (*K. C. D.*, *CCLXIV*).
- A.D. 852. Burhred becomes King of Mercia (*Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* 550). Ceolnoth attends a Mercian Witenagemot under Burhred (*K. C. D.*, *CCLXVII*).
- A.D. 853. Ceolnoth attests a grant of Ethelwulf to Ealhere (*K. C. D.*, *CCLXIX*); attested also by Ethelbert as King.

## [CEOLNOTH ARCHBISHOP.]

- A.D. 854. Charters of Ethelwulf rehearsing his gift of a tenth of the lands throughout his kingdom, April 22.
- A.D. 855. Ethelwulf frees the tenth part of his kingdom from taxation (*Asser, M. H. B. 470*). Ethelwulf goes to Rome<sup>e</sup> (*Ann. Bertin., Pertz, I. 449; Asser, M. H. B. 470*). Charters of Ethelwulf rehearsing his liberation of the "decima mansio" from royal services, Nov. 5.
- A.D. 856. Ethelwulf is betrothed to Judith in July, and married Oct. 1 at Worms<sup>f</sup> (*Ann. Bertin., Pertz, I. 450*). Ethelbald becomes King of the West-Saxons (*Asser, M. H. B. 471*).
- A.D. 858. Death of Ethelwulf<sup>g</sup> (*Ann. Bertin., Pertz, I. 451*). Ethelbert King in Kent (*K. C. D., CCLXXXI.*). Grant of Farnham by Swithun to Ethelbald (*K. C. D., MLVIII.*).
- A.D. 860. Death of Ethelbald: Ethelbert becomes sole King (*Asser, M. H. B. 473*).
- A.D. 861. Grant of Ethelbert to Worcester, attested by Ceolnoth and four Bishops (*K. C. D., CCLXXXV.*).
- A.D. 862. Ceolnoth attests a grant by Ethelbert to Dryhtwald in a Witenagemot (*K. C. D., CCLXXXVII.*). Mercian Witenagemot at Wellesbourne.
- A.D. 863. Ceolnoth and his clergy confirm a grant of Ethelbert to Ethelred of land at Mersham (*K. C. D., CCLXXXVIII.*). Witenagemot at Dorchester (*K. C. D., MLIX.*).
- A.D. 864. Grant of Burhred King of Mercia to Bishop Alhhun of Worcester, dated at Bath, July 25 (*K. C. D., CCXC.*).
- A.D. 866. Ethelred succeeds Ethelbert (*Asser, M. H. B. 473; Flor. Wig., M. H. B. 553*). Grant of Burhred to Wulferd in a Mercian Witenagemot (*K. C. D., CCXCII.*).
- A.D. 867. Ceolnoth attests a grant by Ethelred to Wighelm, priest at S. Martin's (*K. C. D., CCXCIV.*).
- A.D. 868. Witenagemot at Dorchester (*K. C. D., MLXI.*). Ceolnoth attests a grant of land at Canterbury by Cialulf to Eanmund (*K. C. D., CCXCVI.*). Grant of Ethelred to Cuthwulf Bishop of Rochester (*K. C. D., CCXCV.*).
- A.D. 869. Mercian Witenagemot under Burhred (*K. C. D., CCXCIX.*). West-Saxon Witenagemot at Woodgate (*K. C. D., CCC.*).
- A.D. 870. Ceolnoth dies (*Asser, M. H. B. 476*), Feb. 4 (*Ob. Cant., A. S., I. 53*).]

<sup>a</sup> The determination of the year of Ceolnoth's election and consecration must depend on that of the death of Feologeld; if Feologeld be thrown out of the list of Archbishops, Ceolnoth's date will fall back to A.D. 832; to which year it is referred by Roger of Wendover. According to the Canterbury chronologists his episcopate lasted 41 years, which however are calculated on the computation of the *A. S. C.* from A.D. 829 to A.D. 870. No dated charter exists in which the name of Ceolnoth occurs earlier than A.D. 833; but the 27th of August was not a Sunday in that year. It was so however in A.D. 831, and to that year, if the evidence of charters and the

episcopate of Feologeld were to be rejected, it would be natural to refer the consecration. The point is very obscure, and it is not probable that it can ever be completely cleared up (see *A. S., I. 4, 53, 97, 98*). Gervase of Canterbury, who is the authority for the dates of Ceolnoth's election and consecration, says that he had been dean of the Church of Canterbury: a statement which, if true, gives us the first mention of such an office in the English Church; it is however possible that in this point the chronicler has confused Ceolnoth with Ethelnoth who bore that title two centuries later (*Gervase, cc. 1643, 1650*).

<sup>b</sup> The date of Wigmund's promotion must

[CEOLNOTH ARCHBISHOP.]

be calculated from the ascertained date of his death; he died in A.D. 854 (*R. Wendover, ad au.*), after a pontificate of 16 years (*Sin. Dun., Hist. Dun. c. 78*).

<sup>c</sup> Ethelwulf's first year after his father's death was A.D. 839 (*K. C. D., CCXL.*); as the beginning of Egbert's reign must be dated A.D. 802, and the length of it was 37 years and 7 months, his death cannot be placed earlier than the middle of A.D. 839.

<sup>d</sup> Berhtwulf's accession, computed by his regnal years, must have been in A.D. 839; in *K. C. D. CCXLIV.*, A.D. 840 is his second year; in *K. C. D. CCXLVII.*, A.D. 841 is his third; in *K. C. D. CCLVII.*, A.D. 844 is his fourth; in *K. C. D. CCLXVI.*, A.D. 851 is his thirteenth; and his death in A.D. 852 (*Flor. Wig., M. H. B. 550*) is placed in his thirteenth year by Florence (*App. M. H. B. 638*).

<sup>e</sup> From the position in the *Annales Bertiniani* given to the reception of Ethelwulf by the Emperor we must conclude that he left England early in the year, and this inference is fatal to the authenticity of the charters dated late in the year: on this point see below, p. 640. If he remained in Rome a year and had returned to Germany by July A.D. 856, the same inference follows. It is probable that the reign of Ethelbald should be computed from the year of his father's departure to Rome, A.D. 855, in which case his five years would terminate in A.D. 860, the year assigned

by Asser to his death, and confirmed by the negative evidence of charters.

<sup>f</sup> "Edilulf, Rex Occidentalium Anglorum, Roma rediens, Judith filiam Karli Regis mense Julio desponsatam, calendis Octobribus in Vermeria palatio in matrimonium accipit, et eam, Ingmaro Durocortori Remorum Episcopo benedicente, imposito capiti ejus diademate Reginæ nomine insignit, quod sibi suæque genti eatenus fuerat insuetum; patratque regiis apparatibus utrinque atque muneribus matrimonio, cum ea Britanniam, regni sui ditionem, navigio repetit." (*Ann. Bertin., Pertz, I. 450*.) The forms of Benediction of Judith as wife and Queen are extant among the capitularies of Charles the Bald (ed. Baluze, vol. II. coll. 209-212).

<sup>g</sup> The day of Ethelwulf's death is given by Florence as January 13th (*M. H. B., 552*). One MS. however gives June 13th instead. He reigned eighteen years and a half (*A. S. C., M. H. B. 348*), which calculated from the middle of A.D. 839 would agree with the earlier date. A charter bearing his name and, although otherwise seemingly authentic, dated in A.D. 859 (*K. C. D., CCLXXXII.*), must be rejected as spurious or corrupt. The years of the reign of Ethelbert, who succeeded his father in Kent in A.D. 858 and his brother Ethelbald in Wessex in A.D. 860, are calculated from the latter date; he reigned five years (*Flor. Wig., M. H. B. 553; Asser, M. H. B. 473*), and died in A.D. 866 (*Asser, M. H. B. 473*).

A.D. 833. *Witenagemot of Kent under Egbert, in which the King makes a grant to Abbot Dunne and his companions at Sandon*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CCXXXIV.*]

<sup>a</sup> This is attested by Archbishop Ceolnoth, and three Bishops—Beornmod of Rochester, Alhstan of Sherborne, and Cenred of Selsey.

A.D. 833. Dec. 26. *Grant of confirmation made by Egbert at Dorchester, of land at Wennland, in an assembly of Bishops and others*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CCXXXII.*]

<sup>a</sup> This charter is stated to be drawn up "cum consensu et communi consilio episcoporum et principum meorum ac totius plebis

meæ seniorum." It is attested by Egbert himself, and Bishop Alhstan of Sherborne only.



[PROFESSION OF A BISHOP OF LICHFIELD.]

A.D. 835. *Grant of Egbert to Abingdon attested by three Bishops*<sup>a</sup>.  
[K. C. D., CCXXXVI.]

<sup>a</sup> The grant is made "cum licentia et consensu totius gentis nostræ et unanimitate omnium optimatum;" at Easter at Dorchester; and confirmed at Christmas. The Bishops who attest are Alhstan of Sherborne, Rethun of Leicester, and Kinred of Selsey. Ethelwulf subscribes as "filius Regis," and among the *duces* are Osmod and Wigferth, probably the per-

sons slain at Charmouth (*A. S. C., ad A.D. 833*). If this be so, the date of that battle must be altered at least three years. It is placed by Henry of Huntingdon in the 33rd of Egbert, that is A.D. 834 or early in A.D. 835; these *duces* however are alive at Christmas in the latter year.

A.D. 832 × 836. *Profession of obedience made by a Bishop of Lichfield*<sup>a</sup>  
*to Ceolnoth Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Domino meo vere sancto atque apostolico mihi que post Deum plurimum colendo beatissimo Archiepiscopo Celnotho extremus et ultimus servus servorum tuorum in Christo salutem. Quoniam me indignum famulum tuum tota ecclesia provinciæ nostræ sibi in episcopatus officium elegerunt, cum mihi met ipsi conscius sim neque in sæculari prudentia ornatum me esse neque in eo quod omni sapientiæ præcellit in Divina scientia tam sollerter me eruditum fore ut talis honoris dignitate præ cæteris extollar, et tua vere sancta jussio sit ut pondus tanti regiminis excipiam; cum omni humilitate flexis genibus peto clementissimam paternitatem tuam in Domino, quatinus mihi indigno servulo tuo adjutorium utillimæ opitulationis impendere digneris, hoc est in saluberrimis sæcularium rerum doctrinis erudire, et maxime, quod omnibus donis pretiosius præfero, tuis almīs orationibus meæ imperfectionis parvitatem fulcire sustentari- que, pro æternæ retributionis mercede, digneris.

Ego autem juxta normulam sacri canonis nostri et secundum ecclesiasticam regulam, quemadmodum virium possibilitas permittit, omnem obedientiæ famulatum cum maxima cordis devotione, una cum omnibus qui mecum sunt in Domino, tuis piis præceptis exhibiturum esse me veridico profiteor ore: exemplum etiam antecessorum meorum venerabilium patrum, tuorum videlicet famulorum in Christo Aldulfi, Herewini, Ethelwaldi, non ut voluero sed ut potero, exequar. Insuper etiam orthodoxam catholicam apostolicamque fidem sicut ab illis didici paucis verbis exponam. Inprimis credo in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem conditorem visibilium et invisibilium rerum: credo et in Jesum Christum Filium Ejus unicum Dominum nostrum

[PROFESSION OF A BISHOP OF LICHFIELD.]

conceptum de Spiritu Sancto et natum ex Maria Virgine, Deum Hominemque perfectum, passum sub Pontio Pilato, a Judæis crucifixum et sepultum, ad inferos descendentem, tertia die resurgentem ex mortuis, ascendentem in cœlos ubi nunquam defuit, consistentem in dextera Patris, Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam, Eundemque venturum sub fine sæculi cum angelis Suis reddere retributionem bonorum operum justis et injustis damnationem malorum operum. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum procedentem a Patre et Filio, vivificantem universa quæ in cœlis et quæ in terris sunt, et unam sanctam catholicam apostolicamque Ecclesiam: confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum et carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam futuri sæculi. Suscipio etiam decreta Pontificum et sex synodos catholicas antiquorum heroicorum virorum, et præfixam ab eis regulam sincera devotione conservo, et quæ anathematizaverunt anathematizo et quæ damnaverunt toto ex corde respuo. Hæc ergo prout potui vel epistolaris brevitatis passa est paternitatis tuæ sullimitati rescripsi, quatinus latius et profundius de Trinitatis scientia et Unitatis cognitione, qualiter unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneror, debuissim stilo percurrente pronuntiare: sed nunc quasi ad præsens provolutus pedibus tuis iterum iterumque obsecro, ut pro mea fragilitate Deum Dominumque nostrum orare digneris, ut tandem aliquando de tot necessitatibus quibus peccatis nostris valde affligimur liberati, cognoscamus quia Ipse est Dominus Deus noster Qui facit mirabilia magna solus, Qui jam non tradet bestiis animas confitentes Sibi, neque amplius patietur nos temptari supra id quam sufferre possumus, sed faciet pro Sua pietate in ipsis temptationibus misericordem proventum ut sustinere possimus. *Et alia manu.* Orantem pro nobis beatitudinem vestram Divina gratia custodire dignetur. Amen. [MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1.]

<sup>a</sup> This Profession does not contain the name of the Bishop by whom it was made; but as he mentions his three predecessors, Aldulf, Herewin, and Ethelwald, it is clear that his see was Lichfield. The succession of the Lichfield Bishops has been a little confused owing to the similarity in name of three of them, Humbert, Kynferth, and Tunbert. The Professions of Humbert to Wulfred, and of Tunbert to Ceolnoth, are extant; and it seems quite safe to refer the above to the im-

mediate predecessor of Tunbert, called in the ancient lists Kineferth. A Bishop named Kynferth, who from his position in the Mercian charters must have been Bishop of Lichfield, attests grants from A.D. 836 to A.D. 841. It is somewhat curious that, whilst mentioning his other predecessors, he does not name Humbert. But on this point see above, p. 608. This Profession does not occur in the Canterbury Register.

[LETTER OF EGRED TO WULFSIGE.]

A.D. 836. *Grant of immunities to the Monastery of Hanbury, by Wiglaf King of Mercia, attested by Archbishop Ceolnoth and eleven Bishops<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCXXXVII.]*

<sup>a</sup> This grant is printed by Kemble from the original (*MS. Cotton, Aug. II. 9*) and two copies in Worcester Cartularies. It is attested by Ceolnoth, and the following Bishops—Kynferth of Lichfield, Rethun of Leicester, Eadulf of Hereford, Heabert of Worcester, Eadulf of Lindsey, Alhstan of Sherborne,

Beornmod of Rochester, Ceolbert of London, Cynred of Selsey, and by two others whose names are printed Husa and Cunda, which must in some way represent the two East-Englian sees. The charter is dated A.D. 836, the seventh year of Wiglaf.

A.D. 830 × 837. *Letter of Eged Bishop of Lindisfarne to Wulfsige Archbishop of York, disavowing complicities in the heresies of Pehfred<sup>a</sup>.*

*Summo ac venerando nobisque omni honore nominando Pontifici Wulfsige Archiepiscopo* EGRED HUMILIS SERVORUM DEI SERVUS in Christi charitate salutem.

Auctoritatis tuæ litteras devota mente suscepi, in quibus tuam erga defensionem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ industriam agnovi, pro qua firma fidei stabilitate persistere illamque ne in aliquibus ejus membris periclitetur adjuvare debemus.

Ego enim pro me vere fateor nullo modo illis erroribus quos in libro Pehfredi scriptos esse demandasti, nobisque prius demonstrasti, assensum præbere velle; nec ullis Deo et mihi subjectis mea voluntate consentire; sed si in aliquo loco ab aliquibus aliquam scintillam oriri audio, statim quantum valeo extinguere cupio, vestramque et catholicam fidem, quam in evangelio Christi et ab Ejus apostolis atque apostolicis doctoribus universalis Ecclesiæ servandam didicimus, me omnino servare, et alios quoscunque potero diligenti cura ad hoc ipsum ammonere satago; honoremque Dominici diei ob gloriam resurrectionis Ejusdem Filii Dei, non sabbatum cum Judæis, omnimodis servare justum credimus et vere scimus; ac nostri Salvatoris obædire mandatis, Qui XL. diebus ac noctibus pro mundi jejunavit salute, tribusque diebus ac totidem noctibus per scripturas in corde quievit terræ: non Pehfredi assertionibus obtemperare, qui stulta falsitate refert Nialum diaconum septem hebdomadas mortuum fuisse, et iterum revixisse, nihilque alimentorum postea percepisse, aliaque perplura quæ idem Pehfredus, sive per se sive per Nialum vel alios falsiloquos, de Veteri ac Novo Testamento delirando mendaciter prompsit, omnia abjicienda, ac nullo modo ulli orthodoxo sequenda sunt. Et si tales litteræ manu Dei auro scriptæ<sup>b</sup> super sepulchrum beati Petri in diebus Florentii Papæ venerunt, quare non ab aposto-

[LETTER OF EGRED TO WULFSIGE.]

lica sede per populos Christianos divulgata est talis legatio? vel quid de illa agendum fore, si vera esset. In nostris enim scriptis ubi nomina pontificum apostolicæ sedis habemus, nomen Florentii Papæ non invenimus. De die iudicii vel hora, Domino attestante, quis scit nisi Ille solus? Diabolus non a Deo creatus diabolus, sed superbia contra Creatorem elatus, suo vitio depravatus, et Dei gloria privatus, de angelo lucis princeps factus est tenebrarum. Cujus malignitate dictante Pehfredus præfatus novos et nonnullos zizaniorum in Dominico agro sparsit errores, cum apostolus præcepit profanas vocum novitates devitare. De quibus omnibus tua prudentia multo melius novit quam nostra parvitas nosse possit; tamen non audebam, nisi aliquos licet valde rusticos apices ad responsionem tuarum dirigere litterarum; et si sic tuæ placeat almitati, bonum mihi videtur per litteras aut per legatum te demandare Episcopo in cujus parochia Pehfredus manet, cæterisque Dei servis in vicino illi manentibus, fraterna illum charitate ammonere et docere, quatenus ab erroribus in quibus deceptus est resipiscat, aliosque quos decepit, quantum valeat, corrigat; et si vobis obtemperat salvabitis animam ejus a morte. Sin autem obstinatæ mentis stultitia in sua pravitate persistere velit, et lucrari Deo fraterna ammonitione seu correptione semel vel sæpius nequeat, sit sicut contemptor Ecclesiæ, Domino dicente, “ut ethnicus et publicanus;” et apostolus ait “hæreticum hominem post unam et secundam correptionem devita, sciens quia subversus est qui ejusmodi est, et derelinquit cum sit proprio iudicio condemnatus.” [MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. XV. ff. 61-62; MS. Trin. Coll. Camb., O. 10. 16; Leland, Coll., II. 398.]

<sup>a</sup> Archbishop Wulfsige died in or before A.D. 837; Eged became Bishop in A.D. 830 (*S. Dun.*, ad A.D. 830; *Hist. Dun. ap. Twysden*, c. 78). Nothing is known of the matters discussed in this letter beyond what appears here.

<sup>b</sup> With this extraordinary statement may be compared the history of the mission of Eustace of Flay in the beginning of the 13th

century. He also had a letter that he pretended had dropped from heaven, to urge the better observance of Sunday (*Hoveden*, IV. 167-170). There is a capitulary of Charles, A.D. 789, directing that such pretended letters from heaven should be burnt (*Baluze*, I. 174). Compare also the mission of Ethelwulf to Lewis the Pious, below, p. 621.

A.D. 838<sup>a</sup>. *Grant of lands at Snodland and other places in Kent, made by King Egbert to Bishop Beornmod of Rochester, attested by Ceolnoth and five Bishops.* [K. C. D., CCXXXIX.; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 99.]

<sup>a</sup> Dated at *Ferriburna* (perhaps Freeborough in Kent); rehearsing the consent of Ethelwulf the King's son, as King; and subscribed by Archbishop Ceolnoth and the

Bishops Beornmod of Rochester, Ealhstan of Sherborne, Eadhun of Winchester, Cynred of Selsey, and Ceolbert of London.

A.D. 838. *Council of Kingston under Egbert and Ethelwulf, in which the Kings and Archbishop are reconciled; Ceolnoth obtains the restoration of lands at Malling to the Church of Canterbury, and lands at Skalfleet in the Isle of Wight are secured to the See of Winchester<sup>a</sup>.*

I. ✠ Regnante in perpetuum Domino Deo nostro sabaoth, congregatum est venerabile concilium in illa famosa loco quæ appellatur Cyningestun in regione Suthregiæ. Presidente autem huic eadem Deo devote congregatione Ceolnotho Archiepiscopo ceterisque per plurimis Episcopis nec non excellentissimis regibus nostris Ecgberhto et Æthelwifo cum omnibus gentis suæ optimatibus. Omnesque in unum consona mente ac sincerissima cordis intentione spiritualium sæculariumque rerum necessitatibus inter semet ipsos commune consilio scrutantibus, quomodo pax et unanimitas Ecclesiarum Dei totiusque populi Christiani eorum sæculari ditioni per Dei omnipotentis gratiam subjecti firmissimi dilectionis vinculo servari potuisset. Inter ea vero a prefato venerabili Archiepiscopo Ceolnotho flagitatum est quod a regibus prenominatis Ecgberhto et Æthelwifo illis in sempiternam ælemosynam illum agrum æt Mallingum ad Ecclesiam Christi quæ sita est in Dorovernia civitate reddidissent; quod ante a Baldredo Rege ad eandem Ecclesiam perdonata est, sed a quibusdam dictum est quia cum recta libertate facta non esset, quia in fugatu ejus conscripta et concessa fuisset. Tunc vero pro intima caritatis affectu precibus Episcopi adnuentes, cum consilio ac licentia omnium sapientum eorum spiritualium seculariumque graduum qui inibi congregati fuissent, hoc præfatum agrum æt Mallingum, pro sempiterna salute animarum suarum ac spe remunerationis æternæ, ad prenominatam Ecclesiam Christi in perpetuam hereditatem cum omni libertate benivola mente tradidissent. Hac vero condicione interposita hæc prenominata donatio firma permaneat, quod nos ipsi nostrique heredes semper in posterum firmam inconcussamque amicitiam ab illo Archiepiscopo Ceolnotho ejusdem congregatione Ecclesiæ Christi habeamus, et ab omnibus successoribus ejus hoc idem patrocinium ac protectionem illius sedis nos et hereditas nostra nostrique heredes, quicumque Dei voluntatis fuerit quod illi sint, in omnibus necessitatibus nostris absque omni dubitatione spontaneum paratumque amicali amore semper inveniant, seu etiam familiæ liberorum monaste-

[COUNCIL OF KINGSTON.]

riorum qui antiquitus sub jure dominioque abbatum abbatissarumque constitute fuerint, qui me meumque patrem Ecgberhtum regem pro suis propriis ac maximis necessitatibus sibi ad protectionem et ad dominium elegerunt; spiritalisque dominos id est Episcopos mecum constituti propria voluntate mecum habuerunt, ut in omnibus libertas et regula monasterialis vitæ rite ac recte ab omnibus illis servetur. Sed et post dies meos sue libertatis electione absque omni obstaculo cuicumque personis digni habeantur. Insuper etiam pro hac nostra susceptione electioneque nequaquam a cuicumque potestatis homine sive Regi vel Episcopo majoris minorisve personis accusati calumniantur, neque libertas eorum semper in posterum in aliqua frangatur. Nullaque altercatio alicujus questionis inter nos nostrosque heredes et hereditatem nostram et illum Archiepiscopum successoresque ejus et Ecclesiam Christi et familiam ejus ex hac die et deinceps inimicaliter exorta sit, sed pax nostra conglutinata amore vigere, florere, crescereque, inter nos nostrosque carissimos amicos perpetualiter valeat. Duasque scripturas per omnia consimiles hujus reconciliationis conscribere statuimus; alteram habeat Archiepiscopus cum telligraphis Ecclesiæ Christi; alteram Ecgberht et Æthelwlf Reges cum hereditatis eorum scripturis. Actum est autem anno Dominice Incarnationis DCCCXXXVIII., Indict. I., die IIII. feria, his testibus consentientibus qui hanc nostram reconciliationem signo sancte crucis Christi confirmantes subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Ceolnoth gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hanc reconciliationem et istam confirmationem cum signo sancte crucis Christi roborabo et subscribo.

- ✠ Ego Bægmunð presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Werhard presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Brunhard presbyter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Hysenoth presbyter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Osmund presbyter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Hunred presbyter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Wigmunð presbyter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Beornnoth presbyter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Heaberht diaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Badannoth diaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Wealhhere diaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego Ceolwulf sub diaconus consensi et subscripsi.

[COUNCIL OF KINGSTON.]

✠ Ego Nothwulf sub diaconus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego Ceolwulf sub diaconus consensi et subscripsi.

[K. C. D., CCXL., from MSS. Cotton, Aug. II. 20, 21, 37; MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 392; W., I. 178; S., I. 340.]

II. ✠ Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Jhesu Christo! Omnia statuta priorum prædecessorum nostrorum apicibus litterarum commodata sunt, ne in posterum oblivioni tradita ignorentur. Quapropter ego Egberht gratia Dei Occidentalium-Saxonum Rex hoc innotescere curavi, quod aliquantulam terræ partem meæ propriæ hæreditatis in Vecta insula, hoc est æt Scealdan fleote, XL. habens cassatos, cum consilio et testimonio optimatum meorum pro spe æternæ remunerationis et criminum absolutione, ad sedem Episcopalem Wintancestrensis Æcclesiæ ad possessionem perpetuam libenter largitus sum, ea tamen conditione interposita, ut hæc prænominata donatio firma permaneat, quod Æthelwulfus filius meus semper in posterum stabilem inconcussamque amicitiam ab illo Episcopo Eadhuno et ejusdem congregatione prædictæ Æcclesiæ habeat, et ab omnibus successoribus ejus hoc idem patrocinium ac protectionem illius sedis ipse et hæreditas nostra nostrique hæredes, quicumque Dei voluntatis fuerit quod illi sint, in omnibus necessitatibus nostris, absque omni dubitatione, spontaneum paratumque amicabilem amore inveniant. Si autem aliquis, quod absit, hujus præscriptæ sedis dignitate præditus, contra illum et hæreditatem nostram nostrosque hæredes inimicali quæstione in aliqua re præliatur, permutat hanc donationem et reddat ad hæreditatem nostram; quatinus quicumque eam sub potestate dominationis habeat, defensionem atque tuitionem a cuicumque homini prout invenire valeat, cum hanc prænominata terra compareat et requirat; duasque scripturas per omnia consimiles hujus reconciliationis conscribere statuimus, alteram habeat Episcopus cum telligraphis æcclesiæ, alteram Egberht et Æthelwlf Reges cum hæreditatis eorum scripturis. Actum est autem [anno] Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC.XXXVIII., his testibus consentientibus qui hanc nostram reconciliationem cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi confirmantes subscripserunt in illo famoso loco qui appellatur Cingestun in regione Suthreie.

✠ Ego Celnoth gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hanc reconciliationem et istam confirmationem cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi roboravi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Egberht Rex consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego

[COUNCIL OF KINGSTON.]

Æthelwulfus Rex consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ælfstan Episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Beornmod Episcopus confirmavi. ✠ Ego Eadhun Episcopus. ✠ Ego Cynred Episcopus conscripsi. ✠ Ego Elmstan Episcopus non renui. ✠ Ego Swithhunus diaconus corroboravi. [K. C. D., *MXLIV.*, from the *Codex Wintoniensis*, fo. 111.]

<sup>a</sup> The two charters given above are, as will be seen, very much alike, and although there may be a presumption that the Winchester one was fabricated in imitation of the Canterbury one, the suspicion cannot be said to be confirmed by further internal evidence, except that Helmstan attests as Bishop, who, as appears from his own Profession, was appointed by Ethelwulf (below,

p. 622). The subsequent confirmation at the place called "Vetustissimus" is however attested by Swithun as Bishop, and must be regarded as possibly a forgery: and this implicates the principal document, which it is safest to regard as questionable; but see below, p. 625. The authority of the Canterbury grant is not, however, impugned.

A.D. 838 or 839. *Witenagemot at Wilton, in which the agreement made between the Kings and the Archbishop at Kingston is confirmed.*

Pro ampliore itaque confirmatione iterum adducta est hæc scedula<sup>a</sup> coram Æthelwlfum Regem<sup>b</sup> et optimates ejus in villa regali qui appellatur Wiltun, his testibus consentientibus et subscribentibus quorum nomina subter prænotata sunt.

✠ Ego Æthelwlf Rex consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alhstan Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadhun Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus Wulfhardi principis. ✠ Signum manus Æthelwlf principis. ✠ Signum manus Eanwulfi principis<sup>c</sup>. ✠ Signum manus Eadberhti diaconi. ✠ Signum manus Æthelheardi ministri. ✠ Signum manus Ecgberhti ministri. ✠ Signum manus Alhstani ministri. ✠ Signum manus Osmundi ministri. ✠ Signum manus Hudan ministri. ✠ Signum manus Orsici ministri. ✠ Signum manus Ceolrædi ministri. ✠ Signum manus Wlflafi ministri. [K. C. D., *CCXL.*, from MSS. Cotton, Augustus II. 20, 21, 37; *MS. Lambeth* 1212, p. 393.]

<sup>a</sup> That is, the Canterbury document given above, p. 617. There is no corresponding ratification of the Winchester grant.

<sup>b</sup> There is nothing to show that Egbert was dead before the execution of this Act, and from the fact that his death is mentioned in the subsequent ratification (p. 624), it is

probable that it was drawn up during his life. It is impossible to say whether it belongs to A.D. 838 or 839.

<sup>c</sup> Between the attestations of Eanwulf and Eadbert, the Lambeth MS. introduces two others: "✠ Signum manus Monnedi p̄ri. ✠ Signum manus Æthelhelmi p̄ri."



A.D. 839. *Embassy of Ethelwulf to the Emperor Lewis, asking a passage through France to Rome, and informing him of a mysterious vision*<sup>a</sup>.

ANNALES BERTINIANI, ad A.D. 839.—Verum post sanctum Pascha imperatori in Francia repedanti Rex Anglorum legatos misit, postulans per Franciam pergendi Romam orationis gratia transitum sibi ab imperatore tribui; monens etiam curam subjectorum sibi erga animarum salutem sollicitius impendendam, quoniam visio cuidam apud illos ostensa non minimum animos eorum terruerat. [*Ann. Bertin. (Prudent. Trecens.), Pertz, I. 433.*]

<sup>a</sup> The vision in question is too curious and illustrative of a recurrent phase of English religious thought to be omitted here; the historian proceeds, "Cujus seriem visionis imperatori mittere studuit, habentem hunc modum; visio cujusdam religiosi presbyteri de terra Anglorum, quæ post Natalem Domini ei rapto a corpore ostensa est. Quadam nocte cum idem religiosus presbyter dormiret, quidam homo ad eum venit, præcipiens illi ut eum sequeretur. Tunc ille surgens secutus est eum. Ductor vero illius duxit eum ad terram sibi ignotam, ubi varia et mira ædificia constructa vidit. Inter quæ Ecclesia facta erat in quam ille et ductor ejus introivit, ibidemque plurimos pueros legentes vidit. Cumque ductorem suum interrogaret, an inquirere auderet quinam pueri essent, respondit ei 'Interroga quod vis et libenter tibi indicabo.' Et cum ad illos appropinquaret, ut videret quod legerent, perspexit libros eorum non solum nigris litteris verum etiam sanguineis esse descriptos, ita videlicet ut una linea nigris esset litteris descripta, et altera sanguineis. Cumque interrogassem cur libri illi sanguineis litteris descripti essent, respondit auctor meus; 'Lineæ sanguineæ quas in istis libris conspicis diversa hominum Christianorum peccata sunt; quia ea quæ in libris Divinis illis præcepta et jussa sunt, minime facere et adimplere volunt. Pueri vero isti qui hic quasi legendo discunt animæ sunt sanctorum quæ quotidie pro Chris-

tianorum peccatis et facinoribus deplorant et pro illis intercedunt, ut tandem aliquando ad pœnitentiam convertantur. Et nisi istæ animæ sanctorum tam incessanter cum fletu ad Deum clamarent, jam aliquatenus finis tantorum malorum in Christiano populo esset. Recordaris quia anno præsentis fruges non solum in terra, verum etiam in arboribus et vitibus abundanter ostensæ sunt; sed propter peccata hominum maxima pars illarum periit, quæ ad usum atque utilitatem humanam non pervenit. Quod si cito homines Christiani de variis vitibus et facinoribus eorum non egerint pœnitentiam, et diem Dominicum melius et honorabilius non observaverint, cito super eos maximum et intolerabile periculum veniet. Videlicet tribus diebus et noctibus super terram illorum nebula spississima expandetur, et statim homines pagani cum immensa multitudine navium super illos venient, et maximam partem populi et terræ Christianorum, cum omnibus quæ possident, igne ferroque devastabunt. Sed tamen si adhuc veram pœnitentiam agere volunt et peccata illorum juxta præceptum Domini jejunio et oratione atque elemosynis emendare studuerunt, tunc has pœnas et pericula per intercessionem sanctorum evadere poterunt." It is worth while to compare with these statements the mission of Eustace of Flay at the beginning of the 13th century, and the views about the observance of Sunday propounded by Pehtré; see above, p. 616.

A.D. 839. *Profession of obedience made by Helmstan<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Winchester to Ceolnoth Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO HELMSTANI WINTONIENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Helmstanus, ac si indignissimus omnium hominum, tamen Divina dispensante gratia, a sancta et apostolicæ sedis

[PROFESSION OF HELMSTAN.]

dignitate et ab congregatione civitatis Wentanæ, necnon Æthel . . . Regis, et episcoporum optimatorumque ejus et totius genti Occidentalium Saxonum unanimiter ad episcopalis officii gradum electas, die XIII. kalendas Septembris in loco præclaro antiquorum Romanorum arte constructa vulgoque per tulluris spatia vocitato civitas Lundonia magna, a viro venerabilissimo et per omnia sanctissimo Ceolnotho Doroverniæ civitatis Archiepiscopo sacrosancte . . . adque regimen animarum per exemplum apostolicæ ordinationis et episcopatus gradum unctus, Deoque ad serviendum fideliter edoctus, cujusque cari et præclari prænominati Archiepiscopi magisterio, me obtemperantem adque apostolicæ sedis sanctæ Dorovensensis Ecclesiæ in omnibus obedientem esse fateor, ita ut in pristinis constitutionum senodalium sanctionibus legentes repperimus, quod principatum tenet Romana Ecclesia et apostolicæ sedis dignitas, Scriptura dicente, "Supra omnem principatum," et cætera, et inde sicuti per mundum per prædicatores sanctos Augustinum necnon et socias suas ad sedem prænominatam potestas ipsa adjuvata est, et sic omnes in suo diocesi sive majores sive minores subtus se inclinarent atque humiliarent, ita me omnesque mihi subjectos Deo servientes ad sedis ipsius dominatum corpore et mente humiliare Deo favente contestor, et sic sibi de nostræ parvitatibus eventibus sociare sive spiritualiter seu corporaliter, ut honestis filiis suo venerabili patri decet, cohærendo et hoc optando ut ipse pater piissimus, ditatus filiis castissimis, ad regnum præcedat justissimum secumque nos deducat sanctissimus ibi præmium percipiat de tanti laboris victoria cum quantorum turba animarum coronatus intraret in gloriam. [*Reg. Cantuar. A. I. fo. 253.*]

<sup>a</sup> Helmstan's name is attached to charters from A.D. 839 to 844; and as that of his predecessor Eadhun is found as late as A.D. 838, his promotion may be fixed to A.D. 839. It is not easy to explain the references to the apostolic see and to the primacy of the Roman

Church, which are not mentioned in any of the other Professions, but it is possible that Helmstan may have been an envoy to Rome from Ethelwulf, who very early in his reign contemplated the pilgrimage which practically terminated it.

A.D. 839. *Profession of obedience made by Berhtred<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Lindsey to Ceolnoth Archbishop of Canterbury.*

PROFESSIO BERHTREDI LINDISFARORUM EPISCOPI.—Ego Berhtredus, Divina favente pietate, humilis Lindisfarorum antistes, cum ambabus subnuncupatorum congregationibus ecclesiarum<sup>b</sup>, pariterque cum abbatibus, abbatissis et universis famulis Christi quibus præsum, et a quamdiu, sancto merito, ut credimus, beato Celnod pontifici eximio,

## [PROFESSION OF BERHTRED.]

et suæ satis fideli famosæque Doroverniæ civitatis ecclesiæ, perennem inextricabilis caritatis obedientiæque salutem optamus. Testificor coram Deo et Christo Jesu, Qui judicaturus est vivos ac mortuos, ac profiteor me una cum cæteris commilitonibus meis, Episcopis videlicet nostris, professionem meam quam illis præsentibus tibi tuæque sanctæ sedis auctoritati vestro iudicio fiducialiter porrexi, in quantum Dominus donabit, ut possum fideliter, impleturum; stabilemque me esse permanentem sine aliqua dissimulatione et deceptione, tibi, venerande pater Celnod Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, atque tuo Metropolitano throno Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ, me semper humili devotione obedire velle profiteor usque ad finem vitæ meæ: sic etiam orthodoxam catholicam apostolicamque fidem profiteor. Suscipio etiam decreta pontificum, et sex synodos catholicas sanctorum et antiquorum virorum, et præfixam ab eis fidem ac regulam sincera devotione conservo: et per omnia sicut prædecessor meus beatæ memoriæ Eadwulfus Episcopus, cujus nos licet indigni vicem tamen gerimus, præceptis juris obedivit: tantoque humilis nostri oris documento et sanctæ sedis auctoritate subjectum me esse gaudeo, quanto me vel indoctiorem scientia vel infirmiorem meritis apud Deum et homines ab illius comparatione reminiscor. Sed hoc est unum quod a te petam et hanc requiram, ut si quid in meis actibus ineptum pravum vel incorrectum inveneris vel audieris, statim mihi pariter modum et culpæ quam egerim et pœnitentiæ quam agam ostendas. Libenter enim quæ jusseris juxta vires nostras Deo juvante complere gaudebimus. In his igitur curis pastoralibus tuæ sanctæ eruditionis indigemus auxilio sæpissime, ut tua sancta admonitione nos jugiter de somno ignaviæ et torpore negligentæ et universis periculis eripere et suscitare digneris. ✠ Ego Berhtrede Episcopus, pace confirmata omnium Dei sacerdotum Ecclesiarumque, sancta decreta canonum catholicorum et diffinitionem priorum modernorumque pontificum consentiens subscripsi. [*Wharton, A. S., I. 79, from Reg. Cantuar. A. 1. fo. 238.*]

<sup>a</sup> Berhtred was the successor, as he tells us, of Bishop Eadulf, whose long episcopate terminates about A.D. 836. Berhtred's first attestation is that of the council of A.D. 839; and he continues to witness charters until A.D. 855. In 869 a Bishop Burgheard attests a Mercian charter of Burhred (*K. C. D., CCXCIX.*): the name may be intended for Berhtred, or may belong to an unknown successor. There is also an unappropriated Bishop

Eadbald, or Wulfsgie, in A.D. 866 (see p. 656, below). The diocese was overrun by the Danes in A.D. 873, and from this point the list of the Bishops of Lindsey is interrupted for nearly a century.

<sup>b</sup> There is no clue as to the locality of the two monasteries which Berhtred represents; but it may be observed that only two abbots appear from this diocese at the council of Clovesho in A.D. 803.

[COUNCIL "ÆT ASTRAN."]

A.D. 839<sup>a</sup>. *Council of Bishops "æt Astran," in which the agreements made at Kingston are confirmed.*

I. ✠ Anno ab Incarnatione Christi DCCC.XXX.VIII., Indictione II., primo videlicet anno regni Ethelwlf Regis post obitum patris sui, factum est venerabile conciliabulum omnium Episcoporum qui erant in australe parte fluminis Humbræ in loco quæ dicitur æt Astran; ibi que pro firma stabilitate hec eadem scedula adducta est, et cum signo crucis Christi ab hiis testibus roborata, quorum nomina subter prænotata cernentibus clare patescunt.

✠ Ego Ceolnoth gratia Dei, donante Domino, Archiepiscopus hanc reconciliationem iterato vice confirmans signum sanctæ crucis exaravi et in nomine Sancte Trinitatis omnibus fidelibus observandum præcipio.

- ✠ Signum manus Alhstani Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Helmstani<sup>b</sup> Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Humberhti Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Cynredi Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Cyneferthi Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Ræthhuni Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Heaberhti Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Ceolberhti Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Beorhtredi Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Willredi Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum manus Cuthwlf Episcopi<sup>c</sup>.

[*K. C. D.*, CCXL., from MSS. Cotton, Augustus II. 20, 21, 37; *MS. Lambeth* 1212, p. 394.]

II. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCC.XXXIX. primo videlicet anno regni Æthelwulf Regis post obitum patris sui, factum est venerabile conciliabulum omnium Episcoporum qui erant in australi parte fluminis Humbre, in loco qui dicitur Vetustissimus, ibique pro firma stabilitate hæc eadem scedula adducta est, et cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi ab his testibus roborata, quorum nomina subter prænotata cernentibus clare patescunt.

✠ Ego Ceolnoth gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hanc reconciliationem iterato vice confirmans signum sanctæ crucis exaravi et in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis omnibus fidelibus observandum præcipio. ✠ Ego Helmstanus Episcopus non renui. ✠ Ego Helstanus Episcopus

## [MERCIAN WITENAGEMOTS.]

consensi. ✠ Ego Humbertus Episcopus. ✠ Ego Swiðhunus Episcopus. ✠ Ego Ceolberhtus Episcopus. ✠ Ego Cuðulfus Episcopus. ✠ Ego Humbertus Episcopus. [K. C. D., *MXLIV.*, from the *Codex Wintoniensis*, fo. III.]

<sup>a</sup> The first of these charters, besides its importance as evidence of a council, settles the date of Ethelwulf's accession. The place at which the assembly was held cannot be identified under either the English or the Latin form.

<sup>b</sup> Helmstan has succeeded Eadhun in the see of Winchester between the assembly at Wilton and the present *conciabulum*: and eleven out of the twelve Bishops of the southern province are present on this occasion.

<sup>c</sup> The Winchester document (as remarked already) seems to be a copy of the Canterbury one, and this fact, taken in conjunction with

the anachronisms in the names of the attesting Bishops, makes it on the whole questionable. It is not however certainly spurious, for the copy from which it was printed by Kemble is only a transcript, and the introduction of Swithun as a Bishop may have been owing to a misreading of the name of Rethun; the second Humbert being also a misreading of Kyuferth. A mere fabricator would scarcely have ventured to turn "æt Astran" into "Vetustissimus;" but it is clear that no certain judgment can be pronounced under the circumstances.

A.D. 840. Mar. 28. *Witenagemot of Mercia at Tamworth*<sup>a</sup> *under King Berhtwulf, attended by four Bishops.* [K. C. D., *CCXLV.*]

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Heabert of Worcester proved his claim to certain lands which Berhtwulf had seized, in an assembly held at Easter at Tamworth. The act is witnessed by Kynferth

Bishop of Lichfield, Heabert of Worcester, Berhtred of Lindsey, and Cuthwulf of Hereford, eight *duces*, one abbot, and six other persons.

A.D. 840. *Grant of Ethelwulf to Duda, made "cum consilio et licentia Episcoporum ac Principum," at Southampton*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., *CCXLVI.*]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Alhstan of Sherborne, "cum multis aliis."

A.D. 841. *Witenagemot of Mercia at Tamworth under Berhtwulf, in which grants are made to Worcester.* [K. C. D., *CCXLVII. CCXLIX.*<sup>a</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> Both the documents referred to are printed by Kemble from the Worcester cartulary, and dated Christmas, A.D. 841: the indiction in the first is stated as "III<sup>a</sup>," but this is probably an error of transcription. The Bishops attesting the first are Kynferth, Heabert, and Cuthwulf; the same, with the addition of Berhtred of Lindsey, subscribe the second. A third charter to Eanmund and the abbey of Breedon, bearing the same date and attested

by the four Bishops above named, with the addition of Aldred Bishop of Leicester (K. C. D., *CCXLVIII.*), although derived from the same source, is marked by Kemble as spurious. The mere attestation of Bishop Aldred, whose episcopate must fall between A.D. 839 and 844, is not enough to prove this. Besides these, the grant to Worcester, K. C. D., *CCLII.*, also dated at Tamworth in A.D. 841, may be referred to the same assembly.

A.D. 841. *Grant of Ethelwulf to Beornmod Bishop of Rochester, made in a Witenagemot "cum consilio et licentia Episcoporum et Principum"*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., *CCLII.*]

<sup>a</sup> The Bishops subscribing and consenting are Ealhstan of Sherborne, Helmstan of Winchester, and Beornmod of Rochester.

[PROFESSION OF CEOLRED.]

A.D. 842. *Grant of Ethelwulf to his reeve Ceolmund, of land at Rochester*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCLIV.]

<sup>a</sup> Although the land granted is described by the King as "juris mei," and is not bestowed with the express licence and consent of the witan, the charter seems to have been issued in a Kentish witenagemot, being attested by Archbishop Ceolnoth and Bishop Beornmod, as well as by the younger King Ethelstan.

Another grant of the same year made by Ethelwulf to Eanulf, "in loco celebri qui vocatur Andredeseme," may likewise have been made in the same witenagemot; the charter is signed only by the King and Archbishop, "cum multis aliis," but the consent or licence of the witan is expressed (K. C. D., CCLIII).

A.D. 839 × 844. *Profession of obedience made by Ceolred*<sup>a</sup> *Bishop of Leicester to Ceolnoth Archbishop of Canterbury.*

In nomine Dei Summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Ceolred humilis licet indignus ad Episcopalem sedem electus Legoracensis civitatis, inprimis confiteor tibi, reverentissime pater Ceolnodi Archiepiscopi, quod absque omni ambiguitate credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum; [Filius] natus ac passus pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum, et regni Ejus non erit finis; et illam rectam et catholicam fidem, quam priores patres nostri devote servaverunt, cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores ipsa sancta sede Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ subuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter per omnia fateor. Necnon et tibi, pater beatissime Ceolnod Archiepiscopi, tuisque successoribus, veredico professione profiteor stabilem obedientiæ præbere præceptum votorum meorum, sine ullo scrupulo falsi cogitationis, usque ad terminum vitæ meæ. ✠ Ego Ceolredus mea propria manu perenni signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi<sup>b</sup>. [Reg. Cant. A. 1. fo. 256.]

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Rethun of Leicester attests charters until A.D. 839; Ceolred's name as Bishop occurs first in A.D. 844, and is found as late as A.D. 869. Between them is interposed in the ancient lists a Bishop named Aldred, whose episcopate is thus limited. Roger of Wendover, under A.D. 873, states that Aldred was deprived and Ceolred appointed in that year. This is impossible, but it is not unlikely that the statement preserves a tradition about the deposition

of Aldred, which may have been one of the circumstances attending the succession of Berhtwulf as King of Mercia.

<sup>b</sup> At the end of this document, in the Canterbury Register, occur the words "Promissio Aldhuni episcopi," showing that in the more ancient record the Profession of a Bishop named Aldhun followed this of Ceolred. This would be Aelhun, Bishop of Worcester, who, according to Florence, succeeded in A.D. 848.

[PROFESSION OF TUNBERT.]

A.D. 841 × 844. *Profession of obedience made by Tunbert<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Lichfield to Archbishop Ceolnoth.*

PROFESSIO TUNBERTI LICIFELDENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Altithroni Pii Salvatoris mundi. Cum enim omnipotens et misericors Deus, pro Sua Divina pietate gratiaque superna dispensante, ac pro maxima humani generis necessitate, periclitanti mundo per carnis materiam visibilis apparens, sanctam primitivam Catholicam Ecclesiam sacri Sui sanguinis effusione Sibi in sponsam conjunxerat, quamque per Suos sanctos doctores electosque prædicatores orthodoxam in Eum docuit fidem habere, Sanctæ Trinitatis sacramentum servare et prædicare; postea apud ecclesiasticos gradus mos inolevit ut quotienscunque alicujus provinciæ præsul ex hoc labenti sæculo ad Dei iudicium pervenire contigerit, alium pro eo, quem superna clementia providere ac prædestinare ad illam Episcopalem sedem voluerit, in primis necesse est, ut suæ professionis obedientiæque libellum sincera devotaque mente puraque conscientia confirmet et offerat. Propterea ego Tunbertus, humilis Episcopus licet indignus ad Episcopalem sedem Licifeldensis Ecclesiæ ordinatus, cum omni humilitate confiteor quia cum Omnipotentis Dei auxilio, Cujus consilium voluntasque Ejus firma et incommutabilis æternaliter permanet, semper amabiliter ac rationabiliter, quam diu erit halitus in me et spiritus in naribus meis, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Christi Doroberniæ civitatis et tibi, Celnothe Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus quem superna majestas cum Divina auctoritate prædestinavit in regimen, fidei mente et pura cordis stabilitate totisque viribus meis semper deservire et obedire, omnibus diebus vitæ meæ, curabo; atque illam sanctam et apostolicam fidem, quam prædecessores mei digne servaverunt, cum omni humilitate et obedientia, Divina simul et humana, sicut et patres mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ subijuncti sunt, semper custodire me per omnia confiteor. Et quod illi ubique plebi Dei juste prædicaverunt et prædicando servaverunt, hoc prædicare et custodire non cesso, favente et volente miseratore Domino Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. I. ; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 264 ; Reg. Cantuar. A. I. fo. 283, 288.*]

<sup>a</sup> Tunbert subscribes charters from A.D. 844 to 857, and, according to a note attached to the ancient lists in Florence, *M. H. B.* 623, survived to the reign of Alfred. This state-

ment is not borne out by any other evidence, and as a break in the list of the Bishops of Lichfield occurs after his name which extends to the reign of Athelstan, it is certain that some

## [SYNOD AT CANTERBURY.]

names are omitted. There are charters of King Burhred, dated A.D. 863 and 866, which supply the names of two Bishops not otherwise known, Eadbald and Wulfsig, one of whom may have been Bishop of Lichfield, and the other of Lindsey (*K. C. D.*, *CCXCI. CCXCII.*, and see below, p. 654). In A.D. 869, a Bishop Eadbert appears, who may belong to Lichfield (*K. C. D.*, *CCXCIX.*). A

Bishop named Wulfred attests Mercian charters from A.D. 880 to 888, who must almost certainly have sat at Lichfield (*K. C. D.*, *CCCXI. CCCXIII. MLXVI. MLXVIII.*); and from A.D. 901 to 909 we find two unappropriated Bishops, Wigmund and Wighelm, one of whom must be similarly assigned. These would nearly fill up the lacuna.

A.D. 843 or 844<sup>a</sup>. *Mercian Witenagemot under Berhtwulf, in which a grant at Pangbourn is made to the ealdorman Ethelwulf.* [*K. C. D.*, *CCLVII.*]

<sup>a</sup> The charter is dated A.D. 844, but the indiction and regnal year belong to A.D. 843. The attesting Bishops are Ceolred, Heabert, and Hunbert, who may be either the Bishop of Elmham, or a misreading for Tunbert or even Kyneferth of Lichfield. It is from the

Abingdon Cartulary (ed. Stevenson, I. 31), and not above suspicion. Another act of Berhtwulf in the Worcester Cartulary (*K. C. D.*, *CCXLII.*) may possibly belong to the same date and occasion.

A.D. 844. *Determination of the suit concerning the inheritance of Oswulf in an assembly of clergy and laity at Canterbury.*

\* \* \* \* \* a Sed heu pro dolor ille antiquus venenatissimus serpens qui protoplaustu piacula indidit et humanum genus sibi per hæc subdidit, ceu cælydra infesta et pestifera, in quorundam pectore adhuc turgescit et ad excitandas seditiones discordiasque committendas post curricula quantorum annorum, id est XXXIII., iterum Æcclesiam Christi et hæreditatem sanctorum Ejus adgravare ac depravere impia nisu ac prava voluntate conatus est, atque illam prædictum altercationis conflictum renovare et excitare, post synodalia decreta ac probabiliū patrum sanctiones, studuit. Quamobrem congregata multitudine spiritalium sæculariumque personum in Dorovernia civitate, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC.XLIII. Indict. Æthelwlfō Regi præsentē atque Æthelstano filio ejus, Ceolnotho quoque archimetropolitano Archiepiscopo, necnon Tatnoth presbitero electo ad episcopalem sedem Dorobrevi, id est, civitatis Hrofi, cum principibus, ducibus, abbatibus, et cunctis generalis dignitatis optimatibus, inter quas etiam ille venenatissimus anguis cognomento Æthelwlf, ad turbandum et inquietandum Æcclesiam Dei deveniens, sicut sæpe progenies et parentes ejus fecerunt, prolatis falsis machinamentis e latebris cordis suæ, dicens hæreditatem Oswlfi ducis cum auro et argento patris sui Æthelheah esse comparatum, et per hoc spoliare Æcclesiam Dei et sanctos cœnubias ad quas hæreditas illa pertinebat, cum pravis sequacibus nisus est.



[SYNOD AT CANTERBURY.]

Tunc ille Archiepiscopus Ceolnoth et familia ejus, id est *Æcclesiæ Christi* illa, per ordinem replicavit qualiter in illo sancto synodo de illo reconciliatum et dejudicatum est. At ille nolens adquiescere, neque iudicio synodis et probabilium patrum sanctionibus, neque adsertione et veredica voce Episcopi vel alicujus personis, tunc etenim a sapientibus et prudentibus trutinatum ac dijudicatum est, familiam *Æcclesiæ Christi*, et familiam *æt Folcanstane*, familiam quoque ad *Dobrum*, necnon et familiam *æt Liminge* ad quos hæreditas illa pertinebat, justo juramenta hæreditatem illam sibi ipsis contra hæreditatem *Æthelheahes* castigare; nam et ita fecerunt. Juraverunt XXX. homines de familiis prædictis, XII. presbeteri, cæteri communi gradus; et sic etiam illa altercatio utrarumque partium perenniter sedari decretum est, et illa altercatio nunquam amplius per aliquam inquietudinis discordiam post diem illum excitando moveatur; et firmiter decreverunt ut sub anathematis vinculo esset nodatus, qui hanc reconciliationem in aliquo irritum faceret, sicut et ille excommunicatus constat a consortio sanctorum omnium et a communionem synodalis concilii et familiis nostris *Æcclesiæque Dei* alienus existat, qui hoc kanonica statuta et synodalia præcepta infringere studuit, nisi digne Deo et hominibus præsumptionis suæ conamen emendare voluerit, et hoc signo sanctæ crucis Christi roborando omnes pariter conscripserunt.

✠ Ego *Æthelwlf* Deo dispensante Rex Occidentalium Anglorum, hanc prædictam reconciliationem familiæ Christi et hæreditatis *Æthelheahes*, et omnem altercationis conflictum qui inter se concitatum habuerunt, sedatum esse demonstrans, et hoc cum sapientibus meis signo sanctæ crucis Christi perenni titulo roborabo et subscribo, quorum subter in scedula liquescunt vocabula.

✠ Ego *Æthelwlf* dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Cynewlf* consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Lulling* consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Æthelheah* consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Æthelheah* consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Gishard* consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego *Ceolnoth* gratia Dei Metropolitanus Archiepiscopus cum presbyteris et familia sua hoc id est signo sanctæ crucis Christi roborando subscripsi.

✠ Ego *Alchhere* dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Æthelwlf* dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Freothoric* abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Æthelmund* consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Æthelred* consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego *Freothoric* consensi et sub-

[BENEFACTION OF ÆTHELWULF.]

scripsi. ✠ Ego Denemod consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornfret  
consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osfero consensi.

Hæc sunt etiam nomina familiæ Christi et illius familiæ æt Folcan-  
stane, necnon æt Dobrum atque æt Liminge, qui hanc jurationem  
juraverunt, quorum nomina subter adnotantur.

✠ Ego Abba presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Brunheard  
presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hunred presbyter consensi  
et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hysenoð presbyter consensi et subscripsi.  
✠ Ego Wigmund presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eof  
presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Degmund presbyter consensi  
et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wealdhere presbyter consensi et subscripsi.  
✠ Ego Æthelred presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cichus  
consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigemund consensi et subscripsi.  
✠ Ego Bornfred consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wynna consensi et  
subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sygeanoð consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wihtred  
consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Willmund consensi et subscripsi.  
✠ Ego Beornmod consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cynwlf. ✠ Ego  
Willhere. ✠ Ego Berhtnoth. ✠ Ego . . . . . ✠ Ego Ceolbald  
consensi. ✠ Ego Alchhere. ✠ Ego Duddel. ✠ Ego Æthelhere.  
✠ Ego Northhere. [K. C. D., CCLVI., from *Somner's Canterbury*, ed.  
Battely, App. p. 77.]

<sup>a</sup> This is the conclusion of the document given above under A.D. 810. See pp. 567,  
568.

A.D. 844. *Grant to Malmesbury made in a Witenagemot of Wessex,  
at Winchester, in which Ethelwulf frees from taxation every tenth  
"mansio"<sup>a</sup>.* (Questionable.)

✠ Regnante Domino nostro in perpetuum! Dum in nostris  
temporibus bellorum incendiis et direptione opum nostrarum, necnon  
et vastantium crudelissima deprædatione hostium barbarorum, pagana-  
rumque gentium multiplici tribulatione affligentium usque ad inter-  
necionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa: Quamobrem ego  
Æðelwlfus Rex Occidentalium Saxonum cum consilio episcoporum  
ac principum meorum, consilium salubre atque uniforme remedium  
affirmavi, ut aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam antea possi-  
dentibus gradibus omnibus, sive famulis et famulabus Dei Deo ser-  
vientibus, sive laicis, semper decimam mansionem ubi minimum  
sit tum decimam partem, in libertatem perpetuam perdonare diju-  
dicavi, ut sit tuta atque munita ab omnibus sæcularibus servitutibus,

## [BENEFACTION OF ÆTHELWULF.]

fiscis regalibus, tributis majoribus et minoribus, sive taxationibus quæ nos dicimus Witereden; sitque libera omnium rerum; pro remissione animarum et peccatorum nostrorum, Deo soli ad servendum, sine expeditione, et pontis instructione, et arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem sæcularem in aliqua parte levigamus. Placuit autem tunc postea Episcopis Ælhstano Scireburnensis Æcclesiæ et Helmstano Wyntanceastrensis Æcclesiæ cum suis abbatibus et servis Dei consilium inire, ut omnes fratres et sorores nostri ad unamquamque Æcclesiam omni ebdomada Mercoris die, hoc est Wodnesdag, omnis congregatio cantet quinquaginta psalmos, et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro Rege Æðelwlf, et aliam pro ducibus ejus huic dono consentientibus, pro mercede et refrigerio delictorum suorum; pro Rege vivente, *Deus Qui justificas*; pro ducibus viventibus, *Prætede Domine*. Postquam autem defuncti fuerint, pro Rege defuncto, singulariter; pro principibus defunctis, communiter. Et hoc sit tam firmiter constitutum omnibus diebus Christianitatis, quasi libertas constituta est quamdiu fides crescit in gente Anglorum. Et hoc sub testimonio satrapum nostrorum plurimorum ad confirmationem quorum nomina subter annexa notantur. Scripta est autem hæc donationis cartula anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC.XLIII., Indictione VII., die quoque nonarum Novembris, in civitate Wentana, in æcclesia Sancti Petri ante altare capitale; et hoc fecerunt pro honore Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et Sanctæ Mariæ Reginae gloriosæ Dei genitricis, simulque et beati Petri apostolorum principis, necnon et sancti patris nostri Gregorii Papæ, atque omnium sanctorum. Et tunc pro ampliori firmitate Rex Æðelwlfus posuit cartulam supra altare Sancti Petri, et Episcopi pro fide Dei acceperunt; et postea per omnes æcclesias transmiserunt in suis parrochiis, secundum quod prædictum est. Terra autem ista quam in libertatem ponamus ad Meldunesburgensem æcclesiam pertinet. Ðæt is at Ellendune þrity hyde, and æt Elmhamstede fyftene hyde, æt Wttune tien hyde, et Chertune tuentig hyde, et Minty vif hyde, at Rodburne tien hyde. Et qui hoc augere voluerit, augeat Deus bona illius in regione viventium. Si quis autem diabolica fraude deceptus in magnis aut in modicis hoc infringere vel minuere temptaverit, sit anathematizatus ab omnibus fidelibus hic et in futuro sæculo, nisi antea per satisfactionem emendaverit.

✠ Ego Æðelwlf Rex consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Elmstan

[WITENAGEMOTS OF KENT, MERCIA, AND WESSEX.]

Episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ælstan Episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æðelwlf dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osric dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eanwlf dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æðelric dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceanwlf dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cearl dux subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æðel-mund abbas subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wlflaf abbas subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beorhtelm abbas subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ægheard minister. ✠ Ego Milred minister. ✠ Ego Osmund minister. ✠ Ego Ælla minister. ✠ Ego Wlfhere minister. ✠ Ego Ælfstan minister. ✠ Ego Ceol-mund minister. ✠ Ego Kyneheah minister. ✠ Ego Kyneheah minister. ✠ Ego Dudda minister. ✠ Ego Æðelred minister. ✠ Ego Wihtgar minister. ✠ Ego Eadred minister. ✠ Ego Æðel-bald minister. ✠ Ego Lulling minister. ✠ Ego Cealmund minister. [K. C. D., *MXLVIII.*, from MS. Lansdowne 417, fo. 6, collated with *MS. Bodl. Wood. donat.* 5, of the thirteenth century.]

<sup>a</sup> This charter is printed by Kemble from a Malmesbury Cartulary of the 14th century. The Rubric in the Bodleian Cartulary stands thus: *Quomodo Æthelwulfus Rex decimavit terram suam Deo et sanctæ Ecclesiæ; et quota*

*parte hujus decimæ Meldunensem Ecclesiam ditaverit.* It is unnecessary to discuss the authenticity of it in this place; more will be found on the subject under A.D. 855, below, pp. 637, 640.

A.D. 845. Nov. 19. *Witenagemot of Kent, in which a grant is made to Badanoth by Ethelwulf*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., *CCLIX.*]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Bishop Tatnoth of Rochester, the Kings Ethelwulf and Ethelstan, two abbots,

one ealdorman, and nine others; and dated "in illa famosa villa qui dicitur on Weg."

A.D. 845. Dec. 25. *Witenagemot of Mercia at Tamworth, in which a grant is made to Worcester*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., *CCLVIII.*]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by six Bishops, Hunbert [Tunbert] of Lichfield, Heabert of Worcester, Ceolred of Leicester, Berhtred of Lindsey, Cuthwulf of Hereford, and Wihtred [Wilred] of Dun-

wich. The grant is made "cum consensu et consilio Episcoporum et principum meorum et omnium seniorum gentis nostræ."

A.D. 847. Dec. 26. *Witenagemot of Wessex at Dorchester, in which Ethelwulf, with the consent and licence of his Bishops and Princes, orders twenty "manentes" to be booked to himself in perpetual inheritance.* [K. C. D., *CCLX.*]

<sup>a</sup> This act is printed by Kemble from the original among the Cottonian charters, VIII. 36. The only Bishop attesting it is Alhstan of Sherborne. Its importance is constitutional

rather than ecclesiastical, showing that the King could not without the consent of his witan appropriate public land to his own uses.

## [PROFESSION OF SWITHUN.]

A.D. 848. *Mercian Witenagemot*<sup>a</sup> at Repton under Berhtwulf, in which a grant is made to Abbot Eanmund and the monastery of Bredon. [K. C. D., CCLXI.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by the following Bishops, Tunbert of Lindsey, Alchun of Worcester, and Cuthwulf of Hereford, Ceolred of Leicester, Berhtred

A.D. 849. *Mercian Witenagemot* at Tamworth, in which Berhtwulf grants to his minister Egeberht lands previously made over to him by Bishop Alhhun. [K. C. D., CCLXII. CCL.<sup>a</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> The two documents referred to are copies of the same grant with variations. The attesting Bishops are Tunbert, Ceolred, Berhtred, and Cuthwulf.

A.D. 850. *Grant of Ethelwulf to Malmesbury, made with the consent of his Bishops and Princes*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCLXIII.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by the Archbishop and Bishop Alhstan of Sherborne.

A.D. 850. *Grant of Ethelwulf to Ælfbere, ealdorman, made at Wilton, with the consent of his Bishops and Princes.* [K. C. D., MXLIX.]

A.D. 850. *Grant of Ethelwulf and Ethelstan to Ealhere, ealdorman, of land near Rochester*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCLXIV.]

<sup>a</sup> The land is described as "juris mei;" Benningdon and Kingsbury, given by Spelman and Wilkins under A.D. 850 and 851, are derived from the pseudo-Ingulf, and are unblushing forgeries. The councils of

A.D. 852<sup>a</sup>. *Profession of obedience made by Swithun Bishop of Winchester to Archbishop Ceolnoth.*

PROFESSIO SWITHUNI WENTONIENSIS EPISCOPI.—In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Suithunus, humilis servunculus servorum Dei, Celnotho Archiepiscopo sospitatis salutem. Licet indignus ad Episcopalem sedem electus Wentanæ civitatis ecclesiæ, in primis confiteor tibi, reverentissime pater Celnothe Archiepiscopo, continentiam meam<sup>b</sup> et dilectionem meam ad te, quod absque ambiguitate et absque ulla falsitatis commentione est, credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, Filium natum et passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum et regni Ejus non erit finis. Et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres nostri devote servaverunt, cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores mei ipsi sanctæ sedi Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper servare velle humiliter per omnia

[LETTER OF LUPUS TO WIGMUND.]

fateor. Necnon et tibi, pater beatissime et amantissime Celnothe Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus, veridica professione confiteor stabile obedientiæ præbere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsæ cogitationis usque ad terminum vitæ meæ. Beatitudinem vestram Divina gratia custodiat. [MS. *Cleopatra E. I.*; *Reg. Cantuar. A. I.* fo. 252; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 269; *Rudborne, Hist. Wint., A. S., I.* 203.]

<sup>a</sup> The festival of the ordination of S. Swithun was kept on the 30th of October (see the Winchester Kalendar printed in Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI. 657, and by B. Williams (London, 1851), from a Rouen MS. Y<sup>24</sup>/<sub>25</sub>; and another printed from MS. Cotton, *Vitellius E. XVIII.* in Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, I. 431), which, the day being a Sunday in A.D. 852, would fix the consecration to that year, were it not that in another MS. of the same church (MS. Reg. 15. C. 7) it is placed

on the 29th of October, which throws it forward to A.D. 853. As his episcopate is stated to have lasted ten years, and his death to have occurred July 2, 862, the earlier seems to be the better date.

<sup>b</sup> After the words *continentiam meam* in the copy given by Rudborne adds *quam prius in professione monachali expressi*, which, together with the interpolation of the word *monachus* after *Switbunus*, show that it was intended to claim him as a monk. There is no trustworthy evidence that he was one.

A.D. 852. *Mercian Witenagemot under Burkbred King of Mercia, in which Ceolred Abbot of Medeshamstede sells land at Sempringham to Wulfred*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCLXVII.; A. S. C., MS. Bodl. Laud. 636.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Archbishop Ceolnoth and by the Bishops Tunbert, Ceolred, Alchun, and Berhtred.

A.D. 853. *Grant of land in Kent by Ethelwulf, with consent and licence of his witan, to Ealdhere*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCLXIX.]

<sup>a</sup> The only ecclesiastic who attests this charter is the Archbishop: it is also subscribed by Ethelbert, who must have succeeded his

brother Ethelstan as King of Kent under his father about this time.

A.D. 849 × 854<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Abbot Lupus to Archbishop Wigmund and the Church of York, lamenting the interruption of intercourse, and desiring his prayers.*

*Reverentissimo magnaue veneratione suscipiendo Guigundo Eboracensis Ecclesiæ antistiti cunctisque sub eo Domino Deo famulantibus LUPUS ABBAS ET UNIVERSA CENOBII FERRARIENSIS CONGREGATIO in Domino salutem. Ingens fluxit spatium temporis quod perturbationibus variis crebrescentibus, societas quæ a prædecessoribus nostris, auctore Domino, inita est nulla præter orationes protulit indicia caritatis. Nunc autem aperiente se gratia pacis et recepta cella Sancti Judoci<sup>b</sup>, unde et hæc scribimus, curavimus, ut par fuit, priores certare officio, vosque sive ad repetendam sive ad declarandam amicitiam provocare.*

[LETTER OF LUPUS TO ALTSIG.]

Ac primum illud ante omnia suppliciter poscimus, ut et in privatis et in publicis precibus nostri memores esse dignemini. Deinde volumus ut vicissim nobis præstare studeamus quidquid gratiosum fore litteris utrinque directis constiterit, et facultas permiserit. Maturate igitur vestram nobis pandere voluntatem ut et ad morigerandum vobis continuo præparemur, et fructu dilectionis Dominus Deus noster glorificetur ac delectetur. Cupio vos valere feliciter, sanctissimi patres. [*B. Servati Lupi, Opp.*, ed. Baluze, ep. 61. p. 103.]

<sup>a</sup> Written between A.D. 849, at which date Lupus recovered the cell of S. Judoc, and A.D. 854, the date of Wigmund's death: see Baluze's notes on epp. 51, 61.

<sup>b</sup> The cell of S. Judoc had belonged to Alcuin, as had also the abbacy of Ferrières. It was at Quantavic or Etaples in Ponthieu.

A.D. 849 × 854. *Letter of Abbot Lupus to Altsig Abbot of York, desiring a restoration of intercourse and the loan of books*<sup>a</sup>.

*Venerabili Altsig, Abbati, LUPUS MONASTERII BETHLEHEMITICI SIVE FERRARIENSIS* in Domino salutem. Ingenti clementia Dei nostri, discordiæ peste mitigata, quæ totas Gallias Germaniamque hactenus vexavit atrociter<sup>b</sup>, inter ipsa pacis exordia, fœdus quod inter nostram vestramque olim fuit Ecclesiam, directis ad reverentissimum Guigmundum Episcopum litteris studui renovare. Quia vero vos amore sapientiæ cujus et ego sum avidus, flagrare comperi, vel secundum illud Tullii, "pares cum paribus facile congregantur," vel juxta receptæ Scripturæ assertionem, "omne animal diligit sibi simile, sic omnis homo," hac epistola meam offero et vestram expeto amicitiam, ut nobis vicissim cum in sacris orationibus, tum etiam in quibuslibet aliis utilitatibus prodesse curemus: atque ut quod polliceor vos exsequamini priores, obnixè flagito ut Quæstiones Beati Hieronymi quas, teste Cassiodoro, in Vetus et Novum Testamentum elaboravit, Bedæ quoque vestri similiter Quæstiones in utrumque Testamentum, itemque memorati Hieronymi libros explanationum in Jeremiam, præter sex priores, qui apud nos reperiuntur, cæteros qui sequuntur; præterea Quinctiliani Institutionum Oratoriarum libros XII., per certissimos nuntios mihi ad cellam Sancti Judoci, quæ tandem aliquando nobis reddita est, dirigatis tradendos Lantramno, qui bene vobis notus est, ibique exscribendos, vobisque quam poterit fieri celerius remittendos. Quod si omnes non potueritis, at aliquos ne gravemini destinare, recepturi a Deo præmium impletæ caritatis, a nobis autem quamcunque possibilem duntaxat cesseritis vicem tanti laboris.

## [BENEFACTION OF ÆTHELWULF.]

Valete, nosque mox, ut se opportunitas obtulerit, exoptabili responso lætificatæ. [*B. Servati Lupi, Opp.*, ed. Baluze, ep. 62. p. 104.]

<sup>a</sup> The date and circumstances of this letter are the same as those of the last. Taken together they afford the last glimpse of the existence of the famous schools of learning in the North, which were soon to perish under the Danish conquest.

<sup>b</sup> If this refers to the alliance between Charles the Bald and Lewis against Lothair in A.D. 849, the date of the letters may be fixed with more precision to that or the next year.

A.D. 855. *Æthelwulf's grant of freedom from royal taxation to a tenth part of his lands.*

A. S. C., *ad* A.D. 855.—And thy ilcan geare gebocude Æthelwulf cuning teo than dæl his londes ofer al his rice Gode to lofe and him selfum to ecere hælo. [*M. H. B.* p. 348.]

ASSER., *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, *ad* A.D. 855.—Eodem anno Æthelwulfus præfatus venerabilis Rex decimam totius regni sui partem ab omni regali servitio et tributo liberavit, in sempiternoque graphio in cruce Christi pro redemptione animæ suæ et antecessorum suorum Uni et Trino Deo immolavit. [*M. H. B.* p. 470; *Flor. Wig.*, *M. H. B.* pp. 551, 641.]

ÆTHELWERD, *Chron. III. c. 3.* \* \* In eodem anno decumavit Athulf Rex de omni possessione sua in partem Domini, et in universo regimine sui principatus sic constituit. [*M. H. B.* p. 511.]

SIM. DUN., *ad* A.D. 855. \* \* Quo tempore Ethelwulfus Rex decimavit totum regni sui imperium pro redemptione animæ suæ et antecessorum suorum. [*M. H. B.* p. 675.]

H. HUNT., *lib. V.*, *ad* A.D. 855.—Adelwlfus decimo nono anno regni sui totam terram suam ad opus ecclesiarum decumavit propter amorem Dei et redemptionem sui. [*M. H. B.* p. 737.]

WILL. MALMESB., *G. R.*, *lib. II.* § 109.—Ethelwulfus duobus sustentatoribus (sc. Swithuno et Alstano) fretus, et exteriora bene providere et interiora non despuere, post triumphatos scilicet hostes, ad Dei cultum versus, decimam omnium hydarum infra regnum suum Christi famulis concessit liberam ab omnibus functionibus, absolutam ab omnibus inquietationibus. [*Ed. Hardy*, vol. I. p. 151.]

ROG. WENDOVER, *Flor. Hist.*, *ad* A.D. 855.—Eodem anno Rex magnificus Athelwulfus decimam regni sui partem Deo et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis contulit, liberam ab omnibus servitiis sæcularibus, exactionibus et tributis<sup>a</sup>. [*Ed. Coxe*, I. 288.]

<sup>a</sup> The measure described in these extracts has been understood to convey to the clergy the tithes of all the lands of the kingdom, and to be the original deed of gift on which the legal right to tithe in England depends. This view was first elaborately propounded by

Selden in his work on the *History of Tithes*, with the intention of proving their legal as opposed to divine origin and moral obligation, which were maintained by the ecclesiastical writers of his time, Bishop Carleton and others. And Selden's view was accepted by our popular



## [BENEFACTION OF ETHELWULF.]

historians, such as Collier, *Ecc. Hist.*, I. 156-158; Hume, *Hist. Engl.* (ed. 1778), I. 72, 73, and others. Carte, however, who represents a more thoughtful and critical school of history, argues from the mention of the obligation of tithes in earlier documents, that this cannot be the origin of the right, any more than it was, as Speiman supposed, the origin of the glebe lands of the Church (*Hist. Engl.*, I. 295). Kemble in his work on the *Saxons in England* (vol. II. pp. 481-490) carefully analyzes the statements of the historians and the charters extant on the subject, and decides that the Acts of Ethelwulf do not refer to the tithe of increase at all. It may be stated generally, (1) that the claim of the Christian clergy to the tithe of increase, as representatives of the Levitical priesthood, is maintained by several of the Fathers, as S. Jerome, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom; the passages may be found in Bingham, *Antiqq.*, II. 81-85. This claim is, however, rather one of moral and religious than of legal obligation. (2) The council of Tours in A.D. 567 (*Labbe, Conc.*, V. 868) admonishes the faithful to pay tithes; "Illud vero instantissime commonemus, ut Abrahæ documenta sequentes, decimas ex omni facultate non pigeat Deo pro reliquis quæ possidetis conservandis offerre;" and this is more strongly stated by the council of Mâcon of A.D. 589 (*Labbe, Conc.*, V. 982), the authenticity of which has, however, been impugned; "Unde statuimus ac decernimus ut mos antiquus a fidelibus reparetur et decimas ecclesiasticis famulantibus cæremoniis populus omnis inferat, quas sacerdotes aut in pauperum usum aut in captivorum redemptionem prærogantes, suis orationibus pacem populo ac salutem impetrent. Si quis autem contumax nostris statutis saluberrimis fuerit a membris ecclesiæ omni tempore separetur." (3) The religious duty thus enforced by ecclesiastical law was made generally and legally imperative in the Frank kingdom by Charles the Great in A.D. 779; "De decimis; ut unusquisque suam decimam donet atque per jussionem pontificis dispensentur." *Capitt.* (ed. Baluze), I. 141, 142.—The growth or establishment of the right in England followed probably the same course. (1) Setting aside the statements of the suppositions Penitentials from which Kemble argued, it is clear from the genuine Penitential of Theodore that the duty of giving tithe to sacred purposes was regarded by him as part of the common law of the Church. *Pœnit.*, II. c. ii. § 8, c. xiv. §§ 9, 10. The same was the belief of the early lawyers, who refer the introduction of the custom to S. Augustin: *Leges Eadw.*, capp. vii. viii., *Thorpe*, p. 191. (2) The legatine council of A.D. 787, whose decrees were accepted as binding by the Kings and Witan of Mercia and Northumbria, and probably by the Witan

of Wessex also, enacts in the 17th canon, "ut omnes studeant de omnibus quæ possident decimas dare, quia speciale Domini Dei est; et de novem partibus sibi vivat" (above, pp. 456, 457). This passage is overlooked by Kemble, who, however, quotes a statement of Brompton (ed. Twysden, c. 776), that Offa "decimam omnium rerum suarum ecclesiæ sanctæ dedit." Beyond this canon of the legatine council there is no extant enactment declaring the legal obligation of tithes; but it appears as an established law in the time of Edward the Elder (*Thorpe*, p. 73): "If any one withhold tithes, let him pay *lalslit* among the Danes, *wite* among the English." There can be no doubt that the legatine canon as approved by the Kings and Witan had the force of law, although it is uncertain by what means the law was enforced or whether it was enforced at all. This being so, Ethelwulf's donation cannot be interpreted as a gift of the tithe, which indeed was not his to bestow, but must be strictly interpreted according to the text of the documents that record it. Kemble sums up his view in the following sentences, which will be found further illustrated by the documents given below in the Appendix: "Ethelwulf did three distinct things at different times; he first released from all payments, except the inevitable three, a tenth part of the folc-lands or unenfranchised lands, whether in the tenancy of the Church or of his thanes. In this tenth part of the lands so burdened in his favour he annihilated the royal rights regnum or imperium, and as the lands receiving this privilege were secured by charter, the Chronicle can justly say that the King booked them to the honour of God (*K. C. D.*, *MXLVIII. CCLXXV.*; below, pp. 640, 641).

"A second thing he did, inasmuch as he gave a tenth part of his own private estates of book-land to various thanes or clerical establishments (*K. C. D.*, *CCLXX. CCLXXI. ML. MLIV.*; below, pp. 638-640, and 641-646).

"And lastly (see below, A.D. 857, pp. 646-648), upon every ten hides of his own land he commanded that one poor man, whether native born or stranger, that is, whether of Wessex or some other kingdom, should be maintained in food and clothing." It may be questioned whether Kemble's constructive arguments are as conclusive as his negative ones; but the whole subject is beset with difficulties, increased by the suspicious character of the documentary evidence. The bearing of the whole discussion on the subject of tithes appears to be merely that Ethelwulf used the tenth as a convenient measure for ecclesiastical and other benefactions, and that this testifies to an established, or at least a growing, recognition of the tithe as the clerical portion. The measure, whatever its character, affected Wessex only.

## APPENDIX TO THE DONATION OF ÆTHELWULF.

[The following appendix contains a notice of all the printed documents bearing on this obscure subject; others of the same kind will probably be found in unpublished Cartularies. As there is not one of them of which certain authenticity can be predicated, it is impossible to say whether any represents the real intention of the grant described by the historians above, or whether all may not be fabricated on various understandings of those statements. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the probability is, that if they were mere fabrications they would be simpler and more intelligible than they are. Their obscurity becomes a presumptive evidence of their genuineness. Kemble's view of them is given below in the notes, and as he devoted a great deal of careful attention to them, and was by no means inclined to be credulous as to their authenticity, his interpretation may be regarded as provisionally satisfactory. It may, however, be generally observed that the Winchester and Malmesbury Cartularies from which most of them are drawn are of the lowest possible character, and that very little of external probability can be adduced in mitigation of the sentence which the internal evidence suggests.]

I. *Grants made by Æthelwulf rehearsing his gift of a tenth part of the lands throughout his kingdom.*

1. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant to the thegn Hunsige<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ Regnante imperpetuum Domino nostro Jhesu Christo summo et ineffabili rerum Creatore ac Moderatore omnium, tempora Qui Sua multimoda disponens temporibus potentia ut voluerit finem imponet, et in hac vita degentibus cunctis certum, ut proposuerat, dierum terminum constituet; idcirco cunctis agendum est ut hic bonis actibus futuræ beatitudinis foelicitatem perpetualiter adipisci mereantur! Quapropter ego Æthelwlf gratia Dei Occidentalium Saxonum Rex, in sancta ac celeberrima Paschali sollempnitate, pro meæ remedio animæ et regni prosperitate et populi ab omnipotente Deo michi conlati, consilium salubre cum Episcopis, comitibus, et cunctis optimatibus meis perfecti, ut decimam partem terrarum per regnum nostrum non solum sanctis æcclesiis darem verumetiam et ministris nostris in eodem constitutis in perpetuam libertatem habere concessimus, ita ut talis donatio fixa incommutabilisque permaneat ab omni regali servitio et omnium sæcularium absoluta servitute; placuit autem Alhstano Episcopo Sciriburnensis Æcclesiæ et Swithun Wentanæ civitatis Æcclesiæ Episcopo cum omnibus Deo servientibus, ut in unaquaque ebdomada die Sabbati unanimis congregatio famulorum famularumque Dei L. psalmos cantet, et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro Æthelwlf Rege, et alteram pro Episcopis et ducibus; pro Rege vivente, *Deus Qui justificas impium*;

## [ÆTHELWULF'S BENEFACTION.]

pro Episcopis et ducibus, *Præfende Domine*; pro Rege defuncto unam specialiter, pro Episcopis et ducibus communiter hanc consentientibus donationem, ut tam roborata perseveret quamdiu fides et Christiana religio in Anglorum gente inconcussa pervigeat. Hoc autem fecimus in honorem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et beatæ ac semper Virginis Mariæ et omnium sanctorum et Paschalis festi reverentia, ut Deus omnipotens et nobis et nostris posteris propitiare dignetur. Scripta est autem hæc cartula anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC.LIIII., Indictione II., die vero Paschali in palatio nostro quod dicitur Wiltun. Qui autem augere vel amplificare voluerit nostræ donationem satisfactionis, augeat Omnipotens Deus dies prosperos; si autem quis diminuere vel mutare præsumpserit noscat se ante tribunal Christi redditurum rationem, nisi prius satisfactione emendaverit. Ista est autem libertas quam Æthelwlf Rex suo ministro Hunsige in perpetuam libertatem concessit habere trium cassatorum in loco qui dicitur Worthi. [Here follow the boundaries.] Istitis testibus consentientibus quorum nomina infra scribuntur.

✠ Ego Æthelwlf Rex. ✠ Ego Alhstan Episcopus. ✠ Ego Swithun Episcopus. ✠ Ego Ethelbald dux. ✠ Ego Eanulf dux. ✠ Ego Æthelberht dux. ✠ Ego Wlfhere dux. ✠ Ego Eanulf dux. ✠ Ego Lullede dux. ✠ Ego Wlfaf abbas. ✠ Ego Werferth abbas. ✠ Ego Æsne minister. ✠ Ego Cynewulf minister. ✠ Ego Alhstan minister. ✠ Ego Æthelred filius Regis. ✠ Ego Ælfred filius Regis. ✠ Ego Cyneheah minister. ✠ Ego Cuthulf minister. ✠ Ego Alhstan minister. ✠ Ego Ealdred minister. ✠ Ego Cyma minister. ✠ Ego Eadmund presbyter. ✠ Ego Egheard minister. ✠ Ego Osmund minister. ✠ Ego Milred minister. Ego Lulling minister. ✠ Ego Wlfreth minister. ✠ Ego Sired minister. ✠ Ego Nithmund minister. [*K. C. D., MLIV., from the Codex Wintoniensis, MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 15,350. fo. 89.*]

\* This document is marked by Kemble in the *Codex Diplomaticus* as spurious or questionable: and this doubt lies on a very large portion of the charters contained in the *Codex*

*Wintoniensis*. The above is, however, the best specimen of the class of charters which it represents.

2. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant to the thegn Wiferth*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CCLXX., from Cart. Cotton, VIII. 35.*]

<sup>a</sup> This charter, booking one cassate "in loco qui dicitur Heregeardingc Hiwisce" to Wiferth, is printed by Kemble from a presumed original. It agrees word for word with the preceding grant to Hunsige, except so far as concerns the corruptions and contractions

of the language and the special circumstances of the grant. It is attested by twenty-eight witnesses, who are to be identified among the witnesses of the former charter, but are not in the same order.

## [ÆTHELWULF'S BENEFACTION.]

3. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant to Malmesbury*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D.*, *CCLXXI.*, from MS. Lansdowne 417. fo. 7.]

<sup>a</sup> This charter, except so far as concerns the particulars of the grant, is in exact accordance with the grant to Hunsige. The witnesses also are nearly the same, though in different order.

4. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant to Glastonbury*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D.*, *ML.*, from MS. Bodl. Wood. I.]

<sup>a</sup> This charter also agrees closely with the preceding; but the names of the witnesses are much retrenched.

5. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant in general terms*<sup>a</sup>. [*Mon. Angl.*, *I.* 514, from an Abingdon Cartulary; *Hist. Abingdon. ed. Stevenson*, *I.* 36.]

<sup>a</sup> An abridgment of No. 3.

II. *Grants made by Ethelwulf rehearsing his liberation of a tenth part of the lands subject to the obligations of folkland, from such obligations, excepting the "trinoda necessitas."*

1. A.D. 844. Nov. 5. *Grant to Malmesbury*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D.*, *MXLVIII.*, from MS. Lansdowne 417. fo. 6.]

<sup>a</sup> Printed above, p. 630. The general provision of this grant is given by Wilkins from *W. Malmesb., G. R.*, lib. II. § 114, with the date A.D. 844, but with the name of Swithun substituted for that of Helmstan. Kemble (*Saxons in England*, II. 484) says that "the

two documents of this particular class, though the authority for them is of the lowest description and the dates are altogether suspicious, seem to be of a much more genuine character as to the grant itself than the first class."

2. A.D. 855. Nov. 5. *Grant in general terms*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D.*, *CCLXXV.*; *W., I.* 182, from the Pseudo-Ingulf.]

<sup>a</sup> An abridgment of No. 1, with the date and indiction altered. As Ethelwulf had been received in France long before November, A.D. 855 (*Ann. Bert., Pertz*, *I.* 449), it is clear

that the existing date is false, and that it is adapted from the more respectable but very questionable Act of A.D. 844.

3. A.D. 855. Nov. 5. *Grant in general terms.*

Regnante in perpetuum<sup>a</sup> Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia, et direptiones opum nostrarum, et vastantium crudelissimas deprædationes hostium barbarorum, paganarumque gentium multiplices tribulationes affligentium usque ad internecionem, cernimus tempora incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem ego Æthelwulphus, Rex Occiden-

## [ÆTHELWULF'S BENEFACTION.]

talium Saxonum, cum consilio Episcoporum ac principum meorum, consilium salubre, atque uniforme remedium affirmavi, ut aliquam portionem terræ meæ, Deo, et beatæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis, jure perpetuo possidendam concedam, decimam scilicet partem terræ meæ, ut sit tuta, munita et libera ab omnibus servitiis secularibus, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus et minoribus, sive taxationibus, quæ nos Witeredden appellamus; sitque omnium rerum libera pro remissione animarum, et peccatorum meorum, ad serviendum soli Deo sine expeditione, et pontis constructione, atque arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius pro nobis preces ad Deum sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliquo levigamus. Placuit autem Episcopis Ecclesiæ Scireburnensis Alstano, et Winton. Swithuno, cum suis abbatibus, et Dei servis, viris scilicet et fœminis religiosis, quibus supradicta collata sunt beneficia, consilia inire, ut omnes fratres et sorores, omni hebdomada die Mercurii, hoc est, Wodnesday, in unaquaque ecclesia cantent Psalmos L. et unusquisque presbyter duas missas; unam pro rege, et aliam pro ducibus ejus in hoc donum consentientibus, pro salute et refrigerio delictorum suorum. Postquam autem defuncti fuerint, pro Rege defuncto singulariter, et pro ducibus communiter. Et hoc sit tam firmiter constitutum omnibus diebus Christianitatis, sicut libertas constituta est, quamdiu fides crescit in gente Anglorum. Scripta est autem hæc donationis charta anno gratiæ DCCCLV., Indictione quarta, quinto nonas Novembr. in urbe Wentana, ante majus altare beati Petri apostoli. [*W., I.* pp. 184, 185, from Matt. Westm.; *R. Wendover, ed. Coxe, I.* 291.]

<sup>a</sup> An abridgment of the form given by William of Malmesbury with altered date. Kemble's general explanation of these charters is as follows: "Ethelwulf being humbled and terrified by the distresses of wars and the ravages of barbarous and pagan invaders, devised as a useful remedy thus; he determined to liberate from all those various exactions and services which went by the general name of *witeræden* the tenth part of the estates which, though hereditary tenure had grown up in them, were still subject to the general obligations of folk-land, whether they were in the

hands of laics or clergy; that where the estate amounted to ten hides, one was to be free; where it was a very small quantity, at all events a tenth was to be so enfranchised; and as the greater part of this land either was in the hands of the clergy or was very likely ultimately to come there, he granted this charitable act of enfranchisement that on these estates the holders might be the better able to devote themselves to the service of God, all other service being discharged, except indeed the inevitable three." *Saxons in England, II.* 485.

### III. *Grants made by Ethelwulf rehearsing his decimation of his lands for holy places.*

#### 1. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant to Winchester.*

✠ Incitante Divinæ auctoritatis agiographo multipharie commonemur, ut terrena præsentis sæculi lucra largiflue dantes cœlestia æternæ beatitudinis emolumenta jugi indefessoque adquiramus lucello! Ideoque ego Æthelwulf Occidentalium Saxonum Rex, incertum hujus transitoria vitæ statum mutabilitatemque veris dinoscens indicii, vita comite prout posse dederit Qui

## [ÆTHELWULF'S BENEFACTION.]

cuncta creavit, subnixè delibero ut Redemptoris nostri possessionem æcclesiis jure delegatam augmentando magnificem. Quapropter usus consilio Ealhstani Episcopi atque altoris mei Swithuni Wentanæ Æcclesiæ præsulis tocius regni michi a Deo collati decimans rura, amplificavi spacium telluris in Tantun quod Frithegyth Regina Wentanæ Æcclesiæ, ubi nutritus a pueritia fueram, Petro Pauloque dicatæ, priscis dederat temporibus; augmentum telluris quod addidi VIII. manentes æt Risttune constat quantitate manentium; adjeci quoque et alios VIII. manentes in Stoce æt Orceard; in nomine almæ Trinitatis et individuæ Unitatis præcipio ut nemo successorum meorum minuere præsumat quod ego devotus augmentavi, neque pontificum aliquis succedenti tempore hanc nostram largifluam donationem minuere vel propinquis sæcularibusque pro aliquo cujuscumque pretii munere vel qualibet occasione temerarius dare vel accommodare præsumat. Acta est hujus terræ libertas anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC. et LIIII., Indictione I., Pascali sollempnitate, nobili palatio in Wiltune. Qui autem hoc nostrum donum augere voluerit, augeat Dominus ejus prosperitatem; qui minuere præsumperit, per auctoritatem beati Petri ejusque coapostoli Pauli anathema sit, nisi cum satisfactione suum reatum ante obitum emendaverit. Maneat igitur hoc nostrum donum æterna libertate ditatum cum omnibus commodis ad ipsum rus pertinentibus, pratis videlicet, pascuis, silvis, salinariis, præter communem expeditionem, et arcis pontisque restorationem. \* \* \* [Here follow the boundaries.]

✠ Ego Æthelwlf Rex. ✠ Ego Ealhstan Episcopus. ✠ Ego Swithunus Episcopus. ✠ Ego Æthelbald dux. ✠ Ego Æthelbald dux. ✠ Ego Osric dux. ✠ Ego Wulfhere dux. ✠ Ego Æthelbryht dux. ✠ Ego Lulle dux. ✠ Ego Eanwlf dux. ✠ Ego Wullaf abbas. ✠ Ego Werferth abbas. ✠ Ego Æthelred filius Regis. ✠ Ego Ælfred filius Regis. ✠ Ego Esne minister. ✠ Ego Cenewlf minister. ✠ Ego Cyneheah minister. ✠ Ego Guthmund minister. ✠ Ego Æsheard minister. ✠ Ego Osmund minister. ✠ Ego Milred minister. ✠ Ego Ecgulf minister. ✠ Ego Lulling minister. ✠ Ego Wulfred minister. ✠ Ego Ealhstan minister. ✠ Ego Cyma minister. ✠ Ego Eadred minister. ✠ Ego Eadmund minister. [*K. C. D., MLI., from Codex Wintoniënsis, fo. 62.*]

2. A.D. 854. April 22. *Grant to Winchester* <sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., MLII., from Codex Wintoniënsis, fo. 57.*]

<sup>a</sup> This charter agrees exactly with the preceding, except that the grant is of lands "in Brunan," and that the boundaries are given at much greater length. The names of the witnesses are with one exception identical. There

is another charter of Ethelwulf granting land at Worthy to the same church, bearing the same date but not mentioning the "decimatio" (*K. C. D., MLV., from Cod. Wint. fo. 88.*)

[ÆTHELWULF'S BENEFACTION.]

3. A.D. 854. *Grant to Winchester.*

✠ Regnante imperpetuum Domino nostro Jhesu Christo omnium visibilium et invisibilium summo et ineffabili creatore! Cunctis patet mortalibus quod cuncta quæ videntur finem habent et quæ non videntur æterna sunt; quapropter ego Æthulf, celsithroni favente clementia, Rex Occidentalium Saxonum, quandam ruris partem scilicet XX. mansas æt Wenbeorgen cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, cum consensu optimatum meorum, quando decimam partem terrarum per omne regnum meum sanctis Æcclesiis dare decrevi, dedi etiam Æcclesiæ Wintoniensi quæ in honore beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli dedicata est, eandemque terram præfatae Æcclesiæ æternaliter habendam concessi. Sit autem prædictum rus ab omni terrenæ servitutis jugo liberum, tribus exceptis, rata expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione. Et hoc in nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi præcipio, ut nemo successorum meorum regum sive Episcoporum sive principum hanc meam donationem violare aut a servis Dei Deo inibi famulantibus auferre præsumat; quod si quisquam hæc transgressus fuerit, sciat se æternæ maledictioni subjiciendum, et æternas inferni pœnas sine fine passurum, nisi digna satisfactione celeriter emendaverit quod contra sanctos Dei apostolos audacter deliquit. \* \* \* [Here follow the boundaries.] \* \* \* Scripta est autem hæc cartula anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi DCCC.LIIII., Indictione II., his testibus consentientibus quorum nomina extrinsecus scripta adesse videntur.

✠ Ego Æthelwulf Rex. ✠ Ego Alhstan Episcopus. ✠ Ego Swithun Episcopus. ✠ Ego Æthelbald dux. ✠ Ego Eanwulf dux. ✠ Ego Æthelberht dux. ✠ Ego Wullaf abbas. ✠ Ego Werferth abbas. ✠ Ego Æthered filius Regis. ✠ Ego Osric dux. ✠ Ego Wulfhere dux. ✠ Ego Lullede dux. ✠ Ego Ælfred filius Regis. ✠ Ego Esne minister. ✠ Ego Cynewulf minister. ✠ Ego Cyneheah minister. ✠ Ego Alhstan minister. ✠ Ego Ældred minister. [*K. C. D., MLIII., from Codex Wintoniensis, fo. 83.*]

4. *Abstract of the preceding grant<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ In nomine Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jhesu Christi! Ðis gewrit cyð ðæt Æðelwulf cyning geuðe Gode and Sanctæ Petre and ðæm hiwum on Wintaceastre on Ealdan mynstre twentigra hida landes æt Wenbeorgan, ða ða he teoðode gynd eall his cynerice ðone teoðan

In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This writ makes known that King Ethelwulf gave to God and S. Peter and the family at Winchester in the Old Minster, twenty hides of land at Wanborough, when he tithed, throughout all his realm, the tenth part of all his.

## [ÆTHELWULF'S BENEFACTION.]

del ealra his lande, mid his witena geðehte, into halgun stowen, Gode to lofe and his sawle to ecre alysednesse; and he bead on Godes ælmihtiges naman and on ealra His haligra, ðæt nan cyning ofer his timan ne nan oðer man his næfre awende, ac ðæt seo ar æfre unbelifliten hyrde into ðære halgan stowe, and gif hit hwa awende ðæt he were on Godes awurgednesse and Sancte Petres, ge on life ge æfter life, butan he hit gebætan: and ðis wes gedon ðæs geres ðe weron agane æhta hund gera and feor and fifti geara æfter Cristes acynnednesse on ðara witena gewitnesse ðara naman her beneoðan awritene standað.

land, into holy places, with the counsel of his witan, for the love of God and for the eternal salvation of his soul; and he commanded in the name of God Almighty and of all His saints that no King after his time nor any other man ever pervert it, but that the property should ever belong undisputed to the holy place, and if any pervert it that he should be under God's curse and S. Peter's, both in life and after life, unless he amend it. And this was done in the year gone by eight hundred and fifty-four after the birth of Christ, on the testimony of the witan whose names stand here underwritten.

✠ Ego Æthelwlf Rex. ✠ Ego Alhstan Episcopus. ✠ Ego Swithun Episcopus. ✠ Ego Æthelbald dux. ✠ Ego Eanwlf dux. ✠ Ego Æthelberht dux. ✠ Ego Osric dux. ✠ Ego Wulfhere dux. ✠ Ego Lullede dux. ✠ Ego Wullaf abbas. ✠ Ego Werferd abbas. ✠ Ego Æthered filius Regis. ✠ Ego Ælfred filius Regis. ✠ Ego Esne minister. ✠ Ego Cynewlf minister. ✠ Ego Cyneheah minister. ✠ Ego Alhstan minister. ✠ Ego Ealdred minister. [K. C. D., MLIII., from *Codex Wintoniensis*, fo. 84.]

<sup>a</sup> Kemble (*Saxons in England*, II. 486) adduces this version, "whether it were the original or only a translation," as giving the true sense of the assertion of the decimation; "he tithed the tenth of his lands." The ver-

sion can scarcely be regarded as a translation, and certainly is not an original, for the use of the name *Old Minster* shows that it is later than the reign of Alfred.

5. A.D. 855. *Grant to Dunne.*

✠ In nomine Trino Divino! Ego Ethelwlf Rex Occidentalium Saxonum nec non et Cantuariorum, pro decimatione agrorum<sup>a</sup>, quam Deo donante, cæteris ministris meis facere decrevi, tibi Dunne ministro meo, dabo unam villam, quod nos Saxonice *an haga* dicimus, in meridie castelli Hrobi, et X. jugera a meridiano plaga villuli illius adjacentia, necnon et duo jugera prati et X. carros cum silvo honestos in monte Regis, et communionem marisci quæ ad illam villam antiquitus cum recto pertinebat. Et hoc ipsum tibi ad habendam et possidendam concedendo donamus, et post dies tuos cuicunque hærede tibi placuerit derelinquendam, cum plena libertate habeas



[MERCIAN WITENAGEMOTS.]

potestatem. Hanc prædictam donationem et libertatem ego Ethelwlf Rex Deo donante, perfecti anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLV., Indictione III., hoc est, Divina gratia largiente, quando ultra mare Romam perrexi, coram his testibus qui hoc mecum consentiendo subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Æthelwlf Rex hanc meam donationem et libertatem cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi roboravi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolnoth Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelberht Rex consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Lullede dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelmod dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ælfred filius Regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadred dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelric dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cineheh miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Milred miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolmund miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Lulla miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelred miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wilflaf miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelred miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wæhtgar miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Duduc miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osberht miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigenoth miles consensi et subscripsi. [K. C. D., CCLXXVI., from *Textus Roffensis*, fo. 139.]

<sup>a</sup> Kemble is uncertain as to the proper sense to be given to the words *pro decimatione agrorum*; he submits that it may mean "in respect of the general tithing of lands which I intend to make to yourself as well as the rest

of my thanes," or that it may read "in place of that tithing of lands which I intend to make to the rest of my thanes, I give you such and such a particular estate." *Saxons in England*, II. 487.

A.D. 855. *Mercian Witenagemot under King Burkred at Oswaldesdun, in which a grant of public land is made to the Bishop of Worcester*<sup>a</sup>.

[K. C. D., CCLXXVII.]

<sup>a</sup> This grant is attested by Ceolred Bishop of Leicester, Aldhun of Worcester, Berhtred of

Lindsey, Cuthwulf of Hereford, ten *duces*, and ten others.

A.D. 855. *Mercian Witenagemot under King Burkred at Tamworth, in which a grant of public land is made to the Bishop of Worcester*<sup>a</sup>.

[K. C. D., CCLXXVIII.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Tunbert Bishop of Lichfield, and Bishops Ceolred, Berhtred, Alhhun, and Cuthwulf.

A.D. 857. April 18. *Mercian Witenagemot under King Burkred at Tamworth, in which a grant of public land at London is made to the Bishop of Worcester*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., CCLXXX.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by the Bishops Tunberht, Ceolred, Alhhun, Berhtred, and Cuthwulf. This charter is marked by Kemble as spurious.

[ETHELWULF'S LAST BENEFACTIONS.]

A.D. 857. *Benefactions to the Church made by Ethelwulf after his return from Rome.*

I. *Direction that on every tenth hide on his estates a poor man shall be clothed and maintained.*

WILL. MALMES., *G. R.*, lib. II, § 113.—Paucis vero ante mortem mensibus testamentum fecit, in quo post divisionem regni inter Ethelbaldum et Ethelberhtum filios, filiæ quoque dotem emancipavit, semperque ad finem sæculi in omni suæ hæreditatis decima hida pauperem vestiri et cibari præcepit, omnique anno trecentas auri mancas Romam mitti, quarum centum beato Petro et centum beato Paulo ad luminaria, centum apostolico ad donaria expenderentur. [Ed. Hardy, vol. I. p. 170; *W.*, I. 185, 186.]

II. *Confirmation of the estate of Chilcombe to the Monastery of Winchester<sup>a</sup>.*  
(Spurious.)

✠ On ðæs naman ðe on eces lifes bec on heofonan ða awrit ðe her on life wel gecwemað, ic Aðulf kyningc on ðysum gewrite geswutelie be Ciltacumbes fr[e]-ulse ðone ðe Kynegyls kyningc ðe ærest kininga cristen gewearð on West-Sexan his fulluht fæder sancte Bi[rin]e biscope geuðe and siððan ælc ðæra kyninga ðe æfter oðran on West-Saxon wæron gefriðodon and gefyrðredon, ðeah ðe he ær on gewrite ne stode oð hit to me com ðe nu se nygoða kyningc eom. Eac ic her geswutelie ðæt ic ðisne freols ætforan sancte Petre on Rome and ðam halgan papan Leone swa gefæstnode swa swa me and eallan þeodscype gewearð on Englalande ær ic to Rome fore, ðæt wæs ðæt mon ælles ðises

In the name of Him Who writeth in the book of eternal life in heaven those who in this life please Him well, I Athulf the King in this writ notify concerning the franchise of Chilcombe, which Kynegils the King, who first of all the Kings in Wessex became a Christian, granted to his baptismal father Saint Birinus, and which since then all the Kings who have succeeded one another in Wessex have enfranchised and advanced, although it never was reduced to writing until the time of myself who am the ninth King. Also I notify that I established this franchise before S. Peter in Rome and the holy Pope Leo, as was agreed on by me and all the nation in England before I journeyed to Rome; That was that

## [ETHELWULF'S LAST BENEFACTIONS.]

freolses are æfre for ane hide werian scolde; forðamðe Godes ar æfre freogre beon scal, ðonne ænig woruld ar, and min sune eac Ælfred ðe mid me for and ðær to kyninge gehalgod wæs, ðan papan on hand gesealde ðæt he ðisne freols æfre gefyrðrian wolde and his bearn gif him God ænigra geuðe to ðam ylcan sprittan wolde. Ic eac, beforan ðam ylcan papan, ealle ða land are ðe ic on Angla þeode hæfde, Gode into halgan stowon for me and for ealle þeode geteoðode, and on Rome, be ðæs papan fyrðrunge and leau, mynster geworhte, Gode to loue and sancta Marian his halgan meder to wyrðmynte, and ðær Englisce scole gesette ðe æfre nihtes and dæges for ure þeode Gode þywian scolde; and ða ða ic on eard com ic oncyðde ealle folce hwæt ic on Rome gedon hæfde; ða þancodon hy ðyses Gode and me swyðe georne and heom eall ðis swyðe wel licode, and cwædon ðat heora þances ðis on ecnesse stande. Nu halsie ic, þurh ða halgan þrimnisse and sanctes Petrus and ealne ðane haligdom ðe ic on Rome for me and for ealne þeodscype gesohte, ðat næfre ne kynigc ne æðelingc, ne biscop ne ealdorman, ne þegen ne gerefa hine silfne swa earne forwyrce ðæt he ðisne freols gelyttlie ðe be swylcre gewittnesse gefestnod

for all the land enjoying this franchise there should ever be defence for one hide, because God's property should ever be more free than any worldly possession. And my son Alfred also, who journeyed with me, and was there consecrated King, gave pledge to the Pope that he would ever promote this franchise, and urge his children to the same, if God should grant him any. I also before the same Pope tithed all the landed possessions which I had in the nation of the English, to God into holy places, for myself and for all my people; and at Rome<sup>b</sup>, by the Pope's furtherance and leave, I wrought a monastery to the glory of God and the honour of S. Mary His holy mother; and there placed an English school, which ever by night and by day should serve God for our people. And when I came home, I declared to all the people what I had done at Rome. Then they for this thanked God and me very earnestly, and all this they well liked, and said that with their good will it should for ever stand. I now beseech by the Holy Trinity and S. Peter and all the sacred things which I sought for myself and for all the nation at Rome, that never any King or prince or Bishop, or ealdorman, or thegn or reeve, so miserably foredo himself that he diminish this privilege, which is

[LETTER OF LUPUS TO ETHELWULF.]

is, buton tweonan se ðe hit deð he abilhð Gode and sancte Petre and eallan ðam halgan ðe on Romes cyrcean restað, and himseluan ece hellewite ungesæliglice getilað. Eac se halga forsæda papa Leo Godes curs and sancte Petres and ealra halgena and his on ðæne gesette ðe ðis æfre undo, and eac eall ðes þeodscype ge on gehadodan ge on læwedan ðæt ylce dyde ða ic ongean com and him ðis cyðde. [K. C. D., *MLVII.*, from *Cod. Winton.* fo. 115.]

confirmed by such witness. Without doubt, he who shall do it will incense God and S. Peter and all the Saints who rest in the churches of Rome, and for himself will unhappily prepare hell torment everlasting. Also the holy Pope aforesaid, Leo, will set the curse of God and S. Peter and all Saints and his own on him who shall ever undo this. And also all this nation, both ecclesiastic and lay, did the same when I came back and announced this to them. [*Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicanum*, pp. 115-117; *Kemble, Saxons in England*, II. 487-489.]

<sup>a</sup> Kemble observes with regard to this charter that "it bears marks of forgery in every line, and seems to have been made up out of some story of Ethelwulf's sojourn in Rome, but still is worth citing as evidence of the tradition respecting tithes" (*Saxons in England*, II. 487). It is given here to complete the series of documents illustrating this difficult point.

<sup>b</sup> On the subject of Ethelwulf's offerings at Rome, see Anastasius, in *Vit. Benedicti III.* (*Mansi*, XV. 109, 110). A charter of Ethelwulf to S. Denys near Paris, dated at London Oct. 22, 857, but of more than questionable authenticity, is given by *Doublet, Hist. de l'Abbaye de S. Denys*, p. 787. See also *Alford, Annales*, III. 92; and *Mon. Angl.*, VI. 1077.

A.D. 849 × 858<sup>a</sup>. *Letter of Abbot Lupus to Ethelwulf King of Wessex, offering his services, and asking for a gift of lead for the roof of his church of S. Judoc.*

*Ad laudem et gloriam Dei magnis laudibus efferendo Ædilulfo Regi,*  
OMNIUM SERVORUM DEI ULTIMUS LUPUS ABBAS EX MONASTERIO SANCTI JUDOCI, præsentis temporis felicitatem et beatitudinis æternæ salutem.

Quoniam regiminis vestri opinionem bonam cognovimus, et vires vobis a Deo collatas contra inimicos Christi audivimus, omnipotentem Deum Qui easdem vires tribuit precamur, ut contra omnes Christiani nominis hostes vos insuperabiles faciat Qui potestate Sua incomprehensibili sed tamen justa, omnia semper dispensat. Verum quia meam parvitatem a vestra excellentia separat continens, obsequendo notus vobis fieri cupio, maxime postquam vestrum in Dei cultu fervorem ex Felice<sup>b</sup> didici qui epistolarum vestrarum officio fungebatur.

[LETTERS OF LUPUS TO ETHELWULF AND FELIX.]

Præcipite igitur quicquid possibile mihi creditis, et me in omnibus ad famulandum paratum invenietis. Sed ut vos ad promerendum Deum excitemus, certandi vobis prioribus materiam ostendimus, et in præsentis et in futuro sæculo mercedem proculdubio præbituram. Ecclesiam in monasterio nostro quod est mediterraneum et Ferrarias appellatur, ac Bethlehem a conditore impositum nomen possidet, operire plumbo molimur post Deum in honore beati Petri et omnium cæterorum apostolorum consecratam; cujus operis, si dignamini, vos esse participes precamur. Estote igitur in Dei honorem ad hoc perficiendum adjuutores non meriti nostri sed respectu Divinæ mercedis. Quia qui sine vestra largitione pro vobis intercessores sumus alacriores erimus, si vobis et nobis profuturum ad animæ tantummodo remedium munus acceperimus. Erimus tamen, sicut ante significavimus, in omne quicquid nobis possibile injunxeritis parati. Omnipotens Deus ad propagationem et conservationem Suæ fidei, vos et posteritatem vestram diutissime regionis vestræ faciat esse principes et quandoque sempiternæ beatitudinis hæredes. [*Beati Servati Lupi Opp.*, ed. Baluze, Ep. 13. p. 32.]

<sup>a</sup> The date must lie between A.D. 849, when Lupus recovered the cell, and the death of Ethelwulf.

<sup>b</sup> Of Felix nothing seems to be discoverable

from either chronicles or charters; all that is known of him is derived from this and the following letter.

A.D. 849 × 858. *Letter of Abbot Lupus to Felix, secretary to King Ethelwulf, entreating his good offices with the King.*

*Dilectissimo amico Felici, LUPUS ABBAS MONASTERII FERRARIENSIS ATQUE SANCTI JUDOCI salutem.*

Licet aliquot anni fluxerint ex quo nos invicem, largiente Dei gratia in monasterio Faræ primo cognovimus, nec postea evenerit opportunitas, quod optavi, ut familiariter loqueremur; tamen quia in neutro nostrum fervor caritatis refrixit, precor ut apud laudabilem vestrum Ædilulfum mea petitio vestra diligentia sortiatur effectum. Si quidem recordatur quantæ illum liberalitatis prædicaveritis, per litteras flagito, ut quoniam statui Ecclesiam Sancti Petri principis apostolorum in monasterio Ferrariensi tegere plumbo, ad diuturnitatem contignationis, ut ad augmentum bonorum suorum ex eodem plumbi metallo ad memoratum opus, quantum ei Deus inspiraverit, nobis dignetur largiri. Quod si exuberante Dei clementia et vestra cooperante industria, obtinuero vestræ rursus erit sollicitudinis ut

## [PROFESSION OF DIORWULF.]

munificentiae illius beneficium ad villam Stapulas provehatur. Nos autem sicut et in litteris praefato Regi directis expressimus, et pro illo semper orare parati sumus, et si quid possibile nobis injunxerit, celementer exsequi. Cupio vos valere feliciter. [B. *Servati Lupi Opp.*, ed. Baluze, Ep. 14. pp. 33, 34.]

A.D. 858. *Grant of land at Farnham made by Swithun Bishop of Winchester to Ethelbald King of Wessex for his life; executed at Amesbury*<sup>a</sup>. [K. C. D., MLVIII.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Ethelbald, Judith as Queen, and Swithun; two dukes, two abbots, and four ministri.

A.D. 839 × 860. *Profession of obedience made by Diorwulf<sup>a</sup> Bishop of London to Archbishop Ceolnoth.*

PROFESSIO DERWULFI LUNDONIENSIS EPISCOPI. — Quotiescunque venerit quod superna clementia unum de patribus post praefinitum tempus suscepti regiminis ad Suam praesentiam revocare voluerit, alterumque pro eo ad eandem pastoralis curae auctoritatem praedordinare et eligere providerit, juxta illud quod in Psalmis dictum est, *pro patribus nati sunt tibi filii*; et ne ecclesiastica congregatio ovilis Christi in aliquo titubaverit per destituta officia defuncti praesulis; quapropter ego Derwulfus, licet indignus, ad Episcopalem sedem nominatus et electus Londoniensis Ecclesiae, gubernaculaque Pontificatus praenominatae Ecclesiae cum omnipotentis Dei auxilio per ministerium venerandi Patris Celnothi Archiepiscopi suscipiens, in primis cartulam meae confessionis et desponsionis componens atque subscribens, secundum normulam praecedentium patrum, ego confiteor Deum Patrem omnipotentem ante omne saeculum consistentem, et in Sua Divina potestate omnem creaturam creantem ac regentem, et Filium unigenitum ex Patre, venientemque in mundum sicut per ora patriarcharum et prophetarum promissum est, et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio; Eundemque Filium Dei pro salute mundi passum et sepultum tertiaque die incorruptibili corpore resurrexisse, et in caelum ascendentem in dexteraque Dei Patris sedentem; sic etiam contra inimicos Christianae fidei visibiles sive invisibiles dimicare, et Ecclesiam Dei defendere omnibus viribus meis confiteor. Tibique, dilectissime Pater Celnothe Archiepiscope, tuisque successoribus, et illi Ecclesiae Salvatoris Dei quae sita est in Dorobernia civitate, in quantum mihi septiformis Spiritus gratia

[WEST-SAXON AND KENTISH WITENAGEMOTS.]

intellectum et scientiam contulerit, cum omni humilitate servire et obedire confiteor, sine dissimulatione diabolicæ fraudis, omnibus diebus vitæ meæ, tibi tuæque Ecclesiæ subjectum esse. Profiteor illud observare quod servaverunt prædecessores mei, qui in tramite rectæ conversationis perstiterunt, et obedientiam suam ac promissionem bene et juste servaverunt, hoc ipsum facere usque ad calcem vitæ meæ, Domino Deo favente, non cesso, præstante et donante Jesu Christo Salvatore nostro. Hanc scriptam paginam ego Derwulfus mea propria manu cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi subscribo et confirmo. ✠. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. I.; Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 266; *Reg. Cantuar. A. I.* fo. 243.]

<sup>a</sup> Diorwulf attests only one charter, the date of which must lie between A.D. 860 and 862 (*K. C. D.*, CCLXXXV). See p. 652.

A.D. 860. *Grants made by Ethelbald and Ethelbert as Kings of Wessex, of lands at Duningland and Teffont to their thegn Osmund*<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D.*, CCLXXXIII. CCLXXXIV.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Bishops Swithun and Allstan: the former, granted by Ethelbert, is dated at Somerton. Both are questionable.

A.D. 860 × 862<sup>a</sup>. *Grant of land at Rochester to Weremund Bishop of Rochester, made by Ethelbert King of Kent and Wessex in a Witenagemot.*

✠ In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi Salvatoris, si ea quæ secundum decreta canonum ac statuta synodalia salubriter definiuntur, quamvis sermo solus ad testimonium sufficere possit, attamen ob incertam futurorum temporum condicionem firmissimis scripturarum indiciis et cautionum chyrographis sunt roboranda; quoniam quidem sepe ex ignorantia, sepe quod est execrabilius ex improbitate, contingit ut denegatio rerum vere æt recte gestarum nascatur; quapropter ego Æthelbearht, Rex Occidentalium Saxonum seu Cantwariorum, Wærmundo Episcopo trado terram juris mei, id est LXXX. æcra [et unum viculum dimidium civitatis Hrobi,] et unum mariscum quæ ad illum pertinet, pro ejus pecunio quam ab eo accepi; hoc est XV. pundo et XXX. mancuso, ut habeat et possideat et cuicumque voluerit illo vivente seu moriente æternaliter tradendam concedo; cum omnibus ad eas rite pertinentibus, in minimis et in maximis, notis et ignotis, sine fine in evum permaneat livera. Si quis vero quod absit heredum succes-

[WEST-SAXON WITENAGEMOT.]

sorumque meorum hanc nostram piam donationem inmutare aliter vel minuere studeat, sciat se inprimis omnipotentis Dei iram incurrere, et viventem in hac vita benedictione carere, et in novissimo maledictione subjacere; qui vero hæc augenda custodierit nihilque inrogarit adversi, sit benedictus a Domino. Scripta est hæc cartula, Anno Domini Incarnationis DCCXC. His testibus qui hæc consentientes subscripserunt quorum hic nomina infra tenentur adscripta.

✠ Ego Æthelbearht Rex hanc meam donationem signo sancte crucis Christi roboravi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ciolnoth Archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ealhstan Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Swithhun Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Guthheard Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Diorwlf Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ethelred filius Regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eanwlf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Oric dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wlfhere dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelwlf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Humbearht dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Willaf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldred dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelræd dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Dryhtwald dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Biorhtwlf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æthelræd filii Regis. ✠ Ego Elfræd filii Regis. ✠ Ego Willaf abbas. ✠ Ego Werferth abbas. ✠ Ego Wlfhelm presbyter. ✠ Ego Werenberht minister. ✠ Ego Ciolmund minister. [K. C. D., CCLXXXV., from an original, Cotton Charter VIII. 29; and a copy in the *Textus Roffensis*, fo. 134.]

<sup>a</sup> The date given in the document is of course corrupt, and the charter must fall between Ethelbert's accession as King of Wessex and the death of Swithun. The Bishops attesting are the Archbishop, Ealhstan of Sherborne,

Swithun of Winchester, Gutheard of Selsey, and Deorwulf of London. The assembly must be regarded as a West-Saxon witenagemot, and from the preamble seems to claim synodal or canonical authority.

A.D. 862. *Mercian Witenagemot at Wellesburne under King Burbred, in which immunities are granted to the monastery of Gloucester*<sup>a</sup>.

Ð In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Burgredus Deo  
✠ omnipotentissimo concedente et auxiliante Rex Merciorum, volens  
§ et cogitans pro majore remedio animæ meæ et de honore Dei  
omnipotentis in sæcula, ampliare donationes et libertates quas ego et  
prædecessores mei Reges loco cœnobiali Æcclesiæ Sancti Petri æt



[WITENAGEMOT AT WELLESBURNE.]

Gleaweceasdre concesserunt; ne quando religiose viventes in dicto loco per ministros sæculares quoscunque pro negotio terreno infra dictum locum cœnobialem impediatur a devotione quam debent Altissimo famulari Deo, vel molestentur, concedo et volo ego Rex Merciorum quod monasterium Sancti Petri æt Gleawceasdre, et religiose viventes in eodem monasterio, eadem libertate et eisdem legibus et consuetudinibus quas ego et prædecessores mei Reges concesserunt et donaverunt, libere et in pace gaudeant et utantur; et ut sub ipsa mea protectione speciali magis qui[e]te Deo serviant, idem monasterium liberum facio et quietum, et omnia monasteriola loca quæ eidem obedient et pertinent, ab omni terreno negotio et servitio, ne liceat in antea in æternum aliquibus ministris sæcularibus aut alicui hominum, nisi ipsius loci cœnobialis ministris, aliquod officium sæculare infra eundem locum exercere aut exercere prætere pro quacunque causa, nisi pro causa quæ pœnam mortis petit; et hæc etiam concessi et renovari feci cum consensu ac licentia omnium optimatum meorum, in illo regali vico et concilio quod habebatur æt Wellesburnan; et nullus homo ex nostris non quærat ab illis plus majorem causam hujus nisi quo ante; et jam nunc est concessum et ordinatur, ea duntaxat conditione statuta ut orationes et obsecrationes ibi Deo servientium pro me et pro justis hæredibus meis jugiter in illa Æcclesia, nocte et die, memoriter serventur. **Qui** vero hanc concessionis libertatem hæredum vel successorum meorum custodierit æterna claritate coronetur, et nomen ejus sit scriptum in libro vitæ. Si quis, quod absit, cujuslibet persona, contra hanc libertatis cartulam venire nititur, sit sub anathemate Judæ proditoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, nisi hic Deo et hominibus digne emendaverit; et si quis hoc augere vel servare voluerit, benedictionem Dei cœli cum omnibus sanctis Suis percipiat in sempiternum. Amen.

✠ Hæc fuerunt gesta et concessa anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>II<sup>o</sup>, Indictione X., cum consensu et beneficentia piissimi Regis Merciorum Burgredi, et venerabilis Archiepiscopi Ciolnothi, et omnium Episcoporum et principum et aliorum nobilium quorum nomina et signa hic infra notantur, ut firmior hæc res in æternum constitueretur.

✠ Ego Burgred Rex Merciorum hanc propriam donationem libertatis et positive signum crucis inpono. ✠ Ego Ciolnold gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hanc donationem confirmans subscripsi. ✠ Ego

[WITENAGEMOTS OF KENT, MERCIA, AND WESSEX.]

Æthelsuith Regina huic donationi Regis concessæ signum crucis infixi. ✠ Ego Wulfsig Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ciorred Episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Humberht dux consensi. ✠ Ego Biornoth dux consensi. ✠ Ego Eamberht dux consensi. ✠ Ego Eathred dux consensi. ✠ Ego Beornheard dux consensi. ✠ Ego Aldred abbas. ✠ Ego Plegberht abbas. ✠ Ego Wulfred. ✠ Ego Werinberht. ✠ Ego Ælfstan. ✠ Ego Berhtric. ✠ Ego Beornwulf. [*MS. Bodl., Chart. Furney.*]

<sup>a</sup> This charter, now printed for the first time, is not of unquestionable authenticity. The extant copy is probably an early transcript of

an original. It may further be questioned whether the privileges included in the grant are such as Burhred would be likely to confer.

A.D. 862. *Grant of land at Bromley made by Ethelbert King of Kent and Wessex to his thegn Dryhtwald*, “cum consensu et consilio episcoporum et principum meorum et ecclesiasticarum et sæcularium,” in an assembly at Willheres trio<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CCLXXXVII.*]

<sup>a</sup> This Act is attested by the Archbishop but by no other Bishop, and must have been granted in a Kentish witenagemot.

A.D. 863. *Grant of land at Mersham made by Ethelbert King of Kent and Wessex to Ethelred*, “ministro et principi meo;” attested by the Archbishop and a large number of clergy<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CCLXXXVIII.*]

<sup>a</sup> This charter does not rehearse any counsel or consent of the witan; but is confirmed by the Archbishop, two priests abbots, six other priests, three archdeacons (Bearnheah, Sigefreth, and Osulf), three subdeacons, and nineteen other persons. A grant of land made in a West-Saxon witenagemot by Ethelred as King,

attested by Swithun and Alhstan, and dated in A.D. 863 at Dorchester (*K. C. D., MLIX.*), must be regarded as very questionable, if not certainly spurious. The death of Swithun seems to be fixed on good authority to A.D. 862.

A.D. 864. July 25. *Mercian Witenagemot at Bath under King Burbred*, in which a grant is made to the Bishop of Worcester<sup>a</sup>. [*K. C. D., CCXC.*]

<sup>a</sup> This grant is made “cum consensu et licentia totius senatus nostri episcoporum principiorum atque omnium simul optimatum

nostrorum.” The only Bishop attesting it is Alhhun himself.

A.D. 864. Dec. 26. *Witenagemot at Dorchester, in which Ethelbert King of Wessex confers liberties on the Church of Sherborne*. [*Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicanum, pp. 124-127.*]

A.D. 857 × 866<sup>a</sup>. *Profession of obedience made by Diorlaf Bishop of Hereford to Archbishop Ceolnoth<sup>b</sup>.*

PROFESSIO DIORLAFI HEREFORDENSIS EPISCOPI.—Domino meo apostolico viro et sancto, plurimum colendo, beatissimo Celnotho Archiepiscopo, Diorlafus presbyter, extremus et ultimus servus servorum tuorum, in Christo salutem. Quoniam me indignum famulum vestrum tota congregatio Herefordensis Ecclesiæ sibi in officium episcopale elegerunt, cum ego mihimet ipsi conscius sum, neque in sæculari prudentia, nec in aliqua dignitate, me esse ornatum, nec Divinis rebus, nec sæcularibus causis, præ cæteris extollar, si tamen Dei voluntati placet et tua jussio sit, ut pondus tanti regiminis excipiam, cum omni humilitate flexis genibus paternitatem tuam peto in Domino, quatenus mihi indigno servulo tuo adjutorium impendere digneris. Hoc est, maxime in Divinis causis et sæcularibus doctrinis, me erudire digneris, ut ego aliquid ad perfectionem voluntatis Dei et bonorum operum perpetrationem pervenire possim. Ego autem, juxta normulam sacri canonis nostri et secundum ecclesiasticam regulam, quemadmodum virium possibilitas permittit, omnis obedientiæ famulatum, una cum omnibus qui mecum sunt, exhibiturum me esse, Deo teste, profiteor. Exemplum quoque etiam antecessorum meorum venerabilium patrum, tuorum videlicet famulorum in Christo, Cudulfi ac Eadulfi et Beonnan, maxime ut potero, exsequar. Insuper etiam et orthodoxam catholicam apostolicamque fidem, sicut ab illis didici, paucis verbis exponam. In primis itaque Credo in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem conditorem visibilium et invisibilium rerum. Credo et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus Unicum, Dominum nostrum, conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, et natum ex Maria Virgine, Deum verum Hominemque perfectum, sub Pontio Pilato passum, a Judæis crucifixum et sepultum, ad inferos descendentem, die tertia resurgentem ex mortuis, ascendentem in cælos, ubi nunquam defuit, considentem in dextera Dei, Patris virtutem et Dei Sapientiam, Eundemque venturum post finem sæculi judicare vivos ac mortuos et sæculum per ignem. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum, procedentem a Patre et Filio, vivificantem omnia quæ in cælis sunt, et in terris, et unam Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam; confiteor unum Baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, et carnis resurrectionem,

[MERCIAN AND KENTISH WITENAGEMOTS.]

et vitam æternam futuri sæculi. [MS. Cotton, *Cleopatra E. I.*; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, p. 271; *Reg. Cantuar. A. I.* ff. 271, 272.]

<sup>a</sup> Diorlaf's first attestation extant is attached to a charter of Burhred of A.D. 866 (*K. C. D.*, CCXCII.). He continues to witness down to A.D. 884.

<sup>b</sup> This is an important evidence as to the succession of the Bishops of Hereford. In the ancient lists a Bishop named Mucel is placed between Cuthwulf and Diorlaf. Of Mucel

nothing whatever is known as a Bishop; there was an ealdorman of the name; or it may have been merely a surname of Cuthwulf. Anyhow the omission of the name in this profession seems to be reason enough for erasing it from the list of Bishops. Two copies of this profession occur in the Canterbury Register.

A.D. 866. *Mercian Witenagemot under King Burhred, in which a grant of land<sup>a</sup> at Sedgley is made to Wulferd<sup>b</sup>.* [*K. C. D.*, CCXCII.]

<sup>a</sup> This grant is made by Burhred "cum consensu et licentia seniorum meorum;" and is attested by the following Bishops—Wulfsig, Eadbald, Ceolred, Alhhun, and Deorlaf: of these the two first are not recognized in the lists of Bishops, but must be referred apparently to the sees of Lichfield and Lindsey.

<sup>b</sup> Another grant of what seems to be the same land, dated at the same time and attested by a very similar list of witnesses, is given in Kemble (*K. C. D.*, CCXCI.) from the Worcester Cartulary, the recipient of the grant in this case being the monastery of Worcester.

A.D. 867. *Kentish Witenagemot held at Canterbury by King Ethelred, in which a grant of land made to Wighelm is confirmed by the Archbishop and Clergy<sup>a</sup>.*

✠ In nomine Dei summi Regis eterni, ego Ethelred Rex Occidentalium Saxonum nec non et Cantwariorum, cum consensu ac licentia meorum optimatum, dabo et concedo meo fidei amico Wighelme presbytero unam sedem in loco quæ dicitur Sancti Martini Ecclesia, mihi ad elemosynam, et unam modicam villulam at eandem sedem cum recte pertinet; hec sunt termina, circum gagentia, ab aquilone publica strata; ab occidente *hina meteren*; a meritis *hina gemene weg*; ab oriente terra at Sanctum Agustinum. Hanc prædictam dotionem pro remedio anime mee proque spe remunerationis eterne in sempiternam ereditatem concedendo donabo, sibi abendum et possidendum feliciterque in dies ejus perfruendum et post dies ejus cuicumque eredi placuerit derelinquendum liberam per omnia abeat potestatem; et ab omni servitute regalium seculariumque difficultatum, intus et foras, magnis ac modicis, perenniter liberabo: supplicabo quoque ego Ethelred Rex et in alme Trinitatis nomine firmiter præcipio omnibus successoribus meis, quicumque sint Reges et Episcopus vel principes, vel modo viventibus, vel qui post illos futuri sunt, per fidem Sancti Martini confessoris Christi, ut numquam aliquis hanc nostram munifi-

## [WITENAGEMOT AT CANTERBURY.]

centiam infringere præsumat. Siquis vero, quod non optamus, alicujus personis homo diabolica temeritate instigatus surrexerit, quod hanc meam munificentiam mutare aut minuere temptet, minuatur pars ejus de terra vibentium, ipseque reus ante tribunal terribili particeps existat illorum qui Filium Dei et vendiderunt et crucifixerunt, nisi ante digno satisfactione Deo et omnibus emundare voluerit. Hanc libertatem prescriptam cum his testibus infra nominatis firmiter in Jhesu Christo cum signaculo sancte crucis confirmantes roboravimus. Actum est autem anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCLXVII., Indictione XV. Dorobernia cibitate.

✠ Ego Ethelred Rex anc meam donationem cum signo sancte crucis Christi roborabo et subscribo. ✠ Ego Eastmund dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ealhheard abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heremod presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Mucel minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beorhtnoth minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Forthred minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ethelwulf minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ethelred minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Acca minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Biarhtwulf minister consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Mannel minister consensi et subscripsi.

*Indorsed.*—✠ In nomine Domini, eodem Regi regnante, Ego Cialnoth gratia Dei Archiepiscopus hanc donationem Etheredi Regis cum signa sancte crucis Christi roboro et confirmabo. ✠ Ego Biarnhelm presbyter abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Nothheard presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Biarnfreth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osmund presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wighelm presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ethelweald presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eardulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Biarnhelm presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Tidweald presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornred presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sefreth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornheah presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigefreth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sebearht presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigemund presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Torthelm presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Herefreth presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornweald presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wealdhere presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Elfstan presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aldred presbyter consensi et subscripsi.

[PROFESSION OF BISHOP ALFRED.]

✠ Ego Bearnulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigefred archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Bearnoth archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Herefeth archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ealhheard subdiaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cialbearht subdiaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Wealdhelm subdiaconus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Tirweald subdiaconus consensi et subscripsi. [K. C. D., CCXCIV., from MS. Cotton, Augustus II. 95.]

<sup>a</sup> This curious charter is important as giving what is probably a complete list of the Canterbury clergy. It is possibly also the original source of the idea of an episcopal see established in the church of S. Martin at Canterbury.

Wighelm is possibly the person who attests charters of Edward the Elder as Bishop in A.D. 904 and 909; but it would be very unsafe to infer the existence of the see of S. Martin's from such premisses.

A.D. 862 x 868. *Profession of obedience made by Alfred<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Winchester to Archbishop Ceolnoth.*

PROFESSIO ALFREDI WENTANI EPISCOPI.—In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Alfredus, humilis servulus servorum Dei, Celnotho in Domino sospitatis salutem. Licet indignus ad episcopalem sedem electus Wentanæ civitatis, in primis confiteor tibi, pater reverentissime Celnothe, Archiepiscopo, continentiam meam et dilectionem meam, quod absque omni ambiguitate, et absque ulla falsitatis commentione, Credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, Filium natum ac passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum; et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres nostri devote servaverunt, cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores mei ipsi sanctæ sedis Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ subjuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter fateor. Necnon et tibi, pater beatissime et amantissime Celnothe Archiepiscopo, tuisque successoribus veridica professione confiteor, stabile obedientiæ præbere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsæ cogitationis usque ad terminum vitæ meæ. ✠. Ego Alfredus mea propria manu perenni signaculo sanctæ crucis Christi firmando roboravi. [MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Reg. Cantuar. A. I. fo. 252.]

<sup>a</sup> Alfred was the successor of S. Swithun. He appears in the charters first in A.D. 868 (K. C. D., CCXCV. CCXCVIII. MLXI.), and as late as A.D. 871 (K. C. D., MLXII.). His Profession is nearly identical in wording with

that of Swithun; and the fact that these documents were now taking a fixed form is perhaps one of the reasons why so few of them were preserved during the next two hundred years.

[WITENAGEMOTS OF WESSEX, KENT, AND MERCIA.]

A.D. 868. *Witenagemot under Ethelred King of Wessex and Kent, in which a grant of land is made to Cuthwulf Bishop of Rochester*<sup>a</sup>.  
[K. C. D., CCXCV.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by the two West-Saxon Bishops Heahmund of Sherborne and Alfred of Winchester, six *duces*, and four *ministri*. The same year a grant of land in Canterbury is

made by Ciolwulf to his friend Eanmund, attested by the Archbishop and Heahmund elect of Sherborne, the year of whose appointment is thus fixed (K. C. D., CCXCVI.).

A.D. 868. *Witenagemot under Ethelred King of Wessex at Dorchester, in which a grant is made to the thegn Hunsige of land at Worthy*<sup>a</sup>.  
[K. C. D., MLXI.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by the two Bishops Alfred and Heahmund.

A.D. 869. *Mercian Witenagemot under King Burfred, in which land is given to Wulflaf*<sup>a</sup>, “cum consensu licentiaque nostrorum omnium magnatorum ecclesiastico sub gradu sineque manentium.” [K. C. D., CCXCIX.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by Bishops Eadbert (Lichfield?), Cyred (Leicester), Alhhun (Worcester), Burghard (Lindsey?), and Deorlaf (Hereford).

A.D. 869. *West-Saxon Witenagemot under King Ethelred at Woodgate, in which land is granted to Elfstan at Chiselburne*<sup>a</sup>, “cum consensu et licentia omnium optimatum gentis nostræ.” [K. C. D., CCC.]

<sup>a</sup> Attested by the two West-Saxon Bishops.

A.D. 833 × 870. *Profession of obedience made by Kenstec Bishop of Cornwall to Ceolnoth Archbishop of Canterbury.* [See above, vol. I. p. 674.]

A.D. 845 × 870. *Profession of obedience made by Ethelwald Bishop of Dunwich*<sup>a</sup> to Archbishop Ceolnoth.

PROFESSIO ÆTHELWALDI DOMUCIENSIS EPISCOPI.—Primum tibi, Celnothe pater beatissime, Ego Ethelwaldus humilis Christi famulus, ad hoc percipiendum officium Dommucie civitatis, fidem meam catholicam fateor. Credo Deum Patrem, credo Verbum Patris, id est Filium non Patri inferiorem nec superiorem sed in æternitate Divinitatis cœqualem, consubstantialiam, sanctum quoque Spiritum ex Patre et

## [PROFESSION OF ÆTHELWALD.]

Filio procedentem et in unitatis gloria ac Divinitatis omnipotentia et majestate coessentialem, et Quem tota per orbem Ecclesia et Trinum discernit in Personis et Unum confitetur in perfectione Deitatis. Hoc fateor et hoc omnimodo credo et ævo tenus exerceo. Innotesco quod quicquid tu pater, quicquid successores tui sanctæ Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ præsules, in veritate affirmant diligens affirmabo; quicquid respuerunt, injustum hoc et ego omnimodis respuere festino. Et hoc signo sanctæ crucis Christi propria manu confirmo. ✠. [*MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. 1; Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 260.*]

<sup>a</sup> Of Bishop Ethelwald nothing is known except from this document. His name does not appear in the lists of Bishops or in any charter. An ancient seal found near Eye in Suffolk in A.D. 1822, bearing the inscription "Sig.

Ethilwaldi ep.," is supposed to have belonged to him, and affords a curious illustration in proof of the genuineness of the Profession (*Archæologia, XX. 479*).







BR  
741  
H3  
v.3

Haddan, Arthur West (ed.)  
Councils and  
ecclesiastical documents

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---

