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VOL. XXX.

Giraldus Cambrensis: De Invectionibus.

BY W. S. DAVIES,

Senior Classical Master, Swansea Grammar School.

LONDON:

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PREFATORY NOTE.

With the consent of the Council the Editor has devoted the thirtieth volume of *Y Cymmrodor* to a reproduction of the full text of the *Liber de Invectionibus* of Giraldus Cambrensis, taken from photographs of the original manuscript now preserved in the Vatican. The work of transcription and collation has been carefully carried out by Mr. William S. Davies, B.A., of the Swansea Grammar School (a son of one of the earliest members of the existing Council), who has also contributed the Introductory Essay dealing with the contents of the *Liber*. Mr. Davies wishes to acknowledge his obligations to Mr. E. Ernest Hughes, M.A., University College, Swansea, for advice and encouragement extending over a long period, and to Mr. L. Stanley Knight, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., for assistance rendered in revising the proofs of the text. Pains have been taken to make the reproduction an accurate copy of the manuscript. The more important of the transcriber's errors have been noticed as they occur, but it was not considered necessary to call attention to minor errors of spelling, to inaccuracies in the enumeration of chapter headings, or to discrepancies between the list of chapter headings and the actual contents of the text. For the Index free use has been made of that which is included in the eighth volume of the Rolls series of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis.

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Y Gymnrodor.

VOL. XXX.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

1920.

The Book of Invectives of Giraldus Cambrensis.

BY W. S. DAVIES, *Senior Classical Master,*
Swansea Grammar School.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Liber de Invectionibus*, or Book of Invectives, is one of the two complete extant works of Giraldus Cambrensis that deal with the claims of the see of St. David's to be independent of Canterbury. It is preserved in a single manuscript at Rome, where the composition of the work was begun by Giraldus, when engaged in the conduct of his case before Innocent III. The treatise is frequently referred to, in other works of Giraldus, but it does not appear to have attracted the attention of later writers, and no manuscript of it was supposed to exist. In the middle of the last century, Mr. Brewer, when examining a volume of transcripts made for “the late Record Commission”, discovered a copy of the last two books of the treatise, which he published (1861) in the first volume of the Rolls edition of the works of Giraldus. This transcript was made in the year 1836 by a German copyist, “from a manuscript at Rome in the collection of Christina, Queen of Sweden, No. 470”. It was apparently intended to be a complete and accurate copy of the

manuscript. The passages omitted are neither numerous nor long, but verbal and literal inaccuracies occur on every page. The Rolls editor fully recognised the carelessness with which the transcript had been made, but in spite of its deficiencies, he was able to write of it that its discovery was one of the most remarkable recoveries of a mediæval manuscript, and unquestionably the most important of the services effected in that way by the Record Commission.¹ It was supposed that the remainder of the work had been irretrievably lost, but shortly afterwards a transcript of the missing books was discovered at the new Record Office. In dealing with these earlier books, the transcriber unfortunately adopted a different method from that employed in copying the fifth and sixth. Long passages were either wholly omitted or ruthlessly summarised in accordance with the transcriber's ideas of their importance. The extent to which the manuscript had been subjected to this process of curtailment and mutilation was evident from the appearance of the copy. The Rolls editor, indeed, felt some hesitation in submitting to the press so imperfect a copy of this "unique and hitherto unknown manuscript," but finally decided that it was "more desirable to give it to the world in its present state, than risk the omission of it, perhaps its total disappearance". That this hesitation was well-founded will become evident from a comparison of the text printed in this volume with that contained in the third volume of the Rolls edition. Not only do we find such verbal and literal inaccuracies as abound in the transcript of the later books, but the passages summarised or omitted are frequently of considerable length, and include some of the most important portions of the work, *e.g.* the letters connected with the case of Giraldus, and the Bernard

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., vol. i, p. xciii.

documents discovered at St. David's. The complete text printed in this volume is derived from photographs of the Vatican manuscript, which were procured some years ago by the late T. Matthews, of Llandebie, and generously placed at the writer's disposal.

The manuscript belongs to the thirteenth century, and is written in two hands, the second scribe having taken up the task at chapter xi in Book II. A heading prefixed to the first book runs as follows:— "Incipit liber Invectionum quem alii a Giraldo, alii a notario suo scriptum esse commemorant." The transcriber for the Record Commission took this statement to refer to the actual handwriting, and suggested that the first portion of the work was in the writing of Giraldus, and the second in that of his scribe. Mr. Idris Bell, of the British Museum, has examined several of the photographed sheets, and given me the benefit of his wide experience. He writes that there can be no question of an autograph of Giraldus. "Probably both hands are much about the same period, and there seems no reason to place either very early or very late in the century. About the middle of the thirteenth century is perhaps not far from the truth." Our manuscript is, therefore, a copy of an earlier one. There are certain imperfections in the text which point to the same conclusion. The repeated use of Gerardus for Giraldus in the sixth book seems to indicate that this part of the work was copied by a scribe without personal knowledge of Giraldus. The marked discrepancies between the list of chapter headings of the second book and its actual contents suggest the possibility that the two scribes of our text were copying from different manuscripts.

The work is divided into six books. The first contains the replies made by Giraldus to the attacks of his

opponents upon his personal character; the second opens with an account of the progress of the Christian faith in the island of Britain, and includes copies of the documents used in the course of Bernard's efforts to maintain the dignity of St. David's; the third and fourth books deal similarly with the later efforts of Giraldus, and consist mainly of the letters and documents employed during the hearing of his appeal to Innocent III; the fifth book was apparently intended by Giraldus as a justification of his efforts in spite of their failure, and as an answer to critics who estimated his merits by the degree of worldly success which he attained; the sixth enumerates the various grounds for the confidence felt by Giraldus, and includes thirty visions, which were supposed at the time to forecast the defeat of the archbishop and the ultimate victory of St. David's.

In different parts of the writings of Giraldus, the Book of Invectives is variously referred to as the "Libellus Invectionum," the "Libellus de Invectionibus," the "Liber Invectionum," and the "Liber de Invectionibus". Giraldus, it has been said, has a way of referring to the same work under different titles. In the case of the Book of Invectives, the change of title seems to have been due to something more than a mere love of variety. This will become clear from an examination of the passages in which the work is mentioned. In the "De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae," Giraldus describes the work as follows:—

"Libellum Invectionum Romae in Giraldum acriter inchoatum, et ibidem ab ipso respondente et papa monente completum."¹

In the shorter catalogue of his books, the work is described as,

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., iii, 333.

“Liber Invectionum, Romae in Giraldum acriter inchoatus, et ibidem ab ipso, papa monente, in pleno consistorio ad injurias respondente, et objecta crimina non incompetenter evacuante pariter et refundente, necnon et utilia postmodum quaedam adjiciente consummatus.”¹

The first of these two passages, in which the work is described as the “*Libellum Invectionum*,” refers exclusively to the replies made by Giraldus to the accusations brought against him. These are contained in the first book of the “*De Invectionibus*”. The second passage, in which the title is altered, refers to the whole work, namely the first book together with the later additions.

The assertion that Giraldus was advised to reply to his opponents by Innocent III. is described by the Rolls editor as a “reflection upon the memory of that pontiff we take the liberty to disbelieve”.² There seems to be no reason for following the Rolls editor in taken this liberty, but it must be admitted that there is some inaccuracy in the suggestion that the “*Book of Invectives*,” as we have it, was completed by Giraldus in Rome. The fifth book contains references to incidents which occurred after the failure of Giraldus’ appeal to the pope and after his return to England from a subsequent pilgrimage to Rome.

The statement that the “*Libellus Invectionum*” was completed in Rome can therefore refer only to a portion of the whole work. The only portion which, from the nature of its contents, must have been completed in Rome, is the first book, which contains the replies made by Giraldus to the charges brought against him before the pope and the cardinals. That it was this preliminary portion of the work that was originally entitled the “*Libellus Invectionum*,” is placed beyond dispute by a passage in the “*De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*”.

¹ *Ibid.*, i, 422.

² *Ibid.*, III., xi.

In 1203, when the contest was drawing to its close, "it was the wish of the archdeacon to speak in defence of his reputation," and he demanded an audience of the pope for this purpose. The pope replied that there was no need of such a defence. "Nay, Lord," said the archdeacon, "my regard for my good name is greater than my desire for that cathedral." "Brother," replied the pope, "from the beginning of our acquaintance until this day, we have felt nothing but admiration for your honour and integrity; nor have we heard anything to the contrary, save only from your opponents, who ought not to be believed." Whoever wishes to read the speech of the archdeacon in defence of his good name (*in famae suae defensione*), let him read the "Libellus Invectionum," at the end.¹ The sixth book of the "De Invectionibus" concludes with a dissertation on the dangers of the episcopal office, nor is there anything in this book which could possibly be described as Giraldus' defence of his character. The Rolls editor suggests that the reference may be to the third chapter of the fourth book.² Apart from the fact that we should expect, from the words of Giraldus, to find his defence at the end, and not at the beginning of a book, the contents of this chapter do not include a defence of the character of Giraldus. They consist of arguments exposing false statements made by the archbishop and his supporters, not against the character of Giraldus, but in support of the claim of the abbot of St. Dogmael's to priority of election. The true reference is to the last chapter of the first book, the original "Libellus Invectionum", which contains the defence of Giraldus to charges of simony and ambition, and which, in the actual words of the passage quoted above, is entitled "famae suae et

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., iii, 267.

² *Ibid.*, note.

opinionis defensio". It is manifest that the title "Libellus Invectionum" was originally intended to apply only to the first of the six books which we now possess. In the majority, but not in all, of the passages in which Giraldus speaks of the "Libellus Invectionum", the reference is exclusively to the contents of the first book. The truth seems to be that the work grew as it was being written, and eventually far exceeded the limits originally laid down. The original title was recognised as inadequate to the work in its completed form, but it was never entirely abandoned, although the more comprehensive title "De Invectionibus" appears to have been the final choice of Giraldus. It is under this title that he refers to the work in one of his latest writings, the letter to the chapter of Hereford Cathedral, *de Libris a se scriptis*. It is to be regretted that the earlier title was not altogether abandoned, when the scope of the work was so far enlarged as to include all the relevant documents connected with the struggle of St. David's to maintain its ecclesiastical independence, from the time of Bernard until the failure of the efforts of Giraldus in the reign of John. That the existing title was misleading, was recognised even during the life of Giraldus, who was obliged to protest against the views of contemporary critics, who derived their notions of the contents of his work from a casual glance at the title page and a perfunctory perusal of the text. "As for those who, from a glance at its title, inveigh against the 'Liber de Invectionibus', they should recognise that, although the first two or three letters may appear vituperative, the remainder of the work deals with more profitable matters."¹

¹ "Sicut et alii ibidem librum nostrum de invectionibus intitulatum ratione tituli solum dampnabilem censere volebant. . . Sciant etiam illi qui in librum de invectionibus tituli intuitu tam acriter invehuntur

The thirteenth century critics, to whom Giraldus refers in this passage, anticipated the strictures of later writers, amongst whom a mistaken view of the nature of the treatise almost inevitably prevailed, owing to the deficiencies of the text before them.

Of the first four books, printed in the Rolls edition, the second and third have been so ruthlessly summarised as to be almost worthless to the student. It is the first which deals entirely with the personal attacks made upon Giraldus, that has suffered least from the German transcriber's methods. It was natural that the Rolls editor should have formed his opinion of the treatise from the least mutilated portion of his copy, but with the complete text now available, it is imperative to add that the opinion so formed could not have been other than partial and misleading. The Rolls edition has done more than any other work to familiarise the public with the life and efforts of Giraldus, both directly, through the editor's introductions, and indirectly, through their influence upon the work of Dr. Henry Owen¹; and it is the excellence of these editions and the authority they enjoy, which make it necessary here to modify views which have probably influenced every student who is obliged or content to derive his knowledge of Giraldus from editors' introductions, rather than from a close study of the text. "We are now enabled," writes the Rolls editor, "to gain more full and correct information of this celebrated invective, unquestionably the bitterest of the author's works. The titles indicates its purpose. It is a merciless attack on

quod licet due vel tres epistule prime invective videantur, sequens tamen opus alia prosequitur et utiliora. Sed mos est in scripturis a principiis libros denominari." These passages are contained in a letter addressed by Giraldus to some of the clergy of Hereford Cathedral, and appended with other letters to the '*Speculum Duorum*'. ¹ Henry Owen, *Gerald the Welshman*, London, 1889.

the real or supposed enemies of Giraldus: upon such of them more especially as had taken an active part in hindering or contesting his advancement to the see of St. David. Foremost among these stands Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury; foremost but not alone. The archbishop's officials, his witnesses and his dependants, come in for their share of that 'black salt' which Giraldus administers with an unsparing hand and with a ruthless disregard to the conventional decorum of later times". The Rolls editor adds that Giraldus writes "in a style of invective for which no parallel certainly was to be found in the language of the archbishop or his unhappy partners in the suit". The last statement is so far accurate that with the exception of one letter from the archbishop to the pope, the language of Giraldus' opponents has not come down to us.

This description of the Book of Invectives is evidently applicable only to the original "*Libellus Invectionum*", the first of the six books of which the treatise is composed. It is necessary to add that even in this restricted application the description is inaccurate and misleading. The "*Libellus Invectionum*" is not an invective. It is not, primarily, an attack upon the enemies of Giraldus. The title does not indicate this purpose. As the author tells us the treatise was begun in Rome, not by, but against Giraldus. The only "invectio" in the book is the archbishop's letter with which the treatise opens. Giraldus, certainly, was not a man to remain for long upon the defensive. He carries the war into the enemy's country, and endeavours to defeat him with his own weapons. Giraldus, as well as his opponents, had undoubtedly a ruthless disregard of conventions which did not exist. Had the attacks of his opponents come down to us, it is probable enough that they would be found to

lack something of the archdeacon's gift of pointed and vigorous expression. Nevertheless, it remains true that the "Libellus Invectionum" is really a defence, a defence, moreover, against specific charges previously brought against Giraldus by his opponents, and intended by them to prove the unfitness of the bishop-elect for the office to which he had been called. Giraldus brings no charge against the archbishop, except in answer to a similar charge which had previously been brought against himself by the archbishop's agents. Attacks upon the archbishop's character are made, not because the archbishop's opposition "was enough to irritate one of so fiery a temperament as Giraldus," not because "all forms of annoyance were allowable against an arch-offender, whose professed purpose it was to crush the ecclesiastical independence of the see of St. David," not because "the archbishop had trampled on and opposed his favourite idea," but because Giraldus himself had felt obliged to answer these very charges of simony, ambition, forgery, incontinence, and even of imperfect Latinity, in the papal court. These charges are refuted and rebutted by Giraldus with a rather wearisome reiteration, which was probably due to the persistence with which they were made. The "Libellus" is one of the least important parts of the Book of Invectives, and a few examples will suffice to give the English reader a general idea of its contents. One of the most untiring of the archbishop's agents in Rome was a certain Andrew, who charged Giraldus and the bishop-elect of Bangor with being ambitious men, anxious to intrude into cathedrals which did not belong to them, and to supplant the rightful occupants.

"Let us consider," says Giraldus, "which is the greater, our ambition or the presumption of the arch-

bishop. On the death of Gwion, bishop of Bangor, this good man was elected by his chapter by an unanimous vote. The archbishop refused to consecrate him because he was Welsh, and forced the chapter to accept an Englishman, who could find no rest in his diocese, and died in England, an exile and a fugitive, in the same year. The chapter immediately repeated their previous election, but the archbishop again refused consecration and appointed another Englishman, who, like his predecessor, was obliged to live in England, wandering, like a beggar, from one abbey to another. As for myself, for nearly a year after our bishop's death, I remained immersed in study, in spite of frequent invitations from the princes, barons and clergy of my country; nor could I be induced to move, until I had received a summons from the king himself. After I had been elected and had departed for this court, the archbishop thrust upon us an abbot of our country, a *kinsman* of mine, but a philosopher like himself, during whose tenure of office he might enjoy his slumbers undisturbed. He afterwards appointed a second abbot, one of the Cistercian order, a canon of our church with several relatives in the chapter. He intended, by means of the former, to create dissension in my family, and dissension in the chapter by means of the latter, in order to throw as many obstacles as possible in my way, when I returned from Rome.

“That good man, the bishop-elect of Bangor, was called from the cloister, and I from the study. From what place was the archbishop called? From the exchequer. And what is the exchequer? It is the place of the public treasury in England, a kind of square table in London, where the king's dues are collected and counted. This was the study, and this the gymnasium in which the archbishop had grown old, this was the training from

which he was summoned to all the gradations of his promotion in the church, like nearly all the English bishops. In England 'qui bene computat, bene disputat'. Last year he was justiciar, and being deprived of that office by the papal court, he immediately contrived to be appointed chancellor to the king. This office he also recently lost, but never rested until he had recovered it."¹

Andrew's criticisms of the style of Giraldus, which he compared unfavourably, with the grace and elegance of the archbishop's, gave Giraldus an opportunity of relating anecdotes illustrative of the archbishop's bad Latin, and worse theology. The archbishop once began a sermon with the words, "Hear and understand, all you who are present in this holy synod (*in isto sacro synodo*)." Someone whispered "a, a," and the archbishop corrected himself "*in ista sacra synoda*". He was again prompted by one of his audience, who murmured "o, and a". "*In isto sacro synoda*," responded the archbishop.

At a gathering of learned men at Oxford, he asked "*Vultis stare isto compromisso?*"; and when someone whispered "*isti*", he corrected himself and said "*Vultis stare isti compromissi?*" The clergy began to whisper to each other, and one of those present, named Martin, called out "Why are you murmuring among yourselves? It is the ancient grammar". The meeting was dissolved in laughter, and the archbishop could never afterwards endure Martin in his presence.

It happened on another occasion that Richard I, speaking in Latin, remarked, "*volumus quod istud fiat coram nobis*". The archbishop, anxious to correct the king, cried out "*coram nos*, my liege, *coram nos*". The king turned to the learned and eloquent bishop of Coventry, who

¹ "De Invectionibus," I, iv.

remarked, amid the laughter of the court, "Stick to your own grammar, my liege, it is far better".¹

Giraldus then proceeds to quote from the archbishop's sermons for the sake of proving that his theology was no better than his Latin, and concludes that, apart from the question of the ancient dignity, it was not right that St. David's, or any other church in Wales, should be subjected

¹ The Rolls editor translates, "On which the king, casting a glance at the bishop of Coventry, replied amidst much laughter, 'Stick to your own grammar, my lord archbishop, because yours is more valiant than mine'." Similarly, "summos preceptores demum equiparando" is rendered by the Rolls editor, "procuring the most efficient teachers" (vol. i. xv). It should be "rising to the level of the best teachers", as will be seen by comparing Giraldus' use of the word in the Book of Invectives VI, v, "cuius Walliam totam quantitas equiparavit".

The opportunity may be taken here of correcting some of the suggested textual emendations which the Rolls editor incorporated in his text in volume I. I, 41 MS. "aborsu fecit"; Rolls ed., "aborsum fuit" as though from aborior; probable reading "aborsum fecit". "Aborsus" is found in Tertullian for the noun "abortus". "Abortum facere" is found in Pliny, meaning "to miscarry". I, 45. MS. *deque gradum incunctanter ascendens*. Rolls ed: *atque gradum*, etc. Probable reading *deque gradu ad gradum*, etc. cf. Book of Invectives VI, xx. In De Rebus I, vi, and II, ix, the Rolls editor's suggestions of *desisteret* and *tamen* are unnecessary, since the MS. readings *desideret* from *desideo* and *tantum* give the sense required. A more important instance is that in De Rebus I, v, where the Rolls editor reads *ecclesiae partium de Melenith*. Dr. Lloyd remarks that *ecclesia partium de Melenith* can be no other than Llanbister. The fact is that *ecclesia partium* is a mere guess for the MS., *ecclesia patrum*. That the identification of the church with Llanbister is improbable, is shown by a comparison with the passage (De Rebus I, vi) where Giraldus narrates the story of his journey to Kerry. On this occasion Giraldus stayed at Llanbister on the second night after his departure from Brecon. The place where the previous night was spent, is not definitely mentioned, but it was on the Elvael and Maelienydd border. "Crossing the Wye he pushed on through Elvael and spent the night on the border of Maelienydd. Then he proceeded through Maelienydd and spent the night at Llanbister". In the passage referring to the *ecclesia patrum*, there is no indication that more than one day was taken

to an archbishop so evidently infected with the Arian heresy.¹

For the unblended Saxon serf of the twelfth century, Giraldus appears to have felt the conscious superiority of the Norman, as well as the free Welshman's amused contempt. Andrew's efforts to depreciate the British as compared with the English race caused him unaffected amazement. "In their own country the English were the slaves of their Norman owners and the most worthless portion of their slaves. Welshmen used none but the English to herd their cattle, patch their shoes and elutriate their drains. Regardless of their plighted word, they had betrayed the Britons, whom they had been hired to serve. They were still more addicted than any other nation to acts of treachery and murder. In Germany, whenever a man of any nation was found guilty of a crime of exceptional enormity, they would say of him, in their proverb, 'Untriwe Sax', 'Perfidious Saxon'.

"They were especially addicted to gluttony and drunkenness, and had smirched the good name of a previously sober country. In Rome they were pre-eminent for their use of forged letters and documents, a practice which had

over the journey, and there is no indication that Giraldus had traversed Maelienydd, which he would have to do in order to reach Llanbister. "He crossed the Wye, traversed Elvael and had approached within a mile of the church", *i.e.*, the church on the Elvael and Maelienydd border, at which he stopped on his subsequent journey to Kerry. The identification with Llanbister is due entirely to the Rolls editor's conjecture. The true reading of *ecclesia patrum* must be *ecclesia paterni*, which in its abbreviated form would be practically identical with *ecclesia patrum*, and almost inevitably misread by an English copyist ignorant of Welsh saints. The church is that of Llanbadarn ym Maelienydd, whose situation, close to the border of Elvael and Maelienydd, on the northern bank of the river Ieithon, corresponds exactly with Giraldus' description.

¹ "De Invectionibus", I, v.

earned for them an unenviable notoriety for mendacity and want of faith. In France their awkward gestures had made them ridiculous. "But as for our British race, deriving their descent, like the Romans, from Trojan stock, they have defended their liberty by continuous warfare, against Normans and Saxons alike, and, by force of arms, have kept from their necks the yoke of slavery until this day".¹

Giraldus returns to the charge in his defence of his good name. "It is a curious trait in the English character that, although they have been convicted of falsehood more often than any other nation, and have been repeatedly condemned for forgery in this court, they persist in accusing others of the fault which they recognize to be their greatest failing".² Giraldus apparently would have attributed more recent English prejudices to the late survival of a persistent "tu quoque", long after the necessity for its employment had ceased to exist.

With regard to charges of incontinence, Giraldus expresses a naive surprise that the subject should have been mentioned by the archbishop, especially in view of certain scandalous stories current in England, in which the archbishop's name was connected with those of two ladies of monastic life, and their children.³ The charges of simony and forgery are dealt with in a similar way. No importance need be attached to them, or to the retorts of Giraldus. They were the conventional methods of controversy in an early age, which did not distinguish closely between arguing for truth and arguing for victory. They were disbelieved by the pope, who told Giraldus that they were not worth answering. Giraldus' final words on the

¹ "Liber Invectionum", I, iv.

² *Ibid.*, I, xiii.

³ *Ibid.*, I, x.

archbishop are contained in his *Retractationes*.¹ In this passage Giraldus admits that his more personal charges against the archbishop were prompted more by a feeling of bitterness than regard for justice, and based upon common report rather than upon actual evidence. He adds the wish that the archbishop had been "as wise in spiritual as he was in worldly things; as great a lover of divinity as he was a hankerer after vanity; as fervent in charity as he was full of cupidity; as hungry and thirsty for divine grace, as he was for worldly pomp and popular favour".

The second, and most important, division of the Book of Invectives opens with an account of the origin and progress of the Christian faith in the island of Britain. At the instance of King Lucius, two missionaries, Fagan and Dyfan, were sent from Rome by Pope Eleutherius, to plant the faith of Christ throughout the island from sea to sea. Britain was at this time divided into five provinces, Britannia Prima (which Giraldus tells us comprised the western portion of the island), Britannia Secunda (Kent), Valentia (Scotland), and Flavia and Maxima (which Giraldus identifies respectively with Mercia and the district about York). Under the new order, the five imperial provinces became metropolitan sees, with twelve suffragans subordinate to each. The seat of the Welsh metropolis was originally fixed at Caerleon, but was afterwards transferred to Menevia. At Menevia twenty-five archbishops held office in succession, of whom the first was St. David and the last St. Samson. St. Samson migrated to Brittany at the time of the great pestilence, and became archbishop of Dol. St. David's was thus deprived of its pallium, but otherwise retained all its metropolitan rights, during the episcopates of nineteen

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., I, 426.

bishops, until the reign of Henry I. The last of these bishops was Wilfrid. He consecrated other bishops in Wales, and himself received consecration from the Welsh bishops. He convened episcopal synods. Appeals were made to him, and he carried his crozier before him. Wilfrid was succeeded by Bernard, who was forced upon the diocese by King Henry I, in spite of the protests of the clergy and people, and was consecrated at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury.¹ With regard to these statements Giraldus remarks in his *Retractationes*, that with the exception of those derived from Bede and the volume of Pope Anacletus, they were based on common report and opinion and not on any historical certainty. This outline may be supplemented by the statements made in the letter addressed by the "conventus" of St. David's to Pope Honorius :—

"To Honorius, by the grace of God, supreme pastor and universal pope, the conventus of the church of St. Andrew and St. David, and all the synod of the said church, with due reverence and their faithful obedience in Christ. To the excellence of your authority, most reverend father, we make it known that our church is, and has been, metropolitan from the first beginning of Christianity, which was received by King Lucius, King of the whole kingdom of Britain, and by all his people, from the two preachers, Fagan and Dyfan, who were sent to him by the blessed pope Eleutherius, in the 140th year of our Lord's Incarnation.

"And for the purpose of propagating the sacrament of the Christian faith, he reformed archbishoprics, with twenty-seven bishoprics, to correspond to the number of offices which had existed among them in pagan times. Of these archbishoprics, that of our church is found in the

¹ "De Invectionibus", II, i.

text of our histories, to have been third in number, but first by position of the provinces of the kingdom.

“To this see, the blessed David, the glory of the church and the unfailing light to all catholics, was in course of time promoted by the election of the council of the clergy and laity of the whole kingdom of Western Britain, and was afterwards consecrated as archbishop by Saint Dubricius his predecessor, according to the custom which existed in that church. His successors also, so long as peace and prosperity continued in the church and kingdom, enjoyed the archiepiscopal dignity in all particulars up to these latest times, when the church has been cruelly and unhappily deprived of its privileges and possessions.

“We read also in the history of the English that, preserving its due liberty, our church professed no obedience to Saint Augustine, because in the time of his predecessors of the church of Trinovantum, it had been subject only to the church of Rome. Nor can the church of Canterbury claim advancement over ours, because the venerable archbishop Ralph consecrated Bernard as our bishop, saving the dignity of our church, since he ought to have been ordained in the customary way.

“There is a certain proof of this in the fact that his predecessors, laying aside the exercise of the pastoral office, were accustomed to appoint their saintly successors, who were consecrated by them and by their own synod. This practice was continued until the time of Wilfrid, Bernard’s predecessor, who, fearing the coming of our nation, (presumably the Normans) had not the courage to appoint his own successor in accordance with the custom of his predecessors. And owing to this unusual event it so happened that Bernard was lawfully elected to our church and consecrated in the aforesaid manner”¹

¹ “De Invectionibus”, II, x.

Giraldus states that this is a copy of a genuine document which he discovered at St. David's, while engaged in the prosecution of his own suit against Canterbury. The archbishop declared that Giraldus had stolen the seal of the chapter of St. David's and was thereby enabled to forge documents at will. Little importance need be attached to the charge. It was one of many bandied about from one party to the other and disregarded by the pope. Giraldus makes no reference to the letter in his *Retractationes*, where he withdraws various statements made in the "Book of Invectives", which were incapable of proof; and there seems to be sufficient internal evidence to show that the letter could not have been concocted by Giraldus.

It is evident that the letter was written under Norman influence, since the writer refers to the Normans as "nostra gens". Unless we are to imagine a scribal error of "nostrae" for "normannicae," the words must be taken to betray the finger of Bernard or of one of his Norman supporters among the St. David's clergy. The description of the Normans as "nostra gens" could hardly have been used by the author of a forged document, perpetrated in Giraldus' interest and purporting to have been written by the Welsh clergy.

The clergy of St. David's are described in this letter as a "conventus", not as a "capitulum". The use of this word "conventus" is consistent with the view that the letter was written before, or at any rate, not long after the reorganisation of the "clas" of St. David's. This was one of the reforms of Bernard's episcopate, and it was not until after it had been effected that the "clas" became known as a "capitulum" or chapter. A large number of letters, dealing with the St. David's controversy, is preserved in the "De Rebus a se gestis", the "De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae" and the "Liber de

Invectionibus" of Giraldus. Of this series of letters, the letter to Pope Honorius is ostensibly the earliest, and it supplies the only instance of the application of the term "conventus" to the cathedral clergy of St. David's. In all the later letters, whether written to or by the St. David's clergy the term used is not "conventus" but "capitulum". The fact that in the heading of this letter to Honorius, the clergy are described as the "capitulum", has no bearing on the argument. The heading formed no part of the original letter, but was added by Giraldus when he included the document in his "Book of Invectives".

This letter contains several expressions not found elsewhere in Giraldus. If the Roll indexes are reliable, Giraldus nowhere makes use of the word Trinovantum for London; in discussing Wilfrid and his predecessors he nowhere tells us that the bishops of St. David's appointed their own successors, and he nowhere gives any definite date for the introduction of Christianity into Britain.

The story of the conversion of King Lucius first appears in a confused and contradictory entry in the "Liber Pontificalis". No definite date for the occurrence is there given, and the date of the entry is itself uncertain, as also is the interpretation that the passage refers to a British king.

In course of time the story was adopted by writers both in England and in Western Britain. Bede gives various dates for the conversion of Lucius; in his *Chronicle*, 180 A.D., in the *Ecclesiastical History* I, iv, 156 A.D., and in the summary of the same work, 167 A.D. Amongst British writers, the story is found in the *Historia Brittonum*, c. 22, where the best manuscripts give the date 167 A.D. The date given in the letter of the "conventus" to Honorius thus differs by twenty-seven years from what appears to have been regarded as the accepted date by

both English and British writers. This discrepancy may, perhaps, be explained on the assumption that the letter to Honorius is genuine, and based upon some earlier document, which has since been lost. The difference is simply the difference in the two methods of dating "a passione" and "ab incarnatione". The original notice, "in the text of their histories", upon which the assertions of the clergy to Honorius are said to be based, would have had the words "anno dominicae passionis", and in accordance with the changed method of computation, this was altered to "anno dominicae incarnationis" by a scribe who carelessly omitted to add the necessary number of years.

The date given by the "conventus" for the conversion of Lucius is not inconsistent with that given by Geoffrey of Monmouth for Lucius' death, namely 156 A.D., and there are many resemblances between their account and the corresponding passages in Geoffrey.

Geoffrey's work did not assume its final form until 1148 A.D., but an earlier version is known to have been in existence in 1139 A.D. The letter of the "conventus" cannot be dated later than 1130 A.D., which is the year of Honorius' death. The account of the conventus can therefore owe nothing to Geoffrey's narrative though both may have been derived from a common original.

In referring to the patron saint, the "conventus" might have been expected to follow the account given in Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David, which was written towards the close of the eleventh century, and was largely based on records and documents still extant at the time in the monastery of St. David's. It is curious to find that such is not the case. Rhygyfarch states that David was promoted to the degree of archbishop by the patriarch of Jerusalem. After returning to his own country he was

persuaded by Dubricius to attend the council of Brevi, and after preaching there, "blessed and extolled by the mouth of all, he is, with the consent of all the bishops, kings, princes, nobles, and all grades of the whole Britannic race, made archbishop and his city is declared the metropolis of the whole country, so that whoever should govern it should be accounted archbishop".¹

The "conventus" state that David was appointed archbishop by the election of the council and clergy of the whole kingdom of Western Britain, and consecrated as such by his predecessor St. Dubricius and by his own synod, as was the custom in their church. Geoffrey of Monmouth agrees with the "conventus" in making Dubricius David's predecessor. Dubricius, he says, "resigned his dignity in order to become a hermit and David was consecrated in his stead". This, again, accords with the statement of the "conventus" that it was the custom for their bishops to retire from the world, after appointing and consecrating their successors.

The "conventus" asserts that King Lucius established archbishoprics and twenty-seven bishoprics in accordance with the number of previously existing pagan offices. This corresponds with Geoffrey's statement that where there had been three archflamens and twenty-eight flamens, they set up three archbishoprics and twenty-eight bishoprics.

The "conventus" do not give the number of archbishoprics, but state that the archbishopric of St. David's was third in number, but first by the position of the provinces of the kingdom.

The meaning of this description is obscure. Geoffrey

¹ A. W. Wade-Evans, "Rhygyvarch's Life of St. David," *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. xxiv, p. 65.

of Monmouth enumerates his archbishoprics in the following order, London, York and the City of Legions. It may be that, "in the text of their histories," the "conventus" had seen a similar list, in which St. David's was substituted for Caerleon. Geoffrey's list is supposed to have been derived from an account of the Council of Arles, which was attended by three British bishops.

The names of these bishops are given as follows:—

"Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia.

"Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia suprascripta.

"Adelfius episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium."

The second reference to a bishop of London is evidently a mistake, and the true reading is supposed to be Lindunensium, making the third bishop the bishop of Lincoln. There was an earlier conjecture, which has been discarded as untenable, which substituted Legionensium for Londinensium. It has been supposed that Geoffrey anticipated this conjecture when he drew up his list of British archbishops. If the "conventus" description of their province as "third in number" is due to their having seen some such list, the conjecture of Legionensium for Londinensium must have been made before the time of Geoffrey.

This explanation would account for the description of St. David's as "numero tertius," but it would afford no explanation of the expression, "regni provinciarum positione primus". This can hardly mean first in order of foundation, since the context implies that in the view of the "conventus" all these archbishoprics were founded at the same time. Moreover, the words are not "archiepsopatum positione," but "regni provinciarum positione". Apparently there was something in the position of the

provinces of the kingdom which, in the view of the clergy, entitled their alleged archbishopric of St. David's to be called "primus". There is no evidence that the St. David's clergy in 1130 A.D., had any knowledge of the provinces of Roman Britain, or that they held the view of their respective positions afterwards put forward by Giraldus. According to Dr. Haverfield their names were unknown in the middle ages, until Giraldus saw a list of them in Rome. It may be noticed, however, as a coincidence merely, that in the *Breviarium* of Festus and in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the province known as Britannia Prima is enumerated third in the list of British provinces. In the scanty knowledge which we possess of the provinces of Roman Britain, there is nothing which makes it impossible that Britannia Prima should have comprised the western portion of the island. Whether this should prove to be the case, or not, it is reasonable to suppose that Wales as a whole constituted one or another of the Roman provinces, and the speculation may be hazarded that a tradition to that effect, widely misunderstood in the course of centuries, may have contributed in some degree towards originating the claims of St. David's to metropolitan authority.

Some tradition of the Roman provincial government must have been retained in the island, and especially in the church, after the Roman legions had been withdrawn. As all the details of Roman administration faded from recollection, the remembrance of a central government would tend to become blurred and distorted, until in the minds of Welsh churchmen, the secular authority may have been transferred to the church, the imperial *praeses* confused with the ecclesiastical *praesul*, and the tradition originated of an extended authority formerly exercised by the church.

Whatever the origin of the St. David's claims may have been, they were in existence before Norman encroachments upon the liberty of the Welsh church became formidable. They are found in "Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David", written before the end of the eleventh century, and must have been in the air long before that time. To prove their assertions, the St. David's clergy were obliged to explain how it was that their metropolitan authority had been lost. In their letter to Honorius the "conventus" state that St. Samson, who migrated to Brittany at the time of the great pestilence, and became archbishop of Dol, had previously been consecrated as archbishop in their cathedral.¹ This statement, according to the "conventus", was derived from the "vita" of St. Samson. The explicit identification of Samson of Dol with the Samson who was the twenty-fifth bishop in succession to St. David, is made by Giraldus.²

The appointment of Bernard to St. David's was made in 1115. The event is noteworthy, not only because Bernard was the first of a long line of alien bishops of St. David's, but also because the appointment was the first to be made under the influence of a Norman "rex Anglorum". At the time of his election Bernard was chaplain and chancellor of Henry's queen, Matilda. He appears to have earned preferment by a long period of service at the court of Henry I, which reached back to the beginning of the reign. His appointment as queen's chaplain dates from 1102, when he succeeded Reinhelm, who was promoted to the see of Hereford in the autumn of that year. From 1102-15 the name of Bernard, the chaplain, or the chancellor, appears on a number of writs or charters issued by the queen; and in 1101 or 1102 a

¹ "De Invectionibus", II., x.

² *Ibid.*, II., i.

certain Bernard, described as the king's chaplain, had been given, by command of King Henry, the custody of the see of Hereford.¹

Bernard is described by Giraldus as a learned and courtly man, from across the seas. He was consecrated at Westminster on September 19, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, having been ordained priest on the previous day.

The circumstances of this election are disputed, but it is generally agreed that Bernard was forced upon the clergy of St. David's against their will and in spite of their protests. Giraldus states that the election was made by the exercise of the royal power, and that protests were raised, not only by the clergy and people of the church, but also by the bishop-elect himself.² This statement, so far as it refers to the clergy and people, is supported by the words of the Llanbadarn chronicler, "o anuod holl yscol-heigion y brytanyeit gan ei tremygu," "against the will and in contempt of all the scholars (clergy) of the Britons".³

The statement of the Canterbury monk, Eadmer, that the clergy of St. David's had invited Henry I to appoint Wilfrid's predecessor, is dismissed by Professor Lloyd as merely the English version of the affair.⁴

Further evidence is supplied by the letters of the clergy of St. David's to the popes Honorius II and Eugenius III, written respectively about fifteen and thirty years after Bernard's appointment.

In their letter to Eugenius, the clergy write that

¹ "English Historical Review", vol. xxxiv, nos. 135 and 136. "An Outline Itinerary of King Henry I", by W. Farrer, Litt.D.

² Giraldus Cambrensis "De Invectionibus", II, i.

³ *Bruts*, ed. Rhŷs & Evans, p. 294.

⁴ Lloyd, J. E., *History of Wales*, ii, 453

Bernard had been elected by them as metropolitan archbishop of their church.¹

In their letter to Honorius they state that it had been the custom of previous bishops to appoint their own successors, who were consecrated by them and by their own synod. This practice had been continued until the time of Wilfrid, who had not had the courage to appoint his successor, and in these unprecedented circumstances Bernard had been lawfully elected, and consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, "saving the dignity of our church".²

Giraldus states that the bishops of St. David's consecrated the other Welsh bishops, and were themselves consecrated by their suffragans. He appears to know nothing of the story that the bishops of St. David's appointed their own successors.³

A reference to the documents relating to the appointment of bishops to Welsh dioceses at this period will show that the chief weight in making these elections was given to the Welsh princes. The usual formula is "electione facta regum (or regis) et totius cleri et populi". In 1120 David was consecrated bishop of Bangor, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. He had been previously elected by Prince Gruffydd ap Cynan and the clergy and people of Wales. Similarly, in the case of Llandaff the formula is "electione facta regum et totius cleri et populi Morgannwg".⁴ If the same part was played by the princes in making elections to St. David's, it is possible to find an explanation for the perplexity of

¹ "De Invectionibus", II, vi.

² *Ibid.*, II, x.

³ *Ibid.*, II, i; Itinerary, II, i; "De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae", Rolls ed. III, 152.

⁴ Florence of Worcester, continuation s.a. 1120; Haddan and Stubbs I, 287 and 314.

the cathedral clergy at the death of Wilfrid. Prince Gruffydd ap Rhys was still in exile, and there was no one to perform the office of election to St. David's.

Whether the clergy were correct, or otherwise, in their version of the situation which arose at Wilfrid's death, they were obviously correct in describing the circumstances as unusual. In these unusual circumstances it is not unlikely that they were willing to receive a bishop, not unacceptable to the king. It might be possible to reconcile the statement of Eadmer with that of the Welsh chronicler, if we could make the hypothesis that the Welsh clergy had expected Henry I to choose one of themselves, and that their protests were raised, not against the election by the king, but against the election of Bernard.

Bernard's own version of the circumstances of his election is contained in his letter to Innocent II.¹ In this letter he declares that he was most reluctant to become a bishop; that the appointment was forced upon him in spite of all that he could say or do, and that it was decided he was to be consecrated as "archbishop of the first and greatest province of the whole island".

No importance need be attached to Bernard's profession of reluctance to become a bishop. In adopting a career at court he had entered the most direct avenue to preferment in the church. In 1102 he had seen his predecessor, the queen's chancellor, appointed to the bishopric of Hereford. Two of his successors became respectively bishops of Bath and Worcester, in 1123 and 1126. Thurstan, the king's chaplain, was elevated in 1114 to the archbishopric of York. The office of king's chaplain had been held by Theowulf, who became bishop of Worcester in 1113, by Geoffrey and Richard, who were promoted to the

¹ "De Invectionibus", II, vii.

diocese of Hereford in 1115 and 1121, and by David, who became bishop of Bangor in 1120, by the election of Prince Gruffydd ap Cynan and the clergy and people of Wales.¹ It is even possible that Bernard's version of his appointment may mean that he was reluctant, not to be a bishop, but to be bishop of so poor and remote a diocese as St. David's, and that he was only prevailed upon to accept it by the assurance that it would carry with it the archiepiscopal dignity, which the St. David's clergy had so long claimed.

That Bernard's description of his diocese as the "first and greatest province of the whole island" refers to St. David's and not to some vague promise of future promotion, is clear from other similar descriptions of St. David's. It is called "the first by position of the provinces of the kingdom", "the first and greatest province of the whole of Britain", "the metropolis of the whole of Wales, for which reason our country is called the greatest amongst the provinces of the kingdom of Britain".²

From the date of his appointment Bernard's time was divided, perhaps unequally, between his attention to his diocese and the performance of those court duties to which he remained assiduous throughout the reign of Henry I. He was at Rome with the king in 1119. During Henry's visit to England, from 1220 to 1123, Bernard's signature appears on a number of documents, issued at Westminster, Winchester, Woodstock, Bridgenorth, and Conover. In Lent 1123, Bernard visited Rome. He was at Rouen on various occasions between 1123 and 1126. From September 1126 to August 1127, when Henry was again in England, Bernard is found attesting documents

¹ "English Historical Review", vol. xxxiv, nos. 135 and 136.

² "De Invectionibus", II, vi and x.

at Hereford, Westminster, Clarendon and Eling. He was at Rouen with the king on various dates in 1127, 1128 and 1129. He attended the council of London in 1129, and his name appears on a dozen documents issued between 1131 and 1133 at Woodstock, London, Winchester, Westbourne and Westminster.¹

During such intervals as Bernard was able to spare from his court duties to attend to the affairs of his diocese, he appears, as might be expected, rather in the character of a Norman ecclesiastic than in that of a Welsh patriot. He had no sympathy with those customs and practices which distinguished the church in Wales from the church in Western Europe; and it was one of his first objects to bring the organisation of his diocese into conformity with Latin ideas. The division of the diocese of St. David's into archdeaconries was probably one of Bernard's reforms. It is certain that archdeacons existed in the diocese before Bernard's death. An archdeacon of St. David's is mentioned in a letter written by Honorius II, to Urban of Llandaff in 1128,² and Bernard was succeeded as bishop by the archdeacon of Cardigan. There is no evidence for the existence of archdeacons in the diocese of St. David's before Bernard's appointment. From the difficulties afterwards experienced by Giraldus in the exercise of his authority as archdeacon of Brecon, Professor Lloyd argues that the office may have been recently established, and not yet fully accepted by the Welsh.³

¹ "English Historical Review", vol. xxxiv, Nos. 135 and 136.

² Haddan and Stubbs, i, 327.

³ Lloyd, J. E., *History of Wales*, II, 558, note. The four archdeaconries were those of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Cardigan and Brecon. The archdeacon of Pembroke was also called archdeacon of St. David's and appears to have enjoyed an honourable precedence over the rest. (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., vol. i, 319.) There

Another of Bernard's reforms was the reorganisation of the "clas", or, as it was afterwards known, of the cathedral chapter. The chapter was now made to consist of a definite number of canons, each with a fixed stipend and definite duties. What remained of the revenues was either taken by the bishop himself, or used for the purpose of keeping up a body of retainers. Bernard's reforms, therefore, affected not only the position of the "claswyr", but also that of the bishop himself. Henceforward the bishop of St. David's was a Norman feudal lord, at the head of a body of vassals, upon whose help he could rely in the event of hostilities by the Welsh.

Of all Bernard's activities the most important, both in itself and in its subsequent consequences, was his effort to enforce his claims to have been appointed as "archbishop of the first and greatest province of the whole island".

"Supported by three auxiliaries, the favour and intimacy of King Henry, a time of peace, and the consequent plenty, he boldly faced the conflicts involved in so great a cause; and such was his confidence in his just rights that he sometimes caused his cross to be borne before him throughout the boundaries of Wales."¹

It has been doubted whether Bernard formally raised the question of the metropolitan status of St. David's during the reign of Henry I. Giraldus states that the issue was raised after Henry's death and about twenty years after Bernard's election to St. David's.² In another passage Giraldus gives the number of years as twenty-six.³ In both passages, as in most others where he

was no dean of St. David's at this time. With reference to Pontius, archdeacon of Pembroke or St. David's, Giraldus makes the statement "qui quivit decani in ecclesia nostra vices gerere". (Rolls ed., vol. i, 325.)

¹ "Itinerary", II, i.

² "De Invectionibus", II, i.

³ "De Invectionibus", IV, ii.

mentions Bernard's case, Giraldus is referring to that phase of Bernard's suit which was opposed by Theobald. The writer of the life of David Fitz-Gerald states that Bernard prosecuted his claims during the papacies of Honorius II (1124-30), Innocent II (1130-43), and Lucius (1144-5).¹ The language of the letter from St. David's to Honorius appears to show some trace of Bernard's complicity. It may be said, therefore, that Bernard appears to have raised the question during Henry's life, but he does not appear to have displayed much energy in prosecuting his claims before the pope. So long as he was able, with the king's support to carry his crozier through the boundaries of Wales, Bernard was willing, so far as the king and the archbishop were concerned, to rest content with this informal recognition of his authority. It does not appear necessary to assume that Bernard was deterred by any sense of obligation to the king, or by any disinclination to risk the loss of the king's favour, from maintaining the status of St. David's during the reign of Henry I. There is no reason to suppose that Henry would have looked with disfavour upon Bernard's success. What Bernard was maintaining at this time was, not the liberty, but the dignity of St. David's, its status as the metropolitan see of Wales with authority over the other Welsh dioceses. The question of the ecclesiastical independence of St. David's was in the background. It did not come to the front until after Theobald's accession to the throne of Canterbury. It is not impossible that Henry was willing to encourage in Bernard the idea of establishing at St. David's an archbishopric, occupied by a Norman and duly subordinate to Canterbury, as a means of subjecting the whole of the Welsh church.

Nothing is known of Bernard's efforts during the years

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., III, 431.

immediately following Henry's death. The condition of Wales at this period was not favourable to the prosecution of his claim to be the metropolitan of the whole of Wales. In Henry's time Bernard had relied upon the support of the king, and a time of peace, and the consequent plenty. In Stephen's time the days of peace and plenty were past, and unless the nature of Bernard's claims had undergone a complete transformation, the changed conditions could not have been to his advantage. A Welsh patriot would, no doubt, have found his opportunity in the disturbed state of the country. Bernard was still a Norman, relying upon Norman support. For twenty-six years after his election, Bernard had to contend against the active opposition of the Welsh princes to the extension of his authority.¹ At the end of 1138 occurred an event the consequences of which appear to have brought about an understanding between Bernard and the Welsh princes. This event was the appointment to Canterbury of Theobald, abbot of Bec, a strong-minded prelate, who was determined to suffer no changes which might impair or diminish his authority.

In 1140 Theobald's action in connection with the appointment of Meurig to Bangor evoked the following letter, addressed to Bernard by the Welsh princes, Owen and Cadwaladr:—

“Although our friendship for you has not hitherto prospered, we now offer you our obedience. A certain Meurig has made his way into our church, not by the door, but like a thief and a robber against the wishes of us all. Hitherto we have denied to St. David's its ancient and archiepiscopal right. We now recognise this and profess our repentance. We therefore beseech you, for the love of God, to come and meet us, in order that we

¹ “De Invectionibus”, II, ix.

may take counsel together on these matters, and endeavour to restore to your church its ancient privilege".¹

With this letter from the princes of North Wales to Bernard, should be compared the letter from the chapter of St. David's to Pope Eugenius, in which complaints are made of Theobald's interference in promoting Uchtryd to Llandaff, Meurig to Bangor, and "Richard" to St. Asaph. The last of these, they declare, had been destined for consecration by Bernard, but when this was postponed owing to the capture of King Stephen, Theobald presumptuously intervened and promoted him.²

Hostility to Theobald was the common ground on which Bernard and the Welsh princes met. The new alliance was not due to any access of Welsh patriotism on Bernard's part, and it did not involve any loosening of the ties which bound him to Norman court and political life. He supported Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, when that prelate temporarily abandoned the cause of his brother Stephen, and was present at Winchester in 1141, when Matilda was acknowledged as Lady of England.³

There appears to be no direct evidence that Bernard and Henry of Blois were acting in concert in their opposition to Theobald, but there can be no doubt that it was in Bernard's interest to support Henry's ecclesiastical projects. The most important of these was the proposal to establish a new province of Winchester, as a means of weakening the authority of Canterbury. The idea was favoured by Pope Lucius, and at one time it seemed possible that it might be realised. The new province was to consist of Winchester, with Bath, Exeter, Hereford Worcester, Salisbury, Chichester and Hyde Abbey as

¹ "De Invectionibus", II, ix.

² "De Invectionibus", II, vi.

³ *Political History of England* (Longman's), vol. ii, p. 233.

suffragans. A reference to a map of the dioceses of the twelfth century will indicate the extent to which the establishment of this new province would have involved the severance of St. David's from Canterbury. It may be that the concluding words of Bernard's letter to Innocent contain a reference to this proposal.¹

From 1140 onwards Bernard was whole-heartedly engaged in prosecuting the claims of St. David's. The conditions of the time were favourable to his prospects of obtaining the pope's support. It had become the deliberate policy of the papal court to weaken the unity of the English church, with a view to the advancement of the papal authority in England. On May 14, 1144, Lucius II, wrote to Bernard promising to send legates to enquire into the merits of the case. He declined to come to an immediate decision owing to the length of time which had elapsed since the dignity of St. David's had been transferred to other churches, through the boundless malevolence of the unrighteous.² Lucius died before anything was done and with the accession of Eugenius III (1145) Bernard's prospects appear to have declined. The attitude of the new pope was decidedly unfriendly to Stephen and to Henry of Winchester, and correspondingly favourable to Bernard's antagonist, the archbishop of Canterbury. The question of Bernard's personal allegiance to the archbishop was decided by Eugenius at Meaux in 1147. Theobald

¹ "Noveritis autem proculdubio inter provincias nostram quidem et cantuariensem Londonie provinciam cum viii comitatibus interiacere". The number of counties mentioned in this passage is the same as the number of bishoprics in the suggested province of Winchester. Guntonie appears for Wintonie in one passage of Giraldus (*De Principis Instructione* II, xix). Possibly Londonie is here a scribal error. Reference may be made to an article on Bernard in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for July, 1919.

² "De Invectionibus", II, iii.

produced two witnesses to prove that Bernard had made profession of obedience to Canterbury at his consecration. Giraldus hints a doubt of the veracity of the witnesses.¹ The author of the *Life of David Fitz-Gerald* states that they were refuted by Bernard, who protested against the admission of such evidence against a bishop. Eugenius replied that he wanted witnesses for himself and not for Bernard and gave his decision in favour of Theobald.² The discussion of the question of the dignity and liberty of St. David's was postponed until the following year.

The date fixed for the hearing was October 18, 1148, but Professor Lloyd points out that Bernard's letter to Simeon, archdeacon of Bangor is evidence of Bernard's intention to raise the matter at the council of Rheims in March of that year. At the suggestion of the bishop of Winchester, Theobald was forbidden by King Stephen to attend this council, but he disregarded the prohibition and crossed to France, where he was warmly welcomed by the pope.

No further progress was made on this occasion with the question of the dignity of St. David's. Bernard died before the date fixed for the trial, and his successor was induced not only to take the oath of obedience to Canterbury, but also to promise not to raise the question of the dignity of St. David's during his episcopate.

In the whole conduct of his suit Bernard was mainly concerned to obtain the pope's recognition of his diocese as a metropolitan see. All that is known of his life reveals him in the character of a Norman prelate, playing a considerable part in Norman politics and anxious, "more Normannico", to enhance the dignity and authority of his office. In all the letters connected with Bernard's suit

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed. III., 153.

² *Ibid.*, III, 431.

emphasis is laid, not so much upon the independence of the Welsh church, as upon the claims of St. David's to exercise authority over the Welsh dioceses.¹

Bernard's reputation as a Welsh patriot was due to later writers, and amongst them to Giraldus, who appears to have believed that Bernard's efforts had been directed, like his own, towards the liberation of the Welsh church from alien control. The estimate was a mistaken one, but the part played by Bernard in the development of the case of St. David's was nevertheless important. Upon his appointment, he found at St. David's an old but vague and nebulous claim to exercise metropolitan rights over the rest of Wales. Taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by political circumstances, he raised this claim to the region of practical politics, and at his death left Welsh churchmen in a stronger position for the assertion of their rights against Canterbury.

It was now the object of the archbishop to prevent the revival of the issue by succeeding bishops of St. David's. In succession to Bernard the canons were reluctantly obliged to accept David, archdeacon of Cardigan, who not only made the customary profession of obedience to Canterbury, but also bound himself not to raise the question of the rights of St. David's during his episcopate. In spite of this undertaking, the prescriptive rights of Canterbury were interrupted by the canons of St. David's shortly before the bishop's death. A council was convened by the papal legate to meet in London in 1176. The Welsh clergy first approached Henry II, in the hope of persuading him to meet their wishes. Failing in this, they then did what they could, and in a public audience before the legate

¹ In the letters connected with Bernard's suit preserved by Giraldus, the word *dignitas* occurs sixteen times, *libertas* three times only.

made a solemn protestation of the rights of their church and its ancient dignity.¹

Soon afterwards Bishop David died. The canons assembled at Menevia and agreed to nominate Giraldus, archdeacon of Brecon, and the other three archdeacons. As the latter were of no great note, the action of the canons was tantamount to the appointment of Giraldus. The proceedings were reported in this sense to the king, who flew into a rage and gave orders to deprive the canons of their revenues. Meanwhile Giraldus had reflected that the canons had been ill-advised in contravening the custom of the English kingdom, by making their nomination without having previously obtained the king's consent to perform the election. He therefore returned to the chapter-house, renounced his own nomination, but promised to support the canons in their efforts to secure a free and unfettered election, provided that everything was done in the recognised form. The king now summoned Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and most of his suffragans to confer with them upon the vacancy at St. David's. They first enquired whether any suitable person could be found within the diocese, and at length unanimously agreed to recommend Giraldus. The archdeacon's claims were strongly supported by the archbishop, but the king replied that it was not expedient, either for the king or for the archbishop, that a man of exceptional energy and probity should be made bishop of St. David's, lest injury should ensue to the crown of England or to the church of

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed. I, 40. The Rolls editor remarks that all the canons received from Henry II was a "savage and inexorable growl". (I, xxvii). Giraldus writes that Henry was "morusus in responsionibus", which seems, from the context, to bear the mediæval sense of "delaying". The whole passage affords a good illustration of the colouring which the Rolls editor contrives to give to the simple narrative of Giraldus.

Canterbury. This conversation was carried to Giraldus by the bishop of Worcester, "and you ought to be quite satisfied," said he, "with the honour of such testimony, in such an audience, and to value it more highly than any bishopric".

The canons were now obliged to submit, in order to recover their livings, and after following the king from place to place, elected at Winchester Peter de Leia, a Clugniac monk, whom none of them had seen or even heard of. Giraldus endeavoured to persuade him in the names of God and St. David, to refuse to abjure the rights of his church, but all his efforts were unavailing, and the new bishop was duly consecrated, after making the professions of obedience required of him.

The next attempt to assert the rights of St David's was made at the Lateran Council held by Alexander III, in 1179. Giraldus was then in Paris, and was informed of what had taken place by Gerardus, afterwards bishop of Coventry. "The canons of Menevia", he said, "very boldly and loftily asserted the metropolitan rights of their church, and persistently demanded a commission of judges to try the case; but since their bishop, who was present, was tongue-tied by his oath of abjuration, the matter proceeded no further on that occasion".

Peter de Leia died in the autumn of 1198. Shortly afterwards, in obedience to an urgent summons, two archdeacons and four canons of St. David's set out to meet the archbishop, taking with them the chapter's letter *de rato* for the election of a successor. The canons nominated three persons. Giraldus, archdeacon of Brecon, Walter, abbot of St. Dogmael's, and Peter, abbot of Whitland. To this list they added the name of Reginald Foliot, merely to avoid the appearance of altogether excluding Englishmen, and not with any hope or inten-

tion of procuring his election. Giraldus was unable to be present at this meeting, but wrote to the archbishop that he would not withhold his consent to the election of any suitable person. "And by a suitable person I mean one who is acquainted with the manners and customs of both nations and will devote himself entirely to the duties of the pastoral office; one who would scorn to perambulate England like a beggar, bringing shame and confusion on an impoverished but ancient church; one who would think it mean and contemptible to hanker after the flesh-pots of England, and to seek to obtain them by means of translation or additional preferment."

The archbishop rejected Giraldus and all who were of Welsh descent, and offered the canons their choice of two Englishmen, a Cistercian monk, named Alexander, and Geoffrey, prior of Llanthony who had gained the favour of the archbishop by his proficiency, not in divinity, but in medicine. The canons were unable either to abandon their own nominees or to add others to the list, without the chapter's consent. The king was away in Normandy, and when the archbishop was summoned to his presence, they returned to St. David's without having effected anything. Here they received letters from the king and the justiciar, bidding them send to London four of their number, in readiness to cross over to the king in Normandy for the purpose of electing a bishop in his presence. After consulting together, the canons sent four of their number to London, and despatched couriers to Lincoln to entreat Giraldus, in the name of the loyalty he owed to his church, to proceed to London to support his colleagues.¹

Arriving in London, the canons were confronted with the alternative of proceeding immediately to the king, or of electing one of the two Englishmen who had previously

¹ "De Rebus a se Gestis", III, vii.

been offered them. They deferred their answer until the archdeacon's arrival, and after consulting him, replied that they had no instructions from the chapter either to withdraw their own nominees, or to add others to the list; they were poor men from a distant country, and had not the means for foreign travel; it had never been the custom, either in their church, or in any other church in Wales, to send over to foreign parts to elect their bishops. Nevertheless, if the justiciar persisted, and they were allowed to conduct the election in England, they would go so far as to send over two of their number to ascertain the king's wishes. The justiciar, unwilling to set a dangerous precedent to other churches by advancing money for their expenses, acquiesced in this suggestion. Elyodorus and another clergyman were selected to make the voyage. They crossed the sea, and travelled through Normandy, Anjou, and a considerable part of Aquitaine, but on receiving news of the king's death in Limousin, they immediately turned aside, and after travelling for many days arrived at Chinon in Anjou, where they delivered to John the letter which they carried from the justiciar and also one from the chapter of St. David's, which was signed by many of the barons, abbots and priors of the country in support of the appointment of Giraldus.

John's accession was a circumstance highly favourable to the prospects of St. David's. Fifteen years before, the young prince had been accompanied by the archdeacon on his visit to Ireland, and, in spite of occasional differences, appears to have retained for his mentor a genuine respect.¹

¹ During Richard's absence on the crusade, Giraldus told Prince John that it would be more to his credit to complete the conquest of Ireland than to enjoy himself at home, the only idle prince in Christendom. John replied coldly that he was not so fond of Ireland as the archdeacon. He had not got so many relatives there.

On a previous occasion, after Baldwin's itinerary through Wales,

During this visit the bishoprics of Leighlin and Wexford had fallen vacant, and both were offered to Giraldus by the prince. In 1191, when John had assumed the regency during Richard's absence, he offered the archdeacon the bishopric of Llandaff. The canons therefore had every reason to expect a sympathetic hearing for their petition. They were not disappointed. After reading the letters the king returned a favourable reply, and launched out into encomiums of the archdeacon for his long and faithful service to his father and himself. On the next day the messengers were given three letters, one for Giraldus bidding him proceed immediately to the king's presence, accompanied by three or four canons with power to make the election; a second to the chapter of St. David's to the same effect, and a third to the justiciar, forbidding him to interfere in the election in any way. Had Giraldus adopted the chapter's original proposal to proceed to France with three of the canons authorised to make the election, it is possible that the king might have so far committed himself as to render ineffective any subsequent interference from the archbishop.

The messengers left Normandy with every assurance of success, but the chapter had still to reckon with the hostility of Hubert Walter. John crossed over to England, and was crowned at Westminster on Ascension day. Immediately afterwards, in obedience to their instructions, Giraldus and the canons presented themselves before the king. In the meantime the archbishop had set to work, and had so far succeeded as to persuade John

John bitterly attacked Giraldus for the calculated eloquence of his preaching, which had depleted his district of South Wales of the Flemish and Norman settlers, and left their possessions defenceless to their Welsh enemies. Giraldus did not preach in Welsh. "Had he done so", said John Spang to Rhys ap Gruffydd, "you would not have had a man left out of all your host".

not to make his decision public. Giraldus and the canons returned to St. David's, where a chapter was held on June 29. At this chapter Giraldus was unanimously elected bishop and urged to proceed to Rome to obtain his consecration from the pope. On the next day Giraldus crossed over to Ireland to consult his kinsfolk, and after being assured of their assistance and support, returned to St. David's. The canons in the meantime had received a peremptory summons from the archbishop. They must either elect the prior of Llanthony, or he would be sent down to them already consecrated. The canons protested against the appointment of anyone without their consent, and knowing that it was the archbishop's habit to act precipitately in these matters, took the precaution of writing to the pope to acquaint him with the facts. Giraldus had now completed his necessary preparations and, committing himself to the care of God and St. David, set forth upon his momentous expedition. From Strata Florida, where he entrusted his book to the safe keeping of the monks, he travelled rapidly over the mountains of Maelienydd towards Cwmhir, crossed the English border at Kerry, and hurried on to Sandwich, where he embarked for Flanders. At St. Omer he was delayed for fifteen days, and after various vicissitudes, arrived in Rome, on November 30, 1199. Ten days later a courier from the archbishop arrived with despatches for the pope and the cardinals. The pope gave orders that Giraldus should be shown the archbishop's letter, and after reading it, "My Lord", said Giraldus, "this man writes more like the arch-enemy than the archbishop, and has no regard for the truth, if by any means he can do me an injury". "Will you reply to that letter" inquired the pope, and Giraldus having expressed his desire to do so, January 7 was appointed for the public hearing of the arch-

bishop's letter and of the archdeacon's reply. These letters have not previously been fully translated, and as they provide the only instance of direct charges and replies, as between the archbishop and Giraldus, they may be quoted at length.

“To the most holy lord and father in Christ, Innocent, by the grace of God, supreme pontiff, Hubert, by the divine assent, the humble minister of the church of Canterbury, presents greetings, with his humble duty and the reverence due to his father and lord. You have been set over peoples and kingdoms, by the dispensation of the divine providence, in order that they may take root and prosper, or be utterly plucked out and cast forth and brought to nought, according to the diversity of their merits and by the careful exercise of your discretion, so that the Son of the Most High, who has committed to you his powers, may pluck out and cast forth every plant which the Heavenly Father has not planted, and scatter the profligate, who labour not to gather into his barn. For plenitude of power has been granted to you from above, in order that the fulness of your irresistible might may reduce to order all those whom we, who have been called to share your responsibilities, have been unable to correct.

“You are not unaware, as I believe, most holy father, that the church of Canterbury is the metropolis and mother-church both of the church of St. David and of all other churches throughout Wales. And this is evident both from the confirmations and charters of Adrian, Eugenius, Alexander and Celestine, your predecessors of blessed memory, and from your own recent message and document of confirmation.

“Of late, however, as I have heard on unimpeachable authority, an archdeacon of the church of St. David, one Giraldus, a Welshman by birth and a kinsman or con-

nection of most of the magnates of Wales, relying, I suppose, upon his descent and not, as would be more fitting, upon his character, has contrived by other than right and lawful means to get himself elected bishop of St. David's, by the votes of not more than three of the canons, whom he cajoled, according to common report, into giving their consent, in spite of the opposition and disapproval of all the rest.

“Such being the nomination on which he relies, he has neither demanded nor expected any form of confirmation from me, to whom he should have applied in the first instance, but has forthwith arrogated to himself both the title and the authority of a bishop-elect; and finding himself unable, by his entreaties, to influence the canon who has charge of the seal of the chapter of St. David's, he so terrified him by his bloody threats that the canon above-mentioned deposited the said seal upon the altar of the episcopal church, and issued a solemn appeal, forbidding anyone to presume to raise or remove it, without the common consent of the whole chapter. But this Giraldus felt no more respect for his appeal than he had felt horror at his own intrusion, but picked up the seal and carried it off; and so is enabled, whenever he wishes, to forge all the instruments of patronage or warranty which he may require.

“God knows, before whom I stand, that if I had believed him to be a suitable person, called by canonical election to this high office, I should have been graciously pleased to grant him confirmation and consecration, had he been willing to ask me for one, or for the other, or for both. But having no manner of faith in the form of his election, he has illegally and uncanonically ignored me, and according to common report, has made a hasty journey to the Apostolic See, hoping to find you still in ignorance of

the form of his election, and to deceive you by means of false evidence. But you know, most learned father, that credence should be placed in witnesses, rather than in documentary evidence; for there are many ways whereby documentary evidence may be, and often is, rendered inconsistent with the intentions of those who are mentioned as witnesses, for instance, by the abstraction, forcible or clandestine, of an authentic seal, or by a counterfeit impression taken from it.

“God knows, most holy father, that it is not personal ill-feeling, but regard for justice, which has caused me to bring these matters to your notice. It may be that I have written with greater moderation and restraint than either truth or expediency requires, but let not your holiness be deceived, or consent, before you have learnt the truth, to lay upon him, or cause to be laid upon him, the hands of consecration. And I would further make known to your holiness, that if the above-mentioned archdeacon should by any means obtain from you the favour of consecration—which God forbid!—he would not rest content with this. When men succeed in winning more than they expect, they conceive the most iniquitous ambitions; and even so this archdeacon would extend his endeavours to wider and more pernicious objects. Under cover of the consecration granted him by you, he would arrogantly claim exemption from the jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury, an exemption which, by the grace of God and your wise refusal, he shall never obtain. He would then proceed to do his utmost to sow the seeds of perpetual dissension between the English and the Welsh. For tracing their descent in an unbroken line from the original stock of the Britons, the Welsh boast that the dominion of the whole of Britain is rightly theirs. Indeed, if the barbarism of this savage and lawless race had not been

restrained by the censures of the church, pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, to whose authority it is well-known that this race has hitherto been subject by provincial law, they would have risen in frequent and continuous rebellions against the king, thereby bringing inevitable confusion upon the whole English kingdom."

To this letter the archdeacon replied as follows:—

"Holy father, it is, as you know, the property of dogs to bark incessantly when they cannot bite; and therefore I have thought it right in your hearing to reply to the letter of the archbishop, in which under the pretence of dissuading you, he has undertaken to write invectives against me—I wish it had been with his own and not with another man's pen—and so to defend my character; in order that he may learn how useless and unprofitable it is, and how open to retaliation, to make an attack in writing upon men of letters, and by insulting writing to provoke a reply from those who are skilful in writing. From the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh; he who is consumed with malice refraineth not his lips, and from the beginning of his long and prolix letter, almost every word appears to have been aimed, either directly or indirectly, against me and my good name. Against my character he has said nothing directly, but insinuates charges with the object of bringing me into disrepute. Against the form of my election he has inveighed openly, and with no less boldness than irreverence has addressed to an audience, so eminent as this, accusations which are absolutely false. But by God's help I shall refute all his statements, both by sufficient arguments, and by the words of living witnesses. At the very outset he says, 'So that the son of the Most High may pluck out and cast forth every plant which the Heavenly Father has not planted'. It is a bold,

not to say presumptuous utterance, as though all other plants, less worthy and less pleasing in God's sight, shall be uprooted, while he alone shall stand firm and not be shaken. But who shall boast that he has a pure heart? How shall it be with the reed of the desert, when the cedar of Lebanon is shattered? For it is written, 'Blessed is the man who is ever in fear'; and again 'I was in fear as to all my works'. Thus the archbishop appears to have repeated with the pharisee, 'I am not as other men are'. He then proceeds to boast that he is supported by the privileges of Adrian, Alexander III and Celestine. Here it should be noticed that he begins not from remote but from comparatively recent times. This is not inconsistent with the letters which you have received from the clergy and people of Wales, who declare that three bishops of St. David's have actually been subject to the church of Canterbury. It is also worthy of notice that he calls these documents confirmations, not donations.

"He goes on, 'an archdeacon of the church of St. David, one Giraldus, a Welshman by birth and a kinsman or connection of most of the magnates of Wales'. He knew my name well enough of old, although he now seeks with all his might to efface both the name and all it stands for. If he could, he would like to use my very name as an argument against me. But my name seems to smack more of French than of Welsh. 'A Welshman by birth'. Here he tries to find an argument in my birth and training. He brings it forward as though it were something to my discredit and prejudice, as who should say, 'He is of Welsh birth, and for that reason ought not to be a bishop in Wales'. On the same showing Englishmen ought not to be given preferment or promotion in England, nor Frenchmen in France, nor Italians in Italy. Let pastors ignorant of the languages be appointed promis-

cuously in these countries, and they will be found to be good preachers.

“‘A kinsman or connection of most of the magnates of Wales’. He speaks truly, and if he had said that I was connected with nearly all the magnates throughout Wales, with the princes of Wales on my mother’s side, and on my father’s side with the English barons, who by fighting valiantly for the king and his kingdom, hold and defend in their castles the sea-board of Wales against the attacks of the Welsh, he would have spoken with greater candour and with equal truth. But this he carefully suppresses and refrains from mentioning, lest it should appear to support my case. He admits the nobility of my descent, nor do I deny it. Whether this fact should be allowed to stand in my way, when all else is in my favour, it is for you to decide.

“‘Relying, I suppose, upon his descent, and not, as would be more fitting, upon his character’. He has borrowed this from Claudian, who says that it is better to rely upon character than upon noble birth. It is true that it is better for a man to rely upon the former than upon the latter, if it has not been granted to him to rely upon both. He concedes me one; I grant him neither.

“‘He has contrived, by other than right and lawful means, to get himself elected bishop of St. David’s, by the votes of not more than three of the canons, whom he cajoled, according to common report, into giving their consent’. I am amazed that he should dare to write such things, that he should presume to address to your holiness and to this great audience statements so manifestly untrue. Perhaps he does not realise that a man can lie with the pen as well as with the tongue. For it is written, ‘the words of a priest are either true or sacrilegious’, and this should be understood to apply equally to written words,

especially when they are addressed, as a statement of truth, to the supreme lord and father on earth. He has refrained however from going altogether against his conscience, by adding the words, 'according to common report'. All Wales knows, and a great part of the West of England knows, that for many years previous to the death of the late bishop of St. David's, the whole of the people and clergy of the country, finding that the bishop was useless to them, desired that I, in spite of my unworthiness, should assume the government of their church; and they desired it still more eagerly after the bishop's death. And that good man, the Irish bishop, God rest his soul, who frequently came and went through our country in the course of the last two years, and had many opportunities, while waiting for a vessel and a favourable breeze in the harbour of our church, of learning and understanding the wishes of the clergy and people of Menevia, was well aware of this and publicly declared it, in your presence, before his departure. A similar declaration was made by the bishop-elect of Bangor, before his departure from this court. And yet, in spite of frequent letters and messages, which I continued to receive from the magnates of the country, and from the clergy of the chapter and the diocese, for nearly a year after the bishop's death, I could in no wise be induced to return from my studies, until at last I received letters and messages from the king of England, now reigning.

"But if what the archbishop writes were true, if I were only seeking to obtain this church, because I was determined to enter into it by any means, wrongfully if not rightfully, by the wall if not by the gate, I should certainly have shown more haste. Nor is it likely that, for the sake of gaining an income of twenty marks, I should be willing to resign an income of five times that amount

enjoyed in peace. God knows, from whom nothing is covered or concealed, that I should not have consented to acquire the archbishop's own wide and extensive province by the means which he alleges I have used to obtain this bishopric; and to this I add 'nor even by those means which he himself used to obtain it'. For had not King Richard been detained in Germany, very different provision would undoubtedly have been made for the English church.

“Moreover, we have in our church nearly as many English canons as Welsh, and if, as he writes, I had been elected by not more than three, in spite of the protests and objections of the rest, he would have won over one or more of them, by money or entreaties, and sent them over to you to confront me in this court. But he has not sent one—because he could not get one.

“He writes, with equal impudence, that I carried off by force the seal of our chapter. How far removed from truth this and the previous charges are, is known to the church, to the whole province, to all my clerks who were present at the proceedings and who stand here before you; and to Him most clearly who knows all things. The archbishop, as the conclusion of his letter clearly shows, is actuated simply by ill-feeling and alarm. He has sent no proctor. He has delegated no commissioners. He holds out no promise or suggestion that he will prove any of the charges, which he has brought against me. He is seeking only to bring me into disrepute. Which then, I ask, is more worthy of credence, the archbishop's letter, or the formal decree of my chapter, the letters of the people and clergy of my country, and the testimony of my clerks who stand here before you, and, in spite of my unworthiness, unanimously acclaim my election?

“He writes, ‘If I had believed him to be a suitable

person, called by canonical election to this high office', as who should say that I was not suitable. I acknowledge my unworthiness. I know that I am unsuitable and unworthy to govern one small parish church. Let him boast, if he will, with the pride of the pharisee, that he is more than equal to the task of governing almost the whole English church. And who is the man whom he considers eminently suitable for our church, whom he has persistently endeavoured, and is still persistently endeavouring, to thrust upon us? A monk of his own, a simple, foolish, unlettered man, his leech, during whose tenure of the bishopric he would be able to enjoy his slumbers undisturbed.

“An election made in the mother-church, with the consent of all the canons, and the approval of the whole people, he regards as uncanonical. By a fair and canonical election, I suppose he means the kind of election for the repression of which, his predecessor, the blessed martyr, submitted to the swords of wicked men, the kind of election to which he is himself accustomed, when four or six of the canons are summoned to London or the court, and compelled there to elect his monk or his leech or some other unlearned person. That elections of this kind have been prescribed in the canons, I have yet to learn.

“He adds that he ‘would have been graciously pleased to perform the ceremonies of confirmation and consecration’. To these words at the end of his letter, where he evidently contradicts himself, I reply in the words of Ovid, ‘*Dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae.*’

“He quotes against me the legal dictum that credence should be placed in witnesses rather than in documentary evidence. Let me tell him that besides documentary evidence, I have brought with me witnesses from the chapter of our church. And if credence ought not to be placed in documentary evidence, unsupported by

witnesses, no credence ought to be placed in his letters, since he produces no witnesses in their support.

“He mentions several methods of forgery of which I have never heard before. ‘For instance, by the abstraction, forcible or clandestine, of an authentic seal, or by a counterfeit impression taken from it’. The man who can enumerate them in such detail is well acquainted with methods of forgery; and yet he dares to insinuate that I have committed forgery, as though he could thereby destroy the credit and authority of the decree of the chapter, and the letters of warranty. Would that he were as innocent of every charge, and especially of those of incendiarism and murder, namely the murder of Longbeard of London, as I am of the charge of forgery. Hitherto I was wont to be a maker of books, not of seals. But if it were desired to convict me of forgery in my books, I could not wish to have a better accuser than he, for he detracts nothing from my credibility and adds nothing to his own. He says that should I obtain from you the favour of consecration, I would not rest content with this, but would claim exemption from the jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury. He does not say that I would endeavour to assert the just claims of my church, and to recover its ancient dignity, but conceals its rights and dignity behind the word exemption. It is clear that he will never perform for me the ceremonies of confirmation and consecration, nor will he allow either of them to be performed by anyone else, unless I yield to his base conditions, and consent, under compulsion, to take in advance the oath, which his predecessors have been accustomed to exact from our bishops, never to prosecute the claims of our church against Canterbury. He quotes from the words addressed by Seneca to Nero, ‘when men succeed in winning more than they expect they conceive

the most iniquitous ambitions'. It was clearly a mistake to consider him unlearned. But mark how strictly applicable these words are to the archbishop. He proceeded from the deanery of York to the bishopric of Salisbury, and from the bishopric of Salisbury to the supreme dignity of Canterbury, and thus he has gradually risen, by chance and good fortune rather than by merit, from one high office to another. But sudden and unexpected prosperity carries away ambitious men beyond the bounds of moderation; and it is said that this archbishop, not content with his present position, has actually presumed to aspire to the high eminence of the apostolic see. Last year, as though preparing a way and raising up a ladder to this high eminence, he was endeavouring to become a cardinal of the Roman court. When he was openly boasting of this ambition, one of his supporters handed to him the following verse,

‘Successor Thomae, succedes baculo Romae’.

He was immediately rewarded with a present of ten gold pieces, and on the next morning the archbishop paid him ten more, and recited the following verse, which he had hammered out after a night's labour, with the object of displaying his great learning.

‘Ora, frater, pro me, ne sim deterior Thomae.’

If the archbishop may hope to win the greatest and loftiest rewards, why may not I, a humbler man, aspire to win the least.

“He delivers at last his final blow, and brings the whole matter to a conclusion with what he considers a crushing and unanswerable argument. He strives to strengthen his case by associating with it the king's interests. ‘Unless the church of Wales had been made subject to the church of Canterbury, this nation would rise in frequent and continuous rebellion against the king.’ Here he seems to

have written without sufficient caution; as though the king with all his vast resources could not subdue this small people with his own temporal sword, and as though he were forced to borrow the spiritual sword to support him. It is for this reason that the princes of Wales, in their letters, make common complaint to your holiness that whenever they engage in warlike conflict with a hostile people in defence of their lands and liberties, the archbishop of Canterbury, actuated only by his own prejudices and regardless of all process of right, pronounces sentence against them, so that whoever falls on their side falls excommunicated.

“Holy Father, I trace my descent from both races, from the princes of Wales, and from the barons of the marches, who in continual warfare defend the borders of the kingdom against the Welsh, but whenever I see injustice in either race, I hate it. And what can be more unjust than that this people, founded and rooted in the faith from the earliest times, from the time when Pope Eleutherius, long before the coming of the Saxons who remained in paganism until the time of Gregory, sent forth Fagan and Dyfan in the days of King Lucius to plant in our island the Christian faith; what I say, can be more unjust than that this people should be separated from the church and handed over to Satan, because, forsooth, they take up arms against their enemies, and answer force with force in defence of their lives and lands and liberties. It is most unjust and was hitherto unheard of.

“Holy Father, an event occurred last year, which owing to the horrid nature of it, ought not to escape your notice. While the archbishop was still justiciar and an officer of the state—a year has barely passed since the event—the Welsh laid siege to a castle, situated outside the English border, within the boundaries of Wales, and built by the

English to deprive the Welshmen of their lands. As soon as he received the news, the archbishop mustered the power of England, advanced immediately into those parts, and after calling together the bishops and clergy of the country, proceeded with lighted candles publicly to excommunicate all those Welshmen on the very day on which he had ordered his men to engage the enemy. And it so happened by the fortune of war that three thousand of the Welsh were slain that day by the edge of the sword. On the following day, when the news of that slaughter was brought to him at the castle of Bridgenorth, where he was staying, he gave orders to peal all the bells and sing the 'Te Deum'. Like a good shepherd of the Lord he gave thanks, because he had sent the souls of so many of his flock to Hades in a single day. But whether he ought more rightfully to be considered the good shepherd of his flock, or a ravening wolf, I leave an open question.

"Thus, my lord, I answer his letter; thus I refute his statements. For the rest, if it please your holiness, let a time be appointed to hear the declaration of the chapter, the letters of warranty and the living witnesses, so that all his charges may be disproved to the merest detail, and the truth shine forth more clearly than the sun".¹

The consideration of the case was deferred by the pope, pending the arrival of a representative of the archbishop. Shortly before Easter, the expected emissary appeared in the person of Buon Giovanni, a Lombard and a clerk of Canterbury. On behalf of the archbishop, Giovanni urged that Giraldus was one of four nominees put forward by the chapter; that he had been rejected by the king, and that the canons had thereupon proceeded to the election of the abbot of St. Dogmael's. The pope refused to accept the

¹ "De Invectionibus", I, ii.

election of the abbot, on the ground that it had been made after Giraldus had appealed to Rome; but he was so far influenced by offers made by Giovanni on the archbishop's behalf, that he abandoned what appears to have been his original intention of consecrating Giraldus, and referred the question to a committee of judges.¹ Giraldus was meanwhile entrusted with the administration of the diocese. In the summer of 1200 he returned to England, taking with him letters written in his favour by the pope to the king, the archbishop, the princes, abbots and clergy and people of Wales, and to Meilir and others of the archdeacon's relatives in Ireland.²

“There is no need,” wrote Innocent to the archbishop, “to write at length upon the virtues and merits of archdeacon Giraldus, which are fully known to you; but I have thought it right to urge you to avoid the clamour of the court, and so to deal with him in a spirit of lenity, as to win him over to your service and to maintain the rights of Canterbury unimpaired”.³

The pope had evidently failed to grasp the essential points of the archdeacon's case, and was not inclined to attach much importance to the question of the status of St. David's. He had at first refused to refer the question to the consideration of a commission, nor did he consent to do so, until Giraldus had discovered, in the papal registers, the letter of Eugenius III to Theobald of Canterbury,⁴ and was thus enabled to convince the pope that the case of the status was one to which a hearing had already been promised by one of his predecessors. Thus early impressed with the necessity of supporting his case with all the documentary evidence available, Giraldus

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., III, 178.

² “De Invectionibus”, III, i, iv, v, vi, viii, ix.

³ *Ibid.*, III, ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, ii.

proceeded to Wales with the intention of searching the archives of St. David's as he had previously searched the papal registers. Equal success attended his efforts, which were rewarded by the discovery of a number of valuable, but neglected and forgotten, documents, all relating to the suit of Bernard against Theobald of Canterbury.¹

At St. David's also Giraldus made another, and less welcome discovery. The strength of his case lay in his claim to have been elected by the unfettered and unanimous vote of the chapter; the archbishop had taken advantage of his absence to undermine the loyalty of his supporters, and when Giraldus returned from Rome, it was to find that a strong party in the chapter had already been formed against him.

“As soon as I had been nominated, the archbishop rejected me, as he said, because I was Welsh, and urged the canons to accept the prior of Llanthony. When the canons refused, because he was entirely unknown to them, and ignorant of the language and customs of the country, the archbishop entrusted the prior with the administration of the whole diocese, hoping that by the exercise of his authority, he might be able to win over the chapter to his side. I do not, however, regard the prior as one of my persecutors, for although he was at first ambitious to obtain the bishopric, he resigned the charge of the diocese, as soon as he learnt that I had been elected and had appealed to Rome. To gain his point, the archbishop made use of the royal power and procured the election of the abbot of St. Dogmael's, a native of our country, but quite illiterate, a man from whom the archbishop would have nothing to fear. The abbot is a kinsman of mine, and it was the archbishop's purpose, by promoting him, to withdraw from

¹ “De Invectionibus”, II, ii, iii, vi, vii, viii, ix, x.

me the support of my family, while I was still absent at the Roman court.

“Hearing that I was returning home with the commission granted by the pope, the archbishop summoned to his presence two Englishmen, false and anomalous brethren of our church, and enquired of them if they could by any means seduce the chapter from my support. They replied that if he could bring about the election of the Cistercian abbot of Whitland, who was a son of our church, and had sons, brothers, cousins and many other relatives amongst the canons, these would all lend him their assistance against the archdeacon. Hearing this, the archbishop wrote off to the abbot of Whitland, and promised that if he could seduce the chapter from me, he would confer the diocese upon him, notwithstanding the previous election of the abbot of St. Dogmael’s, which, as he had heard, had been already cancelled by the pope. The abbot was at that time in Ireland, but as soon as he received this message, he abandoned his duties there, flew across the Irish Sea on the wings of ambition, and hurried to Worcester to meet the archbishop. Here the bargain was immediately sealed, and returning to St. David’s, the abbot summoned his brethren, read to them the letters of the archbishop and the justiciar, and was thereupon elected bishop of St. David’s behind closed doors. The incident was kept secret, in order that the abbot of St. Dogmael’s might remain in ignorance of it, and continue to oppose me in the hope of obtaining preferment for himself”.¹

The pope’s letters to the king and the archbishop failed to produce the desired effect, and early in 1201 Giraldus returned to Rome, with a clearer conception of the nature of the archbishop’s opposition. This was being conducted at Rome by a certain Andrew, who acted for

¹ “De Invectionibus”, I, vii.

the archbishop in the question of the election, and by Reginald Foliot, who represented the rival claimant, the abbot of St. Dogmael's, and the chapter of St. David's who had been bribed, persuaded or coerced into opposing their original choice. The archbishop's efforts had been exerted with the single object of procuring the defeat of Giraldus on the question of the election. The pope, however, was impressed by the evidence which Giraldus had brought from St. David's. It was clear that the question of the status was not the new and unheard of thing which it had appeared to be on the archdeacon's first visit to the court.¹ Andrew and Foliot were asked if they represented the archbishop on this point. They replied that they had been robbed of their letters of authority at Parma, but why they should have been robbed of the letters connected with the status, and not of those connected with the election, they were unable to explain.

The archbishop's efforts to create dissension in the chapter had met with considerable success, but it was still necessary to prove some technical flaw in the proceedings, if the election of Giraldus was to be upset. The pope would not admit the validity of the election of the abbot at the end of 1199, since it had taken place after Giraldus had appealed to Rome. The archbishop was obliged to strengthen his case, and Reginald Foliot was instructed to bring the revised version before the notice of the court. After making a verbal statement, in which he forgot his instructions and strayed into the paths of truth ("oportet mendaces" Giraldus says, "memores esse"), Foliot put the new claims of the archbishop into writing.

These claims were based upon an entirely new version of the events immediately following the death of Peter de Leia. According to Giraldus, six canons of St. David's

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., iii, 189.

had approached the archbishop with the chapter's list of four nominees in the autumn of 1198. The archbishop had rejected all who were of Welsh descent, including the abbot of St. Dogmael's,¹ and urged the canons to accept the prior of Llanthony. The canons refused and returned to St. David's without effecting anything. The archbishop crossed to Normandy to visit Richard I. According to the statement now made by Foliot, the six canons, before they returned to Wales, had conferred upon the archbishop the authority to make the election which they had received from the chapter, and had agreed to accept the bishop appointed by him with the king's consent. The archbishop had then proceeded to Normandy, taken counsel with Richard I, and, with his consent, had elected, on the chapter's behalf and with their authority, the abbot of St. Dogmael's in January, 1199. The chapter's proceedings at the end of the year were merely the solemnisation of an election already made by the archbishop.

This statement was manifestly inconsistent with the archbishop's previous contention, but such was his influence at the Roman court that the plea was admitted, and the efforts of both sides were thereafter directed to prove or disprove the truth of his assertions.

The final hearing of the case of the status of St. David's was adjourned to the following year. At the request of Giraldus, the pope granted permission to take the evidence in support of the status in England, but to please the archbishop, he added that the archdeacon should not be heard unless he was supported by a majority of the chapter. Knowing that the archbishop would be able to find in England a number of witnesses, all willing to swear anything, Giraldus obtained the further concession that in the case of the election, the opposing witnesses

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., i, 103.

should not be heard except in Rome. Giraldus now returned to England, where meetings of the commissioners were held at Worcester, Brackley, Bedford and St. Albans.

At Brackley four canons of St. David's appeared on behalf of the chapter; two Englishmen, Foliot and Osbert, archdeacon of Carmarthen, and two Welshmen, Martin and Samuel, who were kinsmen of the abbot of Whitland. Being asked whether they wished to support Giraldus in the cause of the status, or not, they replied that they were without a head, and were unwilling to engage themselves in such a controversy until their bishop had been appointed. One of the Welshmen declared that the church of St. David's had been, and ought still to be, a metropolitan church, but that was neither the time nor the place for raising the issue. They further testified that they had never elected Giraldus, and produced letters from the chapter to support their assertions.¹

To the archbishop the moment seemed opportune for endeavouring to come to terms with his opponent. At St. Alban's Giraldus was approached by two of the archbishop's agents, who offered in their master's name to secure for Giraldus the amplest revenues in the church, on condition that he retired both from the cause of the election and from that of the status. Giraldus was willing to meet the archbishop halfway. His own claims to the bishopric he professed to be ready to withdraw, but he could not consent to sacrifice the rights of St. David's. His proposals for a compromise were embodied in a memorial addressed to the commissioners.

“Since it is well known that our church of Menevia was once a metropolitan church, and continued to enjoy metropolitan rights, excepting only the use of the pallium,

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., iii, 220.

until the time of King Henry I, let it again become a metropolitan church, but subject to the church of Canterbury, as one metropolitan church may be subject to another by right of primacy, for example the metropolis of Bordeaux, which is subject to that of Bourges. For there can be no primacy without a subordinate archbishopric. And although the church of Menevia, from the time of the blessed David to the time of Samson, had twelve suffragans, including the five English bishops of Chester or Coventry, Hereford, Worcester, Bath and Exeter, it will now be content with those three only which are included within the boundaries of Wales. And because it has been in subjection, however unjustly, during the lives of our last three bishops, let it remain subject; and thus the archbishop of Canterbury will have the greater honour, having subject to him an archbishop and not a mere suffragan bishop. Lest I should appear to have sought this dignity for myself, let the new archbishop be any fit person, appointed by agreement between the pope, the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. And thus this controversy might be settled forever.

“If this arrangement should not be acceptable to the pope or the archbishop, let the judges take the evidence of our witnesses, and send it under their seals to be preserved by the pope; and let copies be preserved at Canterbury and at Menevia, lest they should perish by the lapse of time. Thus, unless the controversy should be revived by the wish of the pope or of the king, it might rest, for the sake of peace, during the life of the archbishop, which may God prolong to the honour of his church. That it may be clear to all that I have not undertaken this case for the sake of obtaining the cathedral of St. David’s, I will resign my election into the hands of our lord the pope.

“But if neither of these proposals be approved by the

pope and accepted by the archbishop, nothing else remains but that the contest should proceed".¹

These proposals were immediately forwarded to the archbishop and carefully examined. They were supported by several of the archbishop's advisers, notably by the bishops of Ely and Worcester. The bishop of Ely declared that if he were archbishop of Canterbury, he would prefer to have an archbishop and his suffragans subordinate to him in Wales, with the assurance of unbroken peace, than to possess, by provincial right, four simple cathedral churches always wavering in their allegiance.²

The archbishop, relying on the power of the king, the chapter of St. David's which he had corrupted, and the court of Rome, which he expected to corrupt, deferred his reply until he should have had an opportunity of consulting all his suffragans.

Nothing further was heard of these proposals, and in January 1203 Giraldus was again in Rome, prepared to make a last effort to refute the archbishop's claim to have elected the abbot of St. Dogmael's six months before the election of Giraldus by the chapter.

"Holy Father, when I first came to this court, the archbishop of Canterbury sent after me a courier with the letter of his invective, to which I replied at your request. In this letter he heaped together everything that he could think of, to hinder my preferment; but it contains not a word of any election previous to my own. He would not have failed to mention it, had such an election taken place.

¹ "De Invectionibus", II, iv. It is presumably to these proposals that the Rolls editor refers when he speaks of "proffers of accommodation that Giraldus more than once stooped to make". (III, xiv.)

² *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., iii, 231.

In the following Lent, shortly before Easter, there arrived here a clerk of Canterbury, Buon Giovanni, who had been sent over by the archbishop. Being asked by you whether he had any special mandate from his master against me, he replied that he had not. The archbishop had merely enjoined him to say that four persons had been nominated by the chapter, of whom the archdeacon was one; that the archdeacon had been rejected by the king, and that the canons of St. David's had thereupon elected a certain abbot shortly before Christmas. Had the archbishop forgotten an election made previous to mine, when he sent his courier, he could hardly have forgotten it when he sent his clerk.

In the autumn following Bishop Peter's death, six of our canons met the archbishop for the purpose of making their election. In the following Lent four of the canons were sent to London, and ordered by the justiciar either to complete the election or to cross the sea to the king and archbishop. When they refused to elect the prior of Llanthony, one of their number, with a clerk of their church, was sent to King Richard to obtain his consent to the election of Giraldus. This is proved by the evidence of two of our witnesses, Nicholas and Hugo, and by archdeacon Osbert, on the other side. Nicholas asserts that he was in the company of the clerks of Menevia, who were sent to King Richard, to obtain his consent to the election of Giraldus. He went with them as far as Normandy, where he left them to go to the schools in France, while they followed the king into Poitou. He afterwards heard that the clerks had proceeded to his brother John, after Richard's death. Hugo declares that he accompanied the clerks as their servant, and was with them when they met John at Chinon.

Osbert, who speaks entirely from hearsay, says that

he heard that four canons had been sent to the justiciar to make the election, and that the canons sent two clerks to King Richard shortly before his death. He does not say when they departed on this mission; perhaps, owing to some carelessness, the question was not asked; but it is clear that it was about Lent. All agree that, finding that King Richard had died before they could reach his presence, they turned aside to his brother John, who succeeded him. Richard died a fortnight before Easter. It is clear therefore that, had the archbishop elected the abbot in the previous January, or had been authorised by the canons to elect him, he would not have caused the canons to be summoned from Wales into England, and from England into Normandy, for the purpose of electing their bishop.

After the king's death, the archbishop returned to England, and crowned John on Ascension Day. The king afterwards returned to Normandy, but the archbishop remained in England the whole of that summer. Why did he not confirm or consecrate his abbot during this period, if he had been already elected? There was nothing to prevent it, if no other election had preceded his.

It is the custom in England, that a bishop-elect assumes administration of the temporalities of his diocese, even before his confirmation. If the abbot had been elected in January with the king's consent, he would undoubtedly have assumed administration as soon as the messengers had returned. But he did not assume it until the following Christmas, because until that time it had been held by the prior of Llanthony. Therefore he was not elected until then.

In the autumn following the election of Giraldus, the archbishop returned from Normandy, and according to the

statement of Archdeacon Osbert, gave orders that the canons of Menevia should come to his presence, with letters *de rato*. They sent three canons without letters *de rato*. They were still ashamed or afraid to contravene their previous election. Osbert says that they did not sing the "Te Deum" at the election at Lambeth, because they had no letters *de rato*, nor did the archbishop advise it. It is evident that if the archbishop, exercising the authority of the chapter, had previously elected the abbot, he would not have asked for letters *de rato*, since he would not have needed them; nor would he have dissuaded the canons from singing the "Te Deum".

From the letter sent by the chapter to the archbishop at Gloucester, it is clear that they had not conferred upon him their powers of election, but had merely asked him to inform them of the king's wishes. They had not yet understood the archbishop's subtlety in making the first election last and the last first.

At the time of the election of Giraldus, and afterwards, the canons were being urged by the archbishop and the justiciar, to elect the prior of Llanthony. But if the archbishop had already elected the abbot, he would not have insisted on the prior. It was because they were afraid that the archbishop might send them the prior already consecrated, that the canons addressed to you their letter of protest. Had they expected to find any obstacle in the abbot, or in anyone else, they would undoubtedly have written to you against him.

Had the abbot been elected by the archbishop, on the chapter's behalf, in the January following bishop Peter's death, as the other side falsely declare, it is certain that the archbishop would have consummated the election. There was no obstacle in the way, for the archdeacon's

election did not take place until the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul. He did not confirm him either before or after the archdeacon's election. Therefore he had not elected him".¹

Shortly after Easter, in 1203, the pope pronounced sentence. In spite of all the reasoning of Giraldus, it was clear that he had become unacceptable, not only to the king and the archbishop, but also to his own chapter. To the pope, the admission of the archbishop's contention appeared the readiest means of bringing the contest to an end.

"Two claimants appear as bishops-elect of Menevia, the abbot of St. Dogmael's and archdeacon Giraldus. It is propounded on the part of the abbot, that after bishop Peter's death, six canons of Menevia were sent to the archbishop of Canterbury with letters *de rato* to elect the bishop. Since they were uncertain of the king's assent, they conferred their powers of election upon the archbishop, who was about to cross over to the king. Thereupon the archbishop with the king's consent chose the abbot in Normandy, in the following January.

"Inasmuch as their letters *de rato* empowered the canons to make the election, but did not empower them to delegate their authority to any one else, the election made by the archbishop is invalid. We therefore cancel that election.

"It is propounded on the part of the archdeacon that he was unanimously elected by the canons assembled at Menevia on the festival of the apostle Peter and Paul next following the bishop's death, and that an appeal was made immediately afterwards to Rome.

"Inasmuch as it was still doubtful whether the archbishop's election of the abbot should be regarded as valid,

¹ "De Invectionibus", IV, iii.

and inasmuch as they proceeded to a second election before that doubt had been removed, we cancel the archdeacon's election also".

This decision was conveyed to the English commissioners, the bishops of Ely and Worcester, who were instructed to take steps for procuring a fresh election by the canons of St. David's, and for the consecration of their choice by his proper metropolitan,¹ without the exaction of the oath abjuring the rights of St. David's.²

The vacant bishopric was eventually filled by the appointment of the archbishop's original favourite, the prior of Llanthony. The question of the status of St. David's remained undecided. It was again referred to a commission, consisting this time of suffragans not of Canterbury, but of York; but as the archbishop had anticipated, no active steps were taken to revive the issue after Giraldus had retired from the case.

The last two divisions of the "De Invectionibus" seems to have been added as an appendix to those preceding them. The concluding book has but a visionary interest, but some extracts may be given from the fifth, which was intended by Giraldus to rescue the memory of his efforts from the indifference or depreciation of the world. How far he achieved this object may be estimated by an examination of his statements, which lend some colour to the charge of vanity, so often brought against the archdeacon. This charge is a pendant to the other—that he shows undue virulence in attacking his opponents. Neither charge is altogether unfounded, but both have been over-emphasised, and both might be mitigated on the same ground. Some allowance should be made for the medium of expression, direct, forcible and unambiguous, in which

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Rolls ed., iii, 267.

² "De Invectionibus", IV, iv.

it is not easy for a writer either to hint applause, or to hesitate dislike.

“Twice in our time,” writes Giraldus, “has a vacancy occurred at St. David’s. On the first occasion Giraldus was placed first on the canons’ list. On the second occasion he was elected by the unanimous vote of all the canons. On both occasions he was cheated of preferment by the power of the king. In England it is the unfailing rule that no native of Wales may hold a Welsh bishopric. It is the English policy to have English prelates at their beck, ready at a word from them, to excommunicate their flock. Thus, when the Welsh rise in arms, as they frequently do, and the English are not strong enough to subdue them with the sword of the king, they hope at any rate to be able to do so with that of the church, to Welshmen the more formidable weapon of the two.

“On the first occasion that Giraldus was elected to St. David’s, Gerardus, afterwards bishop of Coventry, entered the chamber in which the king was discussing the question with the archbishop and his suffragans. ‘Master Gerardus,’ said the king, in jest, ‘if you wish it you may soon be a bishop in Wales, I mean at Menevia.’ ‘Nay,’ replied Gerardus, ‘let Master John of Cornwall who knows Welsh be preferred to that diocese.’ ‘Master Gerardus,’ replied the bishop of Ely, ‘that is the reason why he shall never be bishop there.’ ‘What,’ cried Gerardus, ‘is he debarred from being a Welsh bishop because he knows Welsh? Then choose Welshmen who cannot speak English for your English bishoprics, and for Welsh pastors appoint Englishmen who do not know Welsh, and you will get good preaching in both countries’.

“On the second occasion, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, exerted himself in every possible way to oppose the election of Giraldus. He was afraid that if Giraldus were

promoted to the principal bishopric in Wales, he would declare himself for the revival of its ancient dignity. The archbishop looked askance on both issues, and endeavoured to procure the archdeacon's collapse on the first, in order to non-suit him in the second. He began by attempting to suborn the church of Menevia and to persuade the canons to retract. Those of them who were found to be susceptible to bribes, were won over by gifts and promises. The king's troops, which were strongly established in the country, always at the service of the archbishop and the main cause of his success, were called in to confiscate the estates of those who found more virtue in loyalty. By these methods the archbishop was so far successful in achieving his object, that eventually he had won over nearly all the canons to his side."

"King John offered the strongest opposition to Giraldus in each of his suits. This he did to please the archbishop whom he was courting in every possible way, and also to safeguard the interest of his kingdom, whose security, as he feared, might be undermined by the archdeacon's success. He therefore sent letters and messengers to the pope, to point out that if he promoted to St. David's a native of Wales and a close relative of the Welsh princes, or re-established in that country a metropolitan church, he would in no small degree disturb the peace of his kingdom."

"Though the archbishop was supported by the church and, still more effectively by the state, with all the power and resources at their command, though he had almost the whole of the clergy and people at his back, not to mention the supreme advantage of King Otho's intervention on his behalf at the court of Rome, he found in Giraldus so formidable an antagonist, that he afterwards admitted that the conflict had cost him as much as eleven thousand

marks, as well as the lives of several of his clergy and servants."

"It might be urged that Giraldus would undoubtedly have received high preferment if his character and abilities had been such as have been described. In fact two bishoprics were offered to Giraldus in Wales, and in Ireland three bishoprics and one archbishopric, but he would not consent to owe his preferment to the power of princes. The bishopric of Llandaff was offered to him by John, then earl of Mortain, and the bishopric of Bangor by William de Longchamp. In Ireland he refused the bishoprics of Wexford and Leighlin, offered to him by John, and on a subsequent occasion the bishopric of Waterford, which was urged upon his acceptance by his cousin Meilir, who was the justiciar of Ireland and its absolute ruler under the king. About the same time a vacancy occurred in the metropolitan church of Cashel, which in point of dignity is one of the greatest in the whole of Ireland. This dignity was also urged upon Giraldus by the justiciar: moreover it was notorious that he might have had Menevia more than once, had he been willing to forego the cause of the status."

"The justiciar's court in Ireland was frequented at this time by a witless clerk who caused much diversion by his clever and ludicrous remarks. These frequently took the form of a mock-conversation, which he conducted with himself, first pretending to address Giraldus and then replying in character. 'Master Giraldus, will you take the bishopric of Waterford?' 'I will not.' 'Will you take the bishopric of Wexford?' 'I will not.' 'Will you have Ossory?' 'I will not.' 'Will you have Leighlin?' 'I will not.' 'Will you have the archbishopric of Cashel?' 'I will not.' Finally he would say 'Will you have the bishopric of Menevia?' and re-

plying in loud and eager tones 'I will,' broke into a shout of merriment."

"When the bishop of Ely had been appointed with others to try the cause of the status and of the election, he asked Giraldus why he was exerting himself to confer a benefit upon men who did not want it and who would not appreciate their release from bondage and subjection. 'It is true,' replied Giraldus 'that bribery has proved very effective in this case. Time was when the Welsh canons, like all the rest of their race, took an honourable pride in their liberty; but now when a way of escape from their subjection is pointed out to them, and that not by some interloper from God knows where, but by one of their own brethren, they refuse to follow it, in spite of all his struggles and exertions to effect their freedom. As for the English they have been serfs and subjects for so long that they have become slaves by nature. They are so used to servitude that servitude is second nature. No wonder that they should be reluctant to give it up.'"

"Hearing that Stephen Langton had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury by the pope, King John convened a council at Oxford to consider the matter. And after eliciting the opinions of his advisers, he began to complain of the many injuries and vexations inflicted on his father and himself by the monks of Canterbury; and in the presence of all the bishops and barons of the country, he went on to say that he had acted upon the worst possible advice in having impeded Giraldus in his great controversy with the church of Canterbury. The king afterwards approached Giraldus more privately, and with promises of advice and assistance encouraged him to renew his efforts. Giraldus, however, replied that the bishop of St. David's was the person most nearly concerned and the king had better ask him to take the matter up."

The book concludes with the expression of Giraldus' intention to retire from the world. "Let those who want them scramble for cathedrals, and intrigue for preferment by hanging on at court. It is a smaller thing to hold a bishopric than to be deserving of one. And this is especially the case in England, where the mere shadow of election is retained and where it is the king, not the clergy nor the monastery, who makes his choice from the candidates presented to him. A bishop was once asked by Henry II how it was that bishops had formerly been good and holy, but were then such that scarcely one could be called holy. 'So long as they were appointed,' replied the bishop, 'by God, the King of Heaven, by canonical election, the bishops were good and holy men. But ever since they have been appointed not by God but by men, the kings of this world, at their own will and pleasure, they have been such men as they are found to be to-day, even such as are all the works of men's hands'."

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS
DE INVECTIONIBUS
PARTES SEX.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS DE INUECTIONIBUS
PARTES SEX.

Incipiunt capitula libelli inuectionum et primo partis prime.

- I.—Inuectio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Huberti.
- II.—Responsio Meneuensis archidiaconi Giraldi.
- III.—Item ad literas episcopi Landauensis Hanrici responsio.
- IV.—Aduentu secundo obiectis Andree responsio.
- V.—Item secunda obiectis eiusdem responsio.
- VI.—Item ad Foliotum responsio et breuis eiusdem descriptio.
- VII.—De quatuor persecutoribus mixtim et alternatim quasi sub epilogo conclusio.
- VIII.—De intestina persecutorum inter se discordia.
- IX.—Archidiaconus abbati Galtero.
- X.—Aduentus tercii responsiones.
- XI.—Bangoriensis electi rethorica defensio.
- XII.—Ad falsos fratres responsio.
- XIII.—Fame sue et opinionis defensio.

Secunde partis capitula.

- I.—Ecclesiastice historie Britannice cronographia.
- II.—Epistola magni Gregorii ad Augustinum primum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum ex registro Gregorii.
- III.—Item ex registro Eugenii pape Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.
- IV.—Item Lucius papa Bernardo Meneuensi episcopo.
- V.—Commissiones super statu Meneuensis ecclesie Rome, Giraldi labore perquisite et primo aduentus primi super electione simul et Meneuensis ecclesie statu.
- VI.—Commissio aduentus secundi super statu.
- VII.—Commissio aduentus tercii super statu.
- VIII.—Pape Innocentio Bernardus episcopus.
- IX.—Eugenio pape capitulum sancti Dauid.

- X.—Honorio pape capitulum sancti Daud.
 XI.—Bernardus episcopus Simeoni archidiacono Bangoriensi.
 XII.—Bernardo episcopo Oeneus et Kadwalladerus principes Norwallie.¹

Tercie partis capitula.

- I.—Litere uarie Giraldi labore perquisite et primo aduentus primi super ecclesie Meneuensis administracione.
 II.—Litere secundi aduentus super ecclesie Meneuensis administracione.
 III.—Litere tercii aduentus super ecclesie Meneuensis administracione.
 IV.—Litere aduentus primi uarie et prime ad commendacionem Meneuensis ecclesie principibus Wallie factam.
 V.—Litere commendacionis eiusdem ecclesie abbatibus Wallie facte.
 VI.—Litere commendacionis eiusdem clero et populo facte.
 VII.—Litere aduentus primi super inquisicione conversacionis sancti Caradoci tribus abbatibus directe.
 VIII.—G. archidiaconi eodem aduentu facta per papam excusacio.
 IX.—Item G. archidiaconi eodem aduentu facta per papam commendacio et ad pacem commonicio.
 X.—Item litere secundi aduentus uarie et primo indulgencia super ecclesiarum uacancium et prebendarum donacione.
 XI.—Littere protectionis patentes aduentus eiusdem.
 XII.—Super commendacione pariter et protectione litere clause.

¹ This list does not exactly correspond to the headings prefixed to the chapters of Book II, which are there given as follows:—

- I.—Ecclesiastice hystorie Britannice cronographia.
 II.—Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Ex registro Eugenii pape.
 III.—Bernardo Meneuensi episcopo papa Lucius.
 IV.—E. Eliensi et M. Wigornensi episcopis pro pace laborantibus, G. Archidiaconus.
 V.—Emolumentum cause status Meneuensis ecclesie curie romane proueniens.

- XIII.—Littere aduentus eiusdem super prouentuum Meneuensis ecclesie restitutione archidiacono facienda et administracione.
- XIV.—Super eisdem littere abbati sancti Dogmaelis directe.
- XV.—Littere super archidiaconi spoliacione et abbatis sancti Dogmaelis illiteratura, iudicibus directe.
- XVI.—Littere super electione et expensis circa finem aduentus eiusdem.
- XVII.—Littere aduentus tercii uarie et prime super expensis archidiacono restituendis.
- XVIII.—Littere super crucis deposicionis et ierosolimitane peregrinacionis absolucione.
- XIX.—Littere contra indices ineptos reuocatorie quod perperam actum fuerat irritantes.
- XX.—Litere contra spoliatores archidiaconi laicos et excommunicatos.
- XXI.—Littere domini pape aduentus eiusdem prebende Meneuensis donacionem archidiaconi primam confirmantes.
- XXII.—Litere aduentus eiusdem donacionem archidiaconi secundam confirmantes.
- XXIII.—Litere aduentus eiusdem donacionem archidiaconi terciam confirmantes.

Quarte partis capitula.

- I.—Eustachio Eliensi et Malgerio Wigorniensis episcopis pro pace laborantibus Giraldus archidiaconus.
- II.—Ad declarandam Meneuensis ecclesie dignitatem, uarie rationum et argumentorum inductiones.
- III.—Item ad fictionem declarandam et histeron proteron per multorum periuria de abbate factam rationum inductio.

- VI.—Eugenio pape capitulum Sancti Dauid.
- VII.—Innocentio pape Bernardus episcopus.
- VIII.—Bernardus episcopus Simeoni archidiacono Bangorensi.
- IX.—Bernardo episcopo Oeneus et Kadwalladerus principes Norwallie.
- X.—Honorio pape, capitulum sancti Dauid.
- XI.—Bernardus episcopus Simeoni archidiacono Bangorensi.
- XII.—Bernardo episcopo Oeneus et Kadwalladerus principes Norwallie.

- IV.—Item litere aduentus tercii super primis electionibus duabus per sententiam cassatis, et electione de nouo facienda.
- V.—De Giraldi uigilantia in utraque fortuna.
- VI.—De fauorabili eiusdem per literas cardinalium excusacione.
- VII.—Litere cardinalium.
- VIII.—Qualiter iterum ad promocionem eiusdem Cardinales per literas suas intendebant.
- IX.—Multiplex laboris Giraldi commendacio.
- X.—Secunda commendacio.
- XI.—Tercia commendacio.
- XII.—Quarta commendacio.
- XIII.—Item uersus aduentus primi a Giraldo in pape laudem editi.
- XIV.—Uersus aduentus tercii auctoris ignoti in Giraldi commendacionem.
- XV.—Uersus aduentus eiusdem in Giraldi laudem tanquam ad ipsum apostrofando.
- XVI.—Uersus auctoris ignoti in Giraldi similiter commendacionem et cupiditatis detestacionem.

Quinte partis capitula.

- I.—De laudabilibus iterum Giraldi gestis et notabilibus.
- II.—De secundo laudabili pariter et notabili.
- III.—De III° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- IV.—De IIII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- V.—De V° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- VI.—De VI° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- VII.—De VII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- VIII.—De VIII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- IX.—De IX° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- X.—De X° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XI.—De XI° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XII.—De XII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XIII.—De XIII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XIV.—De XIV° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XV.—De XV° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XVI.—De XVI° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XVII.—De XVII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XVIII.—De XVIII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
- XIX.—De XIX° laudabili pariter et notabili.

- XX.—De XX° laudabili pariter et notabili.
 XXI.—De XXI° laudabili pariter et notabili.
 XXII.—De XXII° laudabili pariter et notabili.
 XXIII.—De XXIII° laudabili pariter et notabili.

Sexte partis capitula.

- I.—De hiis que Giraldo spem et fiduciam in tanto conflictu contulerunt.
 II.—Quod quinque fuerunt que precipue Giraldo spem et fiduciam prestiterunt.
 III.—De uisionibus et earumdem exposicionibus.
 IV.—Uisio prima et uisionis exposicio.
 V.—Uisio II^a et uisionis exposicio.
 VI.—Uisio III^a et uisionis exposicio.
 VII.—Uisio IV^a et uisionis exposicio.
 VIII.—Uisio V^a et uisionis exposicio.
 IX.—Uisio VI^a et uisionis exposicio.
 X.—Uisiones tres, VII scilicet et VIII et IX quoniam eandem habent exposicionem hic coniuncte.
 XI.—Uisio X^a et uisionis exposicio.
 XII.—Uisio XI^a et uisionis exposicio.
 XIII.—Uisiones XII et XIII sub eadem exposicione coniuncte.
 XIV.—Uisio XV et uisionis exposicio.
 XV.—Uisiones tres, XVI, scilicet, et XVII et XVIII, sub eadem exposicione coniuncte.
 XVI.—Uisio XIX et uisionis exposicio pariter et concordancia.
 XVII.—Uisiones XXI et XXII et XXIII, simul eandem uel similem habentes exposicionem.
 XVIII.—Uisio XXIV, et uisionis exposicio.
 XIX.—Uisiones XXV et XXVI, sub eadem simul exposicione.
 XX.—Uisio XXVII scilicet de anachorita de Locheis et uisio XXVIII simul similem habentes exposicionem.
 XXII.¹—Uisio XXIX et uisionis exposicio.
 XXIII.—Uisio XXX, et uisionis exposicio.
 XXIV.—De literis anachorite de Niwegal consolatoriis, et uaticinalibus ac ueris eiusdem predictionibus.

¹ The enumeration of the chapters is defective. The text as given (including peculiarities in spelling, punctuation, etc.) follows the manuscript.

XXV.—De fratris sui Philippi de Barri uerbis consolatoriis et consiliis, ueris quoque, sicut ex post facto claruit, predictionibus.

XXV.—De fratris eiusdem optimi per archidiaconum facta consultacione, et curie per cardinalis literas responsione.

XXVI.—Qualiter filios quos diligit, flagellat Deus.

XXVII.—De ultimo Gemme sacerdotalis capitulo, super episcopalis officii periculo, huic quoque libello finaliter apposito.

Expliciuunt capitula.

PROEMIUM IN LIBELLUM INUECTIONUM.

Quoniam egregie dicta uel acta ueterum studiis ad posteritatis tam instructionem quam imitationem litteris annotari solent et perpetuari, ea quibus in curia Giraldus dictis emulorum aut scriptis ad talionem provocatus laudem optinuit, explicare curauimus. Ea quoque que uel in pape consistorio uel cardinalium auditorio, nunc pro ecclesia sua nunc pro iure proprio publice proposuit, literas etiam singulorum aduentuum tam pro statu ecclesie sue quam electione propria uariisque negociis quas impetrauit, in unum colligere, et tanquam in fasciculum connectere, necnon et alia quedam que tam de curie moribus quam Giraldi quoque laboribus ac laudibus circiter id ipsum temporis metrice scripta fuerant, tanquam in calce libelli finaliter apponere, non incongruum reputauimus. Ad inuentiones autem scribendum et maledictis emulorum in ipsum congestis respondendum, quamquam uix et inuitus prouocatus tamen et iniuriis irretitus, necnon et pape uerbis ad hoc inuitatus, stilum arripere compulsus fuit. Unde et uerbis Ciceronis in inuentionibus contra Salustinum hic uti liceat, ‘Si forte offendimini, patres conscripti, iustius illi quam mihi succensere debetis, qui inicium introduxit’. Item et illo Ieronimi in epistola ad Augustinum, ‘Etsi culpa est offendisse, queso ut patienter audias, multo maior est prouocasse’; hiis enim ipse duobus exemplis quociens super hiis sermo fiebat uti plerumque solebat. In sex itaque particulas opusculum hoc distinximus, in inuentiones uarias, et adiectiones necessarias, in Bernardi labores egregios, et laudabiles quoque suo in tempore Giraldi uexaciones. Item et in notabiles eiusdem actus et quasi sub epilogo collectos, et in uisiones uarias,

quamquam uanas forte magis quam ueras, et earumdem expositiones.

Explicit proemium.

Incipit liber inuentionum quem alii a Giraldo, alii a notario suo, scriptum esse commemorant.

CAP I.

Inuectio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Huberti.

Sanctissimo in Christo patri ac domino, Innocenti, Dei gratia summo pontifici, H., diuina permissione, Cantuariensis ecclesie minister humilis salutem, et tam deuotam quam debitam patri et domino obedientiam et reuerentiam. Ad hoc diuine prouidentie dispositio uos super gentes et regna constituit, ut iuxta merentium diuersitatem discretio uestre sollicitudinis euellat, destruat, dissipet, et disperdat, edificeet et plantet, ut omnem plantationem quam non plantauit pater celestis, per uos cui uices suas commisit in terris altissimi filius eradiceet, et explantet, et disperdat eos qui dispergunt, eo quod cum ipso colligere non elaborent. Ideo namque uobis desuper data est plenitudo potestatis, ut quod per nos qui in partem uocati sumus sollicitudinis, corrigi non potest, ad regulam redigat et reducat uestra cui resisti non poterit, maiestatis amplitudo. Non ignorare nos arbitror pater sanctissime quod Meneuensis ecclesie et ceterarum ecclesiarum tocius Wallie mater et metropolis est ecclesia Cantuariensis, sicut predecessorum uestrorum pie recollectionis Adriani, Eugenii, Alexandri et Celestini confirmationes et scripta testantur et nuper a uobis missa pagina uestre confirmationis ostendit. Nuper tamen sicut certa relatione didici quidam Meneuensis ecclesie archidiaconus, Giraldus nomine, natione Walensis, plerosque Wallie magnates uel sanguine uel affinitate contingens, fiducia forsang sanguinis animatus, cum deceat uirtute magis quam sanguine niti, a tribus tantum canonicis quos ut dicitur, aliter quam decebat uel debebat ad consensum illexerat, in Meneuensem se eligi episcopum procurauit, aliis omnibus concanonicis nequaquam fauorem prestantibus uel assensum.

Ille tamen tali nominatione suffultus, confirmationis a me ad quem primum recurrere debuerat munus nec expetens nec expectans, sed mox electi nomen pariter et auctoritatem usurpans, canonicum qui sigillum Meneuensis

capituli custodiebat, quem precibus inflectere non potuit, usque adeo cruentis deterruit comminationibus, quod idem sigilli custos sigillum predictum super altare episcopalis ecclesie posuit. Prius tamen appellauerat ne quis preter communem capituli consensum illud inde tollere uel asportare presumeret. Ille tamen non magis appellationem reuerens quam horruerat intrusionem, sigillum sustulit et sic abstulit, ut quociens et qualia uelit patrociniis uel testificationis possit instrumenta conficere. Nouit Deus, ante quem sto et quem nullum latet secretum, quod si eum idoneum et ad tante dignitatis apicem canonica electione preeunte euocatum credidissem, munus confirmationis sed et consecrationis, si a me uel alterum uel utrumque petere uoluisset, benigne impendissem. Ueruntamen ille de electionis qualitate minime confidens, me minus licite minusque canonicè neglecto, ad sedem apostolicam sicut fama est, festinum iter arripuit, ut uos qui necdum de forma electionis sue innotuit, falsis circumueniat testimoniis. Sed nostis pater peritissime quod testibus non testimoniis credi oportet, presertim cum plura efficere possint et soleant, quod testimoniis eorum qui testes nominantur uoluntates non consonent, sicut ueri sigilli uel furtina subreptio, uel ablatio uiolenta, uel impressionis adulterine cum uero sigillo, sicut plerumque fit, expressa similitudine. Hec uobis sanctissime pater non odio persone nouit Deus, sed zelo iusticie, castigatius forsitan et temperantius quam expediret uel rei ueritas exigerit, significanda duxi, ne quoquomodo circumuenti ueritate prius non intellecta, manum ei consecrationis, si placet sanctitati uestre, uel imponatis uel faciatis imponi. Sed et hoc uellemus uestre innotescere sanctitati, quod sepe dictus archidiaconus optento forsitan a uobis quod absit consecrationis munere, non foret hoc fine contentus, sed iuxta quod spes improbissimas amplectuntur insperata consecuti, ad ulteriora et deteriora conatus extenderet, et exemptionem a iurisdictione Cantuariensis ecclesie, quam tamen, Deo uolente et uestra semper prudentia denegante, numquam impetrabit, sub pretextu consecrationis sibi a uobis indulte, irreuerenter affectaret, et inter Anglicos et Walenses de cetero pro posse suo perpetue dissensionis iaceret seminarium. Walenses enim a prima Britonum prosapia continua sanguinis successione deducti, totius Britannie dominium sibi de

iure deberi iactitant. Unde si non effere gentis et effrene barbariem districtiois ecclesiastice censura coercuisset, facta per Cantuariensem, cui gens illa lege prouinciali hactenus subiecta fuisse dinoscitur, a rege suo uel continua uel crebra rebellione discessisset, sequente necessario tocius Anglicane regionis inquietudine. Uitam et incolumitatem uestram conseruet altissimus in tempora longa.

CAP. II.

Responsio Meneuensis archidiaconi Giraldi.

Pater sancte, canum ut nostis proprietates et proteruitas est, quod ubi mordere non possunt, latrare non cessant. Unde et litteris Cantuariensis illius ad dissuadendum compositis, quibus quasi inuectiua in nos scribere nititur, sed utinam stilo proprio non alieno, seriatim si placet ad fame nostre defensionem in audientia uestra dignum duximus respondere, quatinus uel sic nosse queat, quam sit ineptum, quam dispendiosum et talioni obnoxium, literatos uiros litteris offendere, et in scripturis eruditos scriptis iniurijs ad scribendum prouocare. A capite litterarum suarum que longe sunt et prolixè usque ad calcem, quoniam ex habundantia cordis os loquitur, et liuor edax importune uerba ministrat, singula fere uerba uel oblique uel directe nos tangere uel infamare uidentur. In personam tamen nostram nulla directe scribuntur, sed quedam oblique quasi ad diffamandum innuuntur. In formam autem electionis nostre non minus impudenter quam irreuerentur tante audientie falsissima scribendo manifeste inuehitur. Que tamen omnia Deo dante tam per rationes efficaces, quam etiam per uiuas nostrorum uoces, euacuabimus. Statim enim pre foribus ait, 'Ut omnem plantationem quam non plantauit pater celestis per uos altissimi filius eradiceat et explantet'. Audacter loquitur, ne dicam presumptuose, tanquam si omnis plantatio minus digna minus Deo accepta extirpari deberet, solus ipse pre ceteris firmiter staret et non nutaret. Sed quis gloriabitur se castum habere cor? Quid faciet uirgula deserti ubi concutietur cedrus Libani? Scriptum est enim, 'Beatus qui semper est pauidus', et alibi, 'Uerebar omnia opera mea'. Fere itaque cum phariseo dixisse uidetur, 'Non sum sicut ceteri homines'. Subiungit et iactat se priuilegijs Adriani, Alexandri III. et Celestini munitum esse.

In quo notandum moneo quod non a remotis incipit sed quasi a modernis tantum, quod et litteris populi ac cleri Wallie quas suscepistis concordare uidetur, qui asserunt tantum tres episcopos Meneuenses Cantuariensi ecclesie subditos fuisse. Sed hoc quoque dignum est nota quod scripta illa confirmationes uocat non donationes. Uideat autem ipse, uiderint et decessores sui ne conscientiam sedis apostolice suppressa ueritate circumuenerint. Sed hoc sua desiderant tempora et nos quod instat agamus. Procedit, ‘Quidam Meneuensis ecclesie archidiaconus Giraldus nomine, natione Walensis’, etc. Bene nouit olim nomen meum, licet et nomen et omen extinguere nunc pro posse nitatur. Argumentum etiam a nomine sumere uellet hic si posset. Sed nomen istud plus Gallicum quam Wallicum redolere uidetur. ‘Natione Walensi’, hic argumentum sumit a conuictu simul et natura. Istud enim tanquam opprobriosum inducit et nociuum, ac si aperte dicat quia de Wallia oriundus in Wallia non debet esse prelatus, ergo a simili nec Anglici in Anglia, nec Franci in Francia, nec Italici in Italia prefici debent nec promoueri. Permiscantur ergo pastores ignari linguarum et boni inueniantur predicatorum. Item, ‘plerosque Wallie magnates uel sanguine uel affinitate contingens’, etc. Uerum dicit et si omnes fere maiores Wallie tocius dixisset, de utraque gente tam Anglicis scilicet baronibus regis qui maritimam Wallie contra Walenses regi et regno egregie militando incastellatam tenent, ex parte patris, quod tamen ex cautela suppressit et subicit ille, quia causam nostram iuuare uideretur, quam etiam de principibus Wallie ex sanguine materno non minus uere, sed magis quidem expresse scripsisset. Generositatem itaque nostram ipse fatetur, nos eam non diffitemur. Si ipsa nobis nocere debet aliis suffragantibus, uos uideatis. Item, ‘fiducia forsitan sanguine animatus cum deceat uirtute magis quam sanguine niti’, etc. Istud mutuatus est a Claudiano dicente, uirtute decet non sanguine niti. Uerum est, quia cui non datum est utroque niti, melius est illa quam isto. Ipse mihi alterum concedit, ego ei neutrum. Item, ‘a tribus tantum canonicis aliter ut dicitur quam deceret allectis se in episcopum eligi procurauit’, etc. Mirum autem qua fronte ausus unquam fuerit uestre sanctitati tanteque audientie talia scribere et tam manifeste uero contraria significare, sed forte putauit quod non possit quis scripto

sicut et uerbo mentiri. Scriptum est enim, Uerba sacerdotis aut uera sunt aut sacrilega, quod et de scriptis similiter intelligi debet, presertim domino suo et patri in terris summo ad ueri assertionem destinatis. Temperauit tamen ne ex tota contra mentem iret, addendo 'ut dicitur'. Nouit enim Wallia tota, nouit et occidentalis Anglie pars non modica, quod pluribus etiam annis ante mortem Meneuensis episcopi nunc ultimo defuncti, quoniam inutilis esse uidebatur, a toto simul populo et clero patrie ad regimen ecclesie illius precipue uero post obitum eius desideratus fui, quanquam indignus. Nouit hoc uir ille bonus episcopus Hibernicus, cuius anime propitiatur Deus, et publice coram uobis et fratribus ante decessum suum est testificatus, qui sepe in hoc biennio per terram nostram eundo et redeundo et in ipso quoque ecclesie nostre portu auram atque nauigium expectando desideria cleri et populi Meneuensis satis audire potuit et perpendere. Similiter et dominus Bangorensis electus ante decessum suum idem in hac curia est protestatus. Et tamen per annum integrum fere post decessum episcopi nostri litteris crebris et nunciis tam magnatum patrie uirorum quam cleri exterioris sicut et capituli, a scolis ubi steteram, minime potui reuocari, donec litteras demum domini regis Anglie qui hodie regnat me reuocantes ac nuncios suscepi. Sed si tantum ecclesiam illam appeterem quod eam sicut scribit ipse, etsi non recte quocumque modo, etsi non per hostium per parietem tamen intrare uoluerim, plus proculdubio properassem. Nec uerisimile quidem est quod pro uiginti marcaram redditibus male perquirendis, cumque fame detrimento graui et opinionis, centum marcarum redditus quos in pace possedi relinquere uoluerim, non enim bonus mercator essem uel bonus mercium commutator. Nouit enim Deus cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, quod archiepiscopatum suum qui tam magnus est et amplus nollem eo modo optinuisse quo me scripsit hunc episcopatum obtinere uelle, plus etiam dico nec eo quidem modo quo ipse suum obtinuit, nisi enim rex Anglie Ricardus in Alemannia detentus fuisset, et ibi multipliciter in carcere circumuentus, longe aliter proculdubio Anglicane ecclesie prouisum esset. Preterea si tantum a tribus canonicis ut scribit ipse electus fuisset, aliis omnibus inuitis et reclamantibus, cum totidem fere Anglicos in ecclesia nostra canonicos habeamus quot Walenses, aliquem utique uel etiam aliquos

prece uel precio allectos ad curiam contra nos destinasset, nullum autem destinauit quia nec unum habere potuit. Item non minus impudenter scripsit me sigillum capituli nostri uolenter asportasse. Sed quam sit et istud a ueritate remotum sicut et premissum, nouit quidem ecclesia nostra, nouit etiam prouincia tota, norunt et clerici nostri qui omnibus intererant et in presentia uestra presto sunt. Nouit et cunctis perspicatius ille qui omnia nouit, qui utinam mendacem in hoc articulo graui ad corrigendum uindicta percellat. Sed utrum magis credendum queso, an litteris archiepiscopi illius, quas ex fomite liuoris pariter atque timoris emanasse, finis earum manifeste declarat, quibus etiam solum nos infamare intendit, quia nec procuratorem mittit nec in presentia uestra uel iudicium delegatorem quicumque ex his que proponit se probaturum uel astruit uel promittit, an decreto capituli nostri necnon et litteris tam populi quam cleri patrie et uiuis uocibus clericorum nostrorum coram uobis hic astantium, unanimiter in nos licet indignos conclamantium? Ad hec etiam scripsit quia ‘ Si me idoneum et canonica electione uocatum credisset’, etc. Ac si diceret ‘idoneus non est,’ fateor insufficienciam meam, quia ad modicam forte parochialem ecclesiam unam regendam me minus sufficientem ac minus idoneum recognosco. Iactitet ipse si uelit supercilio pharisaico se ad tocium fere Anglicane ecclesie regimen plus quam idoneum esse. Monacum autem suum aut medicum, simplicem, fatuum et illitteratum, quem nobis tanto conatu tamque continuo necdum cessante intrudere nititur, sub quo scilicet securos posset carpere sompnos, ualde idoneum reputaret. Canonicam autem electionem non hanc reputat, que facta est in ecclesia matre ac matrice, omnium consensu populique tocium applausu, sed si quatuor canonici uel sex, cum litteris de rato Londonias uel in curiam uocati ad eligendum monacum, aut medicum suum, uel alium quemlibet morum rum¹ uocibus quidem et non uotis aut blandiciis² aut comminationibus et bonorum spoliationibus compellerentur, huiusmodi ut credimus electionem quoniam talibus assueuit, pro quibus tamen reprimendis, decessor suus martir gloriosus gladiis impiorum capud exposuit,

¹ Except for one or two letters the manuscript is here illegible. The reading may have been ‘morum patrie et lingue prorsus ignarum’.

² Perhaps ‘inducerentur’.

canonicam et iustam reputaret. Hanc autem electionis formam nondum in canonibus expressam inuenimus. Subiungit etiam ‘quod munus confirmationis uel consecrationis uel etiam utrumque mihi benigne impendisset’. Sed hiis in fine litterarum, ubi manifeste sibi contrarius inuenitur respondebimus, illud tamen Ouidii interserentes ‘Dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aque’. Item et illud iniure contra nos scriptum inducit, ‘Quia testibus et non testimoniis credi oportet’. Sciat autem ipse quod nos una cum testimoniis, de corpore ecclesie nostre testes adduximus. Sed si testimoniis sine testibus credi non oportet, nec litteris eius solis, cum testes non producat, credi debet. Item enumerat modos falsitatis multos, quos nunquam ante audiuius, ‘Uel furtiuam surreptionem, uel ablationem uiolentam, uel impressionis adulterine cum uero sigillo expressam similitudinem’, etc. Bene nouit modos falsitatis qui eos enumerat tam expresse, et tamen obliquum quasi falsarii crimen in nos ausus est retorquere, ut sic decreto capituli nostri et litteris testimonialibus fidem et auctoritatem adimere possit. Sed utinam tam immunis ipse ab omni crimine, precipue uero a crimine incendiarii et homicidii, teste Barbato Londoniensi, sicut et ego a crimine falsarii. Librorum enim fabricator hactenus esse solebam, non signorum, unde si libros nostros falsitatis arguere uelit, talem uellem habere correctorem qualis est ipse, qui de meo nil demeret nec de suo quicquam apponeret. Domine, nec admiratione dignum est, si placet, nec indignatione, si scripto exasperatus aspera scribam. Nondum enim tante perfectionis iter arripui, quod possim tam turpium obiectione non moueri. Tradit comicus noster quia, qui pergit dicere quod uult, audiet quod non uult.

Et poeta,

Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis. At ille
Qui me commorit, melius non tangere clamo.
Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

Et idem,

Opprobriis dignum latrauerit integer ipse,
Soluentur tabule risu, tu missus abibis.

Preterea in fine litterarum annectit, ‘Quod si gratia uestra munus mihi consecrationis impenderet, non hoc sine contentus, ad ulteriora et deteriora, ut dicit, conatus extenderem, et exemptionem a iurisdictione Cantuariensis ecclesie affectarem’. Non dicit quod ius ecclesie nostre

prosequi uellem, et dignitatem pristinam reformare, sed quasi sub exemptionis uocabulo ius nostrum et dignitatem uelare disposuit. Sed ecce pater sancte, qualiter hic animi sui rancorem et odii tocius fomitem manifeste declarat. Hic enim ab initio promotioni nostre contradixit, et usque in hodiernum diem contradicit, unde contrarius sibi proculdubio reperitur. Dixit enim supra, 'Quod munus confirmationis uel consecrationis uel utrumque mihi libenter impenderet', etc. Sed ex quo timet aut suspicatur, quod ius ecclesie nostre prosequi uellem, constat quod nunquam mihi munus hoc aut illud, ipse impenderet, uel a quoquam in mundo impendi uellet, nisi prauis forte conditionibus, prius scilicet sacramento per extorsionem dato, sicut decessores sui a nostris exigere consueuerunt, quod nullo unquam tempore iura ecclesie nostre contra Cantuariensem prosequeremur. Interserit autem illud Senece de clementia ad Neronem, 'Spes improbissimas amplectuntur, insperata consecuti'. Ecce qualiter auctores philosophos et omnes scripturas ad manum habet. Falluntur ergo qui ipsum minus litteratum putant. Istud tamen Senece, quod mutilatum hic ponitur, si plenum et integrum addatur et audiatur, sue uerius fortune quam nostre adaptari potest, qui principum quibus seculariter adhesit potentia magis, ne dicam uiolentia, quam meritorum exigentia, ad tantos tam sublimes dignitatum gradus ab exili fuerat ex insperato prouectus. Ait enim Seneca, 'Facit quidem auidos nimia felicitas, nec tam temperate cupiditates unquam sunt, ut in eo quod contingit desinant. Gradus a magnis ad maiora fit, et spes improbissimas amplectuntur, insperata consecuti'. Ecce quam expresse istud ei adaptari potest, qui a decanatu Eboracensi ad episcopatum Salebiriensem, et inde ad Cantuariense culmen honoris, et sic a magnis quidem gradatim sorte non arte, fortuna magis quam uirtute suffultus, ad maiora conscendit. Et quoniam subita et inopinata felicitas trans modestiam auidos facit, non hoc fine contentus, ad ipsum etiam ut fertur apostolici culminis apicem ausus est aspirare, et sic a positiuo uel infra si gradus esset, uel potius de positiuo ad superlatiuum uel ultra si fieri posset, alis ambiciosius transuolare. Unde et anno preterito, quasi uiam ad hec aperire et scalam erigere parans, curie Romane cardinalis fieri cum non solum attemptasset, uerum etiam palam et publice iactitasset,

assentator quidam ei hunc uersum non infructuose porrexit,

‘Successor Thome succedes baculo Rome’

Cui statim decem aureis remunerato, archiepiscopus hunc quoque uersum nocturna lucubratione fabricatum ad philosophie sue grandis ostentationem, in crastino duplicata muneratione contribuit,

‘Ora frater pro me ne sim deterior Thome’.

Illud autem Senece mihi minime adaptari potest, quoniam si id assequeretur quod ipse mihi tanto opere auferre conatur, non a magnis gradus fieret ad maiora, uerum salua dignitate solum, potius a maioribus ad minora descensus. Ceterum si ipse tam magnus et plus quam dignissimus tam ardua sperare potuit et tam magna, quare non ego modicus minima? Uirgilius in Bucolicis, ‘Mopso Nisa datur, quid non speremus amantes?’ Ac si diceret, illi uilissimo pastori puella tam nobilis adheret, quis ergo desperet? Ad hec etiam finalem denique malleum apponens, totumque negocium quasi sub securi quadam et securitate concludens, causam suam sub regis societate munire molitur, dicens quod nisi ecclesia Wallie Anglicane ecclesie iure prouinciali subiecta fuisset, gens illa ab Anglorum rege discedens continuo uel crebro rebellaret. Sed minus circumspecte, salua auctoritate sua, in hac parte scripsisse uidetur, tanquam non possit rex Anglie totis et tantis uiribus suis gentem illam modicam gladio suo domare materiali, nisi et spiritualem sibi in subsidium mutuatur. Hinc, domine, uestre sanctitati litteris suis communiter principes Wallie conqueruntur, quod quociens in bellico conflictu contra hostilem populum ob patrie tutelam et libertatis congregiuntur, per Cantuariensis sententiam citra omnem iuris ordinem, pro animi sui motu solo minus discrete datam, quicumque ex parte ipsorum cadunt, excommunicati cadunt. Pater sancte, de utraque gente, ut diximus, originem traho, et de principibus Wallie et de baronibus Marchie, qui regni fines contra Walenses continua rebellione defendunt, et tamen in utraque gente, quod iniquum uideo, detestor. Quid autem iniquius esse potest, quam gentem illam ab antiquo in fide fundatam et radicatum, quia a tempore Eleutherii pape, qui per Faganum et Duuiantum, tempore Lucii regis Britonum, Christi fidem in insula plantauit, longe ante aduentum

Saxonum, qui in paganismo suo usque ad tempora Gregorii manserunt, quid, inquam, iniquius quam gentem illam, quia corpora sua, terras, et libertates contra hostilem populum uim ui repellendo tumentur, statim a corpore Christi quod est ecclesia separari, et Sathane tradi? Iniquissimum est istud et hactenus inauditum. Pater sancte, quiddam anno preterito contigit, quod conscientiam uestram et fratrum ob facti detestationem preterire non debet. Cum adhuc enim regni iusticiarius esset homo ille, uix anno elapso, et publicus officialis, Walenses castrum quoddam obsederunt, non in finibus Anglie sed potius in Wallia, ad terras suas eis auferendum ab Anglicis constructum. Quo audito, statim archiepiscopus iste, collectis Anglie uiribus, ad potentie sue magne et animositatis ostentationem, ad partes illas accessit, et eodem die quo suis cum Walensibus congressum indixerat, conuocatis ad hoc episcopis et uiris partium illarum religiosis, publice candelis accensis Walenses illos omnes excommunicauit, principes quidem et magnates ex uel genere, et ita forte contigit sicut se habet alea belli, quod circiter tria millia Walensium eodem die . . .¹ gladii corruerunt. Nec mirum etenim si pro successore beati Thome signa diuinitus et miracula fiant. In crastino uero suscepto rumore stragis illius, statim per totum castrum Brugense scilicet ubi tunc erat campanas publice pulsari fecit et 'Te Deum laudamus' alta uoce cantari, tanquam bonus pastor Deo gratias referens, quod tot parochianorum suorum animas uno die ad inferna transmiserat. Sed utrum uerius tunc gregis pastor bonus an lupus rapax dicendus fuerit, in questione relinquo. Male igitur utroque gladio tunc usus est, et ut uerbis autenticis utar, male tunc utrumque gladium in manu eius fuit. Preterea multis etiam in hac curia litteras misit, in hiis precipue quos præcipuos sibi fautores reputat, supplicans attentius quatinus loco beneficii magni et remunerationis exquisite me faciant infecto negotio cum confusione reuerti. Sed si ecclesiam nostram eo modo, quo ipse depingit intrare uel potius irrumpere uoluerim, illam quam mihi exoptat confusionem, et longe maiorem penalem in tempore donet Deus. Sin autem pie, pure, et secundum Deum huic honeri me subieci, ad ipsum redeat hec confusio, et diuina prouidentia que falli non potest in

¹ Perhaps 'acie'.

sui dispositione procedat. Sic domine litteris illis respondeo, sic ea que uos forte aut fratres in aliquo mouere possent, euacuo. Decreto capituli nostri et litteris testimonialibus ac uiuis uocibus audiendis de cetero, si placet, locum prebeat, ut cunctis ad unguem in audientia uestra discussis, ueritas hodie sole clarius elucescat.

CAP. III.

Ad literas episcopi Landauensis Henrici responsio.

Litteris quoque Landauensis illius, quibus ad instanciam archipresulis et ob fauorem eiusdem in nos non minus impudenter quam imprudenter ausus est debacari, illud magistri Walonis in hominem similem huius fere tam fortune quam nature scriptum, respondere sufficiat.

“Ultimus hic hominum traheret cutis ultima dente,
Si non esset ei melior fortuna parente;
Scribere sutori nobis non esset honori
Hoc nisi tantillum quod Walo scribit in illum.”

CAP. IV.

Aduentu secundo obiectis Andree responsio.

Magister Andreas promisit nobis et cotidie promittit mirabilia, sed si ordine psallendi non saliendi incesserit, prius ad defecit quam ad mirabilia perueniet. In nos et gentem nostram crebris inuectionibus coram uobis impudenter inuehitur, ridens et deridens, seque bonis et honestis ridendum prebens. Sed qua fronte genti nostre Britannice gentem Anglicanam preferre ausus est uel et conferre, puta nationum omnium, que sub coelo sunt, uilissimam, a Normannis quippe subactam et in seruitutem perpetuam belli iure redactam, attestante quoque Merlini nostri uaticinio, qui de gente eadem loquens, ait ‘Matrem ligonibus uulnerabunt et iugum perpetue seruitutis ferent’. In terra sua Normannorum serui sunt Anglici et serui uilissimi. In terra nostra bubulcos, opiliones, sutores, pelliparios, mechanicos artifices, cuniculorum nostrorum quoque, ne cloacarum dicamus, purgatores preter Anglicos non habemus. Taceo quod proditores Britonum ab initio fuerunt ad stipendia uocati, nec fidem unquam nec federa respicientes, quod pre aliis gentibus adhuc quoque proditoribus dati, clandestinorum scelerum et cedium auctores

extant cruentissimi, unde et in Teutonico regno quociens enormiter quis delinquere uidetur, de natione quacunque, quasi prouerbialiter in suo uulgari dici solet 'Untriwe Sax', hoc est 'infidelis Saxo'. Quod gule pre aliis crapulæque dediti, terram antea sobriam ebriositatis uitio fedauerunt, quod adulterinis Rome litteris et bullis pre cunctis qui curiam frequentant magis utentes, falsitatis ibidem et infidelitatis nomen et notam incurrerunt, quod in Francia Parisius ouis incubantes aucas et anseres sibilis ac gestibus simulare solent, hec pretereo. Gens autem nostra Britannica, que adulterino uocabulo nunc Walensica dicitur, a Troiano sanguine sicut et Romani prosapiam ducens, libertatem suam tam contra Normannos quam et Saxones continua rebellionem defendens, iugum seruitutis a ceruicibus suis, memor illius Eneade in ferrum pro libertate ruebant, usque in hodiernum uiribus et armis propulsauit. Desinat ergo Andreas liberis seruos, magnis miseros, generosis et strenuis uiles et abiectos comparare. Alioquin illud ei Uirgilianum obici poterit,

' Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hedos
Noras, sic magnis componere parua solebas.'

Nec mirum si nos et gentes nostras mordaci dente laniat et lacerat, quia cardinales ipsos in hospiciis ipsorum, pransus quidem et Anglice potus, de pari contendens uerbis exasperare et exacerbare non formidat. Sed unde queso ei hec cornua? Certe ex archiepiscopi bursa. Nichil est enim quod tantam pariat uiolentiam, sicut aliena uiuere quadra, testante comico nostro de talibus, loquente et dicente, 'En quid facit ocium et cibus alienus'. Preterea contra Eboracensem archiepiscopum in hac curia super primacie dignitate contendit, contra quoque nos tam super libertate ecclesie nostre quam super electionis articulo. Parum hoc ei esse uidetur, nisi et domino Bangorensi electo pro uago illo et profugo nullius ciuitatis episcopo Roberto, se opponat, cum mandatum nullum habeat uel speciale uel generale, nec persona coniuncta sit, tantum cautionem offerendo. Sed quis sit Andreas ut in tanta causa absque mandato sufficienter cauere possit, attendamus. Personatum in ecclesia nullum habet, nec redditus nisi perpauca et parum notos. Uir bonus est forsitan, bene litteratus. In archiepiscopi illius obsequiis aliquamdiu conuersatus, hoc certum, alias autem per omnia satis ignotus et fame non minus obscure quam forme. Nullis enim

maiorum, nullus eorum qui precellunt in curia domini sui propter rem aliquam uel spem quam eis uel dare uel promittere posset, in tanto salutis discrimine iter ad curiam istam arripere uoluit, familiaribus quippe perterriti plurimorum exemplis, prioris scilicet Sancte Frideswide Philippi, Magistri Iohannis Colecestrie, Magistri Remerii, Magistri Iohannis Scoti et aliorum quam plurium, quorum omnes hominis huius ambicio et intestina cum ipsa quoque ecclesia sua Cantuariensi contentio perditioni dedit. Indempnis etenim est castigatio quam predocent exemplaria. Quid igitur Andree qui tociens huc currit et recurrit prestat audaciam? Certe ambitio. Quoniam Anglicus esuriens sicut et Greculus in celum etc. Homo igitur uel talis uel tantus est Andreas, ut in tanta causa sufficienter sine mandato cauere possit. Item cotidie turpia nobis obicit promittens se etiam obiecturum turpiora. Obiciat autem quecunque et quantacunque uoluerit, nos eius persone nulla penitus obiciemus, quoniam reuero pauca de eo scimus uel bona uel mala. Illud autem constanter dicimus, quod nulla nobis tam turpia obicere poterit falso, quin domino suo quem intus et in cute nouimus et propter quem hec omnia nobis opponit, longe obiciamus turpiora et uere, que et probare parati erimus, nisi notoria fuerint et per se nota. Semel et secundo per potentiam suam et pertinatiam, nos ad curiam istam laborare coegit. Certe nisi curia Romana nobis in iusticia defuerit, scimus autem et certi sumus quod nec personam eius nec pecuniam unquam attendet contra iusticiam, si laborandum nobis tercio fuerit, laborabit et ipse. In tantam enim arduitatem excrescent negotia, quod non poterit ea per procuratores expedire, magnos etiam et preclaros, nedum modicos et obscuros, nec etiam si tales miserit qui preclare curie honore prefulserint. Ad hec etiam ambitiosos nos uocat, scilicet electum Bangorensem et me, dicens illum in locum uiuentis irrumpere uelle, me uero ad abbatem religiosum supplantandum laborare. Sed utrum maior in hiis nostra ambitio an domini sui presumptio uideamus. Defuncto Widone Bangorensi episcopo, bonus uir iste a toto capitulo unanimi uoto electus fuit. Recusauit eum archiepiscopus confirmare et consecrare, quia Walensis erat, superintrudens ei et consecrans citra electionem omnem Alanum hospitalarium Anglicum, qui nunquam ibi pacem habens exul et profugus in Anglia anno eodem quo consecratus fuerat, rebus humanis exemptus est.

Statim autem suscepto rumore, uirum istum iterato consensu totum Bangorense capitulum concorditer elegit. Archiepiscopus autem electionem ei presentatam confirmare recusans, Anglicum quendam Robertum nomine superintrudi et consecrari procurauit, qui similiter uagus et profugus, puta nullius ciuitatis episcopus, per abbatias Anglie mendicando discurrens et cornutus incidens sedium uacantium uicarias, plus in accidenti quam substantiali plus in accessario quam principali confusus, totis desideriis aucupatur. Si ergo electus iste et bis electus, ad supplicationem populi patrieque tocius et cleri, necnon et principis ius suum et ecclesie sue iuris ordine prosequitur, utrum queso maior ex parte istius ambitio, an intrusoris illius archiepiscopi tocians et tot, non minori impudentia quam imprudentia, superintrudentis presumptio? Ut autem ad me stilum uertam, per annum fere ab obitu episcopi nostri in scolis immobiliter steti, licet litteris et nunciis tam cleri patrie quam baronum et principum pluries inuitatus, nec abinde potui, donec litteras regis ipsius me uocantis acceperam, remoueri. Postquam autem electus fueram et appellatione interposita ad curiam profectus, abbatem quendam terre nostre consobrinum meum archiepiscopus uirum nisi uerbo fallor aut fallam literatissimum sibique in philosophia simillimum, sub quo scilicet securos posset carpere sompnos, per regiam uiolentiam mihi quali quali fame forsam apud aliquos bone apud alios male, transeunti quippe simul cum apostolo per infamiam et bonam famam, superintrudi fecit. Deinde et abbatem alium, scilicet ordinis Cisterciensis, qui canonicus ecclesie nostre fuerat, filium et fratrem ac consobrinos canonicos et plures in ea consanguineos habens, filium sacerdotis scilicet et in sacerdotio natum ac genitum, qui et de consobrina sua sub alis ecclesie Meneuensis in ypogeo quodam et subterraneo specu recentissimam prolem non longe continentie sue testem paulo ante susceperat. Ut per primum scisma faceret in genere meo, per alterum uero in capitulo. Quatinus mihi reuertenti plura in hunc modum, quia mirabilis excogitator est talium trifarum et astuciarum, pretendere posset impedimenta, dans operam nimirum omnimoda ut quod minus habet in sillabis, qui nec etiam sillabicare nouit, recuperet in temporibus, temporalibus ob hec curis et secularibus curiis totis nisibus ac studiis inuigilando. Maior igitur hic eius presumptio

quam nostra uidetur ambitio. Uerumtamen qualem nobis ambitionem ausi sunt obicere, cum tota archiepiscopi illius uita et promotio ambitio fuerit? Bonus uir ille scilicet Bangorensis electus uocatus fuit a claustro, ego a studio, et archiepiscopus unde? A scaccario et quid scaccarium? Locus in Anglia publici erarii, Londoniis scilicet tabula quasi quadrata, ubi fiscales census colliguntur et computantur. Ab hoc studio, ab hoc gignasio, in quo iam senuit, ad omnes dignitatum suarum gradus, sicut omnes fere Anglicani episcopi, uocatus fuit. Qui enim hic bene computat, bene disputat, qui bene ratiocinatur bene philosophatur. Usque in hodiernum quoque, quia quo semel est imbuta recens, seruabit etc, a secularibus curis et curiis abstinere non nouit. Anno preterito iusticiarius fuit, ea uero potestate per curiam Romanam ei sublata, statim cancellarius regis fieri procurauit. Ea quoque nuper amissa, donec eandem recuperaret, licet cum dedecore sui et fame detrimento non modico non cessauit. Sicut enim piscis sine aqua, sic ipse sine curia et seculari cura uiuere non potest, illud apostoli uel ignorans prorsus uel se legisse dissimulans, Nemo militans Deo implicat se secularibus negociis. Illud quoque Ieronimi parum animo tenens, Uilissimus reputandus est episcopus, si non precellat scientia et sanctitate, qui est honore prestancior, quoniam hic nec religione nec eruditione laudabilis preesse presumpsit, qui prodesse non nouit. O quam animo dissimilis est isti decessori suo beato Thome, qui sicut a Lugdunensi archiepiscopo Iohanne Bellemanus apud Clareuallum in lectione et ordine sanctissimam uitam ducente nuper audiui. Statim ut consecrationem adeptus fuerat, sigillum regis, quod tanquam cancellarius secum habuerat, regi remisit, dicens quod officio proprio sibi iam a domino collato uix sufficere poterat, se minus ad illud sufficientem quanquam in hoc totus fuerit recognoscens. Rex autem non absque indignatione magna uerbosus suscipiens, respondit, Si archiepiscopus Maguntinus uel Coloniensis imperatoris Alemannie cancelarius esse solet, cur archiepiscopus Cantuariensis regis Anglie cancelarius esse recusat? Hinc primum inter eos quoniam uir sanctus flecti non potuit, ire seminarium et discordie creuit. Item obicit Andreas quod solus sum, nullum ecclesie nostre canonicum mecum habens. Sed uelit nolit, et si se ruperit, omnes corde et animo mecum habeo, preter duos solum O.

et R., Anglicos et anomalos, falsosque fraterculos nostros ecclesie nostre nec adoptiue nec naturaliter insertos, quos solos archiepiscopus licet ab initio cum aliis per se uel per litteras de rato nobiscum steterint, de toto capitulo nostro contra nos minis ac muneribus tam premissis quam promissis, palam hactenus allicere potuit. Cuius rei signum esse potest et probatio, quod cum propter metum regium ne bonis omnibus spoliarentur, nobiscum uenire non ausi fuerant, per clericos ecclesie qui omnibus intererant, litteras tam domino pape quam iudicibus nostris, quas-cunque promotioni nostre necessarias fore putabant, non solum proprias uerum etiam tam regis et archiepiscopi quam iusticiarii quoque et publice potestatis officialium, archiepiscopo procurante comminatorias, quibus contra nos uel agere uel scribere coacti sunt, sub sigillo suo, rumpantur ut ilia Codro, transmiserunt. Per que patet quam dissimilem decessori suo beato Thome, qui ut regiam tyrannidem circa electiones et similia compesceret, capud exposuit, archiepiscopus iste se per omnia prebet, qui prauas et enormes regni consuetudines in Christi ecclesia cotidie magis ac magis recidiuo iam morbo pullulantes, non solum non delere pro posse uel eneruare, uerum etiam ausu plectibili et perpetuo dampnabili, fouere contendit. Magnum hoc itaque in tanta omnium ipsorum turbatione, tempestate ac timore terribili, reputandum. Periculosum quippe est in illum aut contra illum scribere, qui potest proscribere. Meticulosa res in illum allegare qui potest relegare. Qualiter autem apud Gloucestriam in octauis Sancti Hilarii canonicos nostros per regios ministros ac clericos secum adductos, archiepiscopus contra electionem nostram scribere coegit, satis est notum. Semper enim ut uerbis hic nostris non suis que nota sunt nimis amplius utamur, simul utroque gladio niti solet, ut tanquam ambidexter uel potius ambisimister, quod una potestate non preualet, altera nimirum exequatur. Hac igitur arte mutos nobis in Wallia canes, nec latrare ualentes quoniam lingue ignaros, nec uolentes, quoniam sicut innato quodam inter gentes odio corpora persecuntur, sic non animarum curam habent, preficere consueuerunt, quatinus in gentem nostram quociens contra hostilem Anglorum populum terras suas ac libertates uim ui repellendo defendere uoluerint, ad nutum ipsius sententiam donent, ut et hic etiam utroque uti gladio contra iuris ordinem non erubes-

cat. Hec igitur est causa, hec excogitata subtilitas, quare uiles et obiectos Anglicos litteratis et honestis terre nostre personis anteposit. Hinc malus Anglicus, bonus Wallicus, hoc est malus in Anglia, bonus in Wallia, sicut iuxta Augustini irrisionem, qua monachorum sugillat ambitionem, Malus choraula, bonus symphoniacus, sic et malus monachus, bonus clericus. Pater sancte, tales et talium similes, hominis illius errores, si placet, immo furores, apostolico rigore compescatis. Nisi enim anno preterito humiliatus aliquantulum a uobis fuisset, intollerabiles proculdubio forent ineptie ipsius. Sed ecce iam iterum abutens patientia uestra, resumit cornua. Retundenda sunt igitur ne nimis excrescant. Ceterum si ea que anno preterito uobis proposita sunt, scilicet decretum capituli nostri cum testibus de ecclesia nostra tribus, et scriptis quoque nunc uobis oblatis cum testibus quatuor, et litteris testimonialibus multis ad probandum electionis articulum, sufficere possent, omine bono sufficiant, cum omnia que contra nos scripta habere uidentur, per regiam proculdubio uolentiam sint extorta. Cuncta uero que pro nobis faciunt spontanea quidem et ex animi libertate procedentia. Alioquin cum ecclesia nostra per hanc contentionem iam per triennium uacauerit, ne amplius hac occasione ploret uiduata pastore, de cetero prelatus ei quicumque et undecunque, dum tamen idoneus et qui pro ecclesie sue libertate uiriliter stare uoluerit, preficiatur, et nos super articulo status si placet efficaciter audiatis. Hoc etenim indubitata ueritate noueritis, quod si ius ecclesie nostre archiepiscopo abiurare uoluerimus, super quo etiam post reditum meum et prohibitionem uestram in commissione factam me pluries sollicitare presumpsit, iam si uellem cornutus incederem.

CAP V.

Item obiectis Andree responsio.

Ad ea que nobis nudius tercius etsi non mitissimus, utinam uel mitis, magister Andreas obiecit, in auditorio uestro respondere curauimus. Dixit imprimis quod quasi crudo sermone, minus ornato minusque decocto, meas proponebam rationes. Fateor hoc equidem, sed uel ex negligentia quadam affectata, uel industria potius quam imperitia, processisse. Olim enim in rethorica nostra didiscimus, quod ornata uerba exquisita et excogitata,

cuius modi profert et prefert pars aduersa, suspectam reddunt orationem. Utantur ergo uerborum flosculis, qui suam ostentare querunt eloquentiam. Mihi uero rebus in seriis, cum auctore simul, sermonis publica forma placet. Dixit etiam et dicere presumpsit, quod dominus suus si presens esset, et sacrum os suum in uerba resolveret longe melius et elegantius ipse proponeret. Sed utinam in rei istius experientia nunc essemus, ut audire possetis beluam sua uerba sonantem. Nec obstrepat Andreas tanquam conuicia in dominum suum hec coniecta. Uerba sunt enim Ieronimi in prima bibliotece pagina, de Origene sic loquentis, Nescio quid latentis energie uiua uox habet. O si audires beluam sua uerba sonantem. Audiretis etiam tot tropos in uerbis suis totque figuras, quot nunquam Donatus in barbarismo suo uel etiam Priscianus aduertit. Inter omnes autem figuras, antithosi frequencius atque licencius uti solet, casum pro casu ponens et precipue accusatiuum pro nominatiuo. Similiter et numeros crebro nisi per licentiam excusaretur et etiam genera confundens. Unde et duo lic figuratiua uerborum suorum exempla in medium proferre sufficiat. Cum alibi forsitan dicta ipsius memoratu digna, scripto non inmerito, sint commendata. Sermonem aliquando facturum in sinodo, sic inchoauit. Audite et intelligite uos omnes qui estis in isto sacro sinodo, et submurmurante quodam, a, a, subiecit, in ista sacra sinoda. Item murmurante eodem uel alio, o et a, correctionem non spernens ait, Audite et intelligite uos omnes qui estis in isto sacro sinoda. Item apud Oxoniam in Anglia ubi in presentia ipsius quasi pro tribunali sedentis multa iuris peritorum copia conuenerat, sermonem ad quosdam dirigens, inquit, Uultis stare isto compromisso? Et murmurante quodam, isti, non impaciens correctionis, subiecit, Uultis stare isti compromissi? Et cum murmur fieret in clero, prorumpens in sermonem et silentium rumpens, quidam assidens inter alios in iure peritus cui nomen Martino, publice proclamauit, Quid murmuratis inter uos? antiqua grammatica est. Et tunc omnes tanquam ludicri sermonis illius occasione in risum quem ante conceperant sed ob persone reuerentiam non ausi fuerant, palam sunt resoluti, unde et Martinum illum ab hac hora semper archiepiscopus exosum habuit. Tercium quoque uerbum eiusdem egregium adicieamus. Accidit aliquando quod Anglorum rege Ricardo latinis

uerbis in hunc modum proponente, Uolumus quod istud fiat coram nobis, predictus archiepiscopus qui cum aliis multis et magnis uiris tunc presens extiterat, regem corrigere uolens ait, Domine, coram nos, coram nos. Quo audito, cum rex Hugonem Couentrensem episcopum uirum literatum et facundum respiceret, ait ille, Ad uestram, domine, grammaticam, quia plus ualet, nos teneatis, risu cunctorum qui aderant subsecuto.

Ut autem uerbis eius que nota sunt satis et notata supersedeamus, ad sententias eiusdem et opiniones trans-eamus, et unico exemplo in presentiarum contenti simus. Dominica palmarum post obitum Ricardi regis proxima sequente, processione completa, stans in pulpito cathedralis ecclesie Rotomagensis, mitratus et redimitus inter duos archiepiscopos literatos et discretos, Rotomagensem Galterum scilicet et Dublinensem Iohannem, et sermonem ad populum in tanta audientia facere presumens, ait, Asina illa quam equitabat Iesus hodierna die, quid portabat? Hominem illum tantum? Absit, immo patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Deinde de tribus personis earumque proprietatibus tam audacter in tanta audientia uerba proposuit, nec earundem equalitatem nec fidem sanam redolentia, ideoque et ea sub silencio preterire potius quam exprimere tutius et honestius reputauimus. Constat igitur ut ait Ieronimus quod sicut erudicio timorem, sic et impericia quoque audaciam creat et presumptionem. Propter hoc itaque nacta temeritatis occasione in tanta solempnitate tantaque audientia, ubi urbs fere tota conuenerat, homo fere illiteratus et in sacris scriptis nunquam edoctus, ad imperitorum errorem, ad eruditorum horrorem, ad propriam confusionem pariter et dampnationem, personarum quas ignorabat distinguere presumpsit proprietates. Ad hec etiam accidit ut in festo Sancte Trinitatis archidiacono Londinensi magistro P. Blesensi officium predicationis iniungeret. Quo facto et sermone catholice completo, archiepiscopus nisibus applaudens et sermonem quasi commendans, ait, Unde nos hodie magister refecisti, et de trium personarum proprietatibus egregie disserendo, aperte et bene docuisti, quod Iesus Christus dominus noster est pater et filius et spiritus sanctus? Ille autem demisso uerecundoque uultu nichil ad hoc respondit. Uerbum autem hoc in audientia dictum, aliis ruborem et uerecundiam, aliis uero risum quem cohibere non poterant,

et subsannationis materiam dedit. Ecce qualis gubernator ad tantam nauem regendam, quanta est tota fere Anglicana ecclesia. Porro exemplum illud in rethorica ad Herennium libro de elocutione quociens hec recolo ad mentem occurrit de citharedo scilicet qui redimitus insigniter citharamque tenens auro et ebore distinctam, post multam expectationem, tandem enormi corporis motu turpem sonum et strepitum emittens, quanto magis ornatus et expectatus a cunctis, tanto talis inuentus deicitur uilius et contempnitur. Ad hec etiam nonne iuxta canones uiciosi prelati rei deferendi sunt et deponendi? Unde Ieronimus, Admonendi sunt subditi ne plus quam expedit sint subiecti, ne cum ceperint plus quam necesse est hominibus subici, compellantur eorum uicia uenerari. Unde et illud oratoris Domicii, prelato inutili pariter et insolenti, obici potest. Cur ego, inquit, te habeam ut principem, si tu me non habes ut senatorem? Proinde dicimus et firmiter asserimus, quod ecclesia nostra Meneuensis, immo et ecclesia Walensica tota, non solum propter libertatem pristinam ei de iure debitam, uerum etiam propter heresim tantam publice predicatam, tali prelato Arriana faciente gradus in personis perfidia infecto, subesse non debet. Sed hec hactenus.

Obicit Andreas quod clericos duos quos mecum ad curiam duxi, quorum tantum unus canonicus Meneuensis erat, canonicos uocans sic me quasi duobus comitatum ecclesie nostre canonicis, falso simulauit. Fateor equidem quod eos quandoque clericos quandoque canonicos uocaui. Facilius enim dictu erat, Isti canonici uel isti clerici, quam iste canonicus et ille clericus, uel iste clericus et ille canonicus. Tropos autem huiusmodi in sancta scriptura frequens est inueniri, scilicet numerum pro numero, sicut obterauerunt ora leonum, cum tamen inter sanctos solus Daniel obterasset. Lapidati sunt, secti sunt, cum tamen solus Ysaias sectus. Item astiterunt reges terre et principes conuenerunt in unum. Reges pro Herode, principes pro Pilato. Latrones improperebant ei ubi tantum unus. Item fecerunt sibi deos aureos. Isti sunt dii tui Israel, qui te eduxerunt de terra Egypti. Factus est enim uitulus unus, similis tamen uitulis quam pluribus. Sicut autem per silepsim plurale pro singulari sic et simili tropo singulare pro plurali plerumque reperies, ut ibi, Dixit et uenit locusta, et illud ad Timotheum epistola prima, cum

impositione manuum presbiteri, id est, presbiterorum, quia pauciores tribus episcopis esse non possunt in ordinatione episcopi, sicut fuerunt in ordinatione Iacobi. Item et illud Iohannis, Omne quod dedisti ei, id est, omnibus quos dedisti ei, det eis uitam eternam, et est hic etiam pleonasmus, habundat enim eis. Et in Exodo, Ingressus est eques Pharaonis, id est, equites eius. Et poeta, Armato milite plenum. Cum igitur archiepiscopus in grammatica sua et philosophie sue grandis ostentatione tociens casum pro casu per antitosim ponere consueuerit, quare non nobis simili figura numerum pro numero ponere licet?

Item obicit Andreas, et obicem opponere fame nostre contendit, dicens quia reuersus a curia dominum suum ut manum mihi consecrationis imponeret, modis omnibus, etsi non recte quocunque modo, sollicitare non cessauit. Mirum autem quod tociens in audientia uestra ne dicam mentiri, contra mentem ire tamen, nec uerecundatur nec ueretur. Triplicem enim uiam mihi dominus papa cum commissione dedit, uiam humilitatis et pacis, et hanc primo temptari iussit, secundam distractionis, terciam reuersionis, si neutra proficerem premissarum. Hoc igitur ordine processit. Octauo die ante festum Sancti Michaelis, archiepiscopo litteras domini pape intercessorias et cardinalium plurimas porrexi, satis affectuose monentes ut in spiritu lenitatis mecum ageret, iudiciorum strepitum euitando, et omnem ei humilitatem, honestam tamen iuxta formam de . . . per datam exhibui, quibus omnibus nec etiam responsum dare uolebat. Est enim homo uindictis animi et ire uix placabilis, longe distans ab illo moribus, scilicet Gaio Cesare, de cuius laudibus scribens, Suetonius inter uaria laudis eiusdem preconia hoc quasi precipuum ponit, quod similtates erga nullum tantas habuit, quas data occasione facillima non remitteret. Illud etiam Ieronimi uel non legit, uel se legisse non meminit. Nichil minus conuenit sacerdoti quam iniuriarum reminisci. Quoniam igitur nec hac uia proficere potui, nec secunda, temptanda nobis tertia fuerat licet laboriosa.

Adiecit etiam quod ad falsam suggestionem nostram dominus papa custodia spiritualium episcopatus nostri dominum suum spoliauerat. Licet autem ad hec ab initio responderim tamen cotidie repetit. Transgreditur et transit nec erubescit, facies enim exanguis, semper uniformis in omni uerbo idem uultus, in omni fortuna eadem frons.

Mira uirtus et tamen poeta, O quam difficile est crimen non prodere uultu. Iste tamen non prodit sed omnia tegit quasi Iugurta secundus, simulator et dissimulator omnium rerum. Nec tamen prudentia est ista, sed uersutia, quia non uirtus, sed uicium, deceptioni accommodum. Prudens enim fallere non uult, falli non potest. Scriptum est enim, Simulator ore decipit amicum suum. Sed sicut mulieres, iuxta poetam, ut flerent oculos erudiere suos, sic de talibus leni mutatione dici potest, ut starent uultus erudiere suos. Respondi ab initio et adhuc respondeo quod anno preterito, subito et ex inopinato dominus papa mihi beneficium custodie per deliberationem tamen cum fratribus habitam indulsit. Inde dominum papam et cardinales non solum autores uerum etiam testes laudo.

Dicit ad ius domini sui spectare custodiam spiritualium in ecclesiis uacantibus, ad regem uero custodiam temporalium. Hanc autem distinctionem decessor suus martir insignis facere non nouit, quinimmo custodiam ecclesiarum a laicis extortam integre tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus obtinebat. Et propter has abusiones, et similes, sicut circa electiones in cameris regum ad nutum ipsorum faciendas, que in Anglicana ecclesia nimis enormiter pullulauerant, eradicandas capud suum gladiis impiorum exposuit. Non autem uir iste bonus tanto discrimine ducit pro ecclesiastica certandum libertate, mauult enim confessor adhuc quam martir existere. Proinde principibus in ecclesiarum oppressionibus potius assistere quam resistere, proculdubio consueuit. Unde et in principum manibus custodia ecclesiarum uacantium tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus pro defectu pastoris, integre consistit. Omnes enim prouentus spiritualium omnium sicut et temporalium, ad scaccarium, hoc est fiscum regium, transportantur. Sola iusticia ecclesiastica per clericos ad hoc deputatos auctoritate domini pape, uel archiepiscopi, quia laicali non potest exercetur. Contra mentem etiam locutus est Andreas, dicens quod domino suo iurauerat in discessu se in curia moram ultra pascha non facturum, ac si tante cause, quante et quam ardue inter nos uentilantur, inter Letare Ierusalem et pascha plene discuti possent et decidi. Si hoc etiam iurauit, iam ex propria confessione periurus esse conuincitur, cum ultra pentecosten iam moram in curia continuauerit. Proposuit etiam quod nullus clericorum domini sui preter ipsum solum hoc iter arripere

uolebat. Hoc equidem simul cum ipso uerum esse profiteor. Sicut enim in multiloquio non deerit peccatum, sic et in multo falsiloquio uerum interdum aliquod erumpit. Nullus reuera maiorum, nullus eorum qui precellunt in curia domini sui, familiaribus quippe perterriti plurimorum exemplis, in tanto salutis discrimine huc ueniret. Solus igitur ille qui solus omnes ambitione simul et assentatione uincebat, huc tociens currere non formidat, quoniam Anglicus esuriens sicut Greculus esuriens etc. Preterea fauorabilis esse bonis uiris labor Andree minime debet. Laborat enim ut laborem nostrum euacuet, ut ius nostrum per iniurias et cauillationes multas eneruare preualeat. Iactitat enim et publice predicat, quod si contra nos re bene gesta, quod absit, redire nunc poterit, redditus suos in immensum augmentandos. Certat igitur Andreas de lucro captando, nos autem de dampno et dedecore uitando. Ad hec etiam cotidie fere tanquam ad iter aggrediendum, et incontinenti reuertendum, se Andreas accingit. Sed tam grata est nobis societas eius, quod absque presentia ipsius, nolimus in urbe morari. Quia si pauca uidentur ei, que domino suo iam obiecimus, tot audiet et tanta quibus detineri proculdubio poterit, nisi ipsum relinquere uoluerit indefensum. Sciat enim Andreas, et indubitata ueritate cognoscat, quod nunquam domino suo deerit uexatio, quamdiu uiuero, donec ecclesia nostra solita et debita gaudeat libertate. Uolumus enim ut uexatio ei intellectum adaugeat. Gaudeat igitur Andreas, gaudeant et alii stipendarii clerici archiepiscopi, gaudeant et aduocati curie Romane, et grati nobis existant, quoniam et illis stipendia et istis salaria, nostro labore, Deo duce uitae comite, longe plenius et cumulacius solito profundentur.

CAP VI.

Item contra Foliot

Tradunt philosophi nostri quod quidam quia nullo egregio facinore famam suam extollere potuit, Diane templum incendit, ut qui in bono notus esse non potuit, saltem in malo notus existeret. Istud autem huic falso fraterculo nostro adaptare uelim, qui nunquam in bono notus, famam nostram hactenus illesam in auditorio uestro liuido dente lacerare contendit. Qui utinam ita notus esset omnibus, sicut et nobis, et huic curie precipue,

in cuius presentia mira impudentia et effronti audacia, homo tanti flagitii tantique facinoris comparere presumpsit. Huius autem descriptiunculam, ut qualiter uerbis eius blisis ac blandis fides adhiberi debeat, sciri possit, paucis absoluam. A cunabulis fere et puerilibus annis, inter infames et quasi in prostibulo turpiter educatus, et fedos eorum mores atque nefandos impure pariter et impudenter edoctus, mulier fuit omnium uirorum, nunc autem factus est uir omnium mulierum. Qui igitur ita uixit et uiuit ut hic, haud aliter loqui potest quam hic. Facit enim non quod merui, sed quod solet. Necessae est enim ut interioris hominis interdum indicia, per exterioris officia publicentur, et difficile est uel potius ineuitabile, quin uitam hominis plerumque uerba redoleant. In primis igitur etc.

CAP. VII.

De quatuor persecutoribus mixtim et alternatim quasi sub epilogo conclusio.

Quam Walterus archiepiscopus in uarias figuras se transformans, et artes omnes argutiasque suas simul in hiis experiens, tanquam uir uindicis animi et uincere uolens, etsi non recte quocunque modo per fas omne nefasque, nec Deum in nostri persecutione pre oculis habuerit, nec etiam districti examinis horrorem expauerit, succincta breuitate concludam. Statim igitur cum principaliter petitus et nominatus fueram, me recusans quia Walensis eram ut dixit, aliud tamen in mente habuit, id enim metuit quod ei postmodum accidit, medicum suum priorem de Lantona canonicis nostris instanter obtulit. Quo recusato ab ipsis tanquam ignoto et lingue ac etiam morum patrie prorsus ignaro, statim ei custodiam episcopatus tocuis integre commisit, quatinus uel sic capitulum sibi potestate tradita allicere posset, uel beneficiis demulcendo uel iniuriis deterrendo. Hunc tamen inter persecutores nostros nec reputo nec computo, quia licet in primis oblatum honorem satis inhianter ambierit, mox tamen ut me electum et appellatione interposita ad curiam Romanam profectum accepit, saniori functus consilio cessit ex toto, et custodiam resignauit. Archiepiscopus autem ut uincere posset, adhuc apponens quia me generosum de utraque gente terre nostre cognouerit, quoniam Anglicus

id nullus tunc aggredi uoluit, abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis de terra nostra, illiteratum prorsus et idiotam, quem scilicet uereri non posset, et consobrinum meum, ut sic mihi generis mei subducere posset auxilium, plectibili presumptione me iam in curia Romana tunc existente, per regiam uolentiam eligi procurauit. Postmodo autem audiens me cum mandato districto et commissione reuertentem, ascitis duobus Anglicis anomalis falsisque fraterculis nostris, quos non solum contra nos, sed etiam contra ecclesiam suam fraudulenter allexerat, cum audisset ab ipsis quod totum capitulum nostrum mihi in aduentu meo contra abbatem illum assisteret, et nullus ei, inquisiuit ab ipsis cum diligentia, si qua mihi capitulum arte uel ingenio subtrahere posset, cui respondentes illi dixerunt, quod si abbatem Cisterciensis ordinis, scilicet de Alba Domo qui natus fuit de ecclesia nostra, filios et fratres consobrinos plurimosque cognatos in ea canonicos habens, eligi fecisset, quando abbas Sancti Dogmaelis electus fuerit, illi omnes ei contra archidiaconum uel carnaliter assisterent. Quo audito archiepiscopus in omnes se uersucias uertens, omnesque sue malignitatis artes exercens, statim abbatem illum de Alba Landa litteris et nunciis ad se uocauit, firmiter ei promittens quod si mihi capitulum auferret, ei proculdubio sedem nostram cum honore conferret, non obstante electione quidem de abbate Sancti Dogmaelis facta, que pro nulla fuerat reputanda, quia prima scilicet de me facta stante adhuc celebrata, et ideo in commissione nostra cuius transcriptum archiepiscopus iam susceperat, a domino papa sicut inuentum fuerit, cassata. Abbas autem ille sicut uir magne religionis, licet in remotis Hibernie finibus uisitacionis iniuncte uices agens, protinus post mandatum de honore susceptum, preter spem oblato, ad reuersionem properans, et ordinis illico postponendo preceptum uix inchoatum, mare Hibernicum usque in Walliam alis ambitionis transuolauit, adeo ut in festo assumptionis beate Marie per portam abbacie sue mane parum ante horam misse transiens, nec fratres in reditu suo salutare nec ecclesiam suam in tanta solempnitate sicut decebat missam celebrando uel saltem audiendo, uisitare dignum duxerit. Uerum hec omnia quasi minima spernens, et ad promissos honores magnos incunctanter accelerans, ad archiepiscopum apud Wigorniam nec equis parcens, nec calcaribus, anhelanter

accessit. A quo cum gaudio et honore susceptus continuo iunctis federibus, et firmiter utrinque consertis, ab eodem Meneuiam est remissus, et statim conuocatis fratribus, lectisque litteris archiepiscopi et iusticiarii, clanculo et clausis hostiis tremulis et demissis uocibus, est electus, quatinus abbatem alium prius electum hoc lateret, ne ille ipse forte ex desperatione desisteret, sed uterque michi totis uiribus, alter palam et alter clam, quasi pro sua propria promotione tuenda, resisteret. Ceterum abbatis utriusque religionem hic maximam attendatis, primus licet consobrinus meus nec electionem meam que precesserat ignorans, sed eidem consentiens et cum aliis etiam pro me scribens, quanquam alias simplex, tamen nec sanguinis nec canonis iura respiciens, ad primos accubitus et cathedram aspirauit. Alter autem quanquam in seculo clericus meus familiaris et commensalis extiterit, iuratus quoque multociens, immo periurus sicut ex post facto claruit, sciens et me electum et ad curiam interposita appellatione profectum, nihilominus tamen excecatus ambitione et friuolis ac uanis archiepiscopi promissis, qui magis ut nobis incommodaret quam ut ei commodaret, ista gerebat, fidem adhibuit, et nobis in capitulum auertendo et ut etiam contra nos scriberet efficiendo, totis nisibus nocere non destitit. Quod etiam maioris infidelitatis et prodicionis signum fuisse certissimum reputo, post reuersionem nostram in patriam conuentus super hiis a nobis, super omnes ecclesias quas uidebamus simul per Angliam itinerando, manu extenta demum uero super altare Sancti Daud et reliquias omnes, postquam rumor increbruit, sponte iurauit, quod nusquam mihi nocuerat, nec manifeste nec occulte, nec ullo unquam tempore, quamdiu promotionis mee spes aliqua foret, uel dum etiam ego in electionis mee prosecutione perseuerarem, suam uel alius quam meam procuraret promotionem. Sed hoc facto, tunc quasi licentius et securius solito, puta cui iam fides habebatur, et qui iam absque suspitione se fecerat, ad curias ire, mittere, promittere, pariter ac premittere, ut cornutus incedere posset, non cessauit. Se tamen in hoc uelare putabat, quod alterius abbatis quasi negotia gerens, curias tam per se quam cum illo, ut ipse cum archiepiscopo iuuaret, sed re uera ut supplantaret assidue frequentabat. Ad archiepiscopum autem nobis sepe uocandum utpote mali tocius machinatorem, et auctorem, quatinus ex

fructibus suis plene cognosci possit, reuertamur. Statim enim electo abbate primo falsum fraterculum nostrum illum Foliot, eius obsequiis assignauit, ipsumque eidem sacramento in presentia sua corporaliter prestito, firmiter astringendo, et quasi nuncium inter ipsos, cursorem quoque ac scurram inter Angliam et Walliam, et rumigerulum inter Cantuariam et Meneuiam, litterarum alternatim portitorem constituit, et malicie sue tocius ac machinationis in Walliarum partibus exsecutorem, uerum mutato consilio postquam et alium abbatem eligi fecit, eundem etiam Foliot, et ipsi sacramentaliter adiungere non erubuit, ut ita Foliot tanquam ambidexter, uel potius ambisinister, et tanquam oliuero plusquam currente, uni palam assisteret et alteri clam, contradictoria gerens officia, fide utrimque bene seruata, ea tamen ab utroque abbate et archipresule satis exiliter ut decuit remunerata, quia nulla unquam proditio fructuosa nunquam fraus finaliter bona. Quis igitur hic periurii duplicis auctor extitit? Absit ut archiepiscopus, iuramenta tamen sponte utraque suscepit ad contraria. Tercii quoque periurii idem auctor fuit qui et priorum, mittens Foliot tociens cum litteris regis archiepiscopi et iusticiarii, ad opprimendam ecclesie sue Meneuensis cuius canonicus fuerat et cui fidelitatem iurauerat, libertatem, et quod peius erat Romam etiam mittens eundem stipendiis suis, quoniam Anglicus esuriens etc, et quia peiorem de ecclesia nostra non potuit, nec meliorem quoque, quia nec alium inueniret, ut contra libertatem Sancti Dauid et eiusdem dignitatem, simul cum Andrea staret, et saltim aliquid pro Cantuariensi ecclesia contra Meneuensem balbutiendo pronuntiaret. Sed si Andreas qui in nullo ecclesie nostre obligatus extiterat, falsitatis tamen quam contra ipsam tociens tam uehementer et irreuerentur proponebat, ibidem diuina ultione penas luit, de membro eius pessimo et putrido et precisioni obnoxio, in breui quid fiet? Foliot igitur, autore pretore, terque quaterque et preterea quociens uolueris, ut Anglicus esuriens, et quandocumque periurus. Ad hoc etiam archiepiscopus abbatem primum contra consanguinitatem simul et canonem, dum consobrino suo et primum electo, nec dum cassato superintrudi consensit, delinquere fecit. Abbatem quoque secundum tam contra personam meam, cui tociens perierauerat, quam contra ecclesiam Meneuensem, de qua natus et cuius membrum fuerat, libertatem

eiusdem et dignitatem per ipsum impediendo perierare choegit, consors etiam et particeps excessus eiusdem et delicti fuerat, dum ei in abbatis primi fidem habentis utrique subdola latenter supplantatione consensit. Non itaque malum in ciuitate uel extra fuit, quod non fecerit archiepiscopus. Premissis etiam addi poterit, quod archiepiscopus dum abbati utrique certam sue promotionis in eadem ecclesia spem dedit, ad minus alterum decepit uel forsitan utrumque. Cum igitur uerba sacerdotis uera debeant esse uel sacrilega, contra conscientiam uerbo et actu scienter agens, nonne palam edificauit ad Gehennam? O quanta presulis magni in omnibus istis et quam laudabilis excogitatio per quam ut proximum suum lederet, et conscientiam suam erga Deum et famam erga populum irreparabiliter uulnerauit. Scriptum est enim, Sapientia huius seculi stultitia est apud Deum, et alibi, Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum. Quid ergo? Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos. Diuina dispositio falli non potest, et si ad tempus quandoque differtur, nunquam tamen in perpetuum aufertur.

CAP VIII.

De intestina persecutorum inter se discordia.

Preterea de tribus persecutoribus nostris quartum quoque intestina discordia corrodentibus et clandestina inter se machinatione persequentibus, pretore tamen in omnibus autore, et apparitore quidem Foliot executore ad maiorem eorundem ignominiam, et multorum noticiam, alique sed pauca et ea pungitiua finali clausula propinemus, quatinus euident fiatet manifestum illud philosophi uerbum, ueritate subnixum. Quoniam omnis malicia maximam in primis sui ueneni partem bibit, et illud poete, Iustus inuidia nichil est, que protinus ipsum autorem rodit, etc. Iustum est igitur ut persecutores persecutionem patiantur. Nec enim lex equior ulla est, quam sic artifices arte perire sua. Quoniam igitur clamantibus et cantantibus undique populis, solus abbas ille Sancti Dogmaelis literatura et discretione conspicuus, ideoque ad dignitatem a uiro sancto uocatus, imminuentem sue deiectionis ruinam ignorabat, quid ei super hoc enigmatice pariter et irrisorie scriptum fuerit, audiatis et attendatis, quia grauiora sunt

uulnera stilo inflictâ, quam telo. Hec enim cicatricem obducunt, illa uero cum eternitate contendunt.

CAP IX.

G. archidiaconus abbati Waltero.

Tres hostes magnos in tribus gradibus habes, superlatiuo, comparatiuo et positiuo. Si queris quos, cornutum palliatum, cucullatum ouinum et catulum uulpinum. Cornutum, cornu ferit ille, caueo, et palliatum quia palliat ille dolum. Cucullatum caue, quoniam suspirat hanelat, cupit et ambit, utinamque longum ab ore, totis ad hoc nisibus per fas omne nefasque contendendo, ut te iacobiret, emittit, et ouinum quia iuxta euangelicum illud, attendite ab hiis qui ueniunt ad uos in uestimentis ouium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces. Catulumque caue, qui fraudulenta utriusque negotia gerens, crebris hinc inde meatibus ut te decipiat, immo deiciat, uulpina dolositate discurrit. Noris pro certo quod habent te pro cokeberto.

De papa et ad papam archidiaconus Giraldus anno primo.

Par iubar in terris stelle mirantur, et ima
Sol nouus irradiat, sole stupente poli.
Urbis et orbis apex, animarum rector habenas
Huius et huius habens, rex in utroque potens.
Imperiale decus et cleri culmen adeptus,
Mitior ad Christum cuncta referre cupit.
Sicut Alexander sic tempora nostra beuit
Tertius innocius, laudis honore pares.
Omnia cum possit qui preminet omnibus Inno—
Centius, innocuus est tamen atque pius.
Ergo Petri nauem rector non sorte sed arte,
Et uigil et ualidus protegit atque regit.
Concutitur sed non quatitur rectore sub isto,
Nauigat in portu, nauita Christus adest.

CAP X.

Responsiones aduentus tercii.

Turbatus est a furore persecutionis animus meus et a uehementia tribulationis atenuata memoria et debilitata. Ideoque petimus a uestra sanctitate quatinus ad obiecta

litterarum relationi iudicum inserta litteris respondere ualeamus, ut si aliqua forte emergerint asperiora, uestra sustineat et indulgeat excellentia, sciens quippe quam dolor importune uerba ministrat, et quam absit reuerentia ueris, et quam in sola miseria preclara et excellens est misericordia. Obiectu criminum que confingunt, nos uel penitus repellere tanquam indignos uel saltem diffamare nituntur, periurii falsi et ambitionis. Sed quoniam qui iubet ille facit, summam hec inficientes in omnium horum auctorem, aduersarium nostrum archiepiscopum, ob dicta uel scripta que forsitan a nobis in ipsum quandoque emanarunt, tanquam uice talionis in nos etsi per alios ista retorquentem, hec omnia iure refundimus. Quia merito culpa reuersura est et utinam pena in capud ipsa suum. Et cum discipulis per infamiam transeuntes et bonam famam, tanquam seductores et ueraces temporum uicissitudine, nunc laudes et preconia, nunc probra et opprobria, nec illis elati nec hiis contristati, equanimiter sustineamus. Nullus enim de ecclesia nostra uel etiam patria tota se nobis opponeret uel quicquid obiceret, quinimmo summa fuisset unitas, summa unanimitas et tranquillitas in ecclesia nostra, nisi ipso turbante, et utraque potestate perurgente et peruertente. Parum enim erga nos sua potestate proficeret, nisi clericos et canonicos nostros adiuncta sibi potestate seculari choereret. Semper enim utroque gladio et utraque manu dimicat, uere ambidexter, uel potius ambisinister existens. Unde si statuum aliquo tempore habiturus fuerit uel picturam, gladium manu portabit utraque. Titulus autem hic erit et suprascriptio, utrumque gladium in manu mea.

Periurium autem qualiter nobis ausus est opponere, qui tot periuria et tam manifesta perpetravit? Omnium enim periuriorum que apud Gloucestriam anno preterito per metum regium a clericis ecclesie nostre contra nos extorsit, proculdubio reus est ipse. Reus etiam illorum omnium que apud Sanctum Albanum nunc ultimo coram iudicibus nostris contra nos eodem procurante facta sunt, quando clericos ecclesie nostre fere cunctos seculari potestate uenire choegit, ueteranos quoque ualeudinarios et inualidos quosdam ut magnum haberet de nostris contra nos numerum, tam senum scilicet quam iuuenum etiam uehicularum differri fecit. Tales quidem quibus si licuisset dormire domi prius forte Cerberum quam Sanctum Albanum, primo

Plutonicum quam Saxonicum uel Anglicanum regnum uisuri fuissent. Multum misertus eorum quos iam in ianuis mortis nouerat constitutos, nec tamen nisi periuros cum aliis discedere uoluit uel descendere. Reus quoque omnium periuriorum que nunc in hac curia Romana perpetrata sunt tam a clericis ecclesie nostre contra nos ab ipso per pecuniam allectis atque potentiam, quam etiam ribaldorum multitudine conductorum. Talis enim nature est tam mansuete, tamque modeste, qui in mundo non curat quot scelera, quanta facinora, quam turpia et quam inhonesta committat, uel committi faciat, dum tamen sub aliquo uelamine latere et sic uincere ualeat uel euadere. Hec enim eius oppinio et hec sententia, Omnia faciamus ut nulla tamen facere uideamur, et hec quoque, Dolus an uirtus quis in hoste requirat? Et hec, Etsi non recte possit, quocumque modo rem. Hac igitur arte et hoc ingenio publicam semper alta manu potestatem tenet, quatinus quod per se non preualet, per illam efficiat et innocentes opprimat, quos potius defensare deberet. Dissimulando tamen in omnibus et diffitendo tanquam Iugurta secundus, simulator omnium rerum et dissimulator. Sed si iudicem terrenum sic fallere potest, nonne timendus esset ille qui falli non potest nec irrideri? De quo scriptum est, Speculator astat desuper qui nos diebus omnibus actusque nostros prospicit, a luce prima in uesperum. Unde et in calce libri de consolatione, Magna siquidem uobis est si dissimulare non uultis necessitas indicta probitatis cum ante oculos uersemini iudicis cuncta cernentis. Preterea falsum nobis opponit, dicens nos falsis capituli nostri literis usos fuisse, tanquam ueras tanto iam tempore ad tantas ecclesie nostre utilitates, ob terrores ipsius, quibus ecclesiam nostram opprimit, obtinere non possemus. Sed uideamus quam ueri simile sit istud, quod custos ecclesie Meneuensis per summum pontificem, et electus eiusdem ecclesie uerus ac legitimus sicut clamant et ruminant, qui ausi sunt in partibus illis os aperire, quod ille qui inter maiores ecclesie non modicus existimatur, et qui innata quoque generositate aliquid in patria posse putatur, quod inquam ille tot fultus suffragiis, litteras ueras per anni iam spatium ad ipsius quoque profectum ecclesie tantum perquirere non potuisset, nisi adulterini sigilli fabricator existeret.

De falsitate uero illius qui falsum nobis opponit nunc uideamus. Literas quasi sub nomine regis Anglie cuius

sigillo preest, pluries ad partes uarias falso transmisit. Ideoque falso, quia preter conscientiam principis et ad hostes eiusdem contra coronam eius et regni securitatem. Unde et deprehensus in hac falsitate, sigillo fuerat regio anno preterito cum confusione pariter et grandi pecunie profusione destitutus.

In simili quoque iam nunc experientia uersari dinoscitur propter similes literas nuper ab eodem missas, quibus accusatus grauiter et propter alia quedam turpia, uictualia uidelicet uenalia contra interdictum regni Anglicani ab ipso in Franciam transmissa, propter que ante discessum nostrum iam bis uel ter in Normanniam a principe responsurus ad hec et satisfactorius, literis et nuntiis est uocatus. Falsitas igitur hec et huiusmodi, falsitas reuera est et falsitas magna. Audietis tamen adhuc de maiore. In negotiando in quo assiduus est et studiosus, duplici mensura sicut fama ferebat uti consuevit, et utraque falsa, una contracta et minuta qua uendit, altera uero larga et ampla longe communem patrie modum excedente, qua emit. Per totas enim terras Cantuariensis ecclesie que multe sunt et copiose, publico statuit edicto, quod nemo bladum alii uendat quam sibi, nec emat ab alio quam ab ipso, quamdiu ille bladum uenale habuerit. Uendit ergo uiduis et orphanis minuta mensura cum lacrimis, emit ab eisdem, mutato tempore larga mensura cum lamentis. Scriptum est tamen, quod magnus prelatus non ignorare deberet, Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis, remetietur uobis. Et illud in parabolis, Pondus et pondus, statera et statera, utrumque abhominabile est apud Deum.

Mirum autem qualiter ambitionem nobis ausus est opponere cuius tota uita ambitio est. Uideamus igitur utrum eius ambitio maior an nostra, qui ad hunc laborem a studio uocati ius nostrum et ecclesie nostre in hac curia sancta iuris ordine prosequimur, an illius qui in scaccario residens, et fiscalibus comodis iugiter inhians, ab hinc et ob hoc ad omnes dignitatum suarum gradus assumptus est. Scaccarium enim est tabula quasi quadrata Lundoniis, ubi fiscales census congeruntur et computantur. Ab hoc studio, ab hoc gymnasio omnes fere Anglicani episcopi ad honores assumuntur. Qui enim hic bene computat, bene disputat. Qui bene ratiocinatur, bene philosophatur. Qui bonus est hic uectigalium accumulator, dignus est statim ut prelatus Anglicana in ecclesia magnus habeatur. A

puerilibus etiam annis quando in Donato uel Catone initialia literature fundamenta strauisse debuisset, publicis regni officialibus adiunctus, pauperum oppressionibus et tyrannicis exactionibus inuigilare non cessabat. Unde quoniam quod noua testa capit, inueterata sapit, et ubi intenderis ingenium ualet usque in hodiernum, sicut piscis sine aqua uiuere non potest, sic iste sine curia et seculari cura, hoc est nisi uel regni iusticiarius, uel cancellarius, uel thesaurarius, uel similis consiliarius existeret, se nullatenus cum honore uiuere posse putaret. Uere quod minus habet in sillabiciis, recuperare uolens in temporibus. Hoc est quod minus habet in sillabiciis et literalibus doctrinis, in temporalibus et secularibus astuciis plene restaurans, illud apostoli uel ignorans uel dissimulans, Nemo militans Deo implicat se secularibus negotiis. O quam bene successit Anglie toti, ex quo bono et idoneo pastore destitui debuit, quod tante uersutie hominis illius atque malitie non erat adiuncta, ut tres in unum concurrerent incommoditates, literatura. Defectus enim hic maximus super habundantias illas enormes, utcumque mitigare creditur et temperare. In quos autem usus hanc disciplinam expendat, nunc uideamus. Naues mercimoniales uenali tritico refertas omni anno sterili ad regiones longinquas, ubi maiores audit uictualium defectus, studiose transmittit, uenditor quidem sed non ut Ioseph ad populi salutem, sed longe ultra dimidium iusti precii, quinimmo ultra duplum, aut etiam decuplum quantum cupiditas extendi potest et inclementia. uendens et proprie intendens utilitati non communi. Ad hec etiam sentiens et sciens quoniam de eius id consilio processerat, werra inter reges inualescente, preceptum in Anglia de armis perquirendis fieri, et scrutinium sequi debere, arma undecumque uenalia comparari fecit, multitudinem in breui congerens infinitam. Facto uero de armis habendis publico per regnum edicto, arma sua uenalia statim ad uendendum exposuit, et ambitioni satisfaciens, lucrum adduxit immensum, honesto commercio et mutatione laudabili, qui prelatum esse deberet in regno magnus et pastor, uilissimus institor effectus et negociator. Ad cumulum autem ambitionis sue que nec modum habet nec finem in hac deuotione, in hac religione se macerat, et in hac theologia, in hac philosophia se totum extenuat. Qualiter negociando, et naues mercimoniales ad longinquas regiones, ut dictum est, lucri causa transmit-

tendo, qualiter etiam turpiter emendo uel turpiter uendendo, et quod omnium peius est aurum et argentum suum ad fenus cum scandalo terre tocius maximo per Iudeorum manus, ut ferunt, passim exponendo, pecuniam congerat infinitam, per quam scilicet totiens et tam grauius accusatus, et dampnatione dignissimus, curias placare possit uel seculares et indemnis euadere. Quicquid enim in curiis aliis facile corrumpendis per hoc profecerit, certum habemus, et ipse quoque multotiens compertum, quod nunquam hanc curiam sanctam, quo magis alicui sua desit iusticia quamquam id sepe tamen et assidue sed semper inaniter attemtet, flectere poterit, per quam etiam pugiles tales et stipendiarios milites, quales et nunc misit, militant enim causarum patroni, etc., passim conducat, et ad curias pro se mittat, quatinus operis et operibus impune pauperes et innocentes opprimat, et enormia delicta sua quocunque colore defendat. Acuerunt enim linguas suas sicut serpentes, uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum. Utinam autem partem decimam, quinimmo saltem centesimam de ueritate gestorum suorum perspicuam haberet hec curia. Sufficeret etiam si millesimam tam ad eius deiectionem quam ad Anglie totius emendationem. Incomparabilis quippe est malitia ipsius, et non est iniquitas in terra, nec hactenus erat in clero sicut iniquitas eius, nec etiam iniquitas Palumbe presbyteri, de quo suis temporibus dictum fuerat, O Deus omnipotens, quamdiu durabit iniquitas Palumbe presbyteri? Sensit hoc conuentus Sancte Trinitatis ecclesie Cantuariensis, et nisi per uestram ei gratiam subuentum fuisset, usque ad exterminium iam sensisset. Sensit et ecclesia Sancte Marie Londoniensis, per incendium. Sensit et Barbatus ille innocuus, per suspendium. Sensit et Wallia paullo post, per trium millium stragem cruentissimam. Sensit quoque Bangorensis electus, cui post electionem suam canonicam et appellationem interpositam, Anglicum quendam superintrusit, et ut hoc cum effectu fieri posset, nunc etiam ordinis sui consortium per abbates Anglicos et capitulum Cisterciense auferri procurauit. Sensit et nunc ultimo abbas Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, specialis ecclesie Romane filius, et tot priuilegiis antiquis et autenticis premunitus, qui eodem procurante ab altari in quo celebrabat, in ipso canone ipsaque conuersionis hora, una cum corpore Christi quod manibus conficiendo tenebat, ad terram prostratus et pedibus im-

piorum auditu horribile conculcatus, uerberatus, uulneratus, et cum monachis sibi assistentibus simili rabie dilaceratis, ab ecclesia sua propria de Fawantam atrociter abstractus et asportatus. A marturio Beati Thome tam horrendum tam atrox non est facinus in Anglia perpetratum. Istud etiam tanto atrocius, tantoque horribilius illo, quanto maior et grauior iniuria in ipso capite Christo, Christi quoque corpore, quam in membris eiusdem perpetrata. Sensimus et nos et adhuc sentimus, contra prohibitionem domini pape et protectionem cum canonicis et clericis nostris rebus et redditibus spoliati, tanquam hostes publici per regni compita declamati, nec in insula securi, nec extra fugere aut transfretare permisi, de loco ad locum graui instante, et acrius urgente persecutione deiecti et afflicti, deinde uero capti in Flandria et ab ipsa ecclesia ad quam fugerauimus extracti et ad redemptionem choartati.

‘Quis talia fando

Mirmidonum Dolopumue aut diri miles Ulixi
Temperet a lacrimis?’

‘Non mihi si lingue centum sint, oraue centum,
Ferrea uox, uobis cuncta referre queam.’ -

Pater sancte, nisi humiliatus a uobis anno preterito ex parte fuisset, intollerabiles proculdubio forent ineptie ipsius. Sed quam longe facilius sperato est ueniam consecutus. Ideoque uestra benignitate iam insolenter abusus, ecce resumpsit cornua. Retundenda sunt ergo uel penitus euellenda, ne denuo in dampna multorum nimis excrescant. Sicut autem ex confessione propria et iudicium relatione patet, ob hoc mihi crimina aduersarii nostri obiciunt, ut me repellant ab electione. Sciunt enim et certi sunt, quod si causa electionis extincta fuerit, causa quoque status quam tantum abhorrent per consequens extinguetur. Ideoque ad illam suffocandum et intoxicandum totum nunc suum absque retentione uirus euomunt. Sed ut dialectice parumper procedamus, si me repellere querunt ab electione, ergo ab electione facta uel facienda. Sed non contendimus de facienda, ergo de electione facta, ergo de me uel de alio facta. Sed non me repellere nituntur ab electione facta de alio, ergo ab electione de me facta. Contrarii itaque sunt attestationibus et scriptis, tam anno preterito a clericis nostris apud Gloucestriam, quam etiam hoc anno nuperrime, nunc apud Sanctum Albanum per uim et metum extortis, quibus

asserunt, literisque patentibus astruunt me nunquam ab illis electum fuisse. Patet igitur ex hiis adminus et palam est quoniam mendaces oportet memores esse. Ex literis autem capituli nostri nobiscum transmissis tam anni primi quam secundi et tercii, necnon et testium depositionibus suo tempore diligenter inspectis inter multa subornata et extorta ueritas emerget interdum et elucescet. Hec igitur ad crimina relationi inserta respondisse sufficiat. Ad ea uero que ad sugillationem fame et opinionis nostre per suggestionem eiusdem aduersarii nostri attestationibus inseruntur, subsequenter respondebimus. Mirum autem qualiter de simonia ausus est loqui, cuius tota promotio, totaque uita, ipsam redolet simoniam. Non enim simoniacus ipse solum uel Gehezita, sed Simon in ipso Magus simul et Gehezi, reuiuiscere creduntur resuscitati. Mirum etiam qualiter de continentia cuiusquam uel incontinentia mentionem ausus est facere seu mentiri, cuius petulantia tam post promotionem quam ante tanquam equi emissarii, nec moniales Christi sponsas, nec matronas ante pudicas pretereundas, eque duxit incorruptas. Teste abbatisa quadam non procul a Lundoniis, quam non nomino nunc sed noto, quia nota est nimis nota ipsius, quam nunc nuperrime cum scandalo patrie grandi et graui, iterato reddidit impregnatam. Teste quoque puella uelata, generosa quidem et ingenua que cum abbatisa sorore pontificis curiam eiusdem accedens, familiaris quidem atque frequentius quam deceret, iam tercio grauida reuersa est et fecunda, nisi forte in hiis et in aliis de ipso confictis fama mendax existat. Breuiter hec et succincte que clamat aut ruminat Anglia tota pretereunda putari, hoc tamen adiciens quod quamquam difficilius diruantur constructa, quam impediuntur adhuc construenda, longe plura et grauiora sunt crimina quibus irretitus ille dignam incurrere deberet deiectionem, quam sunt ea que nostram iuste impedire possint promotionem. Discat igitur ex hiis et discernat quam sit ineptum, quam dispendiosum, et talioni obnoxium, literatos uiros literis aut actis offendere. Discat et sciat quam grauiora sunt uulnera stilo inflictata quam telo. Illa nimirum cicatricem obducunt, ista uero cum eternitate contendunt.

CAP XI.

Pro Bangoriensi Electo.

Placeat sanctitati uestre, pater et domine, canonicos hos

Bangorenses audire, et nos pro ipsis simul et nobis quia cause nostre ut nostis sese contingunt pauca proponentes, admittere uelitis. Ueruntamen uenia primum a uestra pietate petita, quoniam id nobis in hoc conflictu faciendum esse uidemus quod olim oratores facere solent, quibus in admirabili genere cause acuenda precipue sunt arma facundie, ut exilitatem materie grauior stilus attollat, et ferat inualide robor facundia cause. Quibus et ad hoc propensius enitendum, ut in quo iuxta apparentiam exteriorem nix poterant esse fecundi, fieri ualeant uel facundi, ut in quo minus emicuit ratio, plurimum posse uideatur oratio. Hec est enim uirtus, hic uigor eloquentie, ut nichil tam exile quod non extollat, nichil tam plenum cui non adiciat, nichil tam obscurum quod non illuminet, nichil tam clarum quod non illustret. Quoniam ut ait magnus ille pretextatus in paradoxis, nichil tam incredibile quod non dicendo probabile fiat, nichil tam horridum et tam incultum quod non splendescat oratione, et tanquam excolatur. Cause uero nostre ut diximus plurima sese ex parte contingunt, et eundem habemus aduersarium archiepiscopum illum, qui abbatem unum mihi superintrusit, immo et abbates duos, primum mihi sanguine propinquum, ut scisma faceret in genere meo, alterum uero qui canonicus fuerat ecclesie nostre, plures in ea filios et consanguineos canonicos habens, ut scisma faceret in capitulo, et sic undique mihi pretenderet impedimenta. Quorum utrique firmam spem dedit, et sub cautione certissima de eadem re promissiones fecit, cum tamen eandem cathedram ambo simul et semel obtinere non possint, nisi forte per medium diuidere uelint, et sic alterum decipiendo uel forsan utrumque, dum et scienter proximum fallit et patenter contra conscientiam agit, plectibiliter ad Gehennam edificare nec uerecundatur nec ueretur. Eadem autem arte et ingenio, huic uiro bono primum electo, et canonicè quidem ac legitime uocato, Anglicum quendam citra electionem omnem aut etiam nominationem superintrudi, et ulterius quoque procedens, ad iniuriarum cumulum consecrari procurauit, uagum eundem ac profugum, et nullius ciuitatis episcopum, ad utriusque dedecus et confusionem construendo. Talia sunt enim opera hominis illius, tam circumspecta et tam discreta, quorum utinam partem decimam, uel saltem centesimam, perspicuam haberet hec curia sacra, sufficeret etiam si millesimam, tam ad belue

illius deiectionem quam ad Anglie totius emendationem. Nec uos moueat pater sancte quod abbates ordinis illius contra istum scripsisse, eique tanquam ordinis consortium abstulisse dicuntur. Totum enim hoc per artes et astutias aduersarii illius absque dubio factum fuisse noueritis, ut hac uia saltem cum alia non posset, causam istius suffocaret, et sic intrusorem suum exepiscopum illum ei cum effectu subrogaret. Cum tamen hec causa iam per triennium et amplius in hac curia uel per hanc curiam uentilata sit et acititata, et hoc quoque per litteras atque licentiam abbatum suorum maiorum nullo penitus articulo cunctis ex contingentibus omissio. Dicunt autem isti et nos cum ipsis et pro ipsis quod nunquam intuitu ordinis illius aut habitus, istum elegerunt, licet tamen inter ordines omnes merito excellens hic ordo fuisset, si firmo solum gradu in ea qua cepit puritate stetit. Non inquam propter ordinem hunc aut habitum eum elegerunt, sed propter morum compositionem in ipso laudabilem, quam antea habuerat et adhuc habet cum augmento, et egregias tam industrie dotes plurimas quam nature. Propter hunc igitur habitum interiorem quem ei auferre non preualent, hoc est uirtutes insertas et in habitum uersas, cum literature quoque copia sufficienti, non propter habitum illum exteriorem, accidentalem quidem et de facile mutabilem, ipsum elegerunt. Unde uel in hoc ordine suo et habitu si fieri potest uobis placuerit, quia tunc potest, uel in alio quolibet idoneo et honesto. Modicam enim in hoc uim constituunt, cum non solum in habitu illo uel ordine saluetur homo, eis electum suum interiore illo habitu manente concedatis, et post tantos labores tantamque terre sue totius expectationem, cum honore si placet remittatis. Nec enim indulgere solet malitiis hominum prudentia uestra, sed potius exquisitas huiusmodi uersutias humanas et astutias, uiuaci innate rationis et discretionis acumine, fraude detecta explodere penitus et exsufflare. Hiis itaque summam sic prelibatis, dicant nunc isti uel legant factum suum.

CAP. XII.

Responsio ad falsos fratres.

Quoniam in tres turmas aciem contrariam pars aduersa diuisit, in falsos fratres, in falsos monachos, et ribaldos

conductos, primo primis, dein ceteris, Deo dante, per ordinem respondebimus. Cum enim paulo pauciora quam Paulus pericula fuerimus in hoc agone perpessi, uexati plurimum et afflicti periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis in mari, periculis in itineribus, periculis in falsis fratribus, hec ultima quidem ceteris cunctis longe grauiora reperimus. Inter omnes autem fraterculos illos primus tanquam signifer et archipirata gladio exerto et ore aperto frater occurrit Osbertus, totus effluens in sermones, et longe gnauius ficio figmenta componens. Qui ut utramque causam tam status scilicet quam electionis inficeret et intoxicaret, magnam ueneni sui partem effudit, et duos cardinales auditores nostros fere per tres dies continuos loquendo detinuit, plus solus eructans quam omnes nostri. Nostri nimirum simpliciter et breuiter suam ueritatem explicauerunt, scientes quod qui ambulat simpliciter ambulat confidenter. Gurgulio uermis est totus in gutture subsistens, qui facili tactu crepat et rumpitur et fetorem emittit. Facile est istud huic nostro gurgulioni adaptari. Item argumentum rethoricum sumamus a nomine. Dicitur enim Osbertus quasi ospertus, hoc est, os apertum. Nec mirum ergo si ore aperto multum euomit. Item reprobabilis est Osbertus, quoniam multipliciter ecclesie sue periurus et nostra auctoritate apostolica excommunicatus. Qualiter enim ut aqua diffusus et in omnem libidinem pronus ac perfluus, hic pretereo. Reginaldus autem Foliot noster similiter excommunicatus et periurus, crimine pessimo notatus, crimine nefario atque nefando diffamatus, qui turpe reputans a pueritia si quam turpitudinem relinqueret unquam aut preteriret intemptatam. Unde fatigatus et fastiditus sue fide uiris, ut omnia temptaret, infidelium quoque uires in opere uenereo experiri uolens, cum Iudeo quodam, per uxoris industriam que per crebros aduentus huius meridianos, nocturnos uiri defectus senserat et antelucanos, nimiam habuisse familiaritatem et nimis enormem est deprehensus. Dum enim paruulus erat, sapiebat ut paruulus, agebat ut paruulus, patiebatur ut paruulus, sed postmodum uir effectus, uolens corrigere uitam suam, ad opera uirilia se conuertit, adeo ut sicut mulier ante fuerat omnium uirorum, sic factus est uir et maritus omnium mulierum. Sed ecce qualis procurator missus a capitulo uel etiam qualis nominatus ab eodem inter eligendos. Pereat autem et perpetua confusione

plectatur, qui primus nominationis masse toti per hoc corrupte, tale et tam uile fermentum adiecit. Nec enim tenuisse superbum sit licet hoc ingens, quicquid sperauerat ille. Ueniam tamen utcumque mereri potuit, qui eum quinto loco quasi plaustro rotam quintam apposuit.

CAP. XIII.

Fame sue et opinionis defensio.

Placeat benignitati uestre pater et domine nos ad fame et opinionis nostre defensionem, quam aduersarii tantopere suggillare nituntur, alique proponere posse, quoniam acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes, uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum. Obiciunt enim nobis crimina multa, forsitan exquisita magis et excogitata, quam uera, quibus uel nos penitus repellere, quod absit, tanquam indignos, uel saltem personam nostram quasi uice talionis auctore iubente, per quem hec omnia fiunt, et qui per alios facere nouit, quod per se nequit aut nescit, dehonestare ualeant et diffamare. Nos autem simul cum discipulis per infamiam transeuntes, et bonam famam, tanquam seductores et ueraces, primum ad ea que nobis super ambitione obiciuntur et simonia, deinde ad cetera respondebimus, causas dictorum et radices euoluendo, et scrupulos omnes a mentibus uestris per Dei gratiam abstergendo. Notum est satis in partibus nostris et tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, quod fere per annum integrum post obitum episcopi nostri Petri in scolis immobiliter steti, nec inde moueri potui, licet literis crebris et nunciis tam capituli nostri quam baronum patrie et cleri sollicitatus fuerim et uocatus, donec literas regis istius qui nunc preest me reuocantes suscepi. Unde si tantum anhelassem ad cathedram illam quantum partes aduerse confingunt, plus proculdubio properassem, uel regem adeundo, uel archiepiscopum, uel iusticiarium, sicut facere solent ambitiosi, uel etiam ecclesiam nostram partes mihi alliciendo, et canonicos conciliando. Nullum autem istorum feci, signum itaque non magne ambitionis fuit. Item notum est et illud, nec id etiam partes aduerse ausi sunt inficiari, quod redditus nostri, priusquam ad hunc laborem uocatus fuisset, longe ampliores fuerunt quam redditus episcopatus, et in optimo statu fueram, studio scilicet theologico, in quo per triennium et amplius ante studueram, studio uidelicet quod multum ambitiones

huiusmodi deuouet ut nostis et detestatur. Cum itaque satis haberem dapis et minus rixe, multoque minus cure quam nunc habeam, uel quam haberem si episcopus essem, non est ueri simile, quod uellem redditus peramplos relinquere cum tranquillitate possessos, et statum optimum, studiumque tam utile, et tam delectabile propter pauperem cathedram depilatam undique et dilapidatam. Presertim etiam per ambitionem ut dicunt aduersarii uel parentum oppressionem cum mala conscientia et cauteriata perquisitam. Nec est uerisimile quod me uoluerim super alterius electionem ingerere, presertim etiam abbatis mihi sanguinis propinqui, quem scirem antea electum fuisse, nec enim potuisset antea electus fuisse, scilicet tanto tempore me ignorante, uel quod etiam tantum laborem et tam periculosum corpori simul et anime uoluisssem assumere, et curiam istam bis uel ter adire per tot et tanta discrimina, ut cathedram pauperem obtinerem citra fundamentum electionis canonice et conscientie bone. Nouit Deus, qui cognitor est omnium, quod non est dignitas in terris quam uellem cum tali conscientia obtinuisse. Quid enim ualet homini si uniuersum mundum lucretur? etc. Item pellem pro pelle et omnia que habet homo dabit, etc. Quod autem non adeo ambitiosus extiterim, nec propriam excellentiam affectauerim, priusquam a curia, Deo dante, discedamus, forsitan ex post facto patebit. Nec enim uideo nec uidere ualeo qua ratione ambitiosus dici debeam, nisi omnes forte ambitiosi dicendi fuerint, qui ius suum et ecclesie sue in hac curia iuris ordine prosequuntur. Deum autem testem inuoco, qui grauis in me, si contra mentem loquor, ultor existat, quod non est in mundo tam extraneus quem pro certo scirem plus uelle et efficacius posse ad honorem pariter et utilitatem ecclesie nostre laborare, cuius promotionem in eadem ecclesia longe magis quam propriam, non appeterem. Ergo si ita est, immo reuera quia sic est, causa tanti laboris nostri magis ecclesie nostre profectus erat quam persone. Hoc autem solus ille perfecte nouit qui scrutator est cordium, et cognitor atque discretor occultorum. Preterea mirum est qua fronte ausi fuerint canonici dicere uel scribere, quod institerim per me uel meos ut eligerer, nisi quoniam in tantum uexati sunt et afflicti, quod omnia ad nutum archiepiscopi dicere, scribere, atque iurare, parati sunt, cum totiens literis crebris et nunciis, tam principum et baronum patrie, quam suis

erga me insisterent, dum in scolis fueram, ut redirem et ecclesie nostre curam assumerem. Tum uero precipue cum tandem ad ecclesiam nostram reuersus fueram, quam fere per quinquennium ante non uideram, cum tanto me gaudio susceperunt, et in capitulo quoque pluries ad terram prostrati cum lacrimis, modis omnibus institerunt ut laborem istum assumerem, dicentes communiter et asserentes, quod nunquam ecclesia nostra ab indebita subiectione et seruitute resurgeret, aut respiraret, donec aliquis probus et prouidus de eadem ecclesia laborem hunc assumeret, et curiam istam adiret. Non ergo necesse fuerat illum instare erga quem sic omnes instabant, et non solum canonici, sed etiam abbates et priores, et clerus exterior simul cum baronibus. Unde cum ad regem nuntios misissent propter assensum eius habendum, dum in scolis fueram, de me eligendo tria literarum paria missa fuerant, capituli scilicet, abbatum et priorum, et baronum patrie, cum multis sigillis in idem consonantium, ubi et abbatum duorum, qui se per artes et astucias archiaduersarii nostri, ut scisma per unum faceret in genere nostro, per alterum autem in capitulo, nunc se nobis simul opponunt, cum aliis quoque pro me supplicantibus sigilla dependent. Adhoc etiam quod non institerim ut eligerer, nec necesse fuerit instare patet, cum rex ipse assensum suum literis exprimendo pro me instaret. Nulla enim tam uilis persona est in Wallia tota uel Anglia, pro qua rex scriberet sicut et pro me scripsit, quam ausi essent omnes, unica tantum persona capituli excepta, recusare. Nec uos moueat pater sancte quod de electione propria ore proprio loquor. Nouit enim Deus quod non per ambitionem hoc facio, sed propter ueritatis declarationem, que per falsitates plerumque solet et per figmenta subuerti. Igitur omnia iuxta consuetudinem Anglicane ecclesie, quicquid oblatrent aduersarii, circa electionem istam rite et recte processerunt. Regius enim assensus requisitus est et habitus, licet enim hoc preter rem, non tamen preter regni consuetudinem. Electio facta communi omnium assensu, uel presentialiter assistentium, uel per litteras de rato, uel per procuratores, nullo penitus resistente aut reclamante, cum unanimi quoque populi ac cleri totius applausu. Unicus autem defectus fuerat in hoc facto iuxta regni Anglicani consuetudinem, quod electio non in regis camera celebrata fuerat, sed in ecclesia. Hunc autem defectum et excessum pater ad

nutum uestrum corrigere parati sumus. Nunc autem ad ea que nobis circa simoniam obiciuntur, respondebimus. Tres enim copulas aut tres binarios per industriam ad hanc posuerunt. Scientes quippe quod testibus eius modi quales ipsi duxerunt, conduxerunt, et perduxerunt, crimen hoc conuenit, intus accusationem omnes passim uiles et infames, et alias abiecte persone in odium criminis admittuntur. Sed utinam non tantum persone tales quia nunquam tam uiles et tot simul in hac curia propter causam aliquam sicut pro certo credimus producti fuerunt, sed testes omni exceptione maiores contra archiaduersarium nostrum non ciuilitate accusandum in hac curia, sed etiam criminaliter ad degradandum super hoc eodem crimine, et etiam maiori, absque personarum acceptione que nunquam hic Deo dante locum habebit, admitterentur. Inprimis igitur ad id quod magister Iohannes dixit, cum de scriptis nostris corrigendis conuenire debuimus, respondebimus. Plectis enim inter cetera tribus copulis illis simoniaticis, quasi re bene gesta et ordinata, tanquam applaudendo subiunxit, bene prouisum fuit quod bini et bini de simonia locuntur. Cui respondimus statim quia non mirum fuit, quoniam consilium ipsius in hac prouisione tam bona extiterat, qui etiam si precepisset non solum bini et bini, sed etiam terni et quaterni super eodem crimine locuti fuissent. Et statim ipse laruam simulando, inque cachinnum os et labia torquendo, more suo pro risu rictum fecit. Primam autem copulam faciunt Osbertus et Pica, dicentes quod instabam ut eligerer, sed satis reprobatur Osbertus sicut scripto exprimitur quod penes uos est tanquam auctoritate apostolica excommunicatus, et multipliciter ecclesie sue periurus, et qui per literas suas de rato assensum prebuit electioni quam nunc impugnat. Et quoniam apud Gloucestriam deposuit cum aliis contra me, sicut et R. Foliot et P. archidiaconus, et Samuel et Walterus, et postmodum frater eodem apud Sanctum Albanum, tercio quoque Walterus et hic. Sed nonne recte testes huiusmodi precipites habendi sunt et repentini? Et cum semel functi sint officio et iterum iterumque se ingerunt, nonne perpetuo infames habendi? Qualiter etiam O. archidiaconus diffusus ut aqua ne crescat, et in omnem libidinem pronus ac profluus, nunc pretereo. De Pica Petrillo deambulante in nos et debachante cum illo, quid dicam, que prius obloqui docta quam loqui, prius non uere quam chere conata, prius aperte

perierare quam recte pronuntiare parata. Hunc autem filium suum et alium cum nepotibus et consobrinis v uel vi, abbas de Alba Domo aduersarius noster, secundas habens ab archiepiscopo promissiones, propter quas et abbatiam bonam dando largiter et profundendo fere funditus exhaustit, contra nos huc misit. Qui utinam et filias simul cum filiis et nepotibus huc misisset, nec solum recentes illas que adhuc in cunis uagiunt, sed etiam adultam illam quam O. archidiacono ad fedus firmandum ipsumque sic in hoc facto firmiter alliciendo, elapso iam fere triennio copulauit. De qua et prolem suscepit pulchram ut dicunt puellam patri simillimam. In secunda copula loquitur persona egregia Philippus quem ipsi subdiaconum, Wallia uero falsum diaconum uocat, propter Euangelium quod publice legit in ecclesia, oblationem quoque suscipiens, et remissionem prebens episcopalem, nouum se diaconum gerendo cum non esset. Unde per totam terram nostram postmodum agnominatus est falsus, sicut et alius eorum testis, scilicet Golloenus, per totam Walliam agnominatus est follus. Item a follo quasi diminutiue sumitur Foliotus. Tales ergo personas contra nos duxerunt, et conduxerunt, falsos, follos et foliotos. In tres quoque turmas aciem suam bellicam contra nos struxerunt, in falsos fratres, falsos monachos et ribaldos conductos. Sicut autem Osbertus, sic et Foliotus noster excommunicatus, et multipliciter etiam ut ille periurus, literas quoque suas de rato misit, et apud Glouuecestriam sicut et alter contra nos ut dictum est testimonium deposuit. De quo et hoc notandum, quod anno preterito ab auditoribus nostris cardinalibus audiri non potuit, quoniam a nobis auctoritate apostolica excommunicatus, donec cautione prestita standi iuri quod nondum fecit, fuerat absolutus. Ad hoc etiam R. Foliotus crimine pessimo et nefando est infamatus. Quippe turpe reputans a pueritia, si quam turpitudinem relinqueret unquam aut preteriret intemptatam. Parcimus autem sancte pater ob reuerentiam uestram specificare, aut expressius alique dicere, licet ipsi nobis ut nostis in auditorio uestro uel in modico non pepercerint. Parcimus siquidem eis in ueris cum ipsi nobis non pepercerint uel in falsis. Item de tertia copula quam faciunt Iuo presbiter, qui se mediatorem fuisse fatetur, et sic participem, et Ricardus puer suus qui ad auditores nostros cardinales, et penitentialem reuersus, fraudem suam et mendacium per mercedes et promissiones

partis aduerse dictum, iam recognouit, et de periurio penitentiam suscepit, paucis expediemus, quia satis sibi ipsis sufficiunt ad ruinam. Et sic paulatim et pedetentim Deo dante falsitas apparebit, et ueritas in lucem erumpet. Nunc autem ad id quod de falso nobis obiciunt, respondebimus, quia satis friuola sunt ea que sequuntur, et ridiculosa, sicut et istud. Dicunt enim signiferum suum sequentes Osbertum, plures ipsorum de falsitate comperta apud Sanctum Albanum id quod Osbertus. Dixerat autem ille quod collationem fecerunt literarum nostrarum, quarum copiam habebant cum sigillo capituli nostri, propter hoc ut aiebat illuc allato, et non poterat cera conuenire sigillo, tanquam non propter aliud fuisset sigillum allatum, quod reuera per choactionem et publice potestatis uolentiam, ut fabricaret archiepiscopus et sigillaret ibi literas contra nos quales et quot uellet, sicut olim apud Gloucestriam fecerat. Sed que collatio fuerat illa que nec coram iudicibus facta fuerat nec coram partibus? Uestrum autem erit domine collationem et experimentum facere si placet, et falsitatem istam utra ex parte fuerit, inuestigare. Sed uideatur quam ueri simile sit illud, quod custos ecclesie Meneuensis auctoritate apostolica, quod electus eiusdem uerus et legitimus ut dicunt illi qui ausi sunt in partibus nostris os aperire, quod ille qui inter maiores ecclesie non minimus existimatur, et qui ratione generositatis aliquid in patria posse putatur, quod inquam tot fultus suffragiis non posset duo paria literarum impetrare a capitulo per integram anni spatium, presertim etiam ad utilitatem ipsius ecclesie tantam per quam et ipse laborat, nisi adulterini sigilli fabricator existeret. Obiciunt autem hoc crimen et alia in modum exceptionis, ut me repellant ut aiunt ab electione. Sed, ut hic dialectice parumper procedamus, ergo ab electione facta uel facienda. Sed non contendimus de facienda, ergo ab electione facta. Sed non me repellere querunt ab electione de alio facta, quia nec abbatis electionem nec alterius alio tempore quam festo apostolorum factam mihi uendico, ergo ab electione de me facta, ergo alique electio de me facta. Et ergo contrarii sibi reperientur et periuri, qui iurati dicunt et scribunt nunquam electionem aliquam de me factam fuisse, uel aliquid quod electio dici possit. Oportet itaque mendaces memores esse. Mirum autem de Anglicis, quod in quacunque causa uersantur, semper ad falsi questionem

in quo habundant, se conuertunt. Quia ubi intenderit quis, ibi ingenium ualeat. Sicut et olim Melumitani seu Melumite, in quacunque questione dialectica uersarentur, semper pedetentim ad punctum sententiae suae, scilicet, ex falso nichil, se retrahebant, quoniam ibi fallacii habundabant et defensionibus, sicut et hic isti falsitatibus et deceptionibus suis. Item mos est tineosis, qui in omni contentione semper in primis sibi aduersantibus etiam bene capillatis tineam impropere, ut sibi postmodum lege litigii impropere non possit. Sic Anglici, quamquam plus aliis gentibus de falso notati, et in hac curia quoque pro bulla falsata dampnati pluries et cauteriati, semper tamen id aliis opponunt, in quo se maxime notabiles sentiunt. Falsitas autem quam arte prescripta et astutia non solum mihi sed et domino Bangorensi obicere presumunt, penes ipsos per Dei gratiam tanquam domicilio proprio a quo uix recedet, reperietur. Nunc ad ea quae magister Iohannes ex habundanti, et tanquam spiritu proprio de honore patribus deferendo, et litigioso non promouendo, nobis opposuit, finali clausula respondebimus. Dicimus enim simul cum ipso honorem omnimodum patribus deferendum, sed non usque adeo tamen ut in uitiiis eorum sint uenerandi, quinimmo si patres hoc est prelati uitiosi quod absit inuenti fuerint et criminosi, a filiis hoc est subditis corripiendi sunt. Et si forte incorrigibiles inuenti fuerint, rei deferendi sunt ab ipsis, et usque ad depositionem etiam si opus fuerit accusandi. Unde Ieronimus, Admonendi sunt subditi, ne plus quam expedit siint subiecti, ne cum student plus quam necesse est hominibus subici, compellantur eorum uitia uenerari, et alibi, Sciant episcopi se prelatos esse non dominos, honorent clericos quasi clericos, ut ipsis a clericis quasi episcopis honor deferatur. Scitum est enim illud oratoris Domicii, Cur ego, inquit, te habeam ut principem, si tu me non habes ut senatorem? Unde si anno preterito quendam prelatum criminaliter accusare uolens, neminem nomino, forte aliquem noto, tanquam homicidam publicum et incendiarium, et quod longe peius erat arrianam heresim gradus in personis constituendo, renouante nostris diebus et predicantem admissus fuisset, non nunc quidem iniurias criminum istorum, licet oblique et ciuilitate obiectas, perpessus fuisset. Maior enim causa minorem ut nostis absorbuisset. Nauigium quoque nostri laboris ancoram in portum iam fixisset. Ad hoc autem

quod obiecit de litigioso respondebimus, primum ab ipso querentes, salua pace uestra pater et domine, quot capitula descriptionis illius apostolice a quo sumitur et illud non litigiosum conueniant, non dico in dominum suum quoniam excepte actionis est, sed in maiores Anglie prelatos duos, utinam uel primum. Oportet episcopum esse irreprehensibilem. Sed si magister Iohannes ita nouisset naturam uocabuli sicut et nouit naturam litigii, non me quidem litigiosum uocaret, nisi forte Ieronimum et Augustinum sibi inuicem in epistulis suis altercantes, et acriter interdum respondentes, ideo litigiosos dicere uelit. Nisi Paulum etiam ipsum apostolorum principem palam reprehendentem et ab errore reuocantem, ideo dicat litigiosum. Nisi etiam Tullium Romani eloquii auctorem maximum, quoniam in inuentionibus Salustii interdum urbane et facete, per cola et comata, interdum acriter et acerbe per sales et ledoria respondebat, ideo litigiosum dicere uelit. Hac enim ratione et non alia me litigiosum dicere poterit, quoniam in primo aduentu meo ad curiam ad literas inuentionis domini sui per cursorem quendam contra me missas, literis respondi, et obiecta crimina a me repellendo in alium forte refudi. Sicut et anno preterito inuentionibus magistri Andree in nos et gentem nostram nimis acriter et frequenter emissis, respondere curauimus. Sicut et nunc quoque ad crimina nobis obiecta respondere parati fuimus, et in capud auctoris si licuisset, cuncta refundere. Nullus enim de terra nostra uel etiam Anglia tota se nobis opposuisset, quinimmo summa fuisset unitas, summa tranquillitas olim in ecclesia nostra, nisi ipso turbante, et utraque potestate peruertente. Si inquam hoc factum fuisset, sicut et merito fieri debuit, non foret hoc litigium, non conuitium, sed magis talionis officium. Nondum enim tante perfectionis iter arripui, ut possim tam turpium obiectione, et tot, et in tanta audientia, non moueri. Impositum autem est mihi silentium, quod et seruari oportet. Proinde dicere secure poterit per se perque suos in me que uoluerit. Verumtamen sue conditionis memor existat, et hoc attendat, quod ille qui choibuit labium non choibuit calamum. Unde si ad presens mutus fuero, Deo dante, in breui mancus non ero, quatinus intelligere ualeat, uel aliquo docente, quam sit ineptum, quam dispendiosum, et talioni obnoxium, literatos uiros literis offendere, et in scripturis eruditos scriptis iniurijs aut actis, ad scriben-

dum prouocare. Quoniam ut ait philosophus, Grauiora sunt uulnera stilo inflictata, quam telo. Illa nimirum cicatricem obducunt, ista uero cum eternitate contendunt.

Expliciunt inuentiones et responsiones. Incipiunt necessaria quedam ad inuentiones.

INCIPIT SECUNDA PARS.

CAP I.

Ecclesiastice hystorie Britannice cronographia.

Hic est processus fidei Christiane in insula Britannica et ecclesiastice historie Anglicane a Beda digeste. Ad instantiam Lucii regis Britonum missi sunt ab Eleutherio papa duo nobiles predicatorum in Britanniam maiorem, Faganus scilicet et Duuianus, qui fidem Christi per uniuersam insulam a mari usque ad mare plantauerunt, et iuxta prouinciarum numerum, quas tempore gentilitatis habuerat insula, v metropoles, singulas xii urbes, sicut olim habuerant, et suffraganeas ecclesias totidem subiectas habentes, ordine et numero competenti distinxerunt. Iuxta thomum enim Anacleti pape, sicut in pontificalibus Romanorum gestis et imperialibus continetur, directam Galliarum episcopis, iuxta statum gentilium ante Christi aduentum Britannia habuit prouincias numero v, Britanniam primam, Britanniam secundam, Flauiam, Maximiam, Ualentiam. Prima dicta est occidentalis pars insule, quia primum in illa Britones, Bruto et Corineo ducibus, applicuerunt, eaque primo a Corineo et suis occupata est et inhabitata. Britannia secunda Cantia, quia secundo a Bruto et suis inhabitata fuerat. Tercia Flauia, hoc est flaua, que dicitur et Mercia, quasi mercibus habundans, cuius capud est Londonia. Quarta Maximia, id est, Eboraca, ab imperatore Maximo dicta. Quinta Ualentiana, ab imperatore Ualente nuncupata, Albania scilicet, que nunc abusue Scotia dicitur. Sicque ordinatum a uiris sanctis predictis duobus fuerat, ut in occidentali insule parte, que et nunc adulterino uocabulo Wallia dicitur, proprie uero Cambria a Kambro Bruti filio dicta, urbs Legionum metropolis fuerat xii suffraganeos habens. Dorobernia, que nunc Cantuaria dicitur, a dur Britannico, quod est aqua, quoniam aquis habundat, sic nuncupata, metropolis ab australi Thamisie fluuii parte, xii suffraganeos habens. Lundonia metro-

polis, xii suffraganeos habens. Eboraca, que nunc dicitur Eboracum, metropolis, xii suffraganeos habens. Et urbs, que nunc Sancti Andree dicitur, totidem suffraganeos habens, olim forsan Alba dicta, unde et Albania prouincia, uel potius ab Albanacto Bruti filio nuncupata. Cumque hoc ordine distincta ducentis annis et pluribus Britannica ecclesia floruisset, superuenit gens Saxonica, que nunc Anglica dicitur, a Britonibus inuitata, ut eis contra Pictos et Scotos, qui Boreales insule partes occupauerant, Britonum stipendiis militarent. Tandem uero cum uiribus et numero creuissent, iuncto cum hostibus federe, et ipsi quoque peiores hostes effecti, miris proditionibus incolas usque ad occiduas partes insule propulerunt, totamque terram residuam, quam et Angliam postea uocauerunt, et Scothie partem non modicam, destructis ecclesiis ritu gentilitatis, quoniam gentiles erant, fedauerunt, Britonibus nichilominus Christi fidem in occiduis insule finibus inconcusse seruantibus. Hiis autem usque ad tempora Gregorii magni doctoris sic se habentibus, missus est ab eo Augustinus monachus in Angliam, qui Ethelberto rege Cantie ad fidem cum gente Anglorum conuerso, duas tantum in Anglia metropoles constituit, Doroberniam scilicet, que nunc Cantuaria dicitur, et Eboracum. Dorobernie quam sibi sedem elegerat, totam Angliam fere, quia xii uel xiii episcopatus amplos subiciens, Eboracensem autem ecclesiam fere monoculam relinquens, illud ad mentem quanquam monachus reuocando, Maledictus qui partem suam deteriorem fecerit. Sed hec haecenus. Ad ecclesiam nostram Walensicam redeamus.

Apud urbem Legionum, ut diximus, ante aduentum Saxonum, per Faganum et Dunianum Wallie metropolis fuerat, et archiepiscopo sedis eiusdem Dubritio Dauid honorem cedente, et eodem postea Dauid procurante, sedes metropolitana usque Meneuiam est translata, quod a uate nostro Merlino longe fuerat in hunc modum ante predictum, Meneuia pallio urbis Legionum induetur. Habuimus autem apud Meneuiam archiepiscopos successiue xxv, quorum primus fuit Sanctus Dauid, ultimus uero Sanctus Sanson, qui ingruente per Walliam ictericia clade in Armoricam Gallie Britanniam nauigio se transtulit, ibique in ecclesia Dolensi, tunc forte uacante, cum pallio nostro quod secum portauerat, in archiepiscopum assumptus

est. Cuius euentus occasione usque ad hec fere nostra tempora, quibus aduenticia dignitas euauit, Dolensis ecclesia pallium obtinuit. Nostra uero Meneuensis ecclesia pallio postea semper caruisse dinoscitur, tota tamen pristina dignitate metropolitana preter usum pallii retenta, temporibus scilicet x et ix episcoporum, sibi continue usque ad tempora primi Henrici regis Anglie succedentium. Quod autem noster fuerit Sanson ille Dolensis, et non aliunde, testantur etiam historie Dolenses, unde et in eorundem sequentia sic reperitur, Presul ante Meneuensis, dignitatis in Dolensis transfertur fastigium. Hec autem tempore Gregorii magni translatio facta fuit. Notandum autem quod in tota Anglorum historia ab eorum historico Beda digesta, nunquam inuenietur Walensicam ecclesiam Anglicane in aliquo subiectam, sicut nec Scoticam, que usque in hodiernum diem in sua libertate remansit. Eboracensis autem ecclesia quandoque Cantuariensi subiecta fuit, quandoque uero in libertatem euasit. Legitur enim in illa historia, quod post conuersionem regis Ethelberti et quorundam Anglorum, multitudine tamen populi in sua infidelitate adhuc manente, audiens Augustinus in occidentali insule parte Christianos esse, accedens ad fines illos, conuocatis vii episcopis Britonum, cum de termino Paschali, quem non more ecclesie Romane colere uidebantur, et aliis quibusdam corrigendis diutius disputatum esset, tantumque duo peteret Augustinus ab ipsis, ut in termino Paschali concordantes ad predicandum gentili Saxonum populo ipsum iuuarent, id facere omnino renuentes responderunt, quod gentibus sibi commissis iuxta gratiam desuper datam intendere uolebant, ipse uero Anglorum instructioni et conuersioni, ad quos missus fuerat, operam daret. Si ergo Augustini renuerunt esse socii, multo minus sibi uel successoribus suis uellent esse subiecti. Successit Augustino Laurentius, qui non solum sui gregis, sed etiam Britonum, Hiberniensium, et Scotorum curam gerens, in termini Paschalis obseruantia eos literis admonuit nec perfecit. Simili enim modo Hibernici, Britones et Scoti a quarta decima luna antiquo more seruabant. In eadem enim epistola scribunt Laurentius, Mellitus, et Iustus episcopi, quod Daganus episcopus Hibernie ad ipsos ueniens, non solum cibum cum ipsis sumere, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo uescebantur, sumere uoluit. Ubi notandum quod literas commonitorias

Britonibus, sicut et Hibernicis uel Scotis, qui nichil ad eos pertinebant, miserunt. Sententiam autem nunquam in eos magis, quam in alios ullam dederunt, uel sua uel domini pape auctoritate, quod quidem forte fecissent, si eis iure prouinciali subiecti fuissent. Laurentio successit Iustus, Roffensis ecclesie episcopus, cui scribens Bonifacius papa pallium ei ad missarum solempnia tantum et ordinandi episcopos potestatem, ad euangelizandum genti que nondum fidem susceperat, indulisit. Ecce quod gentem, que fidem susceperat, excludit. Theodorus successit, septimus ab Augustino, uir literatus et bonus, de ecclesia Romana missus, et de Sicilia oriundus. Hic primus archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium concilium episcoporum conuocauit, tenuit autem duo, et cum nomina singulorum apposuerit episcoporum qui intererant, nullus omnino Britonum nominatur, unde constat quod nec interfuerunt nec ei subiecti fuerunt. Patet igitur ex hiis quod Walensica ecclesia nequaquam Cantuariensi subiecta fuerat, quod quidem si fuisset, non illud Beda, qui Anglicus fuerat, in historia sua tacuisset. Ex registro quoque Gregorii pape et epistola eiusdem Augustino Anglorum episcopo transmissa, que sic incipit, Cum certum sit, haberi potest, quod si qua Eboracensis ecclesie uel alterius Augustino subiectio concessa fuit, personale beneficium et non perpetuum erat. Cum enim Eboracensi se pallium daturum Gregorius promiserit, subiecit, Quem tamen tue uolumus fraternitatis dispositioni subiicere, statimque subnectit, Post obitum uero tuum ita episcopis quos ordinauerit presit, ut Londoniensis episcopi nullo modo diocesi subiaceat. Sit uero inter Londonie et Eborace ciuitatis episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ille prior habeatur, qui primus fuerit ordinatus. Proposuerat enim tunc Augustinus, sed postea forte mutauit, sedem suam metropolitica[m] Londoniis, ubi capud est regni, facere. Walensica uero ecclesia nunquam, sicut nec Scotica, Cantuariensi, presertim uero post Augustini tempora, quemadmodum nec Beda testatur, subiecta fuerat, donec rex Anglie Henricus primus Walliam in manu forti subiugando, apposuit ut ecclesiam quoque Walensicam, quam liberam inuenit, ecclesie regni sui supponeret, sicut et terram regno suo subiecerat. Inuenit autem Wilfridum Meneuensem episcopum, quartum ab hoc ultimo defuncto, scilicet, Petro, hac libertate gaudentem,

quia nulli ecclesie nisi Romane solum subiectus, omni libertate metropolitana preter usum pallii gaudebat, quemadmodum et decessores sui a tempore Sansonis x et viii. Consecrabat enim alios episcopos Wallie et consecratus fuit ab ipsis, conuocabat sinodos episcoporum, appellabatur ad ipsum, et crucem sibi preferebat. Nec nouum est et inauditum quod episcopi nulli metropolitano subsint, sicut in episcopis Scothie patet, sicut etiam, ut propius exempla petantur, Papiensis episcopus pallio fungens et crucem sibi preferens, cum tamen simplex episcopus existat, nulli metropolitano sicut nec Lucensis subest, sed tantum ecclesie Romane, scilicet, immediate.

Defuncto uero Wilfrido, quarto ab hoc ultimo Meneuensi episcopo, qui ecclesiam nostram in hoc statu tenuerat, predictus rex Henricus, qui iam Wallie planitiem occupauerat, quendam clericum suum Bernardum nomine substitui procurauit, eumque regali potentia reclamantibus clero ecclesie et populo, nec non et ipso quoad licuit electo, ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi tunc Radulfo Londoniis, apud Westmonasterium regalem sedem consecrari fecit. Post annos autem circiter uiginti, defuncto rege illo qui uiolentiam fecerat, Bernardus ille pro reuocanda ecclesie sue dignitate laborans, demum per multas uexationes Meldis in Francia coram Eugenio papa, Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo super questione status controuersiam mouit, et cum dies partibus super libertate et dignitate Meneuensis ecclesie prefixus fuisset, morte preuentus ulterius non processit, prescriptionem tamen interrupit, sicut in registro Eugenii pape continetur. Quo inspecto et hoc tandem Deo dante reperto, curiam inde Romanam premuniuimus, sicut etiam bulla eiusdem Eugenii testatur, quam postea Meneuie quesitam cum diligentia, per Dei gratiam inuenimus, ac domino pape et cardinalibus, simul cum bulla Lucii II., super eodem similiter a nobis inuenta, secundo ad curiam reuersi, in publico auditorio ostendimus et legi fecimus.

Successit ei episcopus tempore regis Stephani, cui nomen Daud, uir generosus et nobilis, a Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo similiter per regiam uiolentiam consecratus, cuius anno penultimo, cum per xxvii annos in episcopatu durasset, canonici Meneuenses coram Huguicione cardinali et sedis apostolice legato Londoniis per litis contestationem aut sinodalem proclamationem

contra archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Ricardum factam, interruperunt prescriptionem. Successit autem David Petrus, Cluniacensis monachus, tempore Henrici secundi, qui per eiusdem uolentiam a Cantuariensis episcopi Ricardi tunc absentis officialibus, Londonensi scilicet et Roffensi episcopis, Londoniis est consecratus. Cuius anno a consecratione quasi tercio, a lite contestata coram Huguicione quasi quinto, in Lateranensi concilio a canonicis ecclesie nostre ius ecclesie sue coram papa Alexandro tercio constanter in tanta audientia protestantibus, sinodalis proclamatio facta fuit. Quamquam enim episcopus noster in concilio fuerit, propter sacramentum tamen ab ipso in consecratione sua extortum, de non proseguendo iure ecclesie sue contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam, sicut a decessore suo David similiter extortum fuerat, nec ibi ab illo coram Huguicione, nec hic ab isto, sed per canonicos suos est proclamatum. Sicut igitur ab initio malam fidem Cantuarienses habuerunt, utpote qui per uolentiam possidere ceperunt, constat eosdem per sacramentorum huiusmodi extorsionem adhuc quidem et continue male fidei possessores existere. Quare nec in hac possessione se longi temporis prescriptionem de iure tueri possent, etiamsi nulla interruptio secuta fuisset. Anno uero a Lateranensi concilio circa xx°, iam regnante in Anglia Iohanne, eiusdemque regni primo, Petro Meneuensi episcopo, qui quasi xxiii annis sederat, iam defuncto, Giraldus Meneuensis canonicus et archidiaconus Romam ueniens, coram Innocentio papa tercio, eiusdemque anno apostolatus secundo, ius ecclesie sue publice protestando, quod potuit fecit. Huberto Cantuariensi tunc archiepiscopo controuersiam mouit tercio Romam eundo, eumque super libertate et dignitate Meneuensis ecclesie per literas apostolicas ter citari procurauit, et causam status tam nobilem egregie renouando, prescriptionem quoque suo in tempore uiriliter interrupit.

CAP II.

Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo ex registro Eugenii pape.

Uenerabilis frater noster Bernardus, episcopus Sancti David, ad nostram presentiam ueniens, ecclesiam Sancti David olim metropolim fuisse uina uoce asseruit, et eandem

dignitatem sibi a nobis restitui suppliciter postulauit. Cum autem circa petitionem istam inuigilans diu in curia nostra commoratus esset, tu frater archiepiscopo, tandem eo presente ex aduerso consurgens, in presentia nostra aduersus eum querelam deposuisti, quod debitam tanquam proprio metropolitano obedientiam subtraxisset, tibi que inobediens et rebellis existeret, cum a predecessore tuo, tanquam a proprio metropolitano consecratus esset, et uia uoce et scripto Cantuariensi ecclesie professionem fecisset, et in multis postea, tanquam alii suffraganei, tibi obediisset et astitisset. Ille uero consecrationem negare non potuit, sed professionem se fecisse et obedientiam exhibuisse omnino negauit, quod tu audiens duos testes in medium produxisti testimonium perhibentes, quod ipse illis uidentibus et audientibus post consecrationem suam et uia uoce et scripto Cantuariensi ecclesie professionem fecisset. Nos igitur auditis utriusque partis rationibus et diligenter inquisitis, et testibus tuis studiose examinatis, communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio, iuramenta eorum recepimus, et ut ipse episcopus tibi tanquam proprio metropolitano obedientiam et reuerentiam exhibeat, iusticia dictante, precepimus. Uerum quoniam singulis ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis suam dignitatem et iusticiam uolumus conseruare, beati Luce festiuitate proximi sequentis anni tibi et ipsi diem prefiximus ut tunc presentibus partibus de dignitate ecclesie Sancti Dauid et libertate sua rei ueritatem cognoscamus, et quod iustum fuerit, auctore domino, exinde statuamus. Datum Meldis, iii. Kalendas Iulii.

Sciendum autem quod easdem literas bullatas habemus bulla Eugenii pape, uariato tantum principio, quia clero et populo Meneuensium directas, sicut et sequentes Bernardo episcopo bulla Lucii II. signatas, ambas autem obsoletas diuque deperditas per diligenciam Giraldi quesitas et uix tandem inuentas.

CAP. III.

Bernardo Meneuensi episcopo papa Lucius.

Lucius episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, uenerabili fratri Bernardo episcopo Sancti Dauid, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Fraternitatis tue literas debita benignitate suscepimus, et quod de dignitate ecclesie tue tam in ipsis

quam in aliis que super hoc ad sedem apostolicam misse sunt, diligenter attendimus. Uerum quoniam peccatis exigentibus et prauorum hominum superhabundante malitia eiusdem ecclesie dignitas longo elapso tempore ab ipsa alienata et ad alias ecclesias translata est, certum quid inde statuere ad presens consilium non habemus. Disponimus quidem per Dei gratiam legatos nostros pro ecclesiarum negotiis ad partes illas in proximo dirigere, quibus eandem causam per antiquos homines et autentica ecclesie tue scripta indicare curabis, et nos per eos, ueritate plenius cognita, quod ad honorem Dei statuendum fuerit maturiori habito consilio statuemus. Datum Laterani ii. Idus Maii.

CAP. IV.

*E. Eliensi et M. Wigorniensi episcopis pro pace laborantibus
G. archidiaconus.*

Quoniam ecclesiam nostram Meneuensem constat multo tempore metropolim fuisse, et etiam in plena potestate metropolitana preter usum pallii usque ad tempora regis Anglie Henrici primi permansisse, per cuius potestatem ac uiolentiam Cantuariensi ecclesie subici cepit cum aliis ecclesiis Wallie, sicut ex scripto quod de diuisionibus Analeti pape et registo Gregorii, necnon et ecclesiastica Bede historia fideliter extraximus ex parte perpendi potest, iterum si placet metropolitana fiat, sed ecclesie Cantuariensi subiecta, sicut una ecclesia metropolis alii metropoli iure primatie subici solet. Quemadmodum uidelicet Burdegalensis metropolis Bituricensi tanquam primatie sedi subiecta est. Primatie namque proprie sedes non est, ut nostis, nisi que subditum sibi archipresulem habet. Uerum cum ecclesia Meneuensis temporibus beati David et xxv successorum eiusdem, usque ad Sansonem Dolensem, qui pallium nostrum asportauit, intra Wallie spacium ut nunc est, et v episcopatum Anglie, Cestrensis scilicet seu Couetrensis, Herefordensis, Wigornensis, Bathoniensis, et Exoniensis, sicut ex historiis nostris colligitur, xii suffraganeos haberet, nunc tribus illis tantum, qui intra Wallie fines continentur, contenta foret. Sic etenim initium possidendi Cantuariensi ecclesie uitiosum quia uiolentum ex parte purgari posset, cum de consensu eiusdem ecclesie Meneuensis pristino gauderet honore etsi non pleno. Et

quia iam aliquamdiu in subiectione fuerat, quamuis iniuste, temporibus scilicet trium episcoporum nostrorum ultimorum, qui soli de nostris a Cantuariensibus consecrationem susceperunt, subiecta maneret. Et sic Cantuariensis archiepiscopus plus haberet honoris, scilicet loco simplicis episcopi suffraganei archiepiscopum subiectum habens, et cum longe meliori conscientia multoque minus oneris, terram scilicet tam remotam, quia per xv fere dietas, et gentem diuisas ab Anglia prorsus atque diuersas linguam, leges, et consuetudines habentem, qui mores et modos patrie non ignoraret, et qui propius residens ac diligens existeret, quasi per uicarium regens. Ceterum ne uidear persone mee hanc dignitatem appetiisse uel appetere, archiepiscopus ecclesie nostre fieret quicumque, dum tamen idoneus, iuxta domini pape et regis et archiepiscopi dispositionem. Sicque perpetuo controuersia tanta sopita foret. Alius concordie modus, si forte domino pape, in cuius omnia ponimus dispositione, modus iste non sederit, uel etiam archiepiscopo, quod testes nostros ualetudinarios iudices suscipiant, et attestaciones sub sigillis suis domino pape transmissae, et ibidem bullate, in scriniis eiusdem, ne tractu temporis ius depereat, reseruentur, et eodem apud Cantuariensem ecclesiam similiter bullate, et terciè apud Meneuensem reponantur, et sic toto tempore uite archiepiscopi istius, quam Deus ad honorem ecclesie sue longam conseruet, hec controuersia pro bono pacis sopita quiescat, nisi forte de uoluntate summi pontificis uel etiam mandato principis resuscitetur. Et ut liqueat omnibus me propter cathedram Meneuensem tantum nullatenus assumpsisse laborem, electionem de me factum si que fuit in manu domini pape resignabo, et eius prouidentia ecclesie nostre pauperi ac depilate, et usque ad exterminium fere delapidate, pastor uiuidus ac ualidus, qui dispersa reuocet et reparet, prouideatur. Sin autem neutrum concordie modum uel dominus papa approbauerit, uel archiepiscopus admiserit, nichil aliud restat nisi ut lites suo Marte decurrant.

CAP. V.

Emolumentum cause status Meneuensis ecclesie curie Romane proueniens.

Hic erit effectus cause status, scilicet si cum effectu processerit, quia imprimis magnus erit honor ecclesie

Romane si ecclesia Walensica ei immediate subiecta fuerit, sicut est ecclesia Scotica et sicut ipsa quoque olim fuerat et esse debet. Hoc etiam emolumentum, quod Wallia parata est dare ecclesie Romane denarium Sancti Petri de singulis domibus, sicut datur in Anglia, quod ascenderet ad summam ducentarum marcarum annuatim. Et preterea dabunt magnam decimam suam ecclesie Romane. Hoc autem uocant magnam decimam, quando decimant omnia animalia sua, tam pecora quam armenta et equitia, omnemque substantiam suam, tam mobilem quam immobilem. Summa uero decime istius per Walliam totam ad plusquam mille marcas ascenderet. Hoc etiam non sine prognostico creditur contigisse, quod eodem anno, in cuius principio Dolensis ecclesia per hanc curiam pallium amisit, quod a nobis habuerat, et nos illud in hac curia, prioris quidem ignari prorsus euentus, eiusdem anni fine petiuimus. Unde cum omnia redire debeant ad sua incia, sicut ecclesia Dolensis ad suum initium iam rediit, scilicet simplicem episcopatum, sic etiam Meneuensis ecclesia ad suum incium, id est, sedem metropolitanam, Deo dante, diebus uestris redire debet.

CAP VI.

Eugenio pape capitulum Sancti David.

E. Dei gratia uice beati Petri digne sublimato, capitulum sancti Andree apostoli sanctique David confessoris cum omnibus sibi commissis, ad uite pasqua feliciter peruenire. Magnam nobis spem, magnumque solamen instantium iam tribulationum idonee uestre persone in apostolicam sedem ab ecclesie rectoribus prouisa sapienter electio contulit. Non enim latet nos pater, etsi magno terrarum spatio remotos, qua sapientia, quaque industria, quibusque uitam ornamentis institueritis exemplumque uite melioris fueritis. Hiis itaque confisi, ancoram in portu et non in pelago figentes, quod nos aliquanto tempore iam momordit, decernimus amodo non tacere. Constat enim prefatam ecclesiam esse metropolim tocius Wallie, eaque de causa ipsam patriam maximam prouinciam nostram appellari inter ceteras regni Britannie prouincias, atque ipsius Wallie episcopos suffraganeos esse nostre ecclesie, quippe qui et professionem, ut stabilitum est a sanctis patribus, facere archiepiscopo nostro consueuerant, et ad episcopi gradus

eadem ratione ab eodem omnino promoti sunt. Quos autem nouimus in ecclesia nostra dignitate prefata perfrui uobis manifestari dignum ducimus. Nostre siquidem memorie Ioseph huius sedis archiepiscopus ad pontificalem gradum promouit prius Morgleis, et post eum Duuan Bangorensem. Item Sulienu noster ad eundem gradum instituit Reuedun Bangorensem, Bedwd uero noster ordinauit Melanum Laneluensem. Item simili modo Ioseph archiepiscopus noster Herewaldum Landauensem ad ministerium pontificale promouit. Sicque semper a tempore Breuiensis sinodi, collectis ibi tocius Britannie sanctis patribus, eneruata quorundam hereticorum Pelagiane heresis prauitate, per beatum Dauid in eadem sinodo, atque ob hoc concessa ei priuilegio ibidem uniuerse prouincie, tocius cleri atque principum consensu, hocque confirmante Romano pontifice, et ad confirmationem accepte dignitatis pallium ipsi presenti Dauid cum duobus suis suffraganeis Theliao atque Paterno tradente, quo pallio decorata est ecclesia nostra a tempore beati Dauid usque ad tempus beati Sansonis, qui nostre sedis aliquamdiu pontifex, tandem flauam pestem fugiens, et pallium cum ceteris pontificalibus ornamentis secum deferens, ad Armoricos applicuit, et in Dolensi monasterio honorifice susceptus permansit. Ex tunc uero nostra ecclesia, hostilitate Saxonum et Wittorum et Anglorum et post Normannorum oppressa, pallium recuperare non ualuit, sed tamen ut diximus metropolitana dignitate et ministerio non uacauit, seriatim totis temporibus usque ad annos aliquot regni Henrici regis Anglorum, Wilfrido tunc temporis nostre sedis archiepiscopo, qui multa perpressus Normannica hostilitate, ab hominibus tandem Arnulfi de monte Gomerici captus, per xl dies ab eisdem detentus est. Post hunc successit Bernardus, uir magne religionis, quem elegimus in metropolitanum antistitem ad ecclesiam nostram que sedes et capud est prime et maxime prouincie tocius Britannie, qui sine ulla contradictione et calumpnia consecratus est. Contra quod Theobaldus nunc Cantuariensis, in tres personas de nostris partibus procedentes manus iniuste misit, et ad episcopi gradus eosdem illicite promouit, Huctrer scilicet Landauensem, pene illiteratum, qui preter reliqua uite sue detestanda sanctimoniali palam dicitur abuti. Item Mauricium Bangorensem, qui uirgam et anulum furtim ab ecclesia subtraxit, simili modo

promouit. Ricardus uero in Laneluensi ecclesia electus a ministris ecclesie ceteroque clero cum literis regis et comitis terre metropolitano nostro B. ad consecrandum est destinatus. Sed eius nimirum consecrationis termino per captionem regis Stephani necessario dilato, Cantuariensis eum, sicut et ceteros, presumptorie promouit. Pro hiis ita gestis misericordie uestre clementiam imploramus, quatinus ecclesia nostre ostense dignitatis iure frui liceat benignissime iubere dignemini. Quecunque uero hiis literis conquesti sumus pro abstracto iure ut affirmauimus pro dignitate nostre sedis restituenda, omnes fratres nostri capituli qualibet ecclesiastica lege ad huiusmodi negocium pertinente presto sunt comprobare. Plures autem aut nos omnes ad id affirmandum in uestra presentia uenissemus, si ecclesie nostre sepe oppresse, sepeque spoliata, pateretur inopia. Ualeat sanctitas uestra.

CAP VII.

Innocentio pape Bernardus episcopus.

Innocentio Dei gratia sancte Romane et uniuersalis ecclesie summo pontifici, Bernardus sancti Andree apostoli sanctique Dauid uicarius indignus humilis subiectionis obsequium cum orationibus assiduis. Apud elementem iudicem sub spe uenie supplicem offero confessionem huiusmodi culpe, quod cum pallium infra vi meuses postulandum sit, ego diutius distuli pluribus obsistentibus causis, inter quas precipua fuit paupertas tanta loci, quod non fuit unde sustentarer, uel ibi uel alibi, nisi manum aperiret mihi liberalitas boni regis. Uerumtamen sero licet pulsaui personaliter et per submissas personas, pulsoque adhuc humillime ad ianuam benignitatis uestre ut et ecclesiam nostram et personam uobis deuotissimam prebitione pallii dignemini decorare, et extrema non solum terrarum sed et insularum uobis artius astringere, ut possimus expeditibilis iussa uestra in effectum ducere. Nec remoretur, queso, sanctitatis uestre diligentiam cuiusquam inanis oblocutio, uel reclamatio. Antequam enim mihi consecrando poneretur amictus in capite, dirationatum fuit me in archiepiscopum prime et maxime prouincie tocius insule consecrandum esse. Hoc uero de me factum fuit Westmonasterii, uidelicet regia sede, quod de nullo meo prius factum fuit predecessore, rege me ad hoc

tenente et tradente, qui magis timebat me fuga labi, quam ad hoc me persistere, et qui me in eiusdem dominice sabato reclamantem et resistentem fecerat in presbiterum ordinari. Noueritis autem proculdubio inter prouincias, nostram quidem et Cantuariensem Londonie prouinciam cum viii comitatibus interiacere, et populos nostre prouincie, natione, lingua, legibus et moribus, iudiciis et consuetudinibus discrepare.

CAP VIII.

Bernardus episcopus Simeoni archidiacono Bangorensi.

Bernardus, Dei gratia Meneuensis antistes, dilectissimo fratri et amico Simeoni archidiacono Bangorensi, salutis et gaudii perfectionem. Nos et omnis ecclesia nostra tue benignitatis imploramus auxilium quatinus in ea karitate que Deum deuincit et homines subleues capud matris tue grauissime captiuitatis iugo depressum, exhibendo presentiam tuam domino pape in concilio suo quod Remis celebraturus est in media quadragesima ad Letare Ierusalem, ut per te manifesta fiat ibidem ueritas dignitatis ecclesie nostre, que tibi plenissime et indubitanter est cognita. Dedecorosum erit enim et precipue dolendum, si sublimitas regni Britannici tantis temporibus in honore habita, nunc in nouissimis ancilletur, et mater tua, sublato titulo libertatis, captinetur, et Cantuariensium ludibrio siue libidini perpetualiter deputetur.

CAP IX.

Bernardo episcopo Oeneus et Kadwaladerus, principes Norwallie.

Bernardo, Dei gratia Meneuensi episcopo, Oeneus rex Wallie et Kadwaladerus salutem et omne bonum. Notum sit uestre potestati, licet ante non profuerit nostra uobis amicitia nos amodo nostram uobis propalare obedientiam. Non lateat etiam uestram clementiam quendam hominem Mauritium episcopum nomine sancti Danielis ecclesiam non per hostium sed aliunde, ut fur uel latro, nobis omnibus inuitis intrasse, de cuius statu iniusto decretum est nobis uestrum inconcussum subire consilium. Talem enim pastorem nostre ecclesie animeque nostre tutorem esse, Deo et uobis auxiliantibus nullatenus uolumus, sed cum iustum

sit, eum omnino supplantare desideramus. Hactenus autem ecclesie sancti Dauid uetus ius, scilicet archiepiscopatum, suberbie radice subtraximus, quod demum recognoscimus atque penitere non denegamus. Ideoque satisfactionem uobis facere de omnibus hiis non protelamus. Quamobrem uestram obtestamur dignitatem quatinus pro Dei amore nostraque petitione cum Anaraud, filio Griffiini in festo omnium sanctorum ad hostium Deui ergo nos omni excusatione remota ueniatis, ut deliberationem de supradictis agamus, et uestre ecclesie antiquum ius restituere nitamur.

CAP X.

Honorio pape capitulum Sancti Dauid.

Suo summo Dei gratia pastori et uniuersali pape Honorio, conuentus ecclesie Sancti Andree Sanctique Dauid, et eiusdem ecclesie tota sinodus, cum debita ueneratione fidelissimam in Christo obedientiam. Auctoritatis uestre excellentie reuerentissime pater innotescimus presentium designatione literarum ecclesiam nostram esse metropolitanam, et fuisse a primordio Christianitatis, quam Lucius totius regni Britannie tenens monarchiam, delegatis sibi a beato papa Eleutherio, Fagano et Duuiano predicatoribus, diuine pietatis influente gratia, cum tota gente sua pleno benignissime mentis affectu, anno dominice incarnationis cxi^o suscepit, et ad propagandum Christiane fidei sacramentum totidem in regno suo cum xx et vii episcopis, quot scilicet in tempore gentilitatis iuxta eorum ritum extiterant reformauit archiepiscopatus, quorum ecclesie nostre in textu historiarum reperitur numero quidem tercius, sed regni prouinciarum positione primus. Ad cuius sedem elapso temporum spacio, beatus Dauid mirifice sanctitatis renitens iudiciis decus ecclesie et uniuersis indeficiens lucerna catholicis per angelicam iussionem plurimis eam prosequentibus miraculis, communi electione clericalis et laicalis concilii totius regni occidentalis Britannie assumptus, ac deinde a sancto Dubricio antecessore suo, et a propria sinodo sicut in eadem mos extiterat ecclesia, legitur fuisse archipresul consecratus. Ipsius quoque successores quamdiu ecclesie et regni pax in bono statu uiguit dignitate archiepiscopali in omnibus usque ad hoc nouissimum tempus perfuncti sunt, donec

multimodis incidentibus discordiarum plurimarumque tribulationum dispendiis, ecclesia a suis priuilegiis crudeliter ac miserabiliter est destituta et possessionibus. Legitur etiam in historia Anglorum quod sue sublimitatis debitam sibi conseruans libertatem, nullam sancto Augustinó fecerit obedientiam, quia suorum tempore predecessorum de Trinouanti ecclesia que ante eius aduentum metropolitana fuerat, que nunc Cantuarie eius susceptionis causa colitur ecclesia, Romane dumtaxat subdita fuerat ecclesie. Nec ipsi illam Cantuariensi ecclesie, respectu primatus in aliquo postulauit fieri ob secundaturam, quam ab omni eius obedientie exactione beati Eleutherii pape felicis memorie pari institutione a sui status initio nouerat fuisse immunem. Necque enim apostolice dispositionis primitiua auctoritas dignitatem a sese illi collectam eius aduentus nouitate propria sinebat derogari, que beati Gregorii pape percolende memorie omnium predecessorum omnimodis corroborata fuerat presidiis. In Romana quippe ecclesia apostolicorum decreta predecentium, ut in ea unitatis intemerata conseruetur integritas, assertione omnimoda succedentium irrefragabiliter sanctiuntur tenenda. Enimvero fraterne supplicationis gratia poposcit, uti genti Saxonice ad quam ab idolorum cultura missus fuerat reuocandam, una cum eo nominis Christi fidem instanter predicaret et amorem. Cumque in diuinorum sacramentorum fide plena a Romana non dissentiret ecclesia, quod est de dominice resurrectionis termino celebrando, sacrique baptismatis officio cum ea pariter conueniret, quatinus sicut in fidei catholice non esset ei discors sacramentis, sic in ipsorum actionibus non uiderentur dissimiles. Nec Cantuariensis ecclesia nostre prelatorum opinione presumptuosa habet sibi uendicare promotionem, eo quod uenerabilis archipresul Radulfus nobis Bernardum salua ecclesie nostre dignitate sacrauit in prelatum, quia pretaxata consuetudine debebat ordinari. Cuius rei certum est argumentum quod suorum singuli predecessorum diuino affectu maioris exerceri de sanctitatis postposito pastoralis cure exercitio, sanctos suos constituebant successores, qui ab ipsis et a propria synodo consecrabantur. Quod sic actum est usque ad eius predecessorem dignum memoria fidei Wilfridum, qui nostre gentis aduentum ueritus et austeritatem pro nimia simplicitate non ausus est secundum predecessorum morem

sibi constituere successorem. Quo euentu insolito Bernardum ecclesie nostre legitime electum sic contigerat prefato modo esse consecratum. Tradunt namque nostre prouincie, aliarumque nationum historie, quod in predicto iure tante antiquitus constiterit auctoritatis, quod non solum in eodem ad consulendum subiectis sibi sufficeret, uerum etiam quod ab illa plerique tam archiepiscopi quam episcopi ordinati in officium predicationis Catholicorum que agendorum ad Hibernie insulam, necnon ad diuersas terrarum nationes, prout in subsequentiis plenius ostenditur, directi fuerint. E quibus sanctus Sanson nostre Demetice regionis partibus oriundus et in eadem ecclesia sicut in eius uita legitur archiepiscopus consecratus, imminente flauae pestis letali incommodo ad Dolense Armorice gentis cum pallii honore transmeauit monasterium. Quod eius aduentus gratia quam antea non habuerat, postmodum in succedente tempore pallii dignitate est decoratum. Quapropter quoniam diuina dispensatione eidem uniuersalique ecclesie in aduersis propellendum infategabilis expugnator, et in amissis iure restituendis constitutus estis deuotus restaurator, uestre paternitatis benignam deposcimus censuram, quatinus causa ut pote id ex Dei nostrique et sedis apostolice pendeat arbitrio, suis pristinis dignitatibus restituatis, et possessionibus clementer reparatis. Preterea uestre sanctitati pro indubia ueritate historiarum contestante serie propalamus, quod a sede nostra Dei disponente clementia et ammonente, Sanctus Patricius ad Hibernie insulam ad fidem nominis Christi predicandam primus predicator fuerit directus. Deinde Sanctus Dauid de discipulis suis quam pluries post eum ad predicandum diuersis temporum interuallis frequenter illuc transmisit. Cuius una cum Sancti Patricii institutione et doctrina ipsorumque discipulorum predicatione continua in predicta insula fide Christi et nomine adeo catholica ubique conualuit ecclesia ut eorum auctoritatis debito iure in illa ab eadem ordinarentur episcopi et diuersis in locis prout diuinorum agendorum ratio exposcebat constituerentur, quorum scripta adhuc retinet nomina. Quocirca ad hec sibi restituenda uestri obnixa patrocinii indefensam efflagitamus clementiam, ut sicut in illa et in diuersis terrarum nationibus sub Romane ecclesie presidio Christiane fidei extitit seminarium, ita per Dei gratiam

uestramque fidelem curam sua sibi conualescente dignitate in suum ius prefatum reuocetur antiquissimum.

CAP XI.

Bernardus episcopus Simeoni archidiacono Bangorensi.

Bernardus, Dei gratia Meneuensis antistes, dilectissimo fratri et amico Simeoni archidiacono Bangorensi, salutis et gaudii perfectionem. Nos et omnis ecclesia nostra tue benignitatis imploramus auxilium quatinus in ea karitate que Deum deuincit et homines subleuat¹ caput matris tue grauissime captiuitatis iugo depressum, exhibendo presenciam tuam domino pape in consilio suo quod Remis celebraturus est in media quadragesima ad Letare Ierusalem, ut per te manifesta fiat ibidem ueritas dignitatis ecclesie nostre, que tibi plenissime et indubitanter est cognita. Dedecorosum erit enim et precipue dolendum, si sublimitas regni Britannici tantis temporibus in honore habita, nunc in nouissimis ancilletur, et mater tua, sublato titulo libertatis, captiuetur, et Cantuariensium ludibrio siue libidini perpetualiter deputetur.

CAP XII.

Bernardo episcopo Oeneus et Kadwaladerus, principes Norwallie.

Bernardo, Dei gratia Meneuensi episcopo, Oeneus rex Wallie et Kadwaladerus, salutem et omne bonum. Notum sit uestre potestati, licet ante non profuerit nostra uobis amicitia, nos amodo nostram uobis propalare obedienciam. Non lateat etiam uestram clemenciam quendam hominem Mauricium episcopum nomine sancti Danielis ecclesiam non per hostium sed aliunde, ut fur uel latro, nobis omnibus inuitis intrasse, de cuius statu iniusto decretum est nobis uestrum inconcussum subire consilium. Talem enim pastorem nostre ecclesie, animeque nostre tutorem esse, Deo et uobis auxiliantibus nullatenus uolumus, sed cum iustum sit, eum omnino supplantare desideramus. Haecenus autem ecclesie sancti Dauid uetus ius, scilicet archiepiscopatum, superbie radice subtraximus, quod

¹ A copyist's error for *subleues*.

demum recognoscimus atque penitere non denegamus. Ideoque satisfactionem nobis facere de omnibus hiis non protelamus. Quamobrem uestram obtestamur dignitatem quatinus pro Dei amore nostraque petitione cum Anaraud filio Griffini in festo omnium sanctorum ad hostium Dei erga nos omni excusacione remota ueniatis, ut deliberationem de supradictis agamus et uestre ecclesie antiquum ius restituere nitamur.

Nunc autem ad Giraldum Bernardi quidem zelo ecclesie sue laudabili emulacione sequacem, reuertamur.

INCIPIIT TERTIA PARS.

CAP. I.

Litere uarie Giraldi labore perquisite et prime aduentus primi super ecclesie Meneuensis amministratione.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis officialibus et uniuerso clero ac populo diocesis Meneuensis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum instancia nostra cotidiana sit secundum apostolum omnium ecclesiarum sollicitudo continua ne pro personarum defectu circa spiritualia uel eciam temporalia sustineant aliquod detrimentum, nos oportet sollicitius precauere. Hinc est quod ad scienciam et honestatem dilecti filii G. Meneuensis archidiaconi paternum respectum habentes, cum non occurrerit nobis qui commodius eo ualeat in ecclesiasticis utilitatibus insudare, custodiam ecclesie Meneuensis uiduate pastore in spiritualibus et temporalibus dum uacauerit duximus committendam. Quocirca uniuersitati uestre per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatinus ei tanquam procuratori Meneuensi intendentibus humiliter et deuote in hiis que ad honorem Dei et utilitatem ipsius ecclesie in spiritualibus uel temporalibus duxerit ordinanda, salubre consilium sibi prebeatis, et subsidium oportunum, ut adiutorio diuino uestroque potenter adiutus, communibus commodis et profectibus efficaciter ualeat imminere. Alioquin sentenciam quam in uos rationabiliter tulerit ratam habebimus, et faciemus auctore Deo inuiolabiliter obseruari.

Datum Laterani iiii^o Idus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno iii^o.

CAP. II.

*Littere secundi aduentus super ecclesie Meneuensis
amministracione.*

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilectis filiis capitulo, clero, officialibus, et populo Meneuensi salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem.

Olim ad nos super electione Meneuensi ecclesie questione delata, que de facili non poterat terminari, uolentes eidem ecclesie paterna sollicitudine prouidere, eius custodiam tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus dilecto filio, G. archidiacono Meneuensi duximus committendam. Ut igitur quod a nobis est in hac parte statutum et sorciatur effectum et optineat firmitatem, uniuersitati uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus atque precipimus quatinus ei tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus donec suscitata super electione questio sopiatur, deuote curetis ac humiliter respondere. Alioquin sentenciam quam rationabiliter tulerit in rebelles, ratam habebimus et faciemus auctore domino inuiolabiliter obseruari. Datum Signie x^o Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iiii^o.

CAP. III.

*Littere tercii aduentus super ecclesie Meneuensis
amministracione.*

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis et dilecto filio archidiacono de Bukingeham salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dilectus filius G. Meneuensis archidiaconus nostris auribus intimauit, quod postquam custodia Meneuensis a nobis fuit illi commissa, P. et O. archidiaconi Meneuenses et quidam alii tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus multas ei iniurias intulerunt, et eum pluribus spoliauerunt, ex quo iter arripuit iam secundo ad sedem apostolicam ueniendi. Quocirca discretioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus dictos spoliatores et alios ut ei de dampnis et iniuriis satisfaciant competenter, et ablata restitutione uniuersa, monicione premissa per censuram ecclesiasticam sublato appellationis obstaculo, cognita ueritate cogatis, ipsum archidiaconum facientes custodiam ecclesie Meneuensis, iuxta quod est ei a nobis

iniunctum, usque ad electionem episcopi in pace tenere. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, duo uestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum eadem etc.

CAP. IV.

Litere aduentus primi uarie et prime ad commendacionem Meneuensis ecclesie principibus Wallie factam.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis nobilibus uiris Lewelino et aliis principibus Wallie salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Accedentes ad presenciam nostram dilectos filios archidiaconum et quosdam clericos Meneuenses super negotio Meneuensis ecclesie, quam nobis per litteras uestras commendastis, et consideratione ipsorum et precum uestrarum obtentu benigne recepimus, et quantum cum Deo potuimus iustis desideriis uestris studuimus fauorem apostolicam impertiri, cum uos tanquam deuotos ecclesie filios sincera diligamus in Domino karitate. Ut autem in diebus uestris spiritualiter et temporaliter proficere ualeat iam dicta ecclesia Meneuensis, quam et nos uersa uice deuocioni uestre duximus commendandam, nobilitatem uestram rogamus attentius et monemus per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatinus ad utilitatem ipsius filialem respectum habentes, ita eius necessitatibus subuenire curetis, ipsiusque commodis et profectibus imminere, ut quam diligere uerbis asseritis uos amare per exhibicionem eciam operum demonstretis, pro certo scituri quod obsequia ecclesiis et eorum ministris impensa, et altissimus acceptabit cuius hec intuitu conferuntur, et facientibus ad eternum premium proficient obtinendum.

CAP. V.

Littere commendacionis eiusdem ecclesie abbatibus Wallie facta.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis uniuersis abbatibus Cisterciensis ordinis per Walliam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum uos tanquam deuotos filios ecclesie sincera diligamus in domino caritate, ut in diebus uestris spiritualiter et temporaliter proficere ualeat ecclesia Meneuensis nos eam deuo-

tioni uestre duximus commendandam. Uniuersitatem itaque uestram rogamus attentius et monemus per apostolica scripta uobis mandantes quatinus ad utilitates ipsius etc ut prius.

CAP. VI.

Littere commendacionis eiusdem ecclesie clero et populo Wallie facta.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis uniuerso clero et populo per Walliam constitutis salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum uos tanquam deuotos filios ecclesie sincera diligamus in domino caritate ut in diebus uestris spiritualiter et temporaliter proficere ualeat ecclesia Meneuensis, nos eam uobis duximus commendandam. Uniuersitatem itaque uestram rogamus attentius et monemus per apostolica uobis scripta mandantes quatinus ad utilitates ipsius pium habentes respectum, ita eius necessitatibus subuenire curetis, ipsiusque commodis et profectibus imminere, ut per sollicitudinem uestram eadem ecclesia digna recipiat incrementa, pro certo scituri quod obsequia ecclesiis et earum ministris impensa, et altissimus acceptabit cuius hec intuitu conferuntur et facientibus ad eternum premium proficient obtinendum. Datum Laterani iii° Nonas Maii, pontificatus nostri anno iii°.

Similes quoque magnis et nobilibus uiris Hibernie, Meilerio tunc iusticiario et aliis de genere suo per Giraldi diligenciam directe fuerunt. Ex quibus euidens esse potest quanto proposuerit tunc papa studio Meneuensem ecclesiam promouere. Item ad instanciam quoque Giraldi magnam literas ei super inquisicione conuersacionis et sanctitatis beati Caratoci nobilis heremite nostri et confessoris, ut canonicari et in cathalogo sanctorum poni posset, cuius et uite legendam secum portauerat, papa sub tali forma concessit.

CAP. VII.

Littere sicut et priores aduentus primi super inquisicione conuersacionis sancti Caratoci tribus abbatibus directe.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis filiis abbatibus Albe Domus, Strate Floride et Sancti

Dogmaelis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Multa iamdudum de honesta conuersacione uiri uenerabilis Caratoci dum uixit, et de miraculis que post eius obitum dextera domini fecit, ad audienciam sedis apostolice peruenerunt. Unde nuper eciam a nobis fuit suppliciter postulatum, ut quem Deus exaltauit in celis, nos curaremus glorificare in terris, ipsum sanctorum cathalogo ascribendo. Uerum quoniam in rebus ambiguis non est absolutum iudicium proferendum, et in ipso presenti articulo qui plus pertinet ad diuinam inspectionem quam humanam, inquisitionem huiusmodi uobis duximus committendam, per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatinus qualis fuerit iam dicti uiri uita precedens, cuiusmodi obitus et que miracula ipsum fuerunt subsecuta, diligencius inquirentes, que super hiis inueneritis, nobis per literas uestras fideliter intimetis, ut per uos ueritate comperta quod statuendum fuerit statuatur, attentius prouisuri, ut ita pure ueritatem inquirere studeatis, ne fraus uel falsitas ualeat admisceri. Quod si omnes hiis exequendis interesse nequiveritis, duo uestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Laterani viii° Idus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno iii°.

Litere tamen iste per inuidiam abbatum duorum de Alba Domo scilicet Petri et Sancti Dogmaelis Galteri maliciose suppressa, tunc ad effectum non peruenerunt. Porro quoniam clerici et complices Cantuariensis archiepiscopi maliciis et mendaciis dati, Giraldum tanquam regi Anglorum oblocutum in curia diffamauerunt, papa ad eius excusacionem scripsit in hunc modum.

CAP. VIII.

Giraldi archidiaconi eodem aduentu facta per papam excusacio.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio illustri regi Anglie etc. Meneuensis archidiaconus cum nuper ad presenciam nostram accessisset, quamuis in auditorio nostro multa proposuerit ad commodum cause sue spectanda, ita tamen cursum sermonis sui tanquam uir discretus et prouidus temperauit, ut nichil unquam proponeret quod in iniuriam sublimitatis regie redundaret. Hec autem iccirco duximus premitenda, quoniam sicut accepimus quidam non sunt ueriti regiis auribus instillare, quod res aliter processisset, tanquam idem ponens in celum

os suum honori regio in aliquo derogasset, quod a ueritate noscitur alienum. Ne igitur innocencia iam dicti archidiaconi apud celsitudinem regiam alicuius mendaciis oneretur, eundem serenitati tue sollicite commendantes, rogamus attentius et hortamur, quatinus si quis de ipso contraria hiis que premisimus uel iam retulit uel in posterum duxerit referenda, tanquam mendacia respuantur, et carentia pondere ueritatis, nec inde aduersus iam dictum archidiaconum mansuetudo regia moueatur, cuius est propositum et uoluntas salua honorificencia que tanto regi debetur, ad prosequenda iura sua intendere diligenter. Datum eadem etc.

CAP. IX.

Commendacio G. archidiaconi eodem aduentu facta et ad pacem commonicio.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabili fratri H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quid sit ordinatum a nobis super negocio ecclesie Meneuensis per alias literas fraternitati tue transmissas perpendere poteris euidenter. Uerum quoniam deuocio dilecti filii magistri Giraldi archidiaconi Meneuensis tibi et ecclesie tue commisse poterit ad modum existere fructuosa, de cuius meritis et uirtutibus cum ea plenius noueris non est opus sermonem texere longiorem, fraternitati tue duximus presentium significacione consulendum, ut eum in gratia tua receptum ita tractare studeas, in spiritu lenitatis iudiciorum strepitum euitando, ut et ipsum ad deuocionem ex hoc inuitare ualeas, et iura Cantuariensis ecclesie tuis temporibus illibata conseruare. Preterea custodiam episcopatus Meneuensis eidem archidiacono, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus manu nostra committere dignum duximus, fraternitati tue mandando precipientes, quatinus eandem ei quamdiu uacauerit sedes illa in pace tenere facias. Datum eadem etc.

CAP. X.

Item litere secundi aduentus uarie et primo indulgencia super ecclesiarum uacantium et prebendarum donacione.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio G. archidicono Meneuensi salutem, et apostolicam bene-

dictionem. Olim ad nos super electione Meneuensi ecclesie questione delata que de facili non poterat terminari, uolentes eidem ecclesie paterna sollicitudine prouidere, eius custodiam tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus tibi duximus committendam. Ut igitur quod a nobis est in hac parte statutum, et sorciatur effectum et optineat firmitatem, presencium tibi auctoritate concedimus, ut tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus custodiam exerceas ecclesie Meneuensis. Prebendas autem et cetera ecclesiastica beneficia si que uacant in ipsa uel ex eo tempore uacauerunt quo super commissa tibi custodia literas nostras Meneuensi capitulo presentasti, si ad episcopum pertinet donacio eorum, amoto quolibet illicito detentore, tibi liceat idoneis personis assignare. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli se nouerit incursum. Datum Signie viii° Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iv°.

CAP. XI.

Littere protectionis patentes aduentus eiusdem.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis episcopis et dilectis filiis aliis ecclesiarum prelati ad quos litere iste peruenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Presencium uobis auctoritate mandamus, quatinus dilectos filios G. archidiaconum Meneuensem et R. monachum de Aberkenewe procuratorem ipsius et illos qui cum eis fuerint uel mittentur ab eis in sua iusticia prosequenda, nec impediatis in aliquo nec faciatis uel permittatis ab aliis impediri. Sed potius si qui parochianorum uestrorum eos impedire presumpserint, presumptioni eorum monicione premissa ecclesiastica districcione appellatione postposita compescatis. Datum Signie x° Kalendas Augusti pontificatus nostri anno iiii°.

Timebat enim archidiaconus quod propter regie potestatis offensam, causas ecclesie sue in propria persona prosequi non posset, ideoque subpriorem de Aberkenewe qui se Bangorensem gerebat electum procuratorem suum constituere disposuerat.

CAP. XII.

Super commendacione pariter et protectione litere clause tales.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabili fratri H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quamdiu et quantum dilectus filius Meneuensis archidiaconus super causa sua duxerit laborandum, qualiter nec persone pepercerit nec expensis, inclemenciam temporis, intemperiem aeris, et uiarum discrimina non euitans, tua fraternitas plene nouit. Licet autem tibi tanquam uenerabili fratri et honorabili ecclesie Dei membro uelinus quantum possumus cum honestate deferre, quia tamen iusticiam postulanti bus deesse nec uolumus nec debemus, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta maudamus, atque precipimus quatinus nec per te nec per karissimum in Christo filium I. regem Anglorum aut tuos, uel eius officiales impedi as aut permittas ab aliis impediri, quo minus tam super questione status quam causa electionis ipsius mandatum apostolicum impleatur, clericos eciam et laicos Meneuenses in alterutro predictorum assistentes eidem, nec afficias dampnis, nec minis perterreas, nec blandiciis reuoces, quo minus et testimonium perhibeant ueritati, et eorum quibus super hoc scripsimus se conspectui representent, immo tam dilecto filio R. monacho de Aberkenewe quem procuratorem constituit quam aliis qui pro eo fuerint, securitatem facias plenariam prouideri. Alioquin eius iniuriam immo nostram potius non possemus equanimiter sustinere sed cogermur in te licet inuiti grauiter uindicare, quia sicut ius tuum nolumus impediri, sed integre tibi potius intendimus reseruare, sic ius illius si quod habet in causa, que ad nostrum peruenit examen, nolumus deperire. Datum Signie x^o Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iiii^o.

CAP. XIII.

Litere aduentus eiusdem super prouentuum Meneuensis ecclesie restitutione archidiacono facienda et amministrazione.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabili fratri H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Olim ad nos super electione

Meneuensi ecclesie questione delata que de facili non poterat terminari, uolentes eidem ecclesie paterna sollicitudine prouidere, eius custodiam tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus dilecto filio archidiacono Meneuensi G. duximus committendam. Ut igitur quod a nobis est in hac parte statutum et sorciatur effectum, et optineat firmitatem, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus atque precipimus, quatinus uniuersa que de prouentibus episcopalibus ex eo tempore sunt precepta ex quo idem archidiaconus literas nostras super commissa sibi custodia presentauit, ipsi facias sine qualibet diminucione resignari, nec impedias quo minus custodiam Meneuensis ecclesie tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus libere ualeat exercere. Datum Signie x^o Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iiii^o.

CAP. XIV.

Super eisdem tales abbati Sancti Dogmaelis directe.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum dilecto filio abbati Sancti Dogmaelis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Olim ad nos super electione Meneuensis ecclesie questione delata que de facili non poterat terminari, uolentes eidem ecclesie paterna sollicitudine prouidere, eius custodiam tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus dilecto filio Meneuensi archidiacono G. duximus committendam. Ut igitur quod a nobis est in hac parte statutum, et sorciatur effectum et optineat firmitatem, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus atque precipimus quatinus tam domos quam terras ad episcopum pertinentes cum fructibus inde perceptis, ex quo super custodia sibi commissa literas apostolicas presentauit eidem archidiacono sine diminucione resignes, nec impedias quo minus custodiam ecclesie Meneuensis tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus libere ualeat exercere. Alioquin noueris nos uenerabili fratri episcopo et dilectis filiis precentori et magistro S. canonico Herefordensi per apostolica scripta mandasse, ut te ad id monicione premissa sublato appellacionis obstaculo ecclesiastica districtione compellant. Datum Signie x^o Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iiii^o.

CAP XV.

Litere super archidiaconi spoliacione et abbatis Sancti Dogmaelis illiteratura.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabili fratri Eliensi episcopo et dilecto filio decano Londonie et archidiacono de Bukingeham, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Significauit nobis dilectus filius archidiaconus Meneuensis quod abbas Sancti Dogmaelis, et R. Foliot cum custodia Meneuensis ecclesie a nobis ipsi commisse eum per uolenciam spoliarunt, et quia idem R. sacrilegium in ipsius spoliacione commisit, sentenciam excommunicacionis incurrit, a qua fuit postmodum iuramento prestito secundum formam ecclesie apud sedem apostolicam absolutus. Uolentes igitur eidem archidiacono in iure suo sicut debemus adesse, discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus spoliatores predictos ut debitam ei satisfactionem impendant, monicione premissa per censuram ecclesiasticam appellacione postposita compellatis. Uerum quoniam idem abbas qui electum se nominat Meneuensem, et confirmacionis postulat beneficium sibi impertiri, esse dicitur quasi penitus ydiota, uolumus et mandamus ut omni gratia et timore postpositis de literatura et ydoneitate ipsius inquiratis sollicite ueritatem, et quod inueneritis per uestras nobis literas intimetis, nullis literis ueritati et iusticie preiudicantibus si que apparuerint a sede apostolica impetrate. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, tu frater episcopo cum eorum altero ea nichilominus exequaris. Datum Signie vi^o Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iiii^o.

CAP XVI.

Litere super electione et expensis circa finem aduentus eiusdem.

Archidiaconus autem coram auditoribus sibi datis quosdam testes induxit, et cum depositiones eorum posceret publicari, aduersarius eius ad testes producendos in patria tam ad fundandam intencionem suam quam repellendos testes ex aduerso productos dilacionem sibi petiit indulgeri. Licet autem ex multis presumpcionibus uideretur archidiaconus in quibusdam fuisse grauatus,

uolentes tamen iuris ordinem obseruare dilacionem duximus concedendam. Ideoque discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus tam archiepiscopo quam predicto abbati Sancti Dogmaelis immo eciam cuilibet qui super electione predicto archidiacono se duxerit opponendum ex parte nostra per nuncios et literas uestras districtius iniungatis, ut a festo Omnium Sanctorum proximo uenturo usque ad annum quod pro peremptorio assignamus, paratus sufficienter et instructus, per se uel per responsalem ydoneum, ad apostolicam sedem accedere non postponat. Quod si uenire contempserit, nos ex tunc in eodem negotio procedemus. Uerum quoniam archiepiscopus tam super electione quam super questione status ad nostram citatus presenciam ad alteram tantum sufficientem procuratorem direxit, cum idem archidiaconus utramque causam in persona propria fuerit prosecutus, uolumus et mandamus, ut archiepiscopus ei saltem medietatem legitimarum restituat expensarum. Ad quod eum auctoritate nostra suffulti, remoto appellacionis et contradictionis obstaculo, compellatis, nullis literis ueritati et iusticie preiudicium facientibus si que apparuerint a sede apostolica impetrate. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, tu frater episcope cum eorum altero ea nichilominus exequaris. Datum Signie iiii° Kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno iiii°

CAP XVII.

Litere aduentus tercii uarie et prime super expensis archidiacono restituendis.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabili fratri Dunelmensi et dilectis filiis decano et priori Sancte Trinitatis Eboracensis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quantum uenerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo super expensis quas dilectus filius archidiaconus Meneuensis Giraldus prima et secunda uice fecisse dinoscitur, deferre curauimus, ignorare non debet. Nuper eciam ducentas marcas et quadraginta idem archidiaconus se iurauerit expendisse, ipseque archiepiscopus ad solucionem medietatis ipsius pecunie teneatur, eum nonnisi in sexaginta marcis duximus condempnandum. Propter quod ipsi dedimus in mandatis, monentes et hortantes attentius ut in hac parte gratiam recognoscens,

sine dilacione qualibet mandatum nostrum super hoc adimplere non tardet eidem archidiacono lx marcas infra xl dies post suscepcionem presencium pro expensis soluens. Ideoque discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus dicto archiepiscopo in executione mandati nostri cessante, uos ipsum ad id per districtiorem ecclesiasticam appellacione postposita compellatis. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, tu frater episcope cum eorum altero ea nichilominus exequaris. Datum Ferentini xii^o Kalendas Iulii, pontificatus nostri anno vi^o.

CAP XVIII.

Litere super deposicione crucis et Ierosolimitane peregrinacionis absolucione.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis et dilecto filio archidiacono de Bukingeham Lincolniensis diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dilectus filius G. archidiaconus Meneuensis proponit coram nobis quod cum olim signaculum crucis assumpserit ad instanciam clare memorie H. regis Anglorum qui spem ei dederat super subsidio expensarum si cum eo Ierosolimam ire uellet, ipso rege interim sublato de medio, idem archidiaconus spe frustratus uotum suum cum competentes facultates non haberet, non potuit adimplere. Unde bone memorie Iohannes episcopus Prenestinus tunc tituli Sancti Marci presbiter cardinalis, cum in partibus illis legacionis officio fungeretur, eiusdem archidiaconi compaciens paupertati eum a labore peregrinacionis absoluit ita quod euntibus in terre sancte subsidium subueniret, et ad reparacionem ecclesie Meneuensis impenderet operam et auxilium opportunum. Ceterum cum postmodum emanarit a sede apostolica mandatum ut ad recipiendum crucis signaculum per excommunicacionis sentenciam cogentur quos illud absque prosecutione itineris deposuisse constaret, nisi apostolice sedis indulgenciam specialem haberent, idem archidiaconus ut causam liberius ageret, quam pro ecclesia Meneuensi tractabat, resumere crucis signaculum est coactus. Unde humiliter postulauit a nobis ut senectuti compaciens ipsius cum ipso misericorditer ageremus. Nos igitur attendentes senectutem ac debilitatem ipsius, et comperientes per iam dicti literas cardinalis eum super

hoc absolucionis beneficium habuisse, ipsum a labore peregrinationis denunciauimus absolutum, iniungentes eidem ut iuxta proprias facultates pro expensis quas fuisset in peregrinatione facturus, subsidium competens ad subuencionem terre sancte transmittat. Ideoque discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus eundem archidiaconum a labore peregrinationis denunciatis penitus absolutum et pensatis facultatibus et redditibus eius congruam pecunie quantitatem faciatis ab eo ad subuencionem Ierosolimitane prouincie destinari, eum ad hoc si forte presumeret contraire, per districtiorem ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compellentes. Datum Ferentini ii° Nonas Iunii pontificatus nostri anno vi°.

CAP XIX.

Litere contra iudices ineptos reuocatorie quod perperam actum fuerat irritantes.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis et dilecto filio archidiacono de Bukingeham Lincolniensis diocesis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dilectus filius G. archidiaconus Meneuensis proposuit coram nobis quod cum a quibusdam aduersariis suis Meneuensis diocesis coram delegatis a nobis iudicibus Herefordensis diocesis super dampnis et iniuriis que sibi ab eo asserebant illata, tractus fuisset in causam, et unus iudicum commisisset alii uices suas, archidiaconus ipse in pluribus articulis senciens se grauari, ad nostram duxit audienciam appellandum. Ipsi uero appellationi nullatenus deferentes in ipsius archidiaconi preiudicium et grauamen in causa nichilominus processerunt. Ideoque discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus in irritum reuocantes si quid post appellationem ad nos rationabiliter interpositam temere inueneritis attemptatum, audiatis que fuerint utrinque proposita, et quod iustum fuerit appellatione postposita statuatis, facientes quod statueritis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter obseruari. Testes autem qui nominati fuerunt si se gracia odio uel timore subtraxerint per districtiorem eandem appellatione remota cogatis ueritati testimonium perhibere, nullis litteris ueritati et iusticie preiudicantibus a sede apostolica

impetratis. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, duo uestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Datum eadem etc.

CAP. XX.

Littere contra spoliatores archidiaconi laicos et excommunicatos.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis et dilecto filio archidiacono de Bukingeham Lincolniensis diocesis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exposuit nobis dilectus filius G. archidiaconus Meneuensis in nostra presencia constitutus, quod cum N. Auenel et W. filius Martini et quidam alii Meneuensis diocesis suis uobis nominibus exprimendi ecclesiam ipsius de Lanwndaph nequiter fuerint depredati, et bona prebende ipsius de Martru rapuerint uiolenter, idem archidiaconus propter hec et quedam alia in eos et quosdam alios eiusdem diocesis qui quosdam canonicos Meneuenses assistentes eidem per uiolenciam bonis propriis spoliarent, excommunicacionis sentenciam auctoritate apostolica promulgauit. Ideoque discrecioni uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus sentenciam illam sicut racionabiliter lata est, faciatis monicione premissa per censuram ecclesiasticam usque ad satisfactionem congruam inuiolabiliter obseruari, nullis literis ueritati et iusticie preiudicantibus a sede apostolica impetratis. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, duo uestrum ea nichilominus exequantur. Data eadem etc.

CAP. XXI.

Littere domini pape aduentus eiusdem donationem archidiaconi primam confirmantes.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio Philippo presbitero canonico Meneuensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Solet annuere sedes apostolica piis uotis et honestis petencium precibus assensum beneuolum impertiri. Ea propter dilecte in domino fili tuis iustis postulacionibus grato concurrentes assensu personam tuam cum omnibus bonis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis que in presenciarum racionabiliter possides aut in futurum iustis modis prestante domino poteris adipisci sub beati Petri et

nostra protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem prebendam ecclesie Meneuensis quam per donationem dilecti filii G. archidiaconi Meneuensis amministrationem Meneuensis diocesis, de concessione nostra gerentis es canonice consecutus, sicut eam iuste possides et quiete auctoritate tibi apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti testimonio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre protectionis et confirmationis infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Data eadem etc.

CAP. XXII.

Littere domini pape aduentus eiusdem donationem archidiaconi secundam confirmantes.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio Ythenardo diacono salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur quod iustum est et honestum, tam uigor equitatis quam ordo exigit rationis ut id per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Ea propter dilecte in domino fili tuis iustis postulacionibus grato concurrentes assensu, prebendam Meneuensis ecclesie quam per donationem dilecti filii G. archidiaconi Meneuensis amministrationem Meneuensis diocesis de concessione nostra gerentis, es canonice consecutus, sicut eam iuste possides et quiete, auctoritate tibi apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti testimonio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmationis infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius, se nouerit incursum. Datum eadem etc.

CAP. XXIII.

Littere domini pape aduentus eiusdem donationem archidiaconi terciam confirmantes.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto filio Iohanni presbitero salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Iustis petencium desideriis dignum est nos facilem prebere consensum et uota que a rationis tramite non discordant,

affectu prosequente complere. Ea propter dilecte in domino fili tuis iustis postulacionibus grato concurrentes assensu ecclesiam Sancte Brigide quam per donacionem dilecti filii G. archidiaconi Meneuensis amministrationem Meneuensis diocesis de concessione nostra gerentis es canonice consecutus, sicut eam iuste possides et quiete, auctoritate tibi apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti testimonio communimus. Nulli ergo hominum omnino liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis infringere, uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum se nouerit incursum. Datum eadem etc.

Ceterum quoniam Eliensis episcopus Eustacius et Wigornensis Malgerus inter archiepiscopum et archidiaconum de pace laborabant, pacis formam quam admittere uoluit sciscitantibus illis talem transmisit.

INCIPIT QUARTA PARS.

CAP. I.

*E. Eliensi et M. Wigornensi episcopis pro pace laborantibus
G. archidiaconus.*

Quoniam ecclesiam nostram Meneuensem constat multo tempore metropolim fuisse et eciam in plena potestate metropolitana preter usum pallii usque ad tempora regis Anglorum Henrici primi permansisse, per cuius potestatem ac uolenciam Cantuariensi ecclesie subici cepit, cum aliis ecclesiis Wallie, sicut ex scripto quod de diuisionibus Anacleti pape et registro Gregorii nec non et ecclesiastica Bede hystoria fideliter extraximus, ex parte perpendi potest, iterum si placet metropolitana fiat, sed ecclesie Cantuariensi subiecta, sicut una ecclesia metropolis alii metropoli iure primacie subici solet, quemadmodum uidelicet Burdegalensis metropolis Bituricensi tanquam primacie sede subiecta est. Primacie namque proprie sedes non est ut nostis, nisi que subditum sibi archipresulem habet. Uerum cum ecclesia Meneuensis temporibus beati Dauid et xxv successorum eiusdem usque ad Samsonem Dolensem qui pallium nostrum asportauit intra Wallie spacium ut nunc est et v episcopatum Anglie, Cestrensem scilicet seu

Couetrensem, Herefordensem, Wigornensem, Bathoniensem et Oxoniensem,¹ sicut uel ex historiis colligitur, uel etiam ex antiquorum fideli relacione et assercione comprobatur, xii suffraganeos haberet, nunc tribus illis tantum qui intra Wallie fines continentur, contenta foret. Sic etenim inicium possidendi Cantuariensis ecclesie uitiosum quia uiolentum ex parte purgari posset, cum de consensu eiusdem ecclesia Meneuensis pristino gauderet honore, etsi non pleno. Et quia iam aliquamdiu in subiectione fuerat quamquam iniuste temporibus scilicet trium episcoporum nostrorum ultimorum qui soli de nostris a Cantuariensibus consecracionem susceperunt, subiecta maneret. Et sic Cantuariensis archiepiscopus plus haberet honoris scilicet loco simplicis episcopi suffraganei archiepiscopum subiectum habens, et cum longe meliore consciencia multoque minus honeris, terram scilicet tam remotam, quia per xv fere dietas et gentem diuisas ab Anglia prorsus atque diuersas, linguam, leges et consuetudines habentem, qui modos et mores patrie non ignoraret et qui propius residens ac diligens existeret, quasi per uicarium regens. Ceterum ne uidear persone mee hanc dignitatem appetiisse uel appetere, archiepiscopus ecclesie nostre fieret quicumque dum tamen ydoneus, iuxta domini pape et regis et archiepiscopi dispositionem. Sicque perpetuo controuersia tanta sopita foret. Alius concordie modus, si forte domino pape, in cuius omnia ponimus dispositione, modus iste non sederet uel eciam archiepiscopo, quod testes nostros ualitudinarios iudices suscipiant et attestaciones sub sigillis suis domino pape transmissis et ibidem bullate in scriniis eiusdem ne tractu temporis ius depereat, reseruentur et eodem apud Cantuariensem ecclesiam similiter bullate, et terciè apud Meneuiam reponantur, et sic toto tempore uite archiepiscopi istius quam Deus ad honorem ecclesie sue longam conseruet, hec controuersia pro bono pacis sopita quiescat, nisi forte de uoluntate summi pontificis uel eciam mandato principis resuscitetur. Et ut liqueat omnibus me propter cathedram Meneuensem tantum nullatenus assumpsisse laborem, electionem de me factam, si qua fuit, in manu domini pape resignabo et eius prouidencia ecclesie nostre pauperi ac depilate et usque ad exterminium fere dilapidate pastor uiuidus ac ualidus, qui dispersa reuocet et reparet, prouideatur. Sin autem

¹ A copyist's error for Exoniensem.

neutrum concordie modum uel dominus papa approbauerit uel archiepiscopus admiserit. nichil aliud restat nisi ut lites suo Marte decurrant.

Scriptum hoc autem statim archiepiscopo per suos missum fuerat, quod cum diligenter inspiceret et respiceret, quamquam plurimi suorum et discretiores modum pacis et transactionis oblatum approbarent, et precipue Eliensis episcopus, qui tam discretus erat et in iure peritus, asserens si cathedre preesset ipse Cantuariensi, se malle archiepiscopum in Wallia cum suffraganeis suis sub pace stabili perpetuaque subiectum habere, quam quatuor ecclesias ibidem cathedrales simplices sic pendulas semper et litigiosas iure prouinciali possidere, tamen archiepiscopus de tribus confisus, de regia potestate scilicet, quam uel amore ipsius uel timore magis propter werre urgentis incommodum ad nutum habebat, de capitulo Meneuensi, quod ex toto fere iam corruperat, et de curia Romana quam corruptibilem quod absit esse putabat, oblate concordie non adqueiuit, sed donec suffraganeos suos omnes super hoc consuleret, responsum proterminauit. Nunc autem ex libro de gestis Giraldi et oracione ipsius pro statu ecclesie sue fauorabiliter in pleno consistorio uel coram papa secrecius in camera facta, et per argumenta plurima tam de diuisionibus Anacleti pape quam eciam Bede historia, necnon et Gregorii epistola fideliter conserta finales clausulas hic apponere non inuile reputauimus.

CAP. II.

Ad declarandam Meneuensis ecclesie dignitatem uarie rationum et argumentorum inductiones.

Ex premissis igitur euidentis esse potest quod numquam ecclesia Walensica sicut nec Scotica ante Bede tempora qui hoc si secus esset in hystoria sua non tacuisset, subiecta fuit, nec eciam post eius tempora regnantibus Anglis scilicet usque ad Normannorum tempora quorum rex tercius cui nomen Henricus et hic Henricorum primus Walliam in manu forti subiugando, apposuit quoque ut ecclesiam Wallensicam quam liberam inuenit, ecclesie regni sui supponeret, sicut et terram regno suo subiecit. Inuenit autem Wilfridum Meneuensem episcopum quartum scilicet ab hoc ultimo defuncto hac libertate gaudentem,

quod nulli ecclesie nisi Romane solum subiectus, omni libertate metropolitana preter usum pallii gaudebat quemadmodum et decessores sui a tempore Samsonis decem et octo. Consecrabat enim alios episcopos Wallie, et consecratus fuit ab ipsis, conuocabat sinodos episcoporum, appellabatur ad ipsum, et crucem sibi referebat. Nec nouum est uel inauditum quod episcopi nullo metropolitano subsint sicut in episcopis Scocie patet, sicut etiam ut propius exempla petantur, Papiensis episcopus pallio fungens et crucem sibi preferens cum tamen simplex episcopus existat, nulli metropolitano sicut nec Luensis subest, sed tantum ecclesie Romane. Habuerat autem ecclesia Meneuensis archiepiscopos sibi succedentes xxv, quorum primus fuit Sanctus Dauid, ultimus uero Sanctus Samson qui ingruente per Walliam ictericia clade in Americam Gallie Britanniam nauigio se transtulit, ibique in ecclesia Dolensi tunc forte uacante cum pallio nostro quod secum portauerat, in archiepiscopum assumptus est. Cuius euentus occasione usque ad hec fere nostra tempora quibus aduenticia dignitas euanuit, Dolensis ecclesia pallium obtinuit. Nostra uero Meneuensis ecclesia pallio postea semper caruisse dinoscitur, tota tamen pristina dignitate metropolitana preter usum pallii retenta, temporibus scilicet decem et nouem episcoporum sibi continue usque ad tempora primi Henrici regis Anglie succedencium. Quod autem noster fuerit Samson ille Dolensis et non aliunde, testantur etiam hystorie Dolenses. Unde et in eorum sequencia sic reperitur. Presul ante Meneuensis dignitatis in Dolensis transfertur fastigium. Eboracenses autem qui nostrum hunc Samsonem suum fuisse iactitant, quoniam et eorum antistes quidam eodem nomine uocatus fuerat, equiuocacio decepti. Hec autem tempore Gregorii magni translatio facta fuit. Si moueat aliquem quare si libera fuit ecclesia Meneuensis tanto tempore nec pallium petiit nec obtinuit, sciat in causa fuisse tam cleri ignauiam, quam terre paupertatem, necnon et werram inter Britones et Saxones qui Angli nunc dicuntur fere continuam. Precipua uero causarum omnium fuit occupacio regni Britannici a Saxonibus facta scilicet circa eadem fere tempora, quo pallium nostrum euanuit, qui et pagani tunc et pluribus postmodum annis fuerant, et post fidem susceptam non minus atroces quam ante et Britonibus hostes in capite, propter quam hostilitatem interpositam

nulla Britonibus uia, nullus interim uersus Petri cathedram et curiam istam, quasi preclusis et obsessis, patuit accessus. Item si moueat aliquem quod a tempore subiectionis huius per uiolenciam facte lx uel plures elapsi sunt anni, et sic longa temporis prescripcione Cantuarienses tuti esse uiderentur, sciat prescripcionem multipliciter interruptam fuisse, primo per Bernardum episcopum nostrum qui successit Wilfrido, et qui circiter xxvi annos post uiolenciam factam uiolatore defuncto, super dignitate ecclesie sue Meldis in Francia Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo coram Eugenio papa controuersiam mouit. Secundo, tempore Dauid episcopi successoris Bernardi cuius circiter dies ultimos cum per annos durasset episcopus xxvi coram Huguicione cardinali titulo Sancti Angeli in Anglia legacione fungente, canonici Meneuenses Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Ricardo controuersiam mouerunt. Tercio in Lateranensi concilio quasi v^o postmodum anno, per clericos Meneuenses dignitatem ecclesie sue in tanta audiencia petentes synodaliter est proclamatum. Anno uero ab eodem concilio quasi xx^o apostolatus autem uestri ii^o, iura ecclesie nostre in audiencia uestra petiuimus, et Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo controuersiam mouimus et adhuc mouemus. Item quoniam a singulis episcopis nostris post tempus Bernardi sacramentum de non prosequendo iure ecclesie sue metropolitico priusquam consecrari possent Cantuarienses archipresules extorquere solebant, sicut ab inicio malam fidem habuerunt puta qui per uiolenciam possidere ceperunt, constat eosdem per sacramenti huius extorsionem adhuc quidem et continue male fidei possessores existere. Quare nec in hac possessione se longi temporis prescripcione de iure tueri possent, eciam si nulla interrupcio secuta fuisset. Item ex registro ecclesie Romane communi, cuius per gratiam uestram copiam habuimus, ius ecclesie nostre perpendi potest, nam ubi in enumerationibus sedium cathedralium in singulis regionibus demum ad Angliam peruentum est, numeratis ecclesiis pontificalibus Cantuariensi metropoli in Anglia subiectis, interposita rubrica scilicet de Wallia sic procedit. In Wallia uero sunt iiii^{or}, Meneuensis ecclesia, Landauen-sis, Bangorensis et de Sancto Asaph, ubi duo sunt notanda quod non dicit iiii^{or} ecclesias illas subiectas, et quod rubrica interponitur, quod non fit nisi quando transitur de regno ad regnum, uel de metropoli ad metropolim. Cum

itaque tot rationibus pristinum ius ecclesie nostre clarescere possit, hic erit effectus cause status si cum effectu processerit, quia imprimis magnus erit honor ecclesie Romane si ecclesia Walensica ei immediate subiecta fuerit sicut est ecclesia Scotica et sicut ipsa quoque olim fuerat et esse deberet. Hoc eciam emolumentum, quod Wallia parata est dare ecclesie Romane denarium Sancti Petri de singulis domibus sicut datur in Anglia, quod ascenderet ad summam ducentarum marcarum annuatim. Et preterea dabunt magnam decimam suam ecclesie Romane. Hoc autem uocant magnam decimam, quando decimant omnia animalia sua tam pecora quam armenta et equicia, omnemque substanciam suam tam mobilem quam immobilem. Summa uero decime istius per Walliam totam ad plus quam mille marcas ascenderet. Hoc eciam non sine pronostico creditur contigisse, quod eodem anno in cuius principio Dolensis ecclesia per hanc curiam pallium amisit, quod a nobis habuerat, et nos illud eius omnino casus ignari in hac curia eiusdem anni fine petiuimus. Unde cum omnia redire debeant ad sua incia, sicut ecclesia Dolensis ad suum incium iam rediit, scilicet simplicem episcopatum, sic et Meneuensis ecclesia ad suum incium, id est, sedem metropolitanam Deo dante, diebus uestris redire debet. Ex hoc ergo clarescere potest huic curie sacre siue processum habeat causa status siue non, quod non res ficta uel friuola, non Arturi fabula sicut insultat pars aduersa, sed res ueritate suffulta, et auctoritate subnixa, super dignitate pristina ecclesie Meneuensis reformanda, iusta et fauorabilis est peticio nostra. Ut autem super electionis controuersia uel paucis lector et hic quoque certificetur, oracionem Giraldi retorice concertam sicut in libro de gestis eiusdem reperiri potest, hic apponere preter rem non putauimus.

CAP III.

Ad fictionem declarandam et hysteron-proteron per multorum periuria de abbate factam rationum inductio.

Pater sancte, quod abbatis electio non fuerit prima, sicut mentitur pars aduersa, ueris assercionibus sic adstruimus, et figmenta falsissima certissimis coniecturis exsufflamus.

In primo aduentu nostro statim e uestigio misit archi-

episcopus Cantuariensis post nos uobis per cursorem quemdam literas inuentionis sue, quibus et mandato uestro respondimus, quas et adhuc in promptu habemus, in quibus omnia que excogitare potuit nostre promocionis impedimenta congescit. Nullam autem in eis mencionem fecit de electione aliqua ante nostram facta, quod quidem si facta fuisset presertim ab ipso nec immemor fuisset nec tacuisset.

Item in Quadragesima sequente parum ante Pascha uenit ad curiam quidam nomine Boniohannes, clericus Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et ab ipso transmissus, qui interrogatus a uobis utrum speciale mandatum aliquod haberet a domino suo contra me, qui diutinam iam in curia moram feceram, dixit quod non. Tantum tamen iniunxerat ei dominus suus uobis dicendum, ut ait, si me forte in curia reperiret, quod quatuor erant nominati, quorum unus erat archidiaconus, sed ipso statim a rege recusato, canonici Meneuenses abbatem quendam, cum regis assensu, Londonie ipso presente coram domino suo parum ante Natale tunc proximum elegerunt, et cum quereretis utrum dominus suus electionem illam confirmasset, quia tunc eram ego in curia ista, ille obmutuit. Et cum instaretis ut responderet, tandem dixit, quod non erat ei iniunctum ad hoc respondere, credebat tamen id domino suo non displicere. Uos autem ilico, si tamen bene recolimus, quicquid actum fuerat contra electionem meam post iter ad uos arreptum et appellacionem interpositam in irritum reuocastis. Unde si archiepiscopus immemor fuisset electionis ante nostram a se facte mittendo cursorem, non immemor utique fuisset mittendo clericum.

Item, sicut missi fuerant vi canonici nostri ad archiepiscopum contra festum Sancti Michaelis proximum post mortem episcopi P. ad electionem faciendam, sic mandato iusticiarii et hoc per preceptum regis et archiepiscopi de partibus cismarinis missi fuerunt quatuor canonici nostri Londoniam ad iusticiarium contra Quadragesimam ad electionem faciendam, uel ad regem et archiepiscopum transfretandum, quibus et adhuc iusticiarius priorem de Lantonia constanter offerebat, quem quia recipere nolebant de assensu ipsius miserunt unum ex ipsis cum clerico quodam ecclesie ad regem Ricardum propter assensum ipsius requirendum de G. archidiacono eligendo. Hoc

autem probant testes nostri duo, Nicholaus maior et Hugo seruiens, et O. archidiaconus testis contrarius. Dicit enim N. maior quod in comitatu fuit clericorum Meneuensium, qui missi erant ad regem Ricardum propter assensum eius requirendum de G. archidiacono eligendo, et hoc usque in Normanniam, et inde ipsis regem sequentibus usque Pictauiam, ipse in Franciam eundo scholas petiit, ubi paulo post audiuit quod, rege Ricardus interempto, clerici Meneuenses ad fratrem suum comitem Iohannem reuersi sunt. H. uero seruiens dicit, quod cum clericis Meneuensibus tunc iret ut eis seruiret, et cum ipsis fuit quando reuersi a rege Ricardus interempto ad comitem Iohannem apud Chinouense castrum uenerunt. Osbertus autem, qui totum fere de auditu loquitur, dicit se audisse quatuor canonicos iterum missos ad iusticiarium in Angliam propter electionem faciendam, et quod inde miserunt duos clericos ad regem Ricardum parum ante obitum suum. Et licet tempus non exprimitur missionis istius, quia nec forte interrogatum fuerat per incuriam aliquam, tamen ex uerbis singulorum testium ipsorum hoc colligi potest, quod circa Quadragesimam. Dicunt enim omnes quod quia regem Ricardum mortuum inuenerunt, et priusquam ad ipsum peruenire possent interemptum, conuersi sunt ad fratrem istum Iohannem qui ei successit. Rex enim Ricardus quasi xv diebus ante Pascha interfectus fuerat. Unde patet quod si archiepiscopus abbatem elegerat in Epiphania precedente, uel etiam potestatem habuisset ei collatam a canonicis ipsum eligendi, non quidem canonicos de Wallia in Angliam, de Anglia in Normanniam propter eligendum episcopum uocari postmodum aut uexari procuraret.

Item, in ebdomada Paschali proxima post obitum regis Ricardi reuersus est archiepiscopus in Angliam, ubi et comitem Iohannem in die Ascensionis coronauit, et postea rege statim in Normanniam reuerso, et regno ex toto pacificato, archiepiscopus per totam estatem usque in ipsum autumnum in Anglia remansit. Sed quare hoc toto interuallo abbatem suum, si antea electus fuisset, non confirmauit aut etiam consecrauit, nullo prorsus resistente obstaculo, cum nullius adhuc electio precessisset? Sed nec etiam abbatem illum toto hoc tempore ad se uocauit, quod quidem potuisset per cursorem, nec eum oculis suis interim uidit.

Item, consuetudo est in Anglia, licet non approbanda, quod quam cito aliquis eligitur de assensu principis, statim administracionem suscipit temporalium, eciam ante confirmacionem. Unde, si abbas electus fuisset in Epiphania de regis assensu, quam cito nuncius inde redire posset, administracionem proculdubio recepisset. Sed non ante Natale sequens recepit, quia prior de Lantonia eam usque tunc habuit. Ergo non antea electus fuit.

Item, circa festum Sancti Michaelis proximum post electionem G. archidiaconi, archiepiscopus iterum de Normannia in Angliam reuersus statim mandauit, ut canonici Meneuenses ad ipsum uenirent cum literis de rato, ut dicit O. archidiaconus, pastorale solacium susceperunt. Ipsi uero tres canonicos miserunt, sed absque literis de rato. Adhuc enim uerecundabantur et uerebantur contra factum suum tam recens manifeste uenire. Dicit etiam O. archidiaconus, quod quia literas de rato non habuerunt, non cantauerunt *Te Deum Laudamus* in electione abbatis apud Lambeiam, nec archiepiscopus consuluit. Constat autem quod si archiepiscopus abbatem ante elegisset, uicem in hoc capituli gerens Meneuensis, nec literas de rato quesisset, quia nec eis indigeret, nec *Te Deum Laudamus* cantari dissuasisset.

Item, ex literis capituli nostri missis archiepiscopo apud Glowcestriam in illa presumptuosa examinacione, ad petendam confirmacionem abbatis manifeste patet, quia non contulerant uota eligendi in archiepiscopum, sed tantum ut super assensu regis de uno illorum quatuor inquisito eos certificaret, ei supplicauerunt. Unde ut dicunt intellecto tandem per literas archiepiscopi et literas iusticiarii, quod in abbatem S. Dogmaelis rex consensus, ipsum elegerunt in pastorem. Uerecundius itaque tunc mentiebantur quam postea. Nondum enim excogitata subtilitas illa fuerat, faciendi scilicet electionem nouissimam primam et primam nouissimam.

Item, in ipsa electione G. archidiaconi, et eciam paulo post priorem de Lantonia canonici Meneuenses ut eligerent, archiepiscopus tam literis suis et nunciis quam eciam iusticiarii districte mandauit, quod si abbatem ante elegisset nullatenus priorem illum tam impudenter eis tunc ingessisset. Unde timens capitulum nostrum, ne citra electionem omnem, uel eciam nominacionem, priorem illum archiepiscopus ei mitteret consecratum, quia preceps

solet esse in talibus, sicut patet in Bangorensi, literas suas contra eundem priorem ad uos destinauerunt, unde si aliquod obstaculum de abbate prescripto uel alio quolibet se credidissent habituros, contra eundem absque dubio pro electo suo et libertate ecclesie uobis scripsissent.

Item, quod totum falsum et confictum fuerit de potestate in archiepiscopum collata patet euidenter quod nunquam adeo mente capti fuissent canonici Meneuenses, quod in archiaduersarium ecclesie sue, qui nunquam uellet eos bono et ualido pastore gaudere, potestatem eligendi sibi episcopum contulerunt. Quod et ex ipso abbate, quem elegisse dicitur, sibi ipsi in philosophia simillimo, clarescere potest. Nec mirum, quoniam ut ait Plautus,

Ex insensibili ne credas sensile nasci.

Item, si archiepiscopus abbatem illum elegisset uice capituli Meneuensis in Epiphania proxima sequente post obitum episcopi P. sicut mentitur pars aduersa, constat quod illam electionem suam consummasset cum nullum haberet impedimentum, quia nonnisi per anni et dimidii spacium subsequenter elapsum, festo scilicet apostolorum Petri et Pauli archidiaconi electio facta fuit, sed nec ante archidiaconi electionem nec post, abbatis electionem confirmauit, ergo nec ipsum elegit. Sunt igitur preter dictas probaciones tres, argumenta pater ut nostis hec rhetorica, coniecturalia quidem et probabilia, scilicet presumptiones magis quam probaciones, quibus reuera fides longe maior adhiberi debet quam testium assercionibus uilissimorum.

Reuoluat itaque lector et respiciat literas libelli Inuectionum primas, in quibus nil prorsus inueniet de electione aliqua ante archidiaconi electionem facta. Unde, cum hoc argumentum et alia simul cum probacionibus tribus, per duos scilicet ex nostris et unum aduerse partis testem facta, sufficere possent ad exsufflandum omnia falsitatis aduerse figmenta, tamen ecclesia militans, que et falli potest et corrumpi, hec et alia cuncta nostre partis adiumenta miro partis aduerse fauore, preter solitum nuper adeptu, sub dissimulatione transiuit. Proinde et contra Giraldum, qui tam fauorabilis hactenus in curia fuerat, demum sententia data, literas super electionibus primis cassatis et electione de nouo facienda iudicibus in Angliam transmiserunt. Unde quod Yldebertus Cenomannensis episcopus ad curie sugillationem in libro suo epistolari

inter cetera scribit, et hic apponere dignum duximus. Nobis, inquit, Romam profecturis, tempus hieme suspectum, niuibus Alpes, incrementis aque, uinculis imperator, sedicionibus ciuitas, exactione palacium. Sane omnia hec oracionibus euacuari posse credimus, solam uero exactionem nec oracione nec ieiunio temperari. Erant autem litere iste tales.

CAP. IV.

Litere aduentus tercii super primis electionibus duabus per sentenciam cassatis et electione de nouo facienda.

Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Causam que uertebatur inter dilectos filios abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis et G. archidiaconum de Brekenniaue, quorum uterque se asserebat electum in episcopum Meneuensem, coram delegatis a nobis iudicibus aliquamdiu uentilatam, nos tandem in consistorio nostro examinauimus diligenter. Auditis ergo et intellectis attestacionibus et allegacionibus partium, de communi fratrum nostrorum consilio electionem cassauimus utriusque. Ne uero contingat ecclesiam Meneuensem ex iterata dissensione grauius perturbari, fraternitati uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus canonicos Meneuenses ad electionem concordem de persona ydonea infra duos menses canonicè celebrandam monere ac inducere procuretis. Que si taliter facta fuerit, per metropolitanum proprium confirmetur. Alioquin uos, auctoritate nostra suffulti, sublato cuiuslibet contradictionis et appellacionis obstaculo, preficiatis eis personam ydoneam in pastorem, et faciatis eam per metropolitanum eundem in episcopum consecrari, attentius prouisuri ne idem archiepiscopus aliquam ab eo recipiat caucionem, propter quam prosequi nequeat causam status ecclesie Meneuensis. Quod si non ambo hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, alter uestrum ea nichilominus exequatur. Datum Ferentini viii Kalendas Iunii, pontificatus nostri anno vi°.

CAP. V.

De Giraldi uigilancia in utraque fortuna.

Ad Giraldi tamen instanciam qui commodis ecclesie sue fortuna studebat utraque, nec minus nubila quam

serena, papa penultimam clausulam adiecit. Iudices prescriptos eciam super hoc ipsum secrecius interpellans papa eiusdem consilio dedit.

CAP. VI.

De fauorabili eiusdem per literas cardinalium excusatione.

Ad ipsius quoque fauorem, quem quasi placare parabant post offensam, cardinales duo, scilicet Octouianus et Guido, de papa criminales obiectiones archidiacono non nocuisse in aliquo, uel nocere de cetero posse, per literas suas patentes in hunc modum sunt contestati.

CAP. VII.

Litere cardinalium.

Venerabilibus in Christo fratribus Dei gracia Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis et aliis omnibus presentes literas inspecturis, Octouianus eadem gracia Hostiensis et Uelle-trensis episcopus, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Ne contra famam dilecti filii magistri G. Meneuensis archidiaconi occasione electionis facte de ipso in ecclesia Meneuensi opinio minus honesta possit assumi, pro eodem quod scimus loquimur, et quod uidimus protestamur audacter. Ad noticiam siquidem omnium presentibus literis uolumus peruenire, electionem ipsius non propter persone uicium uel obiectiones ab aduersariis factas, sed propter inordinatum eligendi processum, fuisse cassatam. Item Guido, miseracione diuina sancte Marie Transtiberim titulo Calixti presbiter cardinalis et domini pape uicarius, omnibus ad quos litere iste peruenerint salutem in eo qui est uera salus. Nouerit caritas uestra quod magistri Giraldi electio non pro persone crimine, sed quia inordinate fuit electus a domino papa fuit cassata. Inordinatum enim eligendi processum dixerunt, unde et occasionem cassandi eius electionem habuerunt post electionem abbatis Sancti Dogmaelis nondum cassatam, quam primam fuisse pars aduersa confinxerat, tanquam secundam factam archidiaconi electionem iuxta falsissimam aduersariorum assercionem quasi pro certo habuerunt, et sic ex falsis et inconcessis, tanquam constantibus sentenciando processerunt. Ad hec eciam in fauorem archidiaconi, et ut eius adhuc promocionem in Meneuensi ecclesia procurare possent, cardinales iii iudicibus in Angliam literas tales destinarunt.

CAP. VIII.

Qualiter iterum ad promocionem eiusdem cardinales per literas suas intendebant.

Uenerabilibus in Christo fratribus et amicis karissimis E. Dei gracia Eliensi, et M. Wigornensi episcopis, Octouianus eadem gracia Hostiensis et Uelletrensis episcopus, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Cum super prouisione Meneuensis ecclesie committat uobis summus pontifex uices suas, credentes quod nostrum debeat consilium acceptare literas nostras uobis duximus transmitendas. De uestra igitur prouidencia confidentes, consulimus et hortamur, quatinus in facto eodem uia regia incedentes, timore et fauore postpositis, soli Deo et iusticie adherere curetis. Et quia exquisiti iuris esse dinoscitur ut qui prefici debet de gremio assumatur ecclesie, si possit in eo idoneus inueniri, cum credatur quod in Meneuensi ecclesia persona reperiri possit ydonea, secundum datam uobis a Deo sapienciam illum iuxta mandatum apostolicum studeatis preficere de corpore ipsius ecclesie, qui in ea magis ydoneus reperitur, et secundum Deum sciat, possit et uelit in spiritualibus et temporalibus ecclesiam gubernare, ut uos ob id possitis apud Deum et homines commendabiles apparere.

Item, Uenerabilibus in Christo fratribus et amicis E. et M. Dei gracia Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis, Iohannes eadem gracia Albanensis episcopus salutem in domino. Quoniam in ecclesie Meneuensis prouisione ut pastorali guadeat solacio quo iamdiu destituta fuisse dinoscitur, uices suas et auctoritatem uobis dominus papa commisit, de uestra confidimus prouidencia quod in hoc facto recta et regia uia incedentes nullius fauore persone uel timore a semita iusticie deuiabitis, sed utiliore quantum ad humanum spectat examen, precipue quod de ipso ecclesie gremio cum in ea possit ut credimus ydoneus inueniri, Deum solum pre oculis habentes in pastorem assumi procurabitis. Presumere namque uel magis pro certo scire poteritis quia uoluntas est domini pape simul et fratrum quatinus talis ecclesie Meneuensi post tantam expectationem pastor preficiatur, qui sciat, uelit et possit utiliter eidem et efficaciter preesse pariter et prodesse.

Item, Uenerabilibus in Christo fratribus E. et M. Eliensi et Wigornensi episcopis Leo miseracione diuina

titulo Sancte Crucis in Ierosalem presbiter cardinalis salutem et intime dilectionis affectum. Quoniam in ecclesie Meneuensis prouisione, et cetera ut prius.

Considerantes enim archidiaconi tam erudicionem quam persone fauorabilem ydoneitatem, et canonicorum Meneuensium qui contra eundem missi fuerant per omnia modicitatem, illos quoque qui domi fuerant ex hiis estimantes, nec enim deteriores et minus habiles ad tantam curiam et contra personam tantam missos fuisse credentes, si de gremio ecclesie eligeretur, non alium quam archidiaconum G. credere poterant eligendum. Proinde et sic scribebant tam propter personam archidiaconi, quam dilectam habebant et acceptam, ut promoueri posset, quam propter fructum eciam maximum et emolumentum quod curiam Romanam ex eius promocione et Cantuariensis ecclesie per ipsum uexatione pro certo nouerant consecuturam. Proinde tanquam ambidextri et uelut Oliuero currente pecuniam in tanta quantitate oblatam una manu auide sumebant, et alteram nichilominus extendere manum ad lucra futura satagebant.

CAP. IX.

Multiplex laboris Giraldi commendatio.

Cum autem coram maioribus regni uiris sermo quandoque fieret de Giraldo, sicut crebro tunc temporis fieri solet, uir magnus et nobilis tam Anglie quam Wallie, procerum inter primos existens ac precipuos, cui nomen Willelmus de Breusa, multis ex causis laborem Giraldi commendabilem dixit, quarum quinque proposuit et assignauit.

Primo, quod renouata est causa dignitatis ecclesie Sancte Daud, per ipsum tam egregie, et per tres commisiones diuersis iudicibus factas super statu, et partis aduerse citationes interrupta prescriptio. Secundo, quod tam uiuaciter et audacter tantam controuersiam et tam arduam mouit et prosequendo sustinuit, iam per quinquennium contra regem et archiepiscopum et Angliam totam, nec propter minas et persecuciones magnas rerunqu suarum atque suorum amissiones et spoliaciones crebras unquam cessauit, nec ecclesie sue defecit, donec ei spes sua tota deficeret. Tercio, quod cum ei curia Romana uel corrupta uel decepta defecisset, et capitulum Meneuense

non solum ei sed et sibi ipsi et ecclesie sue dignitati ex toto uere corrupta deficeret et exorbitaret, omnes aduersarios suos tam de ipsa ecclesia quam extra a promocione remouit. Unde cum ad instanciam archiepiscopi canonicos Meneuenses in ultima nominacione sua apud Norhamtoniam ipsum excepisse audiret et remouisse, qui in prima nominacione primus extiterat, statim hoc uerbum indignanter et cum assercione constanter emisit. Sicut exsortem me nunc fecerunt nominacionis, sic exsortes ipsos et suos omnes absque dubio faciam promocionis. Quarto, quod licet ei tam ecclesia sua tota quam curia Romana dicto modo deficeret, et sic quasi solus contra tot hostes et tantos ad arma procederet, tamen a rege et archiepiscopo, ut cessaret ad presens ab eorum uexacione, amplos in Anglia redditus obtinuit, et sic ut quiesceret tanquam tributum accepit. Quinto, ut nepotem suum quicquid sibi humanitus acciderit, in archidiaconatu suo et canonica promoueri fecit, et ne de illa societate, que tam sibi quam ecclesie sue tam infideliter et detestabiliter in tante necessitatis articulo defuit et defecit, ipsemet amplius esset, laudabiliter procurauit. Preter hec eciam quinque ex causis aliis et magis efficacibus magistri Giraldi labor utilis et laudabilis esse probari solet.

Primo, quod in curia Romana quando nullatenus impetrare potuit ut archiepiscopus Cantuariensis citaretur super dignitate Meneuensis ecclesie, et tam ardua causa propter uocem suam solam cum nulla pretenderet priuilegia seu munimenta, unicum remedium querens registrum Eugenii pape inuenit ibi qualiter causa uentilata fuerat coram Eugenio super eadem dignitate inter Bernardum Meneuensem episcopum et Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Quo inuento, et domino pape ac cardinalibus ostenso, que prius ei negate fuerant, statim commissio concessa fuit et citacio. Istud ergo magnum fuerat in libris eorum inuenisse quod ignorauerant ipsi, et quod antea tam obscurum fuerat de iure ecclesie sue, tam manifeste declarasse. Secundo, quod tres literas commissionis in causa status tribus uicibus quibus Romam aduenit impetratas, in registro pape istius, Innocentii scilicet, ad perpetuam laboris sui memoriam poni fecit, quatinus sicut super fundamentum Bernardi episcopi ipse laborauit, sic super hoc sui laboris fundamentum alius in posterum istius Innocentii registrum inspiciens laborare possit.

Registrum autem suum facit papa quilibet, hoc est librum ubi transcripta priuilegiorum omnium et literarum sui temporis super magis arduis causis continentur. Magnum est ergo fundamentum stabile super quod edificari possit strauisse, et scalam per quam ascendi poterit erexisse. Tercio quod sacramentum illud perniciosum, quod extorquere solent archiepiscopi Cantuarienses a Meneuensibus episcopis in consecracionibus suis super abiuracione iuris ecclesie sue, et quod numquam controuersiam de dignitate ecclesie sue contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam mouerent, per eius operam et diligenciam a domino papa prohibitum est et deletum. Quarto, quod eius opera liberam de nouo electionem ecclesie Meneuensis dominus papa concessit, nullas omnino regi uel archiepiscopo partes in electione facienda reseruans, et quod in fine literarum sacramentum illud perniciosum super abiuracione iuris ecclesie sue ab electo fieri, papa prohibuit. Quintum etiam adici potest, quod uitam Sancti Karadoci nobilis heremite et confessoris scriptam, cuius corpus quiescit in ecclesia Sancti Dauid, Romam primo itinere suo secum portauit, eamque domino pape legens, super inquisitione facienda conuersacionis ipsius dum uiueret, et miraculorum post mortem, tribus abbatibus, de Alba Domo scilicet, et de Sancto Dogmaele, et Strata Florida reportauit. Quorum scilicet duo de Alba Domo Petrus, et Sancto Dogmaele Walterus, quoniam aduersarii ipsius fuerant, et ad cathedram Meneuensem hanelabant, perquisitionis huius gloriam eidem inuidentes, literas domini pape suppresserunt, et rem tam utilem totique patrie tam honorabilem impediens, lucernam Wallie, quam uir bonus et probus ad honorem ecclesie sue terreque tocius laudem et gloriam accendere et super montem ut cunctis luceret ponere uolebat, per maliciam extinxerunt. Unde et diuinam ulcionem Sanctique Dauid indignacionem merito postmodum incurrerunt. Non ergo parum profecit qui solus existens hec omnia fecit, et in nullo prorsus articulo ecclesie sue pro posse defecit.

CAP X.

Secunda eiusdem commendatio.

Accidit interim, agente in curia Giraldo et instancius negocia perurgente, cum sermone de ipso facto coram

domina de Brekenniauc, sponsa uiri predicti, Matillide scilicet de sancto Walerico, muliere mulierum perpaucarum, quidam de aduersariunculis eius tunc presens existens personam absentis multis uerbis asperis et in honestis dilaceraret, impaciens delacionis et detractionis inique, quibusdam extraneis, qui tunc aderant et hec audiebant, huiusmodi uerba proposuit. Si de uiro quem sic laniat et lacerat ille uerum audire uolueritis, talem ipsum esse qualem nunc uobis paucis describam pro certo noueritis. Uir generosus est Giraldus, et de magnatibus ac principalibus Wallie uiris gentis utriusque originaliter propagatus, uir stature personaliter ample, formeque decenter ad dignitatem apposite. Item clericus, ut perhibetur, e cunctis Wallie tocius incomparabiliter optimus, et collectis regni Anglicani eruditissimis de precipuis et pocioribus unus. Item uir prudens ac prouidus, domnique sue bene prepositus, et clericali conuersatione pudicus. Uos itaque uideritis si uir talis ad ecclesie regimen, cuius archidiaconus et canonicus esse dinoscitur, et pro cuius eciam tantis nisibus dignitate laborat, digne uocari debeat et promoueri.

Ad hoc autem quod de clericatu dixit, magistri Roberti de Bello Fago, canonici Salesberiensis, uiri literatissimi, dictum concordare uidetur, in cuius presencia cum de Topographia Hibernica nuper edita, et paulo ante apud Oxoniam a Giraldo solempniter recitata, sermo fieret, ait, Quod de hoc libro mihi uidetur paucis et palam edisseram. Quia si de cunctis Anglie clericis, ubi multi sunt boni, uiginti meliores electi fuissent, quibus materia libri illius ad tractandum commissa fuisset, et per triennii spacium, quia tantum temporis se ad hoc Giraldus adhibuisse testatur, talem communi labore librum edidissent, dicerem eos reuera laudabiliter et egregie laborasse. Recte ergo inter meliores Anglie numerari debuit, cuius labor solius uiginti meliorum laboribus digne potuit equiparari. Ad eiusdem quoque commendacionem facere potuit quod magister Galterus Mapus Oxoniensis archidiaconus, uir literatus et eruditus, circiter id ipsum temporis de illo Giraldi labore dicere consueuit, quod circumscripto residuo toto inscripta premia sola et digne pensata, opus et operam commendacione dignissima reddere poterant. Ad eius quoque laudem et laudis cumulum illud accessit, quod nullam etatem ad disciplinam amplectendum seram

reputans, nullam ad perdiscendum longeuitatem sufficientem existimans, nec minus in itinere quam quiete, uel secus agendo uel cum aliis conferendo, nec ob corporis laborem animi exercitium excludendo, sed tam estate quam hieme lucubrando, noctesque diebus continuando, quicquid temporis rebus agendis supererat urgentissimis, id totum usque in senium quoque, uel legendo uel scribendo, tam in hospiciis quam in scolis studio dabat.

CAP XI.

Tercia eiusdem commendacio.

Cum hii duo felici copula iuncta et utinam finaliter ualde felici semel ut pluries secum de Giraldi labore conferrent, post diutinam deliberandi ac disputandi uacacionem, tandem in hoc conuenerunt, quod nemo quem nouerant adeo efficaciter, ut uidebatur, sicut et iste de Meneuensis ecclesie loqui poterat dignitate. Erat enim clericatu eximius et erudicione conspicuus, erat de utraque gente que Walliam inhabitat et utroque parente generosus, et iuxta patrie consuetudinem redditibus amplis quibus sustentari potuit hoc in agone premunitus. Item animosus in aggrediendo et pertinax eciam in prosequendo, sine quibus cetera cuncta minime ad hoc sufficere possent.

CAP XII.

Quarta eiusdem commendacio.

Abbas de Heuesham, cui nomen Adam, uir liberalis ac largus et religione conspicuus, Giraldum in adulescentia tunc constitutum diligentius intuens, circumstantibus ait, Multum iuuenis iste creatori suo gratus et obnoxius esse tenetur, qui generosum ipsum fecit et speciosum literis eruditum et morigeratum, et honeste sustentacionis pro patrie modulo sufficienter opulentum.

Cum uersus plurimi et quam plurimum in pape preconium metricè compositi coram ipso quandoque legerentur, hii uersus Giraldi inter alios lecti precipuam a cunctis laudem obtinuerunt.

CAP XIII.

Uersus aduentus primi in pape laudem editi.

Par iubar in terris stelle mirantur, et ima
 Sol nouus irradiat, sole stupente poli.
 Urbis et orbis apex, animarum rector habenas
 Huius et huius habens, rex in utroque potens.
 Imperiale decus, et cleri culmen adeptus,
 Mitior ad Christum cuncta referre cupit.
 Sicut Alexander sic tempora nostra beaui
 Tertius Innocuus, laudis honore pares.
 Omnia cum possit qui preminet omnibus Inno-
 Centius, innocuus est tamen atque pius.
 Ergo Petri nauem, rector non sorte sed arte,
 Et uigil et ualidus protegit atque regit.
 Concutitur sed non quatitur rectore sub isto,
 Navigat in portu, nauita Christus adest.

Primo namque aduentu Giraldi, secundo scilicet apostolatus ipsius anno, feruens pape, sicut in rerum primordiis fieri solet plurimum, caritas erat, et Alexandri tercii uestigia sequi cunctis propemodum in actibus disposuerat, sed uel ardore tanto processu temporis ex parte refrigescente, uel potius hominum malicia semper in dominos deteriora loquente, iuxta rerum uarietates, uaria super his diuersorum carmina sunt prolata.¹

CAP XIV.

Uersus aduentus tertii in Giraldi commendacionem.

Optime sancte Dauid uirtus quem celsa beaui,
 Quem ueneratur, amat, dominum quem Wallia clamat,
 Magna leuat gentis quem laus, memor esto clientis,
 Qui patitur bella tua scandat ut ille scabella,
 Obuiat errori, quem subdere gestit honori,
 Illius eris scutum, fac prelia uincere tutum.
 Solus enim fatur, et solus in arma uocatur.
 Tydea per mundum res hunc probat esse secundum,
 Quot Tydeus strauit docuit liber et numerauit,
 Sed tuus, alme Dauid, pugil innumeros superauit.

¹ Here the M.S. has been defaced and sixteen lines rendered illegible.

CAP XV.

Uersus aduentus eiusdem in Giraldi laudem tanquam ad ipsum apostrofundo.

Spes tua Roma tibi defecit teque reliquit,
 Cede malis, mala sunt tempora plena malis.
 Alea causarum fallax tibi quid paritura,
 Quid falsi fratres preter iniqua ? sile !
 Qui bene pugnauit nil preteriens superauit,
 Qua, inquam, peruertat sors inopina uices.
 Hectora qui strauit minor Hectore magnus Achilles,
 Cesare sic Brutus, sic et Achille Paris.
 Si palmam meruit bene pugnans, fallitur ergo
 Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.
 Troie defensor cum Troia corrui Hector,
 Laus tamen Hectoris et fama perhennis erit.
 Stat cum iure suo Giraldus, iuris amator,
 Et tutor, merito laudis honore uirens.

CAP XVI.

Uersus auctoris ignoti in Giraldi similiter laudem et cupiditatis detestacionem.

Giraldus girans discurrit ad ardua spirans,
 Pugnans pro patria, sumptibus, ore, uia.
 Pro re communi grauis incumbit labor uni,
 It propter ciues per mare, saxa, niues.
 Transalpinando tociens, tociens remeando,
 Per ualidum gyrum se probat esse uirum.
 Troie protector surrexit iam nouus Hector,
 Quem Danaï metuunt, quo feriente ruunt.
 Pro Danaï illis nisi dimicet ensis Achillis,
 Troia frui sperat iure quod eius erat.
 Regno Troiano quam nunc habet, Hectore sano,
 Arridet bona spes, hanc tamen impedit es.
 Es non permittit, quod diues Cantia mittit,
 Ylion ut redeat surgere Troia queat.
 Falsa facit ueris preponi sacculus eris,
 Calcat iudicium praua moneta pium.
 Erea sunt uere nunc secula cum cadat ere
 Iudex iam uanus ere grauante manus.
 Erea dona premunt leges, decretaque demunt,
 Iusticiam remouent, perfidiamque fouent.

INCIPIT QUINTA PARS.

CAP. I.

De laudabilibus iterum Giraldi gestis et notabilibus.

Preterea ut iterum ad laudabilia quedam et notabilia de laboribus eiusdem prosaice scripta reuertamur, in hiis replicandis aliquamdiu immorari preter rem non putauimus. Quibusdam igitur conferentibus ad inuicem et admirantibus, quod uir tam litteratus, et in bonis ecclesiasticis copiose pro patrie modulo beneficatus, propter episcopatum exilem tantisque curis et periculis plenum, tantopere laborauit, responsum eis in hunc modum fuit. Quoniam ille si laborauit, honeste quidem et laudabiliter multis ex causis laborauit. Primum, quia pro iure suo tuendo contra aduersarios tam fortes, ad quod canonicè quidem et non coacte vocatus fuit, quia non in camera regis, non in curia sed in ecclesia propria unanimiter electus. Et hec fuit prima laboris sui causa, quoniam conscienciam habuit sanam et in nullo prorsus cauteriatam, quia nec coacta fuit eius electio nec procurata. Secunda uero quod non solum pro iure suo proprio sed etiam pro iure ecclesie sue et dignitate dudum deperdita laborauit, quod ius eciam iuri proprio in omni tam causa quam casu propensius semper anteposuit, precipuam et principalem hanc laboris sui causam constituens, accidentalem autem et tanquam accessoriam electionem suam. Unde non alia intencione huic honeri se subicere proposuit, tantum scilicet in terris ecclesie tam dissipate reuocandis, et dignitate presertim restauranda, et in statum pristinum pro posse reuocanda martyrium tocius uite sue tempore continuum subeundo, quam si in artissime religionis monasterium propter solam anime sue salutem mundanis renunciatis omnibus se conferret. Proinde nouit hoc Deus, qui omnia nouit, quia maluit quidem et longe plus mauult pro iure ecclesie sue, quamquam non obtento, longe plus solito tamen et promotum quidem et declarato, sic laborasse, quam si sedem illam mutus ut ceteri super hiis et elinguis, piger, et deses inutiliter optinuisset. Tercia uero causa fuit, quod recta et regia uia incedere si ius suum obtinuisset, proculdubio proposuerat, a rapinis omnibus et illicite acquirendis abstinere, paupertati proprie se conformare, nec ad dexteram nec ad sinistram declinare, nec maioribus inhiare, nec ad

translacionem aspirare, sed sua potius sorte contentum esse, et commissam sibi ecclesie sue modicitatem, totis nisibus emendare, et cuncta ut sub breuitate simul et ueritate Deo teste complectar, canonicam illam episcopalis uiri descriptionem, totis in se uiribus et uirtutum gradibus, per Dei gratiam adimplere. Si ergo interioris hominis illius uultum consideres et uoluntatem attendas, exterioris hominis laborem non reprehendes, presertim cum uoluntas in omni negotio informet actionem. Et quoniam quicquid agant homines intencio iudicat omnes.

CAP. II.

De secundo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Ad hec eciam laborem eius inanem simili forsitan opinione coniectas, si solum autem euentum attendas, frustra forte uidebitur laborasse, si autem conatus eiusdem tam egregios et tam strenuos contra tantos aduersarios, regem scilicet et archiepiscopum et Angliam totam attendas, qualiter eciam nec minis absterri potuit, nec suis aut suorum dampnis, quos spoliacionibus crebris et rerum suarum iacturis publica potestas affligebat, a proposito reuocari, quin per septennium et amplius tam perseueranter contra regnum fere totum solus in utraque causa contenderet et dimicaret, nec inefficacem dicere poteris eius laborem nec illaudabilem, quoniam tanti aduersarii in iure suo tante defensionis inuenerunt, et qui ius eciam ecclesie sue tam obscurum haecenus, et tanto quasi sopitum, immo sepultum tempore tam egregie resuscitauit et declarauit, perpetueque lucis iubare suis laboribus illustrauit. Quod autem ad laborem et intencionem respiciat Deus et non ad euentum uel profectum, manifeste docet alias Bernardus in libro de consideratione monens Eugenium papam ad Romanorum instructionem, quorum quippe pontifex specialem gerere curam dinoscebatur, quanquam incorrigibiles esse uideantur, in hunc modum. Noli diffidere, curam exigeris non curacionem. Denique audisti, curam illius habe et non cura uel sana illum. Unde dixit quidam. Non est in medico semper releuetur ut eger etc. Aut melius de tuis propono tibi, Paulus loquitur, plus omnibus laboraui, non ait plus omnibus profui aut plus omnibus fructificaui, uerbum insolens religiosissime uitans. Alias autem nouerat homo quam

docuit Deus, quia unusquisque secundum suum laborem accipiet, non secundum prouentum. Et ob hoc in laboribus potius quam in profectibus gloriandum putauit, sicut alibi quoque habes id ipsum dicentem. In laboribus plurimis. Ita queso fac tu quod tuum est. Nam Deus quod suum est satis absque tua sollicitudine et anxietate curabit. Planta, riga, fer curam et tuas explicuisti partes. Sane incrementum ubi uoluerit dabit Deus, non tu. Ubi forte uerit, tibi deperit nichil, dicente scriptura. Reddet Deus mercedem laborum sanctorum suorum. Sic igitur et seruorum suorum quorumlibet laudabili intencione laborantium quicumque secutus fuerit uel prouentus uel euentus. Item et ad hoc quoque illud Ieronimi ad Paulinum in primo bibliotece prologo facit. Ingenium docile et sine doctore laudabile est, non quid inuenias, si quid queras, consideramus. Mollis cera et ad formandum facilis etiam si artificis et plaste cesset manus, tamen uirtute totum est quicquid esse potest, sicut et omne animal esse potestate dici solet. Sic ergo Meneuensis ecclesia quemadmodum aliquando in essentia fuit, sic et adhuc reuera uirtute et potestate metropolis est. Unde non quid inueniat qui ad hoc intendit et laborat, quia fata causarum sunt perambigua, sed quid querat et cupiat attendi debet. Habilis est enim et apta ad suum initium redire, annis iubileis iam multis elapsis ecclesia Meneuensis, si unquam in ea de cetero rector emergerit aut regendus qui uices rerum ac temporum et causarum aleas ausus fuerit experiri.

CAP. III.

De tertio laudabili pariter ac notabili.

Unde quod super hoc magistri G. labore duo principales Wallie uiri, alter Uenedocie princeps alter Powisie dixere, hic inserere preter rem non putauit.

Lewelinus Uenedocie princeps, conuocatis terre sue magnatibus, curiam teneret magnam, processit in fine praudii coram omnibus uir quidam lingue dicacis cuiusmodi lingua Britannica sicut et Latina Bardi dicuntur. Unde Lucanus, Plurima concreti fuderunt carmina Bardi, et cum sibi tam uoce quam manu silentium indiceret, talem proposuit questionem. Quero, inquit, utrum potius et honestius electo Meneuensi foret? sic enim archidiaconus tunc ab omnibus uocabatur, ipse tamen archidiaconum et

non electum se uocabat. An causam super dignitate Sancti Dauid tanto tempore sopitam non suscitasse, si non datum ei fuerit optatum eandem ad finem perducere, an sic eam inchoasse, et effectui mancipare non posse? Cum autem mora non modica taciturnitas omnium cum murmure quodam subsecuta fuisset, primus omnium princeps ipse tale tandem responsum dedit. Quod mihi, inquit, super hoc uidetur absque preiudicio uobis edisseram. Dico longe melius et laudabilius electo fore iura Sancti Dauid, ne nimio silencio deperirent, contra tantos aduersarios et Angliam totam uendicasse, quamuis tamen euincere non possit. Quia quamdiu Wallia stabit nobile factum huius et per historias scriptas et per ora canencium dignis per tempora cuncta laudibus atque preconis efferetur. Qui enim quidquid potest facit, et nichil probitatis aut uiuacitatis omittit, forte etsi contra uotum euenerit, laudem nichilominus dignam promeruit. Non enim uel lusor in aleis bonus, uel miles in bellis strenuus, semper quod uolet obtinebit. Fauor autem omnium et plausus dictum principis est subsecutus.

Item cum die quodam circa tempus idem Powisie princeps atque Keneiliauc Wenonwen proceres terre sue uirosque maiores in consessu quodam et colloquio secum haberet, et de labore Giraldi mencio fieret, sicut per Walliam et Angliam confabulandi materiam multis tunc temporis dabat, ait ipse. Magnas multociens werras Anglie Wallia nostra mouere solet, sed nunquam tam grandem tamque grauem mouit ei, sicut hiis nostris diebus per electum Meneuensem, qui regem et archiepiscopum totumque simul Anglie clerum et populum propter honorem Wallie, tantis tam diuturnis et continuis infestationibus et molestare non desistit. Nostre nimirum werre si per estatem durant ad pacem hyemali tempore reuertuntur, nec nisi per annum ad plus uel eciam dimidium durare solent. Huius autem werre per quinquennium et amplius incessanter iam durauit.

CAP. IV.

De quarto laudabili pariter et notabili.

Item ut non solum rationibus sed eciam exemplis ad hec utamur, si Troianum excidium nudum aspicias et ex euentu solo facta compenses, Hectoreas laudes quas

predicat orbis, quia tam strenue pro patre patriaque dimicauit, inuidus et insolens euacuabis, sed ut tali temperes a censura, audi poetam.

Careat successibus opto

Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putet.

Et idem,

Hectora quis nosset felix si Troia fuisset,

Ardua per preceps gloria strauit iter.

Item ad idem,

Non est in medico semper releuetur ut eger,

Interdum docta plus ualeat arte malum.

Unde et Aristoteles, Nec medicus semper sanabit nec orator semper persuadebit, sed si ex contingentibus nil omiserunt, satis utrumque propositam dicemus habere disciplinam. A simili quoque dicimus, quia si Meneuensis ecclesia semper felix, semper fecunda fuisset, nunquam iure suo, nunquam dignitate priuata, quis fortes et fideles eiusdem filios matris honorem constanter amplexatos dignoscere posset? Quis pigros et desides et in necessitate desertores, ac prorsus ingratos ideoque extirpacione dignissimos, tamquam hedos ab agnis discerneret, dignis illos laudibus attollendo, istos uero perpetuo notabiles ignominia deprimendo?

CAP. V.

De quinto laudabili pariter ac notabili.

Preterea rex Anglie Iohannes adeo in utraque causa magistro G. se totis nisibus opponebat, tum ut sibi prouideret, tum etiam ut archiepiscopo cui multum obsequabatur in hoc placeret, tanquam ad effectum alterutra si processisset, secure de cetero regnare non posset. Unde litteras et nuncios tociens Romam ob hoc destinare curauit pape supplicans, et curie significans, quod si uel illum ibi promouerent, qui de Wallia oriundus erat, et principes Wallie consanguinitate propinqua contingebat, uel metropolim in Wallia unde gens illa superbiret, forte reformarent, pacem regni sui propter nacionem illam efferam et effrenem facileque rebellem, non mediocriter perturbarent. Ad hoc etiam regem Othonem nepotem suum, qui ualde fauorabilis in curia Romana tunc temporis erat, in eundem modum contra magistrum G. scribere procurauit. Quippe qui ad nutum archiepiscopi tam in hiis quam

in aliis, qui et cancellarius eius et principalis consiliarius necnon et iusticiarius erat cuncta faciebat.

CAP. VI.

De sexto laudabili pariter et notabili.

Propter prescriptas itaque causas cum nostris diebus Meneuensis ecclesia iam bis uacasset, et primo fuisset magister G. quamquam tunc adolescens, principaliter nominatus, secundo uero cum maturiores iam ageret annos singulariter a cunctis et unanimiter electus, per regiam tamen utraque uice potenciam impeditus fuit et non promotus. Hec est enim in Anglia regula non fallens, quod nemo de Wallia oriundus cuiuscunque probitatis fuerit aut bonitatis in Wallia episcopari debet, sed probissimo Walensi et dignissimo uilissimus Anglicus in hoc est preferendus. Quatinus, ut dicit Augustinus in comparacione clerici et monachi, quia sicut malus choraula bonus symphoniacus est, sic malus monachus bonus clericus, et eodem modo, sic malus Anglicus bonus Wallicus, hoc est, malus et indignus in Anglia, bonus satis et dignus in Wallia. Uerius autem dici poterit, quod nec omnis in Anglia bonus, nec omnis in Wallia malus. Sicut enim habetur causa xvi Q. intra caput, lege epistolam, ubi ait Augustinus. Nichil mihi occurrere aliud potuit nisi non esse uiam dandam seruis Dei ut facilius se putent eligi ad aliquid melius, si facti fuerint deteriores. Et enim monachis facilius lapsus et ordini clericorum fit indignissima iniuria. Si desertores monasteriorum ad miliciam clericatus eligantur, cum ex hiis qui in monasterio permanent, non tamen nisi probaciores atque meliores in clerum assumere soleamus. Nimis etenim dolendum est, si ad tam ruinosam superbiam monachos exigimus et clericos tam graui contumelia dignos putamus, in quorum numero sumus, cum aliquando eciam bonus monachus uix bonum clericum faciat, si assit ei sufficiens continencia et tamen desit instructio necessaria, aut persone regularis integritas. Est autem Anglicorum in hoc intencio talis, quatinus ad nutum eorum Anglici prelati Walenses cum rebellare ceperint, ut crebro solent, sentenciam statim excommunicacionis inuoluant, ut quos gladio domare non preualent materiali, saltem illo, qui magis ibi timetur, id facere possint spirituali. Uerumtamen oculus iste simplex non est.

Uideas enim si ob hoc a prelatiſ ſuis, qui gregis ſibi commiſſi tam in corpore quam anima pro poſſe ſalutem curare tenentur, propter humanum ſolummodo fauorem, Sathane tradi debent, quia uidelicet, contra gentem inimicam pro patria pugnant, pro libertate laborant. Rex autem Henricus Secundus per induſtriam et per prouidentiam exquisitam, a domino papa reſcriptum et quaſi priuilegium impetrauit, ut ſi qui homines ſui ſpreto curie ſue iudicio rebellare magis et pacem regni ſui turbare preſumpſerint, et ſemel ac ſecundo commoniti reſiſcere noluerint, ab archiepiſcopis et epiſcopis, ſublato appellationis remedio, excommunicentur. Iſtud autem propter Walenſes ſolum qui, cum in remotis quibusdam regni Anglicani partibus conſtituti ſint, diuerſas ab aliis gentibus et leges et linguam et conſuetudines habent, perquiſiuit.

CAP. VII.

De ſeptimo laudabili pariter ac notabili.

Ceterum prima vice qua magiſter G. ad eccleſiam Meneuſem uocatus fuit, Anglorum rex Henricus Secundus conuocatis coram ſe archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, nomine Ricardo, cum ſuffraganeis ſuis fere cunctis, dum conſilium ab ipsis ſuper epiſcopo ſedi illi uacanti preſiſcendo quereret diligenter, reſponderunt illi, quia cum ydoneus de ipſo eccleſie corpore reperiri poſſet, ordinarius inde quam aliunde foret aſſumendus, magiſtrum G. uniuerſi fere et ſinguli in exemplum proponentes. Uerum cum archiepiſcopus poſt alios omnes demum adiceret quod preter literalem inſtructionem et clericalis continencie maturitatem ſtrenue probitatis eum eſſe inuenerat et animoſe uiuacitatis, rex tum demum quaſi uerbis archiepiſcopi maius in eſſe pondus agnoſcens reſpondit, et animi ſui conceptum ſic declarauit. Nec Cantuarienſi eccleſie nec corone regie expediret, quod uir eruditus et probus, preſertim eciam de Wallia oriundus et tam generoſus, in Meneuſi eccleſia fieret prelatuſ, aperte ſic innuens tam contra regnum Anglie quam eciam ſacerdotium fore, Walliam iterum metropolitana dignitate gaudere. Epiſcopus autem Wigornenſis bone et ſancte memorie Rogerus, qui hec magiſtro G. ſecreto retulit, ſubiunxit dicens et aſſerens, quod plus diligere debuit longeque plus appetere

tantorum uirorum in tali audiencia testimonium tantum quam episcopatum illum.

CAP. VIII.

De octauo laudabili pariter ac notabili.

Eisdem quoque diebus cum magister Girardus Puella qui postea Couentrensis episcopus fuit, cameram intraret ubi rex cum archiepiscopo et episcopis erat super hiis tractans, dixit ei rex ludicro scilicet et non serio, Magister, modo poteris episcopus esse, si uolueris, in Wallia, scilicet apud Meneuiam. Ad quod ille, Quinimmo magister Iohannes Cornubiensis qui linguam Walensicam nouit ibi preficiatur. Ad hoc autem Eliensis episcopus, scilicet G. Ridellus, qui animum regis nouerat, puta qui consiliarius eius et secretarius erat, respondit. Magister, nunc dixistis quare ibi episcopus non erit. Ad quod magister, Quia linguam, inquit, gentis illius nouit, non erit ibi episcopus, cum tamen sit clericus optimus? Preficiantur ergo Walenses in Anglia prelati Anglicane lingue prorsus ignari et Anglici in Wallia lingue illius similiter inscii fiant pastores, et bonos habebitis utrobique predicatores. Archiepiscopus autem Cantuariensis Hubertus in hac ultima magistri G. electione propter prescriptas causas se totis ei uiribus et nisibus omnimodis opposuit, timens, scilicet, ne si uir talis, quem bene nouerat, in principali Wallie cathedra promoueretur, quod quidam in pristinam eius dignitatem proclamaret.

CAP. IX.

De nono laudabili pariter et notabili.

Uerumtamen licet promocionem eius per utramque potenciam tam regis quam suam impediret, nichilominus quod uerebatur accidit ei. Duplex enim, ut diximus, magistri G. causa fuit tam electionis proprie quam dignitatis ecclesie sue, quam semper principalem constituit, puta propter quam promouendam totum reuera laborem assumpsit. Archiepiscopus autem utramque timens, ad primam extinguendam, causa secunde tanquam prioris consecutiue, quatinus una extincta extingueretur utraque, modis omnibus elaborauit. Primum igitur ad corrupendam Meneuensem ecclesiam ut canonici contra factum

suum uenirent se conuertit, quam demum adeo corrupit, quos scilicet in ea corruptibiles inuenit donis ac promissis alliciendo, quos autem firmiter constancie reperit bonorum suorum spoliacionibus per regiam potestatem in partibus illis ingentem, quam ad manum habebat, et sine qua parum profecisset affligendo, quod denique contra magistrum G. non solum super electionem, uerum etiam in causa dignitatis ecclesie proprie communiter starent uniuersi. Et quamquam publica potestas adeo demum inualesceret et deseiret, quod nec apud Meneuiam pro cuius dignitate patrieque tocius laborabat honore, nec a proximis et necessariis suis in partibus illis hospicio suscipi posset, cum regis et regni publicus hostis declamaretur, nec clericus eum sequi uel ei assistere, nec laicus ausus erat, utramque tamen causam constanter prosequi non cessauit, donec a parte aduersa curiam quoque Romanam, cui semper inniti solet, corrumpere similiter, si tamen pecunia corrumpi posset, fuit attemptatum. Et non solum suos uerum etiam ipsum primo rebus suis et redditibus quibusdam deinde uecturis et sarcinis sub alis etiam ecclesie et in cimeterio sacro constitutis, spoliari procuratum fuit et presumptum. Tunc etiam cum solus esset et spoliatus, per totum regnum publicus hostis declamatus, nec socium ob hoc nec sequacem habens, tardum tamen archiepiscopo fuit, quod interuentu maguorum uirorum concordiam cum ipso demum inire potuit, tam ipso in bonis ecclesiasticis commode beneficiato, quam aduersariis eiusdem omnibus a promocione ad quam hanelauerant prorsus exclusis.

CAP. X.

De decimo laudabili pariter ac notabili.

Archiepiscopus ergo quamquam fultus opulencia tanta tantaque potencia, tam regia que urgentissima fuit, quam ecclesiastica, totumque fere regnum Anglicanum et sacerdotium secum habens, et quod omnium adminiculatorum suorum uehementissimum fuit, regis Othonis erga papam et curiam, ut diximus, pro ipso supplicacionem, magistrum G. nec ignauum inuenit nec indefensum. Qui contra tot et tanta presidia tam longam sustinuit luctam solus. Demum etiam undique spoliatus, omnique sequela destitutus, sic tamen afflictus et immoderanter oppressus, donec fracto podio suo nubibus inherere non potuit, ad pacis et

concordie bonum inclinari non preualuit, nec unquam ecclesie sue defuit, donec ei primitus ablato adminiculo, cui tam firmiter inniti solet, Meneuensis ecclesia, pro cuius honore et dignitate tantum laborabat, penitus corrupta defecit.

CAP. XI.

De undecimo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Tantus igitur aduersarius et tam potens cum tot adminiculis et tantis, qui et reges secum complices habebat et coadiutores, tam Alemannicum scilicet quam Anglicanum, magistrum G. in utroque iure tuendo, tam ecclesie sue quam proprio, absque defensione non inuenit. Ad quem pariter impugnandum seque tuendum, sicut post concordiam factam pluries ipsemet assertiue proposuit, xi milia marcarum expenderat, preter clericos suos plurimos et seruiantes bonos hoc in conflictu rebus humanis exemptos. Unde cum electio magistri G. sic eris oppressa pondere nimio demum extincta fuisset, tercio reuersus a curia Rothomagum uenit. Quem uidens archiepiscopus urbis eiusdem bone et sancte memorie Walterus de Constanciis dictus ait in audiencia magna. Archidiaconus iste nil per ignauiam amisit aut pigriciam, sed nemo adeo fortis quem fortitudo maior aduersans et contraria potestas multiplex expugnare non possint. Presertim eciam ubi sicut nec uires eque nec facultates, sic non equali lance ius et iniuriam trutina librans. Cui et illud Enodii consonare uidetur, Sine culpa uincitur honeris immensitate qui ad portandum sarcinam etsi impar tamen deuotus occurrit. Unde Seneca ad Lucilium, Non est uir fortis qui laborem fugit, et si non crescit ei animus ex ipsa rerum difficultate. Laudem itaque si non meruit saltem culpam uitare debuit, qui quod potuit fecit. Nec ex contingentibus quicquam omisit, qui contra tot aduersarios et tantos, litibus aut sumptibus frangi nequirit, qui etiam nec minis principum nec dampnis rerum nec periculis maris uel aeris uel Alpium uel latronum uel eciam falsorum fraterculorum absterreri potuit uel fatigari. Unde si perhemem Priameius Hector laudem optinuit quia pro patre patriaque tam strenue militauit, quamquam in eius defensione cum Troia pariter uterque occiderit, magistro G. qui pro ecclesie sue iure patrieque tocius honore tam egregie laborauit, et causam status

antea tam obscuram, ut de iure suo proprio taceam, adeo suo labore declarauit et in optimo statu posuit, cur inquam, ei cum causa status stet adhuc integra, stet etiam ipse superstes, nisi quoniam mundus in maligno positus est et emulorum inuidia que pascitur in uiuis uiuosque depascitur nunquam nisi post fata quiescit laus quam meruit denegatur?

CAP. XII.

De duodecimo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Ad hec etiam cum predictas ob causas Romam magister G. iam ter transierit, biennio solum postmodum elapso, se totum et opera sua intra se colligens, apostolorum limina causa peregrinationis tantum et deuotionis ut quarto peteret, incunctanter apposuit, quatinus qui tales ob causas quamquam diuersas ambas tamen honestas et iuxta intencionem prius expressam que totam informat reuera meritorias, tociens laborauerat, semel saltem pure propter Deum ad interioris hominis emendacionem utiliter et efficaciter homo exterior uexaretur, ut sic macule cuncte ab euo toto contracte, nec non et cautionis illius in concordia cum archiepiscopo facta minus honeste per potenciam utramque uiolenter extorte, per uie labores et elemosinarum largiciones, per staciones et relaxaciones, per ueram confessionem et apostolicam demum absolucionem indubitanter abstergerentur. A festo nimirum Epiphaniæ usque ad Quadragesimam, et per totum Quadragesimale tempus, quo continue singulis diebus sunt staciones, sicut a beato Gregorio papa statute sunt et ordinate, nec non et basilicarum per urbem dedicaciones, multe tam a summis pontificibus quam et cardinalibus facte, et relaxaciones date usque ad clausum pascha sicut scripto comprehendi fecit et annotari, annos relaxacionis habuerat nonaginta duos, et ut centenarii numerus plene adimpleretur et cum augmento, hospitalis Sancti Spiritus, qui locus scola Anglicana dici solet, ab Innocentio Tercio qui tunc prefuit egregie constitutus, se fratrem fieri procurauit. In quo septime partis iniuncte penitencie relaxacionem obtinuit, et in hoc ipso preterea omnium ecclesiarum urbis Romulee tocus et abbaciarum, tam intra murorum ambitum contentarum quam in suburbiis adiacentium, quarum numerus quadringente quinque minus, missarum et oracionum et beneficiorum omnium que in illis fiunt, particeps fieri meruit.

CAP. XIII.

De decimo tercio laudabili pariter et notabili.

Ad hec eciam ecclesias et ecclesiastica beneficia cuncta, quorum quedam puerilibus annis dum indignus fuerat data, quedam a parentibus et cognatis carnaliter ei collata, et per potenciam dignioribus forte sublata, uel per curiam curis et ambitu plenam, uel aliis modis quibuslibet illicitis adquisita, in manu domini pape resignauit, seque paterno eiusdem consilio super uite sue de cetero statu animeque salute ex toto comisit. Ipse uero de mera gracia et dono suo ante discessum eiusdem ei cuncta restituit, qualiter eis utendum eaque regendum, qualiterque deinceps uiuendum et fini prouidendum, salubriter iniunxit. Si ergo magistri G. labores dici debeant prorsus inanes diligens lector attendat.

CAP. XIV.

De decimo quarto laudabili pariter et notabili.

Ceterum obiciet aliquis uel obicere poterit, quia si magister G. talis esset qualis hic depingitur ad altiorem absque dubio gradum olim promotus fuisset. Ad quod illud Ieronimi in libro epistolari responderi potest. Maius est episcopalem uirum esse quam episcopum, maius episcopo dignum quam in cathedra collocatum. Illud enim uirtutis est, hoc fortune, illud bonorum tantum, hoc commune. Unde et ibidem et in eodem, Minus est tenere sacerdocium quam mereri. Qui predictis enim uero modis et adipiscuntur et tenent, periculose quidem et dampnabiliter tenent. Potuisset autem magister G. si per principis potenciam promoueri uoluisset, dudum inter alios cornutus incedere. Oblati nempe sunt ei episcopatus in Wallia duo, et ambo recusati, et in Hibernia tres episcopatus et archiepiscopatus unus, quos similiter omnes recusauit. Defuncto namque Landauensi episcopo bone memorie Willelmo, comes tunc Moritonii Iohannes episcopatum illum, qui pro parte maiori in eius terra scilicet de Wlatmorgan fuerat, et penes quem fratre ipsius rege Ricardo in transmarinis Palestine regionis partibus agente potestas tunc residebat, obtulit ei. Et circiter eadem tempora Bangoriensis ecclesia, propter quam hospitalarius postea laborauit Alanus, magistro G. a cancellario et legato Willelmo de Nunchamp,

qui uices regis in Anglia tunc gerebat, constanter oblata fuit.

Item comes Iohannes quando in Hiberniam a patre transmissus fuerat, magistro G. cum ipso pariter a rege transmissus, episcopatum Geicifordensem quem et Fernensem dicunt tunc uacantem obtulit, quem quia suscipere noluit, obtulit ei et episcopatum Lechelinensem tunc similiter uacantem, in unam diocesim, sicut olim fuisse dicitur, adiungendam. Nunc autem ultimo post trinos labores ad curiam factos cum in Hibernia inter amicos et cognatos, quorum copia ibi grandis et a quibus uocatus fuerat aliquamdiu moram faceret, interim Guaterfordensi sede uacante, Meilerius tunc Hibernie iusticiarius, penes quem residebat totalis sub rege potestas, magistro G. qui consobrinus eiusdem fuit, episcopatum illum obtulit, cum instantia magna rogans attentius et monens quatinus ecclesiam illam susciperet, dicens bonam et utilem fore, et inter amicos, et exinde ipsum maiorem ad honorem in breui quidem assumi posse, multis in hunc modum suadens uerbis, sed non persuadens. Nec longe post metropolis ecclesia uacare cepit Cassiliensis, que dignitas est tocius Hibernie de maioribus una, nouem habens suffraganeos et terras iuxta patrie modulum latas et amplas. Hanc etiam dignitatem magistro G. iusticiarius constanter obtulit. Ecclesiam quoque Meneuensem, si cause dignitatis renunciare uoluisset, pluries eidem oblatam fuisse palam fuit.

CAP. XV.

De decimo quinto laudabili pariter et notabili.

Eisdem quoque diebus clericus quidam mentis alienate, qui curiam iusticiarii Hibernie sequi solebat, iuuentutem curie lubricis et ludicris uerbis delectando, crebro in audientia publica tanquam ad magistrum G. apostrophando, et pro ipso quoque statim respondendo, sermonem huiusmodi proferebat. Magister Giralde, uis episcopatum Guaterfordensem habere? Nolo. Uis episcopatum Guaisefordensem? Nolo. Uis Ossiriensem? Nolo. Uis Lechelinensem? Nolo. Uis archiepiscopatum Cassiliensem? Nolo. Demum autem subiciebat, Uis episcopatum Meneuensem? et incontinenti alta uoce et rotunda respondebat, Uolo, et tunc in magnum se risum magnumque cachinnum

resolvebat. Porro quoniam interdum respondendum est stulto ne sibi sapiens uideatur, uel potius ad uerba indiscreta, quoniam a discretis audita, alia prorsus et alia in hiis et in aliis ratio, pactum reformauit, sicut in sequentibus palam erit.

Omnes enim tam Wallie quam Hybernie oblatos honores diuersis ex causis constanter recusauit, primos scilicet tum quia adulescens adhuc fuerat, tum quia pauperes erant et inter barbaros, tum etiam quia liberalibus adhuc disciplinis et maxime theologicis studiis amplius indulgere uolebat. Alios autem et ultimo presertim oblatos, quia nunquam ab Hibernicis uel etiam Walensicis alienigena quouis, quantumlibet bonus et ydoneus, nisi per publice potestatis uolenciam eligeretur. Sic autem promoti chorite sunt omnes et intrusores. Non enim in Anglia uel terris adiacentibus eligit hodie clerus, non capitulum non conuentus. Cum enim ad ecclesiam aliquam tres uel quatuor nominantur, ille reuera solum eligit quisquis canticum laudis tremula uoce pronunciet, qui quem uoluerit illorum assumit. Umbratiles enim tantum et non substantiales nec etiam spirituales sunt hodie in finibus istis electiones.

Proinde quoniam ad Meneuensem ecclesiam quamuis pauperulam uocatio ipsius et electio canonica prorsus fuerat et non coacta, sicut predictum est, ad illam animum suum post multas et multorum instancias denique totaliter inclinauit, nec honestum quippe nec tutum reputans tali, prout uidebatur, diuine dispositioni resistendum. Scriptum enim nouerat, Hoc uelis quod Deus uult, alioquin curuus es. In hac etenim opinione, quamquam deceptoriam, non solum ipse sed et patria fere tota propter circumstantias multas et causas preassignatas tunc temporis erat.

CAP. XVI.

De decimo sexto laudabili pariter et notabili.

Nouit hoc uir ille bonus et sanctus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Thomas, qui per obsequium curie regisque potenciam se promotum attendens, in manu pape Alexandri Tercii dignitatem sic adeptam ultro resignauit, dicens promocionem suam talem, tam sue persecucionem quam ecclesiasticam quoque perturbacionem, causam reuera dedisse. Papa uero uiri constanciam uidens et religionem, factamque

in ipso repente tantam dextere excelse mutacionem, qui contra tyrannidem tantam se pro domo Domini ecclesieque libertate tuenda sub tanto discrimine murum opposuit, de auctoritate sua et gracia mera quod resignauerat totum ei cum integritate restituit, quod nisi factum fuisset frustra quidem super uiciosum fundamentum edificasset.

CAP. XVII.

De decimo septimo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Circiter autem dies electionis et uexacionis predictae cum in presencia domine de Brechene, cui nomen Matillis, que mulier prudens erat et honesta domique sue bene preposita, de labore magistri G. sermo fieret, sicut et tunc temporis per Angliam et Walliam creberrime fiebat, materia loquendi et admirandi multis in hoc data, cum diceretur a quodam, ualde mirandum magistrum G. qui centum marcas reddituum uel plures habebat, propter tam pauperem ecclesiam xx. marcas in reddito uix habentem, et in paupere terra et hostili, tantum laborem assumpsisse, et cum in magna audientia hoc dictum fuisset, cunctis fere qui aderant in eandem sententiam concordantibus, sola mulier illa uere mulierum perpaucarum respondit, se longe secus in hoc sentire, dicens et asserens, quod si uirilem sexum ei natura benignior et litterarum erudicionem cum ordinibus industria pariter et doctrina dedissent, mallet apud Meneuiam pauperem quam apud Herefordiam diuitem, ubi et filius eiusdem tunc electus fuerat, episcopali preelacione gaudere. Admirantibus autem cunctis cum hoc dixisset, rationem subiunxit talem dicens, quod apud Meneuiam ubi adeo ecclesia fuerat dilapidata et terris multis et amplis destituta, presertim quoque pristina dignitate priuata, uirilium animi uigor et uirtus ad reuocandum et reformandum enitescere possent. Apud Herefordiam autem ubi nulla sublata sed omnia plena, multum quidem dapis et rixe parum. Apud Meneuiam ergo probitatis experiende et strenuitatis exercende materia magna, quamquam cum inquietudine multa, quod reuera magistrum G. si bene nouimus eum ad tantos labores aggrediendos et animauit et armauit. Apud Herefordiam autem ubi lucta nulla, quies quidem et copia lauta, uirilium autem et uiuacitatis materia pauca. Occulta sunt ergo iudicia Dei, que tantum ecclesie illius

emendacionem, terreque tocius honorem, uel propter peccata populorum, per que tam tyranni regnare quam ypocrite presidere permittuntur, uel ob alias causas nobis ignotas, procedere non permisit.

CAP. XVIII.

De decimo octaua laudabili pariter et notabili.

Quiddam eciam in Cantuariensi ecclesia nostris diebus accidit haut dissimile non reticendum. Post transitum beati martiris Thome tam gloriosum, duo principaliter nominati fuerunt a conuentu metropolitane Sancte Trinitatis ecclesie et principi oblati. Prior scilicet eorum precipue magister Odo in quem solum omnium uota conuenerant, et secundario prior Douorie Ricardus, ut iuxta regni consuetudinem duorum uel plurium optio principi daretur. Rex autem Henricus ad quem uocati transmarinas ad partes accesserunt, per cautelam exquisitam separatim animum utriusque pretemptans, quoniam priorem primum inflexibilem repperit, nec minimum ex articulis illis de quibus inter ipsum et beatum martirem contencio fuerat remittere uolentem, alterum autem ad nutum ipsius omnia concedentem et in omnibus consentientem, eius electioni assensum adhibuit. Uter igitur elegit, an conuentus duorum optionem offerens, quamquam in alterum solum totis si liceret et liberum esset uotis intendens, an princeps qui de oblatiis quem uolebat assumpsit? Nonne ergo sic promoti sunt chorite et tanquam statue manu hominis facte? Sic itaque promotus, sic et non aliter tante dignitatis officium est executus, adeo ut quascunque libertates ecclesie decessor eius uir sanctus, multis primum allegatis, tandem capud suum allegans feliciter euicit et adquisiuit, omnes ille per incuriam ne dicam ignauiam proh dolor et dampnum uix unquam reparabile perditas ire permisit. Unde cum morbo decumberet quo paulo post occubuit noctu in sompno uocem hanc terribilem celitus emissam audiuit. Dissipasti ecclesiam meam et ego eradicabo te de terra. Sed utinam de terra morientium et non uiuentium, de terra quam terimus, non terra quam querimus, de terra laboris et sudoris, non de terra dulcoris et decoris. Occulta sunt ergo iudicia Dei sed nunquam iniusta. Si talis enim martiri pontifex primo loco uel eciam secundo successisset,

qui strenue defenderet quod sub tanto discrimine capitisque periculo sed felici commercio uir sanctus euicit et uiriliter obtinuit, pro carnali corona corrupta in terris incorruptibilem et inmarcescibilem sumens in celis, Anglie clerus miserrime suppeditatus nunc et oppressus, continua debitaque libertate gauderet, quam quidem nisi per sanguinis iterum pastoralis effusionem uix ullo poterit tempore, tyrannica presertim regnante prosapia, recuperare. Fructum itaque grandem hac spontanea quasi iactura sibi diuina prouidencia prouidit, ut creditur, in posterum eliciendum, quatinus ex pontificali denuo constantia et consecutina demum martirii gloria, et fidelium deuocio iam quasi languescens et sopita per miracula resuscitetur et fidei feruor qui iam refrixerat ut igne caritatis refflamascet, signis recrebrescentibus et prodigiis, tanquam foliibus quibusdam et uentilabris, exagitetur.

CAP. XIX.

De undeuicesimo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Ut autem ad rem reuertamur, occasione electionis magistri G. tam canonicè facte et tamen cassate, inter carnale matrimonium et spirituale collacionem hic facere, nec superfluum nec inuutile reputauimus. Sicut enim in matrimonio carnali consensus expressus inter legitimas personas sponsum facit et sponsam, sic et in spirituali consensus eligencium per canticum laudis expressus, electum dum modo consenserit et legitima ad eligendum persona fuerit, sponsum et ecclesiam sponsam facit. Unde sicut ibi, si per falsa forte instrumenta et periura, diuorcio celebrato, ad alias transierint nuptias, ecclesia militante que decipi potest hoc permittente, quoad triumphantem tamen que non irridetur, eius scilicet in conspectu qui omnia nouit et acutissime cuncta cernit atque discernit, matrimoniale nichilominus uinculum manet, et adulterium utrinque perpetuo plectibile committitur. Ita et hic, et sicut ibi matrimonium iniciatum in consensuum expressione, consummatum autem in carnali commixtione, ratum ubi inter fideles, ita et hic, iniciatum in electione, consummatum in confirmacione, ratum in consecracione, plenum tamen et perfectum utrinque, quoad sacramenti misterium, est iniciatum, quamuis nec ratum nec consummatum.

CAP. XX.

De uigesimo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Ad hec autem et illud apponendum hic uidetur, quod et Rome et Bononie et locis ubi ius uiget quamplurimis, quasi casus nouus nostris diebus emersus libris legalibus et canonicis per scolarium diligenciam est annotatus, qualiter magister G. solus in libertatem tam ecclesie sue quam suam proclamauit, toto collegio seu capitulo renitente simul et reclamante, et quamquam solus tamen ob fauorem libertatis ad causam status agendam et prosequendam admitti dignus et de iure non recusandus. Unde et argumenta que ad hoc in curia Romana uel introducta fuerant uel introduci poterant, quedam et hic apponemus. Et primo, quia unus de collegio seruorum ad eripiendum se et alios a seruitute, unus eciam fratrum in seruitute constitutorum ad eripiendum se simul et fratres nec non et patrem et matrem, ipsis eciam reclamantibus et renitentibus, ob fauorem libertatis agere poterit, sicut in iure cautum est, Digestis, De liberali causa, lege prima et secunda et Codice De liberali causa, l. principaliter in fine legis. Sic et unus de ecclesie collegio ad eripiendum se et fratres a subiectione indebita, admitti debet. Expressum est enim argumentum.

Item, cum aliquis uendicat aliquem in seruitutem dicendo eum fore sibi et alii communem, cum bene possit agere sine altero, ut dicit lex, multo fortius ubi de libertate contenditur.

Item, ubi multi possident aliquem in seruitutem, et unus uelit ei libertatem dare et alii uelint contradicere, nichilominus eripietur in libertatem, sicut dicit lex C., De communi seruo manumisso, l. scilicet una.

Item, cum ecclesia Meneuensis sit quasi ad supplicium mortis ducta, seruitutem enim fere mortalitati comparat iuris regula, Digestis De regimine iuris, seruitutem admitti debet unus, eciam contradicente capitulo, cum consimile dicat alibi lex, in aliquo ducto ad supplicium mortis, Digestis non de appellacionibus, Non tantum.

Item, cum turbata sit possessio libertatis Meneuensis ecclesie laicali potencia, et sic quasi canonicis absentibus, tutor enim qui per uolenciam presens est, absens intelligitur admitti debet unus, cum in casu consimili admittat lex seruum, qui alias non habet capud standi in

iudicio, et libertum sine litteris, sine omni cautione, ut C. Si per uim uel alio modo turbata sit absentis possessio, l. prima.

Item ad idem facit lex De liberali causa, l. secunda ubi dicitur, Quod si Titius, qui liber homo est, detineatur in seruitutem, sed de statu suo uel condicione sua litigare non audet, ne sibi uel generi suo aliqua a detinente inferatur iniuria, datur potestas filio eius legitimo, uel eciam naturali tantum, petere eum in libertatem. Hec enim uerba sunt legis, ut patri inuito succurratur. Non enim modica est filii ignominia habere parentem seruuum.

Idem autem de matre intelligi potest, C. De liberali causa, l. principaliter in fine legis, ubi dicitur, quod si aliquis consentiat seruituti, potest is cuius interest eum inuitum trahere ad libertatem.

Item interdictum, De libero homine exhibendo, cuilibet uolenti competit, ut Dig. De libero homine exhibendo l. iii. § Hoc interdictum omnibus competit. Uerba enim legis sunt hec. Nemo prohibendus est libertatem fouere, ergo multo fortius admittitur ut ecclesia libera exhibeatur. Parum enim distat a seruitute uel a seruo cui facultas recedendi non datur, ut Digest. De libero homine exhibendo, l. secunda dicitur, sic et Meneuensi ecclesie recedere a Cantuariensi facultas non datur.

Item, canonicis constat uel constare debet uel potest, ecclesiam suam esse liberam, ergo eo ipso quod non agunt, sunt negligentes, ergo esse non uidentur, ut Causa xii. q. ii. Non liceat, ubi inuuitur nullos esse clericos in ecclesia, quia mali et negligentes. Idem dicitur Digest. Quod cuiusque uniuersitatis, l. i. § Et quidem. Hec sunt uerba, Et quidem non esse actorem uel syndicum tunc intelligimus, cum is absit uel ualetudine impediatur, ut inhabilis sit ad agendum. Capitulum autem nunc uidetur inhabile ad agendum, eo ipso quod uel imperpetuum uel ad tempus iuri suo renunciauerunt, ergo ad solum magistrum G. est ius capituli, quantum ad hunc articulum deuolutum, ut Digest. Quod cuiusque uniuersitatis, l. sicut § ultimo, ubi dicitur, Si uniuersitas ad unum redit, agere potest et conueniri, quia ius omnium in unum recidit, et stat nomen uniuersitatis in uno. Ad idem facit decretum, lxvi. Di. caput Si forte.

Item, aut dicunt canonici, Nolumus agere quia nullum ius habemus, et tunc admitti magister G. debet, eciam

nomine illorum, quia ius ecclesie periclitatur, aut dicunt, Nolumus agere ad presens, non tamen renunciamus iuri uestro, et in hoc casu potest agere nomine proprio, non nomine illorum, quia in hoc casu decretum canonicorum exigeretur, ut in extrauaganti De procuratoribus, c. prima, proprio autem nomine potest, cum sit actio popularis, ut Digest, De iure iureiurando. Cum qui. § In popularibus.

Item, numquid possunt canonici agere nolentes dominum papam priuare iure illo quod magister G. sibi uult acquirere, ut scilicet ecclesia Meneuensis et metropolitana sit, et domino pape subsit immediate? Certe non.

Item, si capitulum dicat aliquid et unus de capitulo rationabilius alleget, stabitur ei quod ab uno dictum est, ut dicit concilium Lateranense in extrauaganti, De hiis que fiunt a maiore parte capituli. Melius autem est libertate gaudere, quam sub iugo quasi seruitii esse.

Item quia partus uentrem sequitur per ingenuitatem matris, id est ecclesie Meneuensis, probabit se magister G. ingenuum esse, ergo cum pro sua libertate ipsum stare et agere posse reclamantibus ceteris non sit dubium, et hanc per matris ingenuitatem probare intendat, utramque quidem, sed unam per aliam et propter aliam probare poterit, suam scilicet directe et ecclesie matris indirecte, et hoc quidem ualidum et subtile est argumentum.

Item iuxta apostolum, si reuelatum fuerit minori melius aliquid, taceat maior, et ita si reuelatum fuerit magistro G. melius aliquid, taceat capitulum.

CAP. XXI.

De uigesimo uno laudabili pariter et notabili.

Unde cum uir uenerabilis Eustacius Eliensis episcopus, cui cum collegis suis tam causa status quam electionis tunc commissa fuerat, interrogaret palam in iure magistrum G. quare inuitis beneficium dare, et ingratos a seruitute et subiectione eripere tantis nisibus elaboraret, sub distinctione in publica audiencia sic respondit. Beneficium ut nostis aliud libertatis, aliud liberacionis, aliud liberalitatis. Primum et secundum dari possunt inuitis. Tertium uero nequaquam. Possum enim seruum meum emancipare et captiuum meum a carcere liberare uel inuitum. Codicem

autem meum cuiquam dare non possum, nisi accipere uoluerit. Induxit eciam illud Ieronimi, Multociens bona parantur inuitis, dum eorum potius utilitati consulitur quam uoluntati. Et illud eiusdem, Et qui phreneticum ligat, et qui lethargicum excitat, ambobus molestus, ambos amat. Adiecit eciam mirandum ualde corruptionis huius effectum, quod eciam canonici Walenses qui originali gaudebant libertatis honore, sicut et gens sua tota, a seruitute et subiectione qua tenentur eripi recusant, uel eciam ab extraneo quocunque et quandocunque, nedum a quodam fratrum suorum, et de corpore ecclesie sue, tantis ad hoc curis et laboribus enitente. De Anglicis enim, qui serui sunt olim atque subacti, et iam quasi naturaliter serui, si a longa seruilis condicionis sue consuetudine, que tanquam in naturam eis conuerti potuit, discedere renuunt, non adeo quidem obstupendum.

CAP. XXII.

De uigesimo secundo laudabili pariter et notabili.

Illud eciam adiciendum hic putauimus, quod dum apostolorum limina magister G. peregre petierat, rex Anglie Iohannes audiens magistrum Stephanum interim Rome in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem electum, consilium ob hoc apud Oxoniam conuocauit, ubi post multas consiliorum abstractiones, demum conqueri cepit super angustiis et iniuriis, tam sibi quam patri suo per Cantuarienses archiepiscopos et loci eiusdem monachos tocies irrogatis, subiungens demum in publica tam episcoporum quam baronum regni audientia, se pessimo consilio fretum fuisse, quod magistrum G. qui tantam ecclesie Cantuariensi controuersiam mouerat unquam impediuit, dicens et sub iuramento firmiter asseuerans, quod si denuo causam illam moueret et controuersiam suscicaret, ipsum non solum non impediret uerum eciam totis nisibus adiuuaret. Reuersum eciam a curia secrecius eum super hoc ipso conuenit, et ad illam iterum aggrediendum uerbis suasoriis animauit, suum ad hoc consilium quidem et auxilium grande promittens. Qui cum a magistro G. responsum acciperet, quod cum episcopum apud Meneuiam haberet uirum probum et bene literatum ac discretum, illi laborem istum ad quem precipue spectabat, iniungeret, respondit se non alium ad hunc

conflictum quam magistrum G. propugnatores aut pugilem quesituros.

CAP. XXIII.

De uigesimo tercio laudabili pariter et notabili.

Cucurrit itaque prescriptis modulis magister G. dum potuit et tempus fuit, nec deses suis diebus nec ignauus existens. Nunc autem aliis currentibus, curiasque sequentibus, et curas inanes exaggerantibus, ei quies detur, et de cetero uel in hospiciolis libris et lectionibus indulgere, uel in ecclesiarum angulis peccata deflere et delicta dolere, salubriter et per penitentiam diluere pariter et delere, permittatur. Proinde et hanc poete sententiam deinceps magister G. Deo dante sequetur.

Sit mihi quod nunc est, eciam minus, ut mihi uiuam
 Quod superest eui, si quid superesse uolunt Di.
 Sit mihi librorum et prouise frugis in annum
 Copia, ne dubie flitem spe pendulus hore.

Et illud Ouidii.

Crede mihi bene qui latuit bene uixit, et infra
 Fortunam debet quisque manere suam.

Et illud eiusdem,

Usibus edocto si quicquam credis amico
 Uine tibi et longe nomina magna fuge.

Et illud Flacci.

Fuge magna, licet sub paupere tecto
 Reges et regum uita precurrere amicos.

Item et illud Ieronimi ad curiam inuitati responsum, Dormiam, inquit, melius in cinere et sacco, ut delicias delictorum recompenset austeritas pilorum, et pristinas delectaciones tollant pilorum preruaciones. Ambient igitur alii, cupiant et currant, et curiis adherendo cathedras scandant. Magister G. simul cum Ieronimo sentiet et dicet, minus est tenere sacerdocium quam mereri, presertim eciam in finibus Anglicanis, ubi ecclesia plus quam alibi suppeditata, et electionis tantum umbra retenta, nec clerus eligit nec conuentus, sed de propositis quem uult princeps solus assumit. Unde cum rex Anglorum H. Secundus rationem quereret ab episcopo quodam, cum olim sancti episcopi fuerint et boni, cur hodie tales quia sancti fere nulli, respondit ille in hunc modum, et uere satis et facete. Quamdiu Deus et Rex celorum per canonicam electionem

episcopos fecit, boni nimirum et sancti fuerunt, sed ex quo non Deus sed homines et reges terrarum, ad nutum suum illos fecerunt, tales esse ceperunt, quales nunc uideri possunt, et qualia sunt opera manuum hominum.

INCIPIT SEXTA PARS.

CAP. I.

De hiis que Giraldo spem et fiduciam in tanto conflictu contulerunt.

Ut autem Giraldi natura pariter et industria plenius agnoscatur, capitula quedam de uisionibus et earum expositionibus, nec non et quasi propheticis quibusdam predictionibus, que quasi in calce libelli de gestis eiusdem conscripta reperiuntur, et in fine quoque operis huius apponere preter rem non putauimus. Premissis quoque capitulis, ex quibus et illa secuntur super hiis, que Giraldo spem et fiduciam in tanto conflictu, tantaque tribulacione pacienciam et toleranciam, contulerunt.

Duo itaque fuerunt quibus maxime solacium hoc in agone suscepit et leuamen, merita principaliter erga Deum et secundario fauor et applausus populorum. Unde quod in libro de gestis eiusdem super hiis reperitur, hic inseremus. Consedentibus et conferentibus ad inuicem super aggressu tanto in Cantuariensi Sancte Trinitatis ecclesia, uiro bono iusticiario Anglie G. scilicet filio P. et Giraldo, tempore tam sumptuosi laboris huius et periculosi, ecce monachi eiusdem ecclesie ad Giraldum intuendum, et quibusdam ab aliis ostendum, per turbas astiterunt. Quod considerans iusticiarius archidiacono, qui cum ipso loqui potius intendebat, illud ostendit, dicens, nonne uidetis qualiter hi monachi cateruatim huc concurrunt, et uos quasi monstrum aliquod cum admiratione conspiciunt? Credo uexacionem quam facitis archiepiscopo non multum eis displicere. Sciebat enim non ueram neque firmam inter monachos et archiepiscopum consistere dilectionem. Quoniam itaque pulerum est monstrari digito et dicier, hic est, ad eos qui laborem ipsius plangere solebant, et quod causam tam difficilem et desperabilem contra tantos aduersarios assumpserat, quasi compaciendo dolere, sic Giraldus respondere consueuerat. Duabus alis hoc in agone sustentor et subleuor, que mihi laborem hunc alleuiant et delect-

abilem reddunt. Ala dextra est intencio pura et consciencia sana, quibus propter honorem Sancti Daud et ecclesie nostre dignitatem pium et meritorium absque dubio laborem assumpsit. Ala uero sinistra est laus et gloria, quam eciam in terris propter hunc tam nobilem ausum, et tam strenue mentis aggressum, me certum est et in presenciarum et cuncta per secula consecuturum. Illud igitur Augustini hic recolere dignum duximus. Laudem a male uiuentibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor. Dolori mihi est non uoluptati. Laudari autem a bene uiuentibus si dicam nolo, mencior, si dicam uolo, timeo ne sim inanitatis appetencior quam soliditatis. Ergo quid dicam? nec plene uolo, nec plene nolo. Non plene uolo, ne in laude humana pericliter. Non plene nolo, ne ingrati sint quibus predico. Item Seneca, hoc in se naturale habent blandicie, quod cum eciam repellantur, placent, quibus aures ita clauduntur ut si hostium pulsauerint, grate sint, si effregerint, graciores. Unde Ieronimus, Adulatoribus nostris libenter fauemus, et quamquam nos respondeamus indignos, et pallido se rubor ore suffundat, attamen ad laudem suam interius letatur animus. Et alibi uitandum est caucius ne uano glorie ardore capiaris. Et in eodem paulo post, libro scilicet epistolari Ieronimus, non credas laudatoribus immo irrisoribus tuis aurem ne libenter accomodes, sciens quoniam adulator blandus inimicus est. Sed aliud est blandiciis et assentacionibus inhiare, et hec que uana sunt appetere. Aliud bonis operibus et laudabilibus amore uirtutis et non laudis, quamquam tamen uitari non possit, insistere. Quoniam ut ait Ieronimus, gloria uirtutes uelud umbra sequitur et appetitores sui deserens, diligit contemptores. Et alibi, Plerique in hoc ipso plurimum placent, quod placere contempnunt et merum in modum laus dum uitatur acquiritur. Sicut ergo laudem mereri laudabile, sic eandem appetere et affectare est illaudabile. Unde sicut qui famam neggligit crudelis est, sic et qui eam nimis appetit et aucupatur reuera uanus et pompaticus dici potest.

CAP. II.

Quod quinque fuerunt que precipue Giraldo spem et fiduciam prestiterunt.

Preterea plurima fuerunt, sed quinque precipue, que

Giraldo spem et fiduciam contulerunt. Primo quia tam pia et pura eius ab inicio intencio fuit, et tam legitima imprimis et tam sincera uocacio, quod propter ecclesiam suam totis promouendam nisibus hunc proculdubio illo quidem teste qui scrutator est cordium et conscius secretorum, laborem assumpsit. Secundo, quia uota secum habuit Wallie fere tocius et oraciones deuotissimas, et uix euenire solet quod a multitudine recte petitur et appetitur, quin demum obtineatur, quoniam ut ait Ambrosius, Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes fiunt magni, et multorum preces cum deuocione porrecte, uix euenire potest ut non impetrent. Tercio, propter curie Romane fauorem, quem adeo usque in finem semper habebat, quod omnes pro ipso pronuntiandum indubitanter existimarunt, donec longe a principio fine uariato, et ob causam forte tacendam potius quam exprimendam sorte mutata, nec preterita que ab archiepiscopo per ipsum habuerant emolumenta tam magna respexerunt, nec futura que annuatim habere possent maxima, si ius suum archidiaconus obtinuisset, prospexerunt. Asseruit enim archiepiscopus post concordiam pluries, sicut superius diximus, quod propter controuersiam ab archidiacono sibi motam, preter dampna clericorum suorum et seruientium quos amiserat, xi milia marcarum in curia profuderat. Quarto, quia clericaliter et honeste ac studiose pre ceteris compatriotis suis se gerebat, ideoque cathedraliter hunc promouendum totus populus per singulos etatum gradus uaticinari solet. Uox autem populi uox Dei plerumque dici et esse solebat. Quinto, propter uisiones uarias et sompnia, quarum quedam promocionem eius in cathedra Meneuensi prefigurare, alia uero maiora promittere uidebantur. Unde cum mencio fieret de uisionibus illis coram illo, dicere consuevit quod ipse proculdubio uel mirabiles diuine fuerant preostensiones et reuelaciones, si scilicet sequeretur effectus, uel diabolice si secus accideret ad decipiendum illusiones. Sed quoniam pastores et prelatos plerumque bonos propter peccata populorum subtrahit eis Deus, et ypocritas presidere permittit, forsan ad maiora uel utiliora sibi Giraldus uel in tempore uel post est reseruatus. Unde frequenter hoc in agone hanc oracionem dicere deuote consueuerat. Deus, cuius prouidencia in sui dispositione non fallitur, te supplices exoramus ut noxia cuncta submoueas et omnia nobis profutura concedas. In qua ut creditur est exauditus.

Talis enim nature uir erat, tanteque animositatis pariter et uiuacitatis, quod nec corpori suo parceret unquam si promotus fuisset, nec amicis eciam et sanguine propinquis in aliquo deferret, quin dispersa pro posse reuocaret, et pristinum ecclesie statum, tam super dignitate quam ceteris prelatorum incuria perditis, totis nisibus restauraret. Nondum autem ut hoc fieret prouidit Deus, nec adhuc forsitan illo diponente, qui solus tempora nouit et momenta tante melioracionis, tam ecclesie Walensis quam patrie tocius peccatis ingentibus, tempus aduenit.

CAP. III.

De uisionibus et earundem expositionibus. *

De uisionibus igitur illis quasdam et hic recolere nec non expositiones subnectere non superfluum reputauimus, quamquam enim uana fore sompna nec curanda, tam ethnici philosophi nostri quam eciam theologici communiter clamant, tamen uim aliquam prefiguratiuam uisionibus quibusdam inesse dubitari non debet. Uanum enim non fuit de sompniis Ioseph, Faraonis, Nabugodonosor et aliorum plurimorum, que Uetus Testamentum diligentur recolit et memorie commendauit. Nonne per uisiones eciam Ezechiel et Daniel prophetarunt? Uisiones igitur et sompna nec apponi animo nimis uel magnopere curari, nec iterum tanquam friuola prorsus et inania sperni debent. Sed sicut rumoribus sic et sompniis credi oportere et non oportere, dicimus locum quasi communem esse.

CAP. IV.

Uisio prima et uisionis explicio.

Erat itaque Meneuie mulier religiosa et monialis omnium opinione sanctissima, cui nomen Ewedas, cuius conuersacio in obsequiis ecclesie Sancti Dauid die et nocte assidua fuit. Pluribus huic annis ante obitum Meneuensis episcopi P. uisum in sompno fuit, quod uidit super altare principale Meneuensis ecclesie corpus hominis extensum iacens, et cum accederet Giraldum esse recognouit. Quod cum admirando conspiceret, uidit unde uehemencius obstupuit, corpus idem subito tam enormiter in longum excrescere, quod aperto a dextris pariete murali, capud et

humeri trans uillam ab austro et terre interuallum usque ad mare protenderentur. Pedes autem et tibie per medium ecclesie parietem a sinistris trans Pepidiauc et Kemmeis, et Kerdigaun quoque et Uenedociam totam, usque ad boreale uersus Orcadum insulas Hybernicum mare se protendebant. Putabant itaque multi uisionem hanc audientes, quod per illum qui super altare Sancti Dauid positus erat, et cuius a mari usque ad mare Walliam totam quantitas equiparauit, ecclesia Sancti Dauid exaltanda foret, et dignitas antiqua cum Wallie tocuis subiectione reformanda. Potuit autem hoc forsan uisio prefigurare, quod dignitatis ius illius, quasi sopitum antea uel sepultum, tam euidenter declararat, et ob hoc Walliam totam eius fama replente quantum in ipso fuit si fidem scilicet, tam in patribus quam eciam fartribus inuenisset, recuperauit. Credebatur autem a plurimis magis effectum hec consecutura uisio, propter aliam uisionem haut dissimilem, quam uir bonus et inter canonicos Meneuenses non modicus, qui uocabatur magister Iohannes iuuenis, que fuit effectum consecuta. Uidebatur enim ei, parum ante P. Meneuensis episcopi promocionem, sede uacante, quod ante altare Sancti Dauid principale sedit uir quidam in balneo, ualde pinguis et corpulentus, multumque delectatus et lauando confrictus, spacio non minimo huc illuc in uasculo se uolutabat. Sed cum paulo post uir ille respiceret, uisus est balneator ille de momento in momentum adeo enormiter decrescere, quod infra unius hore spacium modicus, miser, et macilentus appareret. Unde et uir idem referens sociis sompnium suum sic illud ipsemet exposuit. Quod prelatum haberent magni nominis imprimis et aliquamdiu deliciis affluentem, cuius et nomen et omen de die in diem et usque in finem ualde decresceret, quod et reuera sic euenit. Unde et a simili per contrarium de illo qui adeo excreuit putabatur quod honor ipsius foret non mediocriter augmentandus, sed forte famam ipsius et opinionem que ob ausum tam nobilem in immensum excreuit hoc figurabat.

CAP. V.

Uisio secunda et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum fuit uiro cuidam bono, quod cum in festo quasi Pentecostes Meneuie foret et ecclesiam intraret, uidit G. archidiaconum stantem coram altari principali et

librum tenentem, quem cum aperiret tanti luminis claritatem emisit, quam uix poterant contuencium oculi sustinere. Exiens autem uir ille uidit non solum urbem ipsam et prouinciam totam, uerum eciam Wallie tocius amplitudinem splendore libri illius illustrari, adeo ut peregrini de remotioribus Uenedocie et Powisie partibus, qui solita peregrinancium deuocione locum sanctum uisitarunt, terras omnes finium illorum, hortos eciam et domicilia ac si prope positi starent, euidenter et aperte cum grandi admiracione conspicerent. Hoc autem ad ius dignitatis ecclesie Sancti David, quod tam obscurum antea fuerat, et nunc adeo per Giraldi laborem est declaratum, referri potest, uel eciam ad libros eiusdem per quos, sicut Hiberniam per Topographiam Hibernicam et Expugnacionis Historiam, sic et Walliam totam per Itinerarium scilicet et Kambrie descriptionem illustrauit.

CAP. VI.

Uisio tertia et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum fuit circa dies eosdem presbytero cuidam cuius quasi per dietam a Meneuia mansio distabat ab oriente quod cum mane surgendo oculos coniceret in occidentem, uidit ex parte Meneuie trans horizontem nostrum quasi solare corpus emergere, et cum uehementer obstupesceret ibi solem mane surgere ubi descendere pocius sero consueuerat, dixit ei uir quidam id ipsum intuens, Noli quod uides admirari, quia in Meneuie partibus amodo sol emerget. Putabant itaque multi uisionem hanc et alias audientes, magnum quid de tam egregio tamque deuoto Giraldi labore futurum. Totum hoc autem uel ad pristine dignitatis iura per ipsum declarata, uel ad librorum eiusdem thesauros Meneuie repositos, per quos patria tota preter solitum quasi sole quodam illuminatur, referri potuit.

CAP. VII.

Uisio quarta et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum erat cuidam longe ante obitum P. episcopi, quod cum in festo quodam grandi esset Meneuie, uidit urbis in medio quasi circa crucem erectam turbas hominum cum clamore magno et tumultu concurrere, et cum appropians

quidnam esset, inquireret, dicebant omnes archiepiscopum Sancti Dauid aduenire. Cumque ipse cum aliis archiepiscopi aduentum exspectaret, demum quasi premissis tam peditum quam equitum turbis uariis, ad ultimum in turbe grandis medio uidit Giraldum equitantem cum cruce preambula ab omnibus habitum pro archiepiscopo. Quem etiam ecclesie processio pulcra suscipiens apud albam portam, tanquam prelatum suum, usque in ecclesiam ipsam cum gaudio magno et campanarum omnium sonitu deduxerunt. Hoc autem ad intencionem eius et operam dignitatis grandem adquirende, nec non et ad spem generalem omnium fere tam de ipso in pastorem habendo, quam dignitate quoque per ipsum reformanda referri potuit.

CAP. VIII.

Uisio quinta et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum fuit alii, quod ueniens Meneuiam uidit Giraldum tanquam in urbis medio circa crucem in arbore sedentem alta, populumque totum sub arbore sedentem, eique tanquam pastori suo intentum, uerbis monentem exhortatoriis et docentem. Hoc etiam ad spem de eius promociione conceptam a cunctis, uel potius ad potestatem christianitatis et amministrationem Meneuensis ecclesie, sibi a papa commissam, referri potest.

CAP. IX.

Uisio sexta et uisionis expositionis.

Item uisum fuit militi cui nomen Alexander filius Hugonis, quia cum paulo post obitum episcopi P. sede uacante sederet apud Pembroc pre foribus oppidi exterioris ad uille spectaculum, erat enim tunc temporis socius uicecomitis et consiliarius, scilicet Philippi de Breusa, uidit cum turba equitantium magna Gerardum¹ uenire propter predam terre de Lantefei, ad episcopum spectantis, quam abduxerant oppidani. Cumque ad domum accederet ubi preda reposita uidebatur, uirga quam manu gestabat obstantes omnes absterrendo, et hostio domus potenter effracto, predam incontinenti reduci fecit ablatam. Quo facto, cum clericis suis et ordinis utriusque sequela multa,

¹ In this and the following chapter, *Gerardus* is a copyist's error for *Giraldus*.

domum eandem statim intrauit. Que cum modica prius et arta fuisset, subito cunctis admirantibus in tantum excreuit, ut ubi paulo ante quasi tugurium iam palacium grande stare uideretur erectum. Et cum miles hec intuens, cunctumque patrie populum illuc confluere uidens, super hiis omnibus uehementer obstupesceret, demum cum aliis qui certatim et cateruatim occurrerunt ad uidendum quidnam fieret, domum intrauit, ubi et Giraldum cum clericis multis, tanquam in pulpito excelso panno precioso de serico candido desuper et undique uelato sedentem conspexit, populum inferius constitutum et consertum tanquam pastor et prelatus instrumentem, et monita salutis dantem ei, sicque militi super hiis, que ibi uidit et audiuit stupor et consternacio sompnum excussit. Potuit et hoc totum uel propter spem, quam de ipsius promocione cuncti precipuam habebant, ex reliquiis scilicet cogitacionum, uel eciam ob potestatem administracionis tocius episcopatus quamdiu uacauerit, postmodum ei a summo pontifice desuper indultam, prouenire. Unde et uicecomes pre-nominatus uidens postea Giraldum a scolis reuersum, palefridum equitantes exiguum, ait illi, Equum tibi de cetero ad equitandum maiorem et meliorem queras. Maior enim es, quam ipse credas. Hoc autem propter uisionem forsitan, quam a dicto milite audierat, dixit.

CAP. X.

Uisiones tres vii et viii et ix cum eandem habent expositionem hic coniuncte.

Item uisum fuit capellano apud Meneuiam, postquam labores tantos Giraldus assumpserat, quod collectis in ueteri ecclesia Sancti Andree scilicet canonicis tanquam ad capitulum cunctis, leo flammeus tam illam quam eciam maiorem ecclesiam ter circuiuit, sed tantum tercia uice ecclesiam intrauit. Canonici uero ualde perterriti, quia per parietes ruinosos et rimosos ut uidebatur, leonem circueuntem singulis uicibus uidere poterant, tunc cum maiorem intrauit ecclesiam quamtocius exierunt et aufugerunt. Credebant autem hanc uisionem audientes, quod Giraldus per leonem significatus post tercium laborem suum ecclesiam Meneuensem intraret et obtineret. Scissure uero et rime in pariete scissuras in capitulo et scismata ac zizania, postmodum per archiepiscopum superseminata,

prefigurabant. Timor eciam quem habebant ad hoc faciebat, multum enim scismatici et periuri ecclesie Gerardi promocionem formidabant.

Item uisum fuit et uidue diebus eisdem apud Brekenniauc, quod draconem uideret uenientem ab oriente et uersus Meneuiam uolantem, sed in partibus de Brekenniauc euannit et non processit. Nec mora uidit eundem iterum ab oriente uolante uolantem uersus Meneuiam, sed cum parum ultra Brekenniauc processisset iterum euannit, factoque interuallo cum uersus orientem prospexisset uidit draconem tercio uenientem solito maiorem, qui sicut et leo in alia uisione Girardum figurare credebatur, et cum usque Brekenniauc ueniret, terras episcopales partium illarum omnes circumuolando, directo postea uolatu trans siluestria de Stratewi Meneuiam tendens illucque preueniens, absque difficultate ecclesiam intrare uidebatur.

Item uisum fuit et presbitero de Pembrochie partibus quod collectis in capitulo Meneuensi canonicis, tanquam ad electionem faciendam, accedens quidam publice potestatis officialis uirgam pastorem baculum scilicet episcopalem inferius acutum superiusque recuruum, proiecit in medium, ut a quo raptus pre ceteris foret et retentus, penes illum tanquam pastorem futurum resideret. Cum autem baculus ille diu inter illos huc illucque distraheretur, tandem a Giraldo qui eminencius stare uidebatur, raptus a manibus eorum fuit et retentus. Minister autem ille iniuste actum esse proclamans, baculum resumpsit, iterumque proiecit et idem euenit. Tercio quoque resumptus a ministro et proiectus, uisus est et a Gerardo retentus, apud quem et stabiliter tunc remansit. De Roberto uero filio Ione, quem in penultimo iactu multum de baculo rapiendo presbiter contendere uidit, cum esset tamen senio confectus et fere decrepitus, mirum fuit, quem et ad hoc ipse ueraciter eniti modulo suo circiter extrema sui tempora uisus fuerat. Propter has itaque uisiones tres et hanc precipue credebatur a multis Girardum tercio suo profuturum labore. Potuit autem et hoc totum ad spem singularem, quam de Gerardi promocione tercio presertim eius aduentu cuncti conceperant, forte referri, uel potius ad terciam electionem de ipso forsan adhuc quandoque faciendam, fuit enim nominatorum quandoque precipuus, fuit et precise post modum electus, quidam et hoc referre conati sunt.

CAP. XI.

Uisio decima et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum fuit ipsi Giraldo ante obitum P. Meneuensis episcopi annis aliquot quando maior sue promocionis spes habebatur, quod quasi in abbacia quadam hospicio susceptus, cum ad cameram ulteriorem nocte diuerteret, canonico quodam cui nomen Iohannes, quod Dei gratia sonat, lumen preferente, ueniens ad domunculam ab oriente uersus occidentem ut uidebatur dispositam cum sedibus que et selle dici solent, quasi uiginti, iuxta numerum sedium cathedralium Anglie, ubi spes eius tota tunc fuerat, simul et Wallie, quam circiter id temporis ab animo suo tam propter terre paupertatem quam eciam gentis enormitatem totaliter abiecerat, ueniens inquam et primam sedem clausam clausque confixam inueniens, transiit ad secundam quam similiter clausam inuenit, sic et terciam, sic et quartam, sic et singulas usque ad extremam parte in occidua sitam. Ad illam autem lumine preuio perueniens, inuenit ibi sedentem P. Meneuensem episcopum, qui dixit ei, Nolite longius abcedere quoniam in breui uenire poteritis, et cum ipse ac baiulus luminis parumper inde diuertissent, episcopo paulo post discedente, Giraldus accessit. Propter hanc autem uisionem ipsius, cui fidem quam ceteris maiorem habebat, tam ipse quam amici eius, quibus hoc reuelauerat, a spe promocionis eius in Anglia decidentes, spem totam ad sedem Meneuensem, que quasi postrema est in regno uersus occidentem, et quam eius antistes ei cedere uidebatur, parum inde gauisi, quinimmo grandiora sibi sperauerant, contristati se conuerterunt. Potuit autem hec uisio ad electionem ipsius canonicam et legitimam qua Petro successit, et per quam sponsus Meneuensis ecclesie factus fuit, reuera referri, sicut et alie uisiones omnes cathedram Meneuensem ei promittentes, ad electionem eius canonicam simul cum administracione desuper sibi commissa, referri possunt. Sicut enim in matrimonio carnali consensus expressus inter legitimas personas sponsum facit ac sponsam, sic et in spiritali consensus eligentium per canticum laudis expressus, electus dummodo consenserit, et legitima ad eligendum persona fuerit, sponsum et ecclesiam sponsam facit, sicut supra in quinta libri parte dictum est euidenter.

CAP. XII.

Uisio undecima et uisionis expositio.

Fuerunt et alie uisiones circiter dies eosdem de Giraldo vise licet non adeo quidem expresse uictoriam ei in certamine promittentes. Uidebatur enim mulieri cuidam in partibus de Brekenniauc, quod cum in celum cum aliis multis tanquam admirando prospiceret, uidit quatuor in celo lunas aut quinque, sed in breui deficientibus aliis et euanescentibus, una quasi integra remansit, et cum a quodam intuentium quereretur cuiusnam esset luna illa, responsum est ei quod non erat hoc luna sed stella Giraldi. Putabant ergo qui hanc uisionem audierunt, quia luna singulis mensibus deficere solet et stelle stabiliter stare, quod aliis ad cathedram Meneuensem uel nominatis uel citra nominacionem aspirantibus per defectum euacuat, solus in iure suo Giraldus firmiter staret. Potuit autem illa stelle stabilitas, quoad equitatem meram et summi iudicis examen, electionem Giraldi legitimam et stabilem designare.

CAP. XIII.

Uisiones duodecima et tercia decima sub eadem expositione coniuncte.

Item uisum fuit et alii in partibus eisdem quod cum Giraldo occurreret de curia reuerso, uidit ipsum equitatem quasi uultu demisso et subtristem, faciemque ipsius ex una parte quasi cute aperta sanguinolentam. Et cum quereret ille a Giraldo quare sic tristis cederet, respondit ei non esse mirandum, quia graue certamen et congressum cum urso habuerat, quem demum se superasse dicebat. Iuuenis autem qui nocte Dominica uisionem uidit cum ipsam fratri suo clerico mane referret, ceperunt statim ecclesie ad populum conuocandum campane pulsari, quod quasi pro signo bono susceperunt. Surgentes eciam incontinenti et ad ecclesiam pergentes, uersum nocturne iuxta lunam, ut fieri solet a nonnullis inspicientes, cum luna tunc quarta fuisset quartum hunc uersum inuenerunt. Et folium eius non defluet et omnia quecunque faciet prosperabuntur. Quamquam tamen inspectio talis nec laudabilis sit nec imitabilis.

Item uisum fuit et presbitero cuidam in partibus eisdem,

quod archidiaconum equitantem bestia quedam triformis, qualem nunquam antea uiderat, more canino nunc equi ad caudam pendendo, nunc ad pedes archidiaconi prosiliendo et morsum minando, persequebatur. Ipse uero cum diu fatigatus esset et tedio affectus, tandem quidam de sequela ipsius pedes precepto suo bestiam illam sagitta petiit et perforauit. Que cum mortua uisa et diligentius inspecta foret, in prima parte melota, in secunda luter, in tertia uero uulpes apparuit.

Credebatur autem hec bestia archiepiscopum figurare, qui tripliciter se transformauit, dum abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis, deinde abbatem Albe Domus, postremo Foliotum promouere curauit. Uictus autem archiepiscopus ab ipso in utraque uisione uidebatur quod ad conscienciam eius cauteriatam, qui totam intencionem suam contra Giraldum super mendacia fundauerat et periuria, uere referri potest, propter quod quamquam humano iudicio uicisse uideretur, diuino tamen uictus reuera succubuit. Hiis eciam due uisiones de disciplinis in libro De Gestis Giraldi posite adiungi poterunt, quarum una cum diceretur ab archiepiscopo disciplinatus, uidebatur tam ipse, quam equi sui cuncti quos equitabat, longe solito maiores et sindone purissima cooperti, tanquam post disciplinas et uexaciones humilior effectus, et quanto humilior tanto apud Deum maior et mundior habitus, et candore innocencie purior inuentus fuisse, potuit absque dubio denotare. Alter uero per quam inter pericula fulgurum et tempestatum grauius urgencia ad heremitam uel anacoritam a dextris uie, per quam equitabat causa discipline suspiciende uisus est declinasse, per quod tota statim sedata procella est. Potuit quidem post humilitatem assumptam et deuocionem, uiteque sue de die in diem, propiciante Domino, correctionem, principum persecuciones potentumque cassandas ilico uexaciones significare.

CAP. XIV.

Uisio decima quinta et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum fuit puero apud Ferentinam, sicut supra tetigimus, quod tres lupos uideret, unum grisium, alterum album, tertium quasi subrufum maiorem aliis, ceterosque duos in archidiaconum instigantem. Sed cum acriter inua-

deret eum grisius, archidiaconus obuiam audacter eundo et in os eius apertum manus mittendo fauces ipsius ambas fortiter distraxit eumque peremit. Cumque lupo maiore tunc acrius instigante lupo albus in archidiaconum impetum faceret, audacter quoque susceptus ab ipso faucibus ambabus haut dissimiliter est diffractus. Quod cum uideret lupo instigator quasi cauda ad poplites flexa, uisus est cum confusione reuerti. Quo facto astare uidebatur mulier ornatissima et sequens ipsam uir canicie ueneranda portans indumenta preciosissima, quibus quasi precepto domine illius archidiaconum induit et ornauit. Et cum puer hoc intuens et admirans quesisset a quodam, quenam illa foret, et ille responsum accepit, quod erat Mater Christi, Uirgo beata, et Sanctus Dauid Wallie patronus. Ecce qualiter et hic uisus est archidiaconus uictoriam habuisse, lupi enim duo abbates duo, primus Sancti Dogmaelis, secundus Albe Domus, tercius uero grandis et alios instigans archiepiscopus, quod quidem ad diuini sententiam examinis totum referri potest.

CAP. XV.

Uisiones tres, xvi scilicet xvii et xviii sub eadem expositione coniuncte.

Item uisum fuit uiro cuidam, quod cum esset apud Hauerfordiam in Rosensi, scilicet Demecie provincia, audiuit tumultum populi grandem et concursum uersus pontem. Accedens igitur illuc et appropians uidit ex altera fluuii parte quasi carrum vel currum oneratum, et multam hominum turbam cum uexillis et canticis precedentem uersus pontem et sequentem. Qui cum inquireret quidnam hoc esset, responsum est ei, quod Giraldus cum tercia parte reliquiarum Cantuariensis ecclesie aduentaret.

Item circiter eadem tempora uisum est in eodem oppido predicto scilicet apud Hauerfordiam capellano loci eiusdem, uiro bono et copiose litterato, cuius nuncupacio magister Gaufridus, quod in camera sua residens audiret turbas hominum in platea tumultuantes et tanquam in processione cantantes. Qui cum exiret et quid hoc esset inspiceret, uidit currum grandem et altum a tocius oppidi illius populo cum multa sollempnitate deductum et magistrum G. tanquam in summitate sedentem. Cantabant autem omnes alta uoce cum musica modulacione in hec uerba.

Quis est iste uir tam bonus
 Qui suscepit tantum onus?
 Quis est iste, quis est ille,
 Qui deiecit uiros mille?

Et in his pompis ac tripudiis sequens cum aliis et admirans demum experrectus a sompno surrexit. Item uisum est canonico cuidam Meneuensi, qui Dauid scilicet filius Ythenardi uocabatur, quod uideret monachum qui se circiter eadem tempora gesserat electum Bangorensem apud Meneuiam in habitu quasi seculari post susceptos de obitu ipsius rumores, et cum quereret ab ipso, quemadmodum se haberet, respondit ille, quia male, quoniam et corpus et animam simul amiserat. Hoc autem solum solacium sibi esse dicebat, quod uni duorum, scilicet electo Meneuensi magistro G. bene quidem et ad uota successit. Successus autem iste et quasi uictorie preconiales non ad temporalia, quibus potius affligi uidebatur et post fatigaciones uel lesiones uexari, sed utinam ad eterna referri possit. Proinde et nepoti suo quem sibi in archidiaconum substitui procurauerat dicere frequenter et illud Euee ad filium scilicet Ascanium inducere consueuerat.

Disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem,
 Fortunam ex aliis.

CAP. XVI.

Uisio xix et uisionis expositio pariter et concordancia.

Item uisionem magistri Mauricii de Wlatmorgan uiri boni et litterati inter alias preterire non debeo. Uidebatur enim ei dum adhuc archidiaconus in scolis moram faceret, et ecclesia quoque Meneuensi nondum uacante, quod Rome coram papa constitutus uideret ibi Giraldum et clericos archiepiscopi Cantuariensis contra ipsum missos, qui cum porrigerent pape litteras cum multis sigillis dixerunt, hee sunt antitetes prelatorum tocius Anglie contra Giraldum, quia uerba eadem Latina uel Gallica pono, quibus tam ipse quam papa et alii uisi sunt uti. Et dominus papa inspexit et dixit, Da michi pennam cum incausto, et subiunxit, ego has antitetes cancellabo, deformabo, et abradam. Et sic fecit, et dixit Gallice, Despuille us Gerold, et ipse se uestibus spoliauit exceptis femoralibus, et flexis genibus cum se prosterneret ante altare papa cum uirgis eum percussit dicens, ego consecro te in episcopum, et omnes

cardinales eum simili modo per ordinem percutientes assensum prebuerunt. Post hec uerba introductus fuit post altare in secretum locum, paulo post reductus fuit indutus omnibus ornamentis episcopalibus excepto baculo, et tunc querens papa quare baculo careret, suum baculum ei dedit nouum, non pictum, sed capud habentem eburneum et pomellum aureum. His autem peractis magister Mauricius, qui hanc uisionem uidit, illum salutauit et ipse respondit, exspecta me in Walliis. De hac uisione mirum fuit plusquam aliis, quia uir ille Giraldi laborem tam longe ante preuiderat, et tam expresse, unde et hiis quibus uisionem referebat multociens cum assercione dicebat, quod magnum laborem absque dubio Giraldus pro ecclesia sua quandoque sustineret, et optatum demum finem consequeretur.

Ut autem singula per ordinem exponantur, scripta cum multis sigillis contra Giraldum data et a papa cancellata, criminales erant obiectiones quas omnes papa quasi friuolas exsufflauit. Prelati uero Anglie, non contra personam archidiaconi quicquam ei criminaliter obiciendo, sed contra Meneuensis ecclesie statum debitum et pro Cantuariensi scripserunt. Quod autem uestibus exutum papa uirga percussit et omnes simili modo cardinales, hec fuit sententia pape, qua nudatus est iure suo Giraldus, et singuli cardinales assensum prebentes sentencie similiter percusserunt. Quod autem percutiendo dixit, Consecro te in episcopum, hoc per antiphrasim potius intelligi potuit. Quia percutiendo sic et sentenciando, magis abstulit ei episcopatum ad quem uocatus erat quam dedit, forte tamen consecutium hoc esse potuit, sicut clausula uisionis subsequens euidenter ostendit. Quod enim post moram aliquamdiu in conclauis factam ductus est ad papam pontificaliter indutus, promissio uidetur episcopalis honoris, post multas uexaciones adepta quiete, que per locum secretum quo ductus fuerat intelligi potest, quandoque per papam obtinendi. Hoc enim magister Mauricius constanter assererat, quod tranquillitas illa qua post tantos quieuit labores, talamus erat, a quo sumendus erat ad dignitatem et sublimandus. Uirga pastoralis quam papa suppleuit, potestatem per ipsum habendam uel etiam potestatis exercende sustentacionem designauit, quod autem in Walliis uisus est Mauricius eum expectare, dicit et asserit ipse quia donec ipsa completa uiderit in Wallia superstes erit.

Item finali clausule uisionis huius uisio cuiusdam concordabat, cui uidebatur se uidere monachum quendam, euolutis postmodum annis plurimis, mitram nouam et niueam ex parte pape Giraldo presentare, mandantis etiam ei et monentis quatinus uerbum Domini populo seminare, sicut iam ceperat et consueuerat, non desisteret, set utinam et premia non temporis sed eternitatis cuncta sint hec referenda.

CAP. XVII.

Uisiones xxi et xxii et xxiii simul eandem uel similem habentes expositionem.

Item uisum est uiro bono et religioso subpriori de Talalechu, dum penultima uice Rome Giraldu erat, et archiepiscopus nouam interim de alio electionem facere laborabat, quod uidens ecclesiam nouam clausam et multos intrare uolentes nec ualentes, dum hoc admirando conspiceret, dixit et quidam, quod nullus ecclesiam illam, donec Giraldu qui clauis secum habebat de Roma redierit, intraret. Quod manifeste quidem euenit. Quoniam ante aduentum suum citraque ipsius assensum ecclesiam Meneuensem nullus intrare potuit per electionem, quamuis multi ad hoc et magni laborassent. Similiter uisum est et alii de cimiterio uallo spiuoso firmiter undique concluso, quod nemo transcendere uel penetrare potuit, donec Giraldu qui uiam apperuit aduentaret. Item uisum fuit et alii quod turrim altam uideret, in qua uiam intrandi uel hostium nemo inuenire potuit donec Giraldu adueniret, qui et statim intrauit et usque ad propugnacula summa solus ascendit. Ascensus autem iste utinam ad uerum ascensum, qui nec casum nouit nec descensum, referri possit.

CAP. XVIII.

Uisio xxiv et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum fuit uiro bono, cuius nuncupacio Galterus Mangenellus, quod in loco constitutus cum Giraldo et fratre ipsius optimo Philippo de Barri, cuius ille gener erat, quod Giraldu audiret a fratre petentem arborem alciorem silue sue ad domum edificandam quam construere disposuerat. Et cum frater ei arborem unam concederet, sed non alciorem, ipse non aliam habere uoluit preter

alciorem, quod demum tamen impetrauit. Hanc autem uisionem miles ille mane post missam Giraldo et fratri suo referens sic statim exposuit, siluam esse genus et alciorem arborem impetrasse Giraldum, ipsum alciorem de genere suo futurum prefigurasse dicebat. Quam etiam altitudinem ad ueram Giraldus in terra uiuentium celsitudinem referri posse cupiebat.

CAP. XIX.

Uisiones xxv et xxvi sub eadem simul expositione.

Item cum in abbacia Cisterciensis ordinis de Cumhir frater quidam parum ante Natale matutinis interesset, uisum est ei quod regem Anglorum uideret et Giraldum consedentes ibidem, et super Meneuensis ecclesie tam dignitate quam electione contententes, lampade tanquam luminis defectiui oleo deficiente coram ipsis appensa. Et cum post longas altercaciones quia Giraldus per minas flecti non potuit, cum diceret ei rex acriter, quod nisi cessaret ab hiis, priusquam lampadis illius lux deficeret, ambas ibidem Giraldi manus igne combureret, respondit ipse quia non tam cito deficeret ignis ille, et protinus superposita lampadi manu dextera per omnes digitos eius oleum in lampadem copiose manauit adeo ut ipsa cito repleta lumen paulo ante deficiens subito cunctis admirantibus in splendorem magnum erumperet.

Item uisum fuit clerico cuidam, qui et paulo post defunctus est, quod Cantuarie constitutus uidit in ecclesia Sancte Trinitatis archiepiscopos duos, loci illius scilicet, et alium Giraldum inter ipsos medium et pontificaliter indutum ad altare principale ducentes. Mirabantur autem omnes hoc intuentes quod omnes digiti Giraldi in altum et usque ad ecclesie fere culmen erecti, cerei ardentis esse uidebantur, et lucem magnam preferentes. Set quoniam per manus et digitos opera designari solent, ad opera Giraldi bona quibus ecclesiam Christi ipso cooperante suis pro posse diebus illuminabit, poterit Deo dante referri.

CAP. XX.

Uisio xxvii scilicet de anachorita de Locheis, et uisio xxviii simul similem habentes expositionem.

Item uisionem uidit de Giraldo uir bonus anachorita

de Locheis, quam et litteris suis ei quem diligebat postea sic propalauit. Karissimo amico meo Wedheleu anacorita de Locheis in Christo salutem et benedictionem. Hoc manifesto uobis, quod in die sancto Pasche transacto uidi sompnum et illud uobis narrabo, scilicet quod in profundum terre uidi magnum foramen ante me et inclinaui ad illud, et in profundum terre te uidi, scilicet in profundo foramine celebrantem super altare. te dico honorabilem uestem habentem, et nomine tuo clamaui ad te et dixi. Surge, surge, surge, Giralde, ascende ad me sursum super terram, et mihi respondisti, Domine, quia uocasti me ueniam ad te, et de gradu ad gradum ambulasti usque ad me super terram et mihi dixisti. In carcere fui et quia uocasti me, amodo habebō requiem, et magnam leticiam in corde meo habui, quod solutus fuisti de carcere. Ualete. Quod ergo uidit eum, in imo terre secularibus et terrenis quibus quasi absortus fuerat, ad hoc inhiantem potuit designare. Quod autem sacerdotalibus indutum et diuina celebrantem, ad emendacionem eius finalem, zelumque bonum et tam intensum circiter ecclesie Christi cultum pro posse augmentandum, et sacerdotale officium totis nisibus amplificandum, altarisque sacramentum non mediocriter exornandum referri potuit. Quod ab imis uocauit eum sursum, unde et cum ascenderet de amico tanquam e carcere liberato leticiam habuit, designare potuit, quod precibus et meritis sancti uiri illius aliorumque similium, quorum oracionibus ualde diligenter et deuote se committere consueuerat, ad emendacionem ac superius ascensionem, Deo cooperante immo totum efficiente, feliciter accessit.

Item plures eciam alii diebus eisdem in uisione Giraldum uiderunt, tanquam in flumine ualde profundo et rapido natantem quandoque contra fluctuum ipsorum impetum, laboriose pariter ac periculose nitentem, quandoque cum fluctibus ipsis inferius raptum semper tamen ad ripam optatam demum indempnem peruenire. Quod totum post labores et pericula ueram quietem, et ab imis ascensum ad alta et eterna gaudia, potuit per Dei gratiam designare.

CAP. XXI.

Uisio xxix et uisionis expositio.

Ad hec eciam longe ante hec tempora, Giraldo

Parisiis in scholis agente, et sub uiro bono studente Petro scilicet de Lunecines, non minus honestate morumque uenustate quam litteratura conspicuo, quem primum in artibus audierat, tunc autem in decretis preceptorem habebat. Uidit idem magister Petrus in uisione Giraldum, tanquam in lecto egritudinis recubentem, ad quem quasi uisitacionis gracia ueniens, cum de morbi natura inquireret, sicut queri solet, respondit Giraldus uerbis his Latinis. Grauius lesus sum in capite. Cumque parumper obdormisset surgens et in lecto residens circumspexit et ait, Infirmus fui grauique morbo decubui, sed Deo opitulante iam plene conualui. Quam uisionem cum mane discipulo post lectiones doctor secreto referret, Giraldus eam animo reponens memorieque fideliter tradens, lesionem in capite capitalem quam perpessus est postea persecucionem attendit, a cuius ipsum uehementia Deus eripuit. Uel potius quia capud actuum hominis mens dici solet, intencione nimirum totum operante lesam erga Deum capitali crimine seu criminibus conscienciam. Unde processu temporis mutatus in melius et emendatus, se tam ore quam opere, tam uerbis scilicet quam uite meritis, plene per Dei gratiam conualiturum non diffidit.

CAP. XXII.

Uisio xxx et uisionis expositio.

Item uisum est alii, quod uideret Giraldum in capa nigra longa et quasi profilata iacentem extensum in terra super tabulam nudam, nec sub capite, nec sub reliquo corpore quicquam preter tabulam ipsam habentem. Ad quem cum accedens excitaret eum monens ut surgeret, et dicens ei quia nec bene nec honeste sic iacebat, respondit Giraldus quod adhuc parumper exspectaret quia nondum surgere potuit, processu uero temporis se dixit per Dei gratiam surrecturum. Hec ergo uisio priori concordat. Hic enim terrene cupiditatis et uoluptatis tanquam in imo iacens resurgere per se non preualuit, subiunxit autem se quandoque per Dei gratiam surrecturum. Proinde premissis uisiones omnes que uictoriam Giraldo promittere uidentur et magnificenciam, ad duarum istarum finem, si tamen earum fini uite ipsius exitus concordauerit, poterunt reuera referri. His autem uisionibus et aliis quibus in imo iacere uidebatur, et postea resurgere, uersus ille in

Psalmo consonare uidetur. Quantas ostendisti mihi tribulaciones multas et malas et conuersus uiuificasti me, et de abissis terre iterum reduxisti me. Multiplicasti magnificenciam tuam et conuersus consolatus es me, et alibi, Eripe me de luto ut non infigar, libera me ab hiis qui oderunt me et de profundis aquarum. Non me demergat tempestas aque neque absorbeat me profundum, neque urgeat super me puteus os suum. Ideoque de uisionibus istis et similibus, ut dictum est supra, dicere Giraldus consueuerat, quod uel mirabiles diuine fuerant preostensiones et reuelaciones uel diabolice non minus admirande ad decipiendum illusiones.

CAP. XXIII.

De litteris anachorite de Niuegal consolatoriis et uaticinalibus ac ueris eiusdem predictionibus.

Sicut autem prescriptus anachorita de Locheis sic et alii uiri religiosi per Walliam labori Giraldi simul applaudentes et compacientes, eius aggressum tam uerbo quam scripto commendabant, unde et inter ceteros anachorita de Niuegal litteras ei tales destinauit. G. Dei gratia Dei omnipotentis Sancti Dauid electo, fratri suo spirituali et domino suo temporali iure mundano, I. minimus presbiterorum et reclusus de cruce Karadoci, suis intercessor ad Dominum nocte dieque, salutem in Christo. Nolite mirari si odit uos mundus. Non bene coutuntur Iudei et Samaritani. Ut nobis carceratis uidetur aduersarii uestri sunt membra diaboli qui iuri ecclesie sue contradicunt, et iuramentis que uobis et ecclesie sue multociens dederunt contraueniunt. Ponite humilitatem contra superbiam eorum, et state uiriliter, et nos laborem uestrum tenemus pro martirio. Mens mea mihi uaticinatur, quod tristicia uestra uertetur in gaudium. Frater uenerande, uos requiro ut intuitu caritatis ad me ueniatis, quia necesse est mihi loqui uobiscum. Multi probi eciam per suos garciferos congruum consilium inuenerunt. Ualete.

Cum autem non longo post tempore ad ipsum Giraldus uisitacionis causa ueniret, quoniam hanc humanitatem uiris religiosus libenter impendebat, inter cetera consolacionis et commendacionis uerba et hos sermones per

fenestram suam uir ille reclusus adiecit. Euidens est satis et manifestum, quod impeditores et aduersarios dignitatis Sancti Dauid exosos et inuisos habet uindex Deus, illosque precipue qui filii et fideles esse deberent. Nequissimum aduersarium Sancti Dauid abbatem Albe Domus depositum iam uidemus et in terris honore cuncto priuatum, abbatem quoque fatuum Sancti Dogmaelis, cognatum uestrum, qui se uobis canonicè prius electo supereligi consensit, Deo uindice Sanctoquoque Dauid, uiuum terra non diu sustinebit. Quod et ex post facto non longo post tempore palam fuit. Priorem de Penbroc Fulconem, et decanum de Penbroc, Gerardum, Willelmum presbiterum de Keirmerdhu, Robertum filium Ione, qui tamen fere usque ad finem firmiter stare uidebantur, iam certum est defunctos esse, et annum tempus post delictum, digna Dei uindicta, non transeuntes. Pontium archidiaconum execatam et quia lumine contra ecclesiam suam exorbitauerat interiore, digno Dei iudicio lumine ex toto priuatum exteriori, Robertum Croppedhorn infatuatum prorsus et annihilatum, omnesque fere Meneuensis ecclesie canonicos uiles ob hoc ab omnibus habitos et abiectos. Quosdam etiam adhuc uiuentes in breui quidem rebus humanis eximendos constanter asserebat, sicut et paulo post de filio Croppedhorni qui contra Giraldum et ecclesiam suam cum aliis Romam cucurrit, certum est contigisse. Quorum unus Robertus filius Ricardi nequissimus inter laicos Sancti Dauid aduersarius, et diocesianos inter filios non patrono patrie solum eiusque uicario Meneuensi episcopo, uerum et monachis totique prouincie clero nocentissimus, dominisque suis semper perfidus et uicinis omnibus uirulentissimus, fratres proprios fraudulenter apporians, et sororum ac filiarum pudiciam petulanter infestans, et preterea turpi libidini atque nefande publice datus, paucis postmodum annis ulcione diuina turpiter est exheredatus, et a terra tota uiliter eiectus, et in breui postmodum in terra aliena pauper et inobs occubuit. Et de archidiacono quoque de Keirmerdin O., inter aduersarios Sancti Dauid, hoc in agone non modico subito et tempestiue nimis ac premature sublato, ulcio sumpta uidetur repentina. Item et paulo post de Mauricio Meneuensi archidiacono, qui et de Pembroch archidiaconus dicebatur, quia contra dignitates ecclesie sue fauore principum preceps nimis et preproperus esse solebat, a turpi loco et turpiter ab alto

in inum con fractis meruit membris precipitari, et spiritum miserabiliter exalare.

Item et principes quosdam ac principales uiros ob archiepiscopi fauorem Sancto Dauid aduersantes, quos ipse nominauit sed nos eorum nomina ponere non curauimus, terras suas amplas et honores in terris magnos postmodum amisisse dicebat. Item clericos archiepiscopi hoc in agone iam de maioribus quosdam et seruientes bonos rebus humanis exemptos esse dicebat, et ipsum quidem archiepiscopum non diu postea fore superstitem assertiue proponebat, quod reuera quasi prophético spiritu pronunciatum, anno postmodum non elapso, indubitanter euenit. Ad Giraldum quoque conuersus ait, Tu uero, fili, certaminis egregii uel hic uel in futuro, quod potius appetere debes, proculdubio premium consequeris et coronam. Ecce qualiter uir bonus iste totum Giraldi fere desiderium est complexus, hoc et enim semper appetiit, ut laboris sui tanti et tam deuoti, zeloque Dei et ecclesie sue tam sinceri retributionem potius in eternitate quam in tempore recipere posset. Mirum autem quod sicut de hiis acciderat hiis temporibus, sic et paulo post de duobus clericis archiepiscopi bonis, et ad ius peruertendum per falsos testes et periuria multa sponte et per industriam procurata et subornata, pre aliis electis ad curiam in ultimo conflictu contra Giraldum missis, certum est accidisse, quorum unus quoniam ad cassandam electionem iustam et canonicam per fas omne nephasque laborauit, et non longe post in simili punitus, nec enim lex iniustior ulla est, cassata in eadem curia electione de se facta iniustissima, a spe concepta dignitatis magne decidit cum confusione. Alter uero quoniam dignitatem Sancti Dauid improbe ualde et impudenter expugnauerat, paulo post paralitico morbo percussus et corpore toto debilitatus, officio lingue qua nimis insolenter abusus fuerat non mediocriter est destitutus. Hoc etenim exquisita Dei uindicta plerumque accidere solet, ut eo precipue membro quo plus homo deliquit plus puniatur, iuxta illud Salomonis in Ecclesiaste, Per que peccat homo per hec et torquetur.

Item fuit et tercius eiusdem archiepiscopi clericus ualde proteruus et studiosus, Sancti Dauid aduersarius non simplex ut alii duo canonicus existens, sed grandem in ecclesia personatum gerens, qui sicut ob humanum fauorem dignitatem Sancti Dauid inpugnare et ad hoc laborare conten-

debat, sic et incontinenti ab aliis impetitus grauiter et uexatus, sub periculo perdicionis dignitatis adeptè persecucionem quoque principis et carcerem passus, ut qualia gesserat talia reciperet, eique uexacio intellectum daret, dies reuera diu tam inquietos duxit quam infaustos, modicoque post turpiter rebus humanis exemptus diem premature clausit extremum.¹

* * * * *

Qualiter autem superstites adhuc et residui, tam domestici quam extranei, precipue quoque domestici qui longe peiores sunt inimici, intestina quippe mouentes prelia et insperata, qualiter inquam tam hii quam illi in posterum uel punientur uel ad penitentiam conuertentur, tempora sequencia declarabunt. Audacter autem et secure uerbis his Ieremie in aduersarios Sancti Dauid ecclesieque sue dignitatis uti possumus. Omnes qui deorant eam delinquant, mala uenient super eos dicit Dominus. Indubitanter enim aut mala temporalia per que uel hic purgentur, uel in purgatorio si penituerint, sed nondum plene satisfecerint, non euadent. Aut si reprobis, quod absit, et obstinati hinc decesserint supplicia gehennalia fine carencia plectibili miseria et inexplicabili perhenmiter incurrent.

CAP. XXIV.

De fratris sui Philippi de Barri uerbis consolatoriis et consiliis ueris quoque sicut ex post facto claruit predictionibus.

Sicut autem predictus uir ille bonus anacorita, sic et alii per Walliam et Angliam quoque plurimi, Giraldo solacii uerba contra labores tantos et retribucionis, hii precipue quibus mentis arcanum et intencionem denudauerat, certam uel temporalis uel eterne spem dedere. Inter alios itaque quod in ipso tanti laboris aggressu a fratre suo uiro uirorum perpaucorum super hoc consilium responsunquæ suscepit, sicut in libro de gestis eiusdem continetur, hic aperiam. Accedens igitur Giraldus ad fratrem suum, uirum probum et discretum, Philippum de Barri, uiamque suam et uie causam obtestatus ab ipso primum et ob diuini

¹ The following twenty five lines of MS. have been rendered illegible.

terrorem iudicii, ubi fient omnia palam, ne de proposito quicquam occultet fortiter ac terribiliter adiuratus, quod pure scilicet propter Deum sanctumque David ecclesieque sue profectum hunc laborem assumpserat, secretius eidem apperrens uerba demum huiuscemodi responsalia ab eo et monita suscepit. Arduum est negocium quod frater aggredieris et laboriosum, sumptuosum quoque nimis et periculosum, quia non solum contra archiepiscopum Cantuarie, sed etiam contra regem et Angliam totam regni que coronam proculdubio fore reputabitur. Si tamen Deus in causa, ut nobis asseris, et ecclesie Sancti David dignitas quam reuocare contendis et intendis, et non terrene pompositatis ambicio, secure laborem hunc assumes, quia reuera uel hic inde premium accipies uel in futuro. Quamquam etiam bona intencione uerteris in hoc et uexeris, ne credas quod omnia tibi statim ad uota succedant. Quinimmo multa tibi hostis ille antiquus, semper bonis uotis inuidens, impedimenta pretendet, et Deus id uel ad probacionem tuam uel purgacionem fieri permittet. Ideoque cum aduersa tibi multa concurrerint et occurrerint ne desperes, sed potius ad animum reuoces qualiter apostoli et discipuli Domini, qui Christi fidem salutisque uiam mundo predicabant, sicut a uobis clericis accepimus, tantis tamen aduersitatibus afflicti fuerunt, uincula, uerbera, carceres, ac uulnera, mortem quoque demum pro Christo sustinentes. Ideoque cum sit Deus in causa ne sis animo fracto sed forti potius et continuato.

Magnum itaque solacium ex uerbis istis uiri boni laici prorsus et illiterati, ex dilectione pariter et discretione magna prouenientibus, in aduersitatibus suis crebris, quas graues et grandes hoc in agone sustinuit, se Giraldus absque dubio suscepisse testari solet, adeo ut fortune tociens fractus iniuriis et sinistris euentibus, animo quasi consternatus et in desperationem, ita ut desistere uellet, fere ex toto datus, recurrrens ad optimi fratris solacia prescripta et consilia, resistere magis et obdurare sub quocunque discrimine preelegerit, iuxta illud poete,

Componite mentes

Ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores,
Et illud,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audacior esto etc.

Et illud Terencii,

Fortis et constantis animi est, non perturbari in

rebus aduersis, nec tumultuante de gradu deici, sed presente consilio pertinaciter uti, nec a ratione discedere.

Item et illud Uirgilio,

Durate et uosmet rebus seruate secundis,

O passi grauiora, dabit Deus hiis quoque finem.

Hoc quoque Gregorii dictum, instante forcius tribulatione et aduersante fortune cursu, frequenter relegebat, Aduersitas que bonis uotis obicitur, probacio uirtutis est et non indicium reprobacionis. Quis enim nesciat quam prosperum fuit quod Paulus ad Italias uergebat, et tamen uehemens naufragium pertulit, sed nauis cordis in maris fluctibus integra stetit.

CAP. XXV.

*De fratris eiusdem optimi per archidiaconum facta
consultacione et curie per cardinalis litteras
responsione.*

Sicut eciam ex libro qui de gestis Giraldi inscribitur manifeste colligitur, discedens a Meneuia Giraldus, quam ex toto corruptam inuenit et in deuium datam, ad prescripti fratris optimi tumbam uidendam mortemque deflendam, apud Mainarbir gemebundus accessit. Sed mitigato demum tam tempore quam animi ratione dolore, litteras quas ad consultacionem ipsius de curia Giraldus reportauit, lectas in publico ubi tumultatus erat, in ecclesia reposuit. Erat autem cardinalis, qui confessiones pro papa tunc recipiebat, responsio talis. Iohannes de Sancto Paulo titulo Sancte Prisce cardinalis, nobili uiro Philippo de Barri salutem, cum interne dilectionis affectu. Sicut ueridica relacione didicimus, scrupulus dubitacionis emerit et uobis hesitacionis occasio emanauit, utrum elemosina diuitibus tradita tantum meritum habeat quantum si esset pauperibus erogata, an sit personarum in hiis accepcio facienda, et quia dubitacionem uestram cura qua conuenit curauimus sollicite auctoritatibus enodare, ne opus caritatis quod apud uos in dubium uertitur, apud multos uestro exemplo in funem longissimum ualeat dubitacionis extendi. Quantum igitur potest humana fragilitas Iohannis os aurei adherentes eloquio uobis taliter respondendum duximus, quod si a diuitibus pro nutrimento hospitalitas postulatur, in hiis non est examinacio facienda. Nam si Abraham circa secum hospicium petentes fuisset sollicitus

indagator non utique angelos hospicio recepisset, set forsā ipsos inter ceteros repulisset. Proinde quia apud eum non erat distinctio personarum, et angelos quidem a suo hospicio non reddidit alienos, sed in domo propria eis comestionis accubitus preparauit, huius igitur exempli consideracione inducti dicimus, quod omnibus tam diuitibus quam pauperibus hospitalitatis et caritatis opera impendatis. Non enim ex persona eorum quos accipitis mercedem uobis retributurus est Dominus, set ex sincera intencione ex misericordia et bonitate et honorificencie operibus et actibus proueniente, retribucio preparatur. Vale, Karissime fili.

Quoniam enim uero uir ille bonus tali loco mansionem habebat, inter duos scilicet portus marinos Miluerdicum et Deuonicum, ubi publicus transfretancium hinc inde transitus erat, et quia passim hospites omnes tam diuites quam pauperes suscipiebat, et propter diuitum affluenciam nimiam pauperibus quantum cupiebat erogare non poterat, curiam Romanam super hoc per G. archidiaconum fratrem suam duxerat consulendam. Quia si id quod diuitibus impenderet hospitalitatis gracia sicut et pauperibus ad meritum ei posset et coronam accedere, tunc hospitalitati more solito totis nisibus indulgeret, alioquin heredi suo locum illum et castrum cum hereditate relinqueret, et ad regionem aliquam se conferre firmiter disposuerat.

CAP. XXVI.

Qualiter filios quos diligit, flagellat Deus.

Sic igitur uel ad probacionem uel ad purgacionem filios quos diligit diuina benignitas flagellari permittit in terris et uexari, quatinus per ignem tribulacionis quo hic uruntur, aut maturius si quid cremabile portant ab igne liberentur purgacionis, aut si puri hinc transeunt et perfecti, plenius et gloriosius in patria coronentur. Unde et in historia Romana de quodam imperatore legitur, cui nomen Mauricius, quod dum esset uir Deum timens, malebat et summo desiderio desiderabat, potius in hoc seculo facinorum suorum temporali supplicio uindictam persoluere, quam uel tormentis gehennalibus, uel eciam in purgatorio, ubi pene quamquam non perpetue tamen grauissime, cruciari. Audierat enim, ut credimus, agiographis nostris astruentibus minimam et mitissimam penam in purgatorio grauior-

em esse quam aliquam que temporaliter hic infligi uel excogitari possit. Unde cum hoc Dominum iugiter in suis oracionibus deprecaretur meruit exaudiri. Quadam itaque nocte, dum in stratu suo quiesceret, uidit per sompnum ante se eneam astare Saluatoris effigiem, que erat ante palatii portam, ex qua emissa est uox ad eum dicens, Ducite mihi Mauricium, et tenentes eum quidam indiciarii ministri exhibuerunt ei. Tunc ait ad eum Saluatoris ymago, Ubi uis reddam tibi mala que meruisti, hic an in futuro seculo? Et ille, O amator hominum Domine, hic potius quam in futuro. Tunc iussit diuina uox tradi eum et Constanciam eius uxorem et omnem eius cognacionem Phoce militi. Expergefactus uero misit ad accersendum Philippum generum suum, cui sibi assistenti dixit Mauricius. Scis inter agmina nostra aliquem militem nomine Phocam? Cui ille, Scio unum. Et imperator, Cuius est qualitatibus? Qui ait, Inuenis et tumidus et temerarius. Tunc referens Augustus Philippo sompnum, glorificabat magnifice Deum pro huiusmodi reuelacione. Nec multo post Phocas regalem purpuram assensu militum sumens Mauricium a suis fere cunctis derelictum, et ob hoc in silua quadam latitantem, cum uxore sua et quinque filiis interemit.

Preterea ut propius exempla petamus, Christianissimus Francorum rex Lodouicus, qui nostris diebus in Francia regnauit, cum ultimis diebus suis morbo simul et senio ualde grauatus existeret, consilium habuit a suis quatinus Cantuariam in Anglia, ubi tunc temporis in nouitate martirii Beati Thome quem exulantem in regno suo paulo ante tam benigne susceperat et sustentauerat, causa sanitatis recuperande peregre proficisci non postponeret. Cui consilio uir bonus libenter obtemperans hoc etiam adiecit, quod potius causa salutis anime quam sanitatis corporee, et ut ei in futuro minuatur pene, et ob hoc precipue deuote laborare. Unde et temporibus eisdem magistrum Gerardum, agnomine Puellam, qui postea Couentrensium ecclesie presul extitit, quandoque dicentem audiuius, quod multum honoris et auctoritatis non solum Cantuariensi uerum etiam Anglicane ecclesie toti collatum in hoc fuisset, si tunc ubi sanitates undique confluentes meritis uiri sancti et martiris egregii recuperabant, uiro tanto regique piissimo tanquam in humanitatis exhibite retribucionem morbus uel mitigatus esset uel curatus.

Sed reuera uir ille bonus et a Deo dilectus iuxta desiderium animi sui tam presentis laboris et deuocionis quam pristine quoque erga uirum sanctum munificencie et largicionis meruit in futuro premium obtinere quod optauit. Et ne forte malignitas mutaret intellectum eius, et fictio deciperet animam eius, mundo mori potius et Deo uiuere magis expediens ei et utile fuit.

Nostris quoque temporibus, uel parum ante, Romanus imperator Henricus quoniam ob terrene celsitudinis ambitionem primo patrem suum carnalem tentum incarcerauit, deinde et patrem spiritualem papam Paschalem captum tenuit et custodie maucipauit, demum a Deo uisitatus et penitencia ductus, imperiale fastigium cedens et sponte relinquens, quatinus eternas gehennalis incendii flammam et transitorias purgatorii penas ob facinora tanta uel penitus declinare uel saltem mitigare ualeret, patriam fugiens transitoriam, ueram ut patriam et perpetuam inueniret, heremiticam remotis in partibus quoniam Anglicanis, et longinquis ut creditur Cestrie finibus, solitudinem elegit uitamque feliciter terminauit.

Nunc autem ad prelatos iustos et timoratos stilum uertamus, et a papa Gregorio doctore magno incipiamus, qui cum archidiaconi officio primum in urbe fungeretur postea mundo renuncians et monachus effectus adeo in utroque statu egregie se gessit et magnifice, quod defuncto papa Pelagio generaliter a cunctis in papam est electus. Sed cum tante celsitudinis apicem conscendere formidaret, fuge latibulum petiit et triduo delituit. Urbis uero prefectus populi consensum imperatori mandauit, qui illico eum iussit intronizari, utpote qui uirum bene nouerat et ipsius sanctitatis meritum non ignorabat. Itaque tandem Dei omnipotentis famulus diuina reuelacione repertus capitur et intronizatur. Ordinatus autem mox omnem secularem pompam ex palacio suo eliminauit, et clericorum quosque uel monachorum prudentissimos sociauit, cum quibus ita persistebat, ut nichil monastice perfectionis nichil amitteret pontificalis institutionis. Quorum eciam mores tanta excolebat censura, ut nullus eorum barbarum quid uel religioni contrarium sermone uel habitu preferre presumeret, sed qui forte sanctimonia ac sapiencia caruisset subsistendi coram eo fiduciam non haberet. Is eciam Augustinum, Mellitum, et Iohannem cum aliis pluribus monachis religiosis atque sanctissimis

misit, ut Anglorum gentem sua predicatione ad fidem conuerterent Christi. Quam gentem prefatorum labore uirorum Deo lucrificans Londonie et Eboraci metropolitanos consecrauit episcopos. Idem preterea doctor egregius multos edidit libros egregios ad utilitatem ecclesie sancte. Similiter et Nicholaus quamuis uoce celitus demissa diuinitus electus usque ad fugam et latibula renuit et recusauit. Sic et Marcus euangelista raptus in episcopum, ut episcopio pariter et sacerdocio reprobis inueniretur, dampno pollicis ob hoc precisi, honus et honorem euadere uoluit, set Deo disponente non preualuit. Nouerat enim non absque grandi et graui periculo simul et honore honorem illum consistere. Ideoque maluit priuatus et membro mutilatus, in statu securiore saluari.

Nonne et de quibusdam episcopis legimus, ueluti de beato Maurilio Cenomanensi ceterisque nonnullis, qui relictis episcopiorum curis, quoniam puerum unum absque sacramento confirmationis decessisse compererant, quod tamen absque ipsorum tam negligencia quam culpa contigerat, uel heremum petiisse uel monasterium intrasse. Set hodie quot milia queso per episcopatus uarios et fere cunctos ut de ceteris taceam negligenter omissis, absque predicto necessitatis sacramento decedunt? Precipue uero in Anglorum regno ubi fiscalibus magis quam episcopalibus plerique negociis intendunt, scaccarioque regis plus quam sanctuario legis indulgent, pisces pecuniarum facti non animarum, qui sicut ad nutus principum, absque electione preter umbratilem solam promouentur, sic et eorum obsequiis et non diuinis fere per omnia mancipantur.

CAP. XXVII.

De ultimo Gemme Sacerdotalis capitulo super episcopalis officii periculo huic quoque libello finaliter apposito.

In fine uero libelli istius penultimum Gemme nostre Sacerdotalis capitulum quod sic intitulatur, De prelatorum eminencia et statu periculosissimo, quoniam et huic materie ualde congruit multorumque forsitan ad manus liber iste deueniet, ad quas non ille, hic apponere nec superuacuum nec inutile reputauimus. Patet enim quia magni tenentur esse prelati uerbo, maiores autem consilio,

maximi uero uite meritis et exemplo. In eminenti nimirum specula sunt constituti, sedent ut uideant et uideantur, sedent ut uel corrigant uel corrumpant. Unde Ieronimus, Episcopus nisi uerbo et exemplo subditos edificet, canis impudicus dicendus est non episcopus. Et alibi, Uilissimus reputandus est episcopus si non precellat sciencia et sanctitate qui est honore prestancior. Item Augustinus super epistolam ad Thessalonicenses, Hec est enim pax domestica et cohabitancium ordinata a Deo concordia et clara iusticia, ut scilicet qui excellunt ratione excellent dominacione. Item Esicius super Leuiticum, Turpe est hominem in fide nutritum ab infancia talium subire magisterium qui repente magistri facti sunt. Unde Ieronimus, Heri in foro, hodie in altario, heri socius histrionum, hodie consecrator uirginum. Item Ieronimus, Tales esse debent sacerdotes quorum respectu ceteri grex dicantur. Item Ieronimus, Scire prelati debent quia si peruersa unquam perpetrant tot mortibus digni sunt quot ad subditos suos perdicionis exempla transmittunt. Item Augustinus super hunc locum in epistola ad Titum, Te ipsum prebe exemplum bonorum operum. Omnis qui male uiuit in conspectu eorum quibus prepositus est, quantum in ipso est occidit eos. Non est igitur honor hic absque honore suo et honore graui. Item Ieronimus super Ezechielem, Grandis dignitas sacerdotum, sed si peccant grandis ruina. Letemur ad ascensum, timeamus ad lapsum. Non est tanti gaudii excelsa tenuisse, quanti meroris de excelsis corruisse. Non enim solum de nostris delictis rationem reddemus, sed pro delictis omnium quorum donis abutimur. Quis autem grauius corruit quam qui neglectu officii uel arrogancie tumore et supercilio nutans et ab alto titubans se in inferni profunda detrudit. Propter hec honera periculosissima dicebat beatus Martinus se longe minoris meriti fuisse postquam episcopus fuit quam ante. Item quidam monachus uir sanctissimus electus in episcopum constantissimè renuit, qui postmodum mortuus cuidam monasterii cuiusdam monacho apparuit, dicens, quod in beata requie Saluatoris aduentum expectabat, si tamen episcopus fuisset se requie et Dei uisione cariturum fuisse in perpetuum asserebat.

Quid ergo, dampnandi sunt episcopi cuncti? Absit. Quid enim Nicholaus, quid Martinus, quid Germanus, quid Basilius magnus, et alii temporis illius multi? Quid

eciam, ut propius exempla sumamus, Thomas noster Cantuariensis? Non dicimus episcopos non saluari, dicimus autem difficilius hiis diebus quam alios saluari. Da mihi hodie inter antistites Nicholai uel caritatem uel abstinentiam. Da Basili uel Germani cinerem et saccum, aquam et ordeum. Da musitantem iugiter in sublime Martinum, cuius nunquam uel ori Deus uel oculis celum desit. Non illi inter regnum diuisi et sacerdocium, puri quippe sacerdotes erant non principales, non curiales, non regales, illi in ecclesiis assidui, nostri in curiis fere continui. Illi celum meditantés solum celi Domino militabant. Nostri terrenis inhiantes, inter spem et metum anxii, dum et timent et ambiunt, terrarum ex toto principibus obsequuntur. Sed dicent episcopi uel fautores episcoporum et illud Pelagii pape distinctione xxxiv caput fraternitatis obicient. Defectus nostri temporis, quo non solum merita set eciam corpora hominum defecerunt, districtiois illius non patitur manere censuram. Item et illud poete,

Nunc aliud tempus alii pro tempore mores. ·

Sciánt autem quodam loquendi tropo quo continenti attribuitur quod contentorum est, hec et huiusmodi dici solere, sicut cum dicitur dies mali sunt uel terra mala, non enim terre uel temporum sed potius hominum malicia designatur. Quid ergo? hominibus solum seruiunt et non Deo? Absit. Set plus hominibus quam Deo, cum tamen scriptum sit, Dominum Deum tuum adhorabis et illi soli seruiés. Propter regalia nimirum ecclesiis data, ad fas omne nephasque pontifices a regibus prouocantur. Unde cum Beato Siluestro et successoribus suis Constantinus a lepra curatus Romam et occidentale imperium contulisset, antiquus hostis humani generis in publica audiencia alta uoce clamauit, Hodie ecclesie uenenum infudi, et uere uenenum, quia fermentum illud uenenosum quo totam ecclesie massam male corruptit. Porro Beatus Thomas, de quo mencionem fecimus, quamquam temporis huius quo regnant tyranni, et quo caritas pene tota refrixit, diuisus esse renuit, quia se totum Deo dicauerat, nec propter regalia, nec propter exilia, nec propter gladios demum mortem minantes et inferentes, Dei iusticiam et ecclesie libertatem, uir Deo plenus, deserere sustinuit indefensam. Sciens quippe quia si proconsul aliquid preceperit et aliud imperator, imperatori potius obtemperandum. Sin autem

aliquid imperator et aliud Deus, Deo quam homini potius atque propensius obediendum. Illud enim Petri in epistola secunda non ignorabat, Deum timete, regem honorificate. Unde et in diuinis ac spiritualibus Deum solum timebat, in mundanis autem et transitoriis regem honorificabat. Et illud in Actibus Apostolorum, Oportet Deo magis obedire quam hominibus. Ille mimirum timendus, ille tremendus, non qui corpus occidere sed qui corpus et animam mittere preualet in gehennam. Unde Ieronimus in prologo super Hester, Deo placere curantes minas hominum penitus non timemus, quoniam dissipat Deus ossa eorum qui hominibus placere desiderant, et secundum apostolum qui huiusmodi sunt, serui Christi esse non possunt. Iuxta illud ad Galathas, epistola prima, Si adhuc hominibus placerem Christi seruus non essem. Et in Psalmo, Qui hominibus placent confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus spreuit eos, ut supra. Item Paulus in epistola ad Romanos, Uis non timere potestatem, bonum fac et habebis laudem ex illa. Super quod expositor, Non dicit ab illa sed ex illa, quia etsi te mundana potestas non laudat, immo si eciam persequitur, si occidit gladio ut Paulum, si crucifigit ut Petrum, habebis ex illa laudem, dum ex eo quod illa male facit iniuste iusto et innocuo, tue uirtus paciencie coronam laudis meretur. Item apostolus ad Thimotheum, epistola secunda, Non enim dedit nobis Deus spiritum timoris sed uirtutis et dilectionis et sobrietatis. Unde in Deuteronomio, Quis est homo formidolosus et corde pauido? uadat et reuertatur in domum suam, ne pauere faciat corda fratrum suorum, sicut ille timore perterritus est. Item Ciprianus, Episcopus si timet actum est de eo. Et in Apocalipsi, timidus pars eorum in stagno ardenti igne et sulphure.

Utinam igitur episcopi nostri temporis predicti exemplo pontificis contemporanei, scilicet sui beati Thome uestigia sequi uelint, et exemplo ipsius, qui toto promociõnis sue tempore nec unum sibi sanguine iunctum promouere curauit, et ita Simoniacam heresim abhorruit ut cancellarium suum et sigillarium cunctosque notarios curie sue sacramento constrinxerit, quod nec ualens enipulum Anglicum pro carta uel literis quibuslibet a quoquam acciperent, tam carnales in hunc modum erga nepotes et cognatos affectus nimios, quam Simoniacam labem et Gieziticam, que enormitates ambe nimis in prelatiis hodie regnant, a se

constanter abiciant. Itemque eiusdem exemplo pontificis, qui a Deo plene uisitatus fuit et gracia perfusus, in hiis que principum sunt eis obtemperant, in hiis autem que Dei, solum Deo, querentes non que sua sunt set que Christi Iesu, non quod sibi utile, iuxta apostolum, sed quod multis, ut salui fiant, et sic reddentes que sunt Cesaris Cesari et que sunt Dei Deo, non curie sequele dati set ecclesie tutele, non tonsores ouium sed tutores, non tondentes inquam set tuentes non uncinis piscantes et fuscinis, set pocius pascuis pinguibus uerbi Dei gregem pascentes, non piscatores pecuniarum set pastores animarum, pro quibus etiam instante procella more boni pastoris et non mercenarii, animas dare, et eiusdem exemplo pro ecclesie libertate quam sibi Christus fuso sanguine comparauit, capud exponere siut parati. Et si pauci sunt hodie tales de numero paucorum esse contendant et non plurimorum, dicente Domino ad Moysen, non sequeris turbam ad faciendum malum, nec in uicio adquiesces plurimorum sentencie, nec a uero deuies, et sic propensius elaborent ut iuxta comicum illud, uiri uirorum inueniantur perpauco-
 rum. Pauci nimirum saluati sunt in archa Noe, pauci de hiis qui educti sunt de egrot¹ terram promissionis intrarunt quia tantum duo, Iosue scilicet et Caleph, preter Leuitas perpaucos. Pauci de Sodomis cum Loth saluati, quoniam uxor tantum et filie due. In uno cubito consummata est archa, unus sanabatur in piscina, non est qui faciat bonum non est usque ad unum. Multi uocati, pauci electi, grana rarissima, palee multe. Det itaque summus ille largitor et retributor qui citra merita punit et longe premiat ultra, quatinus iuxta qualitatem intencionis, que totam informat actionem, labor denique Giraldi remuneretur. Et si pia fuit et pura uoluntas eius predicto in agone, iuxta desiderium animi sui propensius in patria quam in uia diuine retribucionis, apud quam nec malum impunitum nec bonum irremuneratum, premia consequatur. Det ut de cetero pocius pauper et priuatus uirtutumque collactanee paupertatis amicus et pauperum, Christum pauperem in terris, simul cum Ieronimo, nunc monasterio nunc in heremo studente utiliter et scribente, cinereque et sacco iugi lectione uicissim et oracione, lacrimisque frequentibus et disciplinis, delicta iuuentutis abstergente

¹ A copyist's error for Egypto.

et ablunte, tollens crucem suam sequi possit, et merita de die in diem ad coronam bonis operibus per Dei gratiam accumulare, quam ob terrene dignitatis cuiuslibet culmen adeptum uel adipiscendum, una cum multitudine magnatum socia longe maiore, quanto gradu sublimiore, tanto lapsu procliuiore, uel in imum, quod absit, precipitari, uel eciam ipsius celsitudinis occasione, debeat decremenda uirtutum cum Martino sensibiler incurrere, aut cum euangelista Marcho in episcopum sublimato, et papa Gregorio pro status periculo iugi grauique timore merita minui formidare.

Det inquam diuina bonitas et clementer indulgeat, quatinus cum propheta eximio et rege Dauid, quamquam peccatis interdum enormibus deformato, sed ad penitentiam patrieque uiam pietate superna plene reuocato postmodum et reformato, pure et efficaciter uoce simul et uoto dicere quandoque Giraldus possit, Deduc me, Domine, in uia tua et ingrediar in ueritate tua, letetur cor meum ut timeat nomen tuum. Confitebor tibi Domine Deus meus in toto corde meo et glorificabo nomen tuum in eternum, quia misericordia tua magna est super me et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori. Et iterum, Usquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me? respice et exaudi me, Domine Deus meus. Illumina oculos meos ne unquam obdormiam in morte, ne quando dicat inimicus meus, preualui aduersus eum. Et illud, In hoc cognoui quoniam uoluisti me, quoniam non gaudebit inimicus meus super me. Ego dixi Domine miserere mei, sana animam quia peccaui tibi. Ne perdas cum impiis, Deus, animam meam et cum uiris sanguinum uitam meam. Sed pius et propicius indulgeas clementius, quatinus cum Petro qui negauit, cum Paulo qui lapidauit, cum Thoma qui dubitauit et palpauit, cum Magdalena qui diu enormiter exorbitauit et peccauit, ceterorumque fidelium et felicium coetu, primo quidem peccantium sed postea penitentium, et post lapsus graues respiciente eos Domino resurgentium, per easdem incedens semitas, et eodem duce sed longe sequens, et uestigia semper adorans, denique de luctu in lucem, de uia in patriam, de miseria in gloriam, de morte in uitam, felici ualeat mutatione transferri. Amen.

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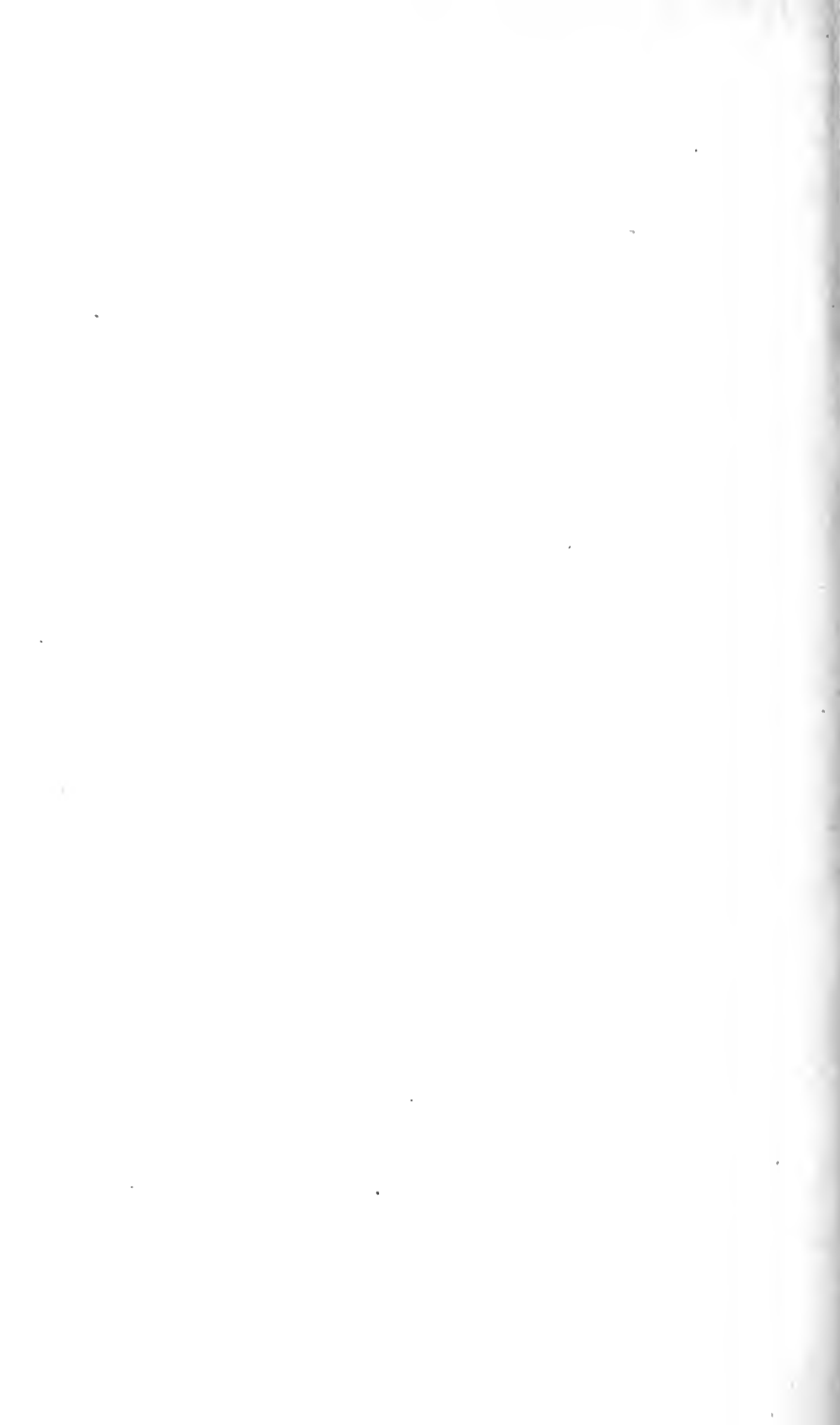
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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 5, line 17, for "*taken*" read *taking*.
 ,, 84, ,, 18, for "*qui*" read *cui*.
 ,, 94, ,, 43, for "*Nullis*" read *Nullus*.







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