

THE LETTERS AND  
POEMS OF  
FULBERT OF CHARTRES

EDITED AND TRANSLATED  
BY  
FREDERICK BEHREND

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DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI DACCA  
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## PREFACE

I FIRST began working on Fulbert at the suggestion of the late Professor L. C. MacKinney, who, with the characteristic generosity which he showed towards his students, handed over to me his translations and notes on Fulbert's letters and the books and other material he had collected. So little of the former remains as he left it, and the difference in our viewpoints will be so obvious to those who are familiar with his publications on Fulbert, that I also wish to say that he was no less generous in encouraging me to strike out on my own and in helping me to pursue my research.

My debt to the General Editors is of a different kind. Professor Brooke has supervised my work at every stage with wondrous patience and constant encouragement. There is hardly a page which has not benefited from the expert knowledge that he placed at my disposal, and to him and to Sir Roger Mynors I am especially indebted for such little as I know of the art of translation.

When my work was already well advanced, Dr. Margaret Gibson and Sir Richard Southern came forth with a theory concerning the underlying letter collection, which, after some hesitation, I accepted and which they have most graciously allowed me to make my own. I also wish to thank them and Dr. Harriet P. Lattin for several suggestions in the Introduction.

I received assistance in dating the manuscripts from the late Professor B. L. Ullman. For help with particular points I am indebted to Monsignor P. Collura, Professors W. Allen, F. L. Ganshof, R. B. C. Huygens, Berthe Marti, and S. Wenzel, and to Monsieur J. Monteil of the Library of the École de Médecine in Montpellier. I should like to express my appreciation to those in the Wilson Library of the University of North Carolina who have given me their aid. Most of all I wish to thank the staff of the Humanities Reference Division and especially Miss Louise Hall and Mrs. Kenneth McIntyre.

For allowing me to use manuscripts in their keeping and for providing me with photo-reproductions I am indebted to the following: his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for material in Lambeth Palace Library; the Deans and Chapters of Durham,

THE LETTERS OF  
FULBERT OF CHARTRES

*Fulbert to Abbot Abbo of Fleury:*<sup>1</sup> *thanking him for his letter and recounting the forced election of Abbot Magenardus of Saint-Père of Chartres* 2 February–11 July 1004

Pleno uirtutis et gratia circumfuso patri Alboni Fulbertus diaconus.

Quanam te resalutatione digner, o sacer abba et o magne phylosophe, quid rependam muneris sanctae amicitiae quam promiserunt signa gemmatae facundie, uix estimare sufficio. Nam cum illa que dicuntur esse uictor animo teneas, cum illa quae non esse forsitan uilipendas, quid ego conferre possim, quod tu aut non habeas, aut non habere contemnas? Sed quoniam philosophicis essentiis magnum quiddam superest, atque ex his quae non esse dicuntur quaedam perpetua fiunt ideoque sapientibus aliquando grata sunt, recipe quaeso quod ab utroque tibi lectum offero. Denique ut participando superessentiam deitatis deus fias,<sup>2</sup> sic te resaluto, ac perennem fidelitatis habitum amicitiae tuae rependo, hac scilicet differentia tuam beniuolentiam meamque distinguens, ut illa pro maiestate persone gratia uocetur ut domini, ista fidelitas ut alumni. Preceptis itaque tuis modestissime deseruire cupiens, Mediolano<sup>3</sup> discipulo quod praecatus es facio. Queque tibi scribenda petisti, en omnia fere iuxta fidem exarta transmittito.

Abbate sancti Petri<sup>4</sup> grauiter egrotante, sed adhuc mentis et sermonis compote, Magenardus monachus, ante michi non

<sup>1</sup> PB It is also found, except for the first paragraph, in *Cart. S.-Père*, i. 101 ff.; but this has not been used here.

<sup>1</sup> 988–13 November 1004 (see P. Cousin, *Abbon de Fleury-sur-Loire* (Paris, 1954), pp. 92, 181 ff.; above, p. lxx).

<sup>2</sup> As Clerval, pp. 118 f., and following him M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène* (Louvain, 1933), p. 241, have pointed out, this passage seems to reflect some knowledge of the works of John Scotus Eriugena, the ninth-century philosopher and translator of Pseudo-Dionysius. Although Fulbert does not seem to be drawing on any particular passage, his thought here can be illustrated from Eriugena's *Periphyseon* or *De divisione naturae*, i (ed. I. P. Sheldon-Williams,

*Fulbert to Abbot Abbo of Fleury*<sup>1</sup>

2 February–11 July 1004

To Abbot Abbo, who is filled with virtue and suffused with grace, from the deacon Fulbert.

How I can suitably return your greeting, O holy abbot and great philosopher, what I can give you in return for the gift of holy friendship which you promised me in tokens of sparkling eloquence is almost more than I can judge. For since you have mastered and grasp those things which are said to exist, and since you may not value those which are said not to exist, what might I offer that you do not have or would not disdain to have? But since there is something above and beyond philosophical essences, and since some of those things which are said not to exist become eternal and so are pleasing to the wise, I beg you to accept what I have chosen from both to offer you. In short, I am returning your greeting with the wish that you may become divine by participating in God's transcendental nature,<sup>2</sup> and I am repaying you for your friendship by offering you my eternal fidelity, though I distinguish thus between your kindness toward me and mine toward you: that in accordance with the majesty of your person, yours may be called grace and favour as being that of a master, while mine may be called fidelity as being that of a pupil. Since I want to obey your commands so far as in me lies, I am doing what you requested for the student from *Mediolanum*.<sup>3</sup> As for what you asked me to write and tell you, I am enclosing an accurate account of almost everything.

While the abbot of Saint-Père<sup>4</sup> was seriously ill, but still in sound mind and able to speak, the monk Magenardus, who was

*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vii (Dublin, 1968)). Eriugena begins by dividing *natura* into those things which exist and those which do not exist: the former can be grasped by the human mind, while the latter are beyond it (pp. 36 ff.). God is said to be 'superessential' in that he is above all essence (pp. 76 ff.); and Eriugena uses *deificatio* to denote man's return to God, his participation in God's nature (pp. 48 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> A fairly common place-name which cannot be identified with certainty (see Graesse–Benedict–Plechl, *Orbis Latinus*, ii (Braunschweig, 1972), 536).

<sup>4</sup> Gisbertus (see p. lxix).

mediocriter carus, noctu sese de claustro surripuit, et ad Telbaldum comitem,<sup>5</sup> qui Blesis tunc morabatur, abbatiae petendae gratia properauit. Comes illum post tridie remisit ad nos cum legatis, qui denuntiarent recipiendum magnifice sicut abbatem monachis et canonicis. At uero nobis fere omnibus ea res aequa noua et horribilis fuit. Respondimus itaque longe nobis aliter uideri; nec aenim legitime fieri abbatem nec debere recipi, qui abbatiam alterius ipso uiuente per ambitionem petit,<sup>a</sup> qui a fratribus non eligitur, et super illos nititur dominari, postremo qui noster neque monachus sit neque clericus, et plures habeat testes curialiter agitandi quam monastice uiuendi. Haec ille non gratanter accipiens ad comitem redequitat, iramque iuuenis aduersum nos uehementer inflammat. Sed die quinto postquam suum ambitum publicauit, praedictus abbas aegritudinem suam morte limitat. Conueniunt ad capitulum monachi nostri et quidam canonici quos ratio postulabat admitti. Interrogamus an aliqui fratrum incepto Magenardi faueant. Negant singuli, negant omnes. Decreuimus ergo quosdam eorum esse mittendos ad comitem (nobis uidelicet designatum episcopum),<sup>6</sup> ut patris obitum nuntiarent, et alterius eligendi regularem praecarentur licentiam. Quibus missis, ecce alii duo (Viuianus scilicet et Durandus, alter illitteratus, alter litterarum malesanus interpret, ambo praepositi), simulantes causa communis commodi ad obedientias suas se uelle exire, ac ne aliorum pergerent sibi interdicens decano monasterii, Magenardum tamen secuti sunt, cui ceptam praesumptionem occulte persuaserant, et<sup>b</sup> Blesis in praesentia domni Telbaldi ipsum Magenardum a fratribus peti et eligi perfide<sup>c</sup> mentiti sunt. Horum suffragio laetus comes statim eum<sup>d</sup> baculo pastoralis publice donat. Quo audito fratres qui in claustro remanserant, contra hanc fraudulentiam zelo diuine legis accincti, libellum reprobationis fecerunt atque subscripserunt huiusmodi:

Sciat omnis ecclesia quia Magenardum monachum nostrum abbatem fieri non eligimus, non laudamus, non uolumus, non consentimus; sed

<sup>a</sup> quaerit B      <sup>b</sup> et] ut B      <sup>c</sup> perfidem B      <sup>d</sup> eum] cum B

<sup>5</sup> 995-1004 (see Lex, pp. 204, 208 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> See pp. lxix f.

very dear to me before this, stole from the cloister by night and hurried to Count Thibault,<sup>5</sup> who was then at Blois, to ask for the office of abbot. The count sent him back to us three days later with messengers who were instructed to announce that the monks and canons should receive Magenardus as abbot with due solemnity. But to almost all of us this was as unprecedented as it was shocking. So we replied that we favoured an altogether different course, for no one may lawfully be made or received as abbot who solicits the office of an abbot while he is alive, who has not been elected by the brothers and yet strives to rule over them, and finally who is not one of our monks or clerks and who has more witnesses of his courtly behaviour than of his monastic life. Magenardus heard this with displeasure, rode back to the count, and vehemently inflamed that young man's anger against us. On the fifth day after Magenardus had made his canvassing public, the abbot's illness ended with his death. Our monks assembled in chapter along with those of the canons whose presence was required by the nature of the case. We asked whether any of the brothers approved of what Magenardus had done. They denied it one and all. So we decided that some of them should be sent to notify the count (namely our bishop-designate)<sup>6</sup> of the abbot's death and to ask for permission to elect another in accordance with the Rule. After these had been sent, two others (namely Vivian and Durand, the one illiterate, the other of unsound learning, both being provosts) pretended that for the good of the community they wished to go to their obediences. Though the dean of the monastery forbade them to go anywhere else, they followed Magenardus, whom they had secretly persuaded to embark on his rash venture, and in Count Thibault's presence at Blois they treacherously lied that Magenardus had been chosen and elected by the brothers. The count was delighted with their support and thereupon publicly presented Magenardus with the pastoral staff. When the brothers who had remained in the monastery heard this, they girded themselves with zeal for divine law against this deception and wrote and signed the following notice of their disapproval:

May the whole church know that we do not elect, approve, wish, nor consent to the monk Magenardus' being made our abbot; but we

reprobamus, refutamus, et omnino contradicimus, nos uidelicet<sup>e</sup> de cenobio sancti Petri, quorum nomina subscripta sunt:

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Durandus decanus | Gauldricus             |
| Genesisius       | Rotbertus              |
| Isembertus       | Marcuinus              |
| Alueus           | Guarnerius             |
| Richerius        | Guarinus               |
| Herbertus        | Eurardus               |
| Benedictus       | Galterius              |
| Arnulfus         | Durandus               |
| Walterius        | Beringerius            |
| Herbertus        | Bernardus <sup>f</sup> |

Isti itaque omnes sua nomina aut subscripserunt aut subscribi fecerunt me uidente. Die proxima comes Telbaldus redit, se in monasterium recipi cum processione praemandat. Monachi respondent se libenter hoc agere, si praesumptorem illum non adduxerit secum. Ille denuo iratus, ipso tamen die sustinuit, sed insequenti cum strepitu<sup>g</sup> comminantium in sancti Petri monasterium suum Magenardum obrusit. Ad cuius uiolentum ingressum sancti fratres contaminari ipsius communicatione timentes, sanctuario domini salutato cum lacrimis exierunt, atque refugium aliud nescientes, ad limina principalis ecclesiae confugerunt. Ibi quoque non inuento pastore, utrinque desertae<sup>h</sup> oues mestis sese uocibus consolantur. Sed recipit sancta mater Domini solita pietate, recipit Rodulfus tuus<sup>7</sup> dulci benignitate. Inde transierunt ad caenobium sancti patris Herberti,<sup>8</sup> cuius diues caritas de paupere censu quaeque potest illis necessaria sumministrat. Caeterum ille, cuius fratres importunitate depulsi sunt, ab Heruiso quodam (ut aiunt) Britannice regionis<sup>i</sup> episcopo<sup>9</sup> iiii nonas Februarii abbas simulatus est in suburbio Carnotensi absente clero, indignante populo, legato archipraesulis<sup>10</sup> palam contradicente ne

<sup>e</sup> uero B <sup>f</sup> In both MSS. the names are written serially. Their different arrangements, however, indicate that they originally stood in two columns as printed here. In copying them P went down each column vertically, while B alternated between the two, omitting Arnulfus, Durandus, Walterius. <sup>g</sup> strepitum P  
<sup>h</sup> disertae B <sup>i</sup> religionis B

<sup>7</sup> Dean of the cathedral and bishop 1004–6 (see pp. xvii f.).

<sup>8</sup> Of Lagny (Seine-et-Marne, arr. Meaux), c. 1000–33 (Clerval, pp. 25 f.).

condemn, refute, and utterly oppose it—we of the monastery of Saint-Père whose names are written below:

|                  |            |
|------------------|------------|
| Durand, the dean | Gauldricus |
| Genesisius       | Robert     |
| Isembertus       | Marcuinus  |
| Alueus           | Guarnerius |
| Richer           | Guarinus   |
| Herbert          | Evrardus   |
| Benedict         | Walter     |
| Arnulf           | Durand     |
| Walter           | Berengar   |
| Herbert          | Bernard    |

All these wrote their names or had them written in my presence. On the next day Count Thibault returned and sent ahead word that he was to be received in the monastery with a procession. The monks replied that they would gladly do so if he did not bring that usurper with him. Though he again became enraged, he controlled himself on that day; but on the next, with thundering threats he thrust his Magenardus into the monastery of Saint-Père. On his forcing his way in the holy brothers, from fear of being contaminated by communicating with him, took their leave of the church and went forth in tears; and knowing no other place of refuge, they fled to the threshold of the cathedral. When they found no shepherd there either, the sheep, abandoned on both sides, comforted each other with words of sorrow. But the Lord's holy mother received them with her wonted affection; and your servant Ralph,<sup>7</sup> with sweet kindness. From there they passed to the monastery of Abbot Herbert,<sup>8</sup> who rich in charity, though straitened in resources, provided so far as he could for their needs. Meanwhile, he whose importunity had driven the brothers away went through the motions of having himself made abbot on 2 February in the suburbs of Chartres by someone named Hervé, who is said to be a bishop from Brittany,<sup>9</sup> though the clergy were absent, the people were outraged, a messenger from the archbishop<sup>10</sup> publicly forbade it, and some monks who had remained

<sup>9</sup> Bishop Hervé or Hervi of Nantes (991/2–after 1004), who seems to have spent his last years at the court of the count of Chartres and to have died at Blois (see F. Lot, 'Hervi évêque de Nantes', *Annales de Bretagne*, xiii (1897–8), 45 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> Leothericus of Sens.

id fieret, reclamantibus etiam quibusdam monachis qui in loco remanserant uero uultu, uiua uoce, atque regulari auctoritate.<sup>k</sup> Sed quid inter furentes ratio? Sed et nunc ille primas in abbatiae suggestu, saeculari potentia fretus, de peracta uictoria gloriosus, factores eius, abbates, episcopos, atque ipsum papam ambiendo, ne quid grauius statuatur in illum modis omnibus elaborat.<sup>l</sup> Iacet interim uicta confusaque fratrum expulsoꝝ humilitas; nec est praesul in Galliis cuius uiscera tangat affectio pietatis, aut zelus sacre legis inflammet, ut consurgat ad frangendos impetus errorum, ad releuandas<sup>m</sup> spes dolore tabescentium. Defuncta etenim est Dionisii fortitudo, non comparet<sup>n</sup> pietas Martini. Tu quoque dereliquisti nos, sancte pater Hilari, qui olim unitatem aecclesie spiritus sancti gladio tuebaris.<sup>11</sup> O derelicta, o mesta, o desolata Galliarum aecclesia! Quae iam erit spes salutis ulterior? Vbi amplius afflicta Christiani anima respirabit? Hoc nempe solum uel maxime nos confortare uidebatur, quod si contingeret ruinas maenium tuorum resarciri non posse, liceret saltem ad firmum adhuc capitolium monasticae uitae confugere. Quod aetiam si furibus irreptare aut impune quibuslibet ambitiosis inuadere licet, pro dolor! funditus cecidisti. Vnde iam ad te reuertens, uenerande pater, quem ego credo et uideo adiutorem<sup>o</sup> a Domino nobis esse prouisum, cum domino meo tuoque fideli Rodulfo deprecor et obtestor per ea que tibi data sunt sapientiae sanctae carismata, per dulcedinem fraternae caritatis, siquid potes impugna hostes Domini, fratres allisos refoue, nec perire sinas inopia solatii tui pro quibus credis esse fusum sanguinem Christi. Vale.

<sup>k</sup> auctoritate om. P      <sup>l</sup> elaborant PB      <sup>m</sup> reuelandas P      <sup>n</sup> comparet  
 corr. to compararet P      <sup>o</sup> adiutorem] ad nitorem B

<sup>11</sup> i.e. the bishops of Fulbert's day are not living up to the standards of their heroic predecessors, Saints Denis of Paris, Martin of Tours, and Hilary of Poitiers. Cf. Eph. 6: 17.

there with bold face voiced their protests based on the Rule. But what reason is there among madmen? So now his eminence installed on the abbot's throne, relying on secular power and glorying in the victory he has won, is canvassing his supporters, abbots, bishops, and the pope himself, and striving in every way to prevent more serious action from being taken against him. Meanwhile, the expelled brothers lie humbly prostrate, conquered and thrown into confusion, nor is there a bishop in all Gaul whose heart is so touched with fatherly affection or who is so inflamed with zeal for holy law as to rise up to crush the attacks of evil-doers and to restore the hopes of those languishing with grief. Indeed, the courage which was Denis's is dead, and the piety which was Martin's is nowhere to be seen. You have also deserted us, O holy father Hilary, who once protected the unity of the church with the sword of the Holy Spirit.<sup>11</sup> O church of Gaul, abandoned, sorrowful, desolate! Is there any hope left for your safety after this? Where can a Christian's afflicted soul still recover its breath? This alone once seemed our greatest comfort: that if your outer walls were ruined and could not be mended, we might at least take refuge in the citadel of monastic life, which was as yet secure. But if thieves are allowed to steal in and anyone who wants an office to seize it without being punished—alas, you have utterly fallen! So now I am turning to you, reverend father, whom I believe and see to be the helper the Lord has provided for us; and with Ralph, my lord and your faithful servant, I beg and entreat you by those gifts of holy wisdom which have been given to you and by the sweetness of fraternal charity to do all that you can to fight the enemies of the Lord and to revive the stricken brothers and not to allow those for whom you believe Christ's blood was poured forth to perish for want of your consolation. Farewell.

## 2

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: thanking him for consecrating him and congratulating him on finding relics; his action as regards a complaint and advice as to a simoniac priest*  
late 1006–early 1008

Dilectissimo patri et archiepiscopo suo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus orationis suffragium.

Multum amoris atque fidelitatis tibi, pater, me debere censeo, per cuius manum a Deo benedictionem et sacram unctionem accepi. Vnde et animus meus ita pendet ex tuo,<sup>1</sup> ut quicquid te iusta ratione aut contristat aut hilarat, idem me si resciscam<sup>a</sup> simili modo afficiat. Congratulor itaque tibi super inuentis sacris,<sup>2</sup> et Deo qui ea tempore tuo reuelari maluit pronus gratias ago. Deinde uero quod Arnulfum casatum aecclesiae nostrae<sup>3</sup> tibi tuisque scripsisti iniurium, egre contra illum et accepi et fero. Vnde mox ad uillam Alogiam ubi tunc esse dicebatur misi legatum meum, sed in alias partes abierat. Vxor tamen eius michi remandauit, quod ubi redierit statim ad me ueniet. Quod si ueniens tibi satisfacere uoluerit, per meas litteras scies. Alioquin ultra terminum qui a te praefixus est in nostra communione non erit. Simoniacum uero praesbiterum de quo michi mandasti in diocesim ordinatoris sui repelli suadeo, aut si in tua manserit, ab officio suspendi, ne aecclesiae tuae<sup>b</sup> candor immundae heresis contagione sordescat.<sup>4</sup> Vale, pater optime, filii tui memor.

2 DRCPBVM (L)

<sup>a</sup> si resciscam om. VM

<sup>b</sup> tuae om. VM

2. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 44: 30.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the relics of Saints Savinian and others, which had been missing since the Norse invasions and were discovered at Sens by Leothericus and Abbot Rainardus of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif. See the account apparently deriving from Odorannus and that of Clarius in Duru, ii. 367, 499; Helgaud, c. xv (ed. Bautier-Labory, p. 88); and Raoul Glaber, iii. 6 (ed. Prou, p. 68), who appears to be referring to this discovery and dates it 1008.

<sup>3</sup> Arnulf of Yèvre-le-Châtel (Loiret, *arr.* Pithiviers), nephew of Bishop Arnulf of Orleans, advocate of the monastery of Fleury, and vassal of the

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*  
late 1006–early 1008

To his very dear father and archbishop, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with the support of his prayers.

I believe that I have a great obligation to love and to be faithful to you, father, for from your hand I received God's blessing and the holy anointing. Hence my state of mind is so dependent on yours<sup>1</sup> that whatever rightly makes you sad or happy, if I should learn of it, makes me sad or happy too. So I congratulate you on discovering holy relics,<sup>2</sup> and on my knees I thank God for having chosen to reveal them in your day. But as for the injury which you wrote that Arnulf, a vassal of our church,<sup>3</sup> had committed against you and yours, I was grieved to hear it, and I hold it grievously against him. I immediately sent my messenger to the village of Alluyes, where he was said to be at that time, but he had gone somewhere else. His wife, however, sent me word that he will come to me as soon as he returns. If he is willing to make satisfaction to you when he comes, I shall write and tell you. Otherwise he shall not remain in communion with us beyond the date that you set. As to your question about the simoniac priest, I advise you to make him return to the diocese of the bishop who ordained him or, if he should remain in yours, to suspend him from office so that your church in its purity may not become soiled and contaminated by a foul heresy.<sup>4</sup> Farewell, dear father, and remember your son.

church of Chartres apparently for holdings at Alluyes (Eure-et-Loir, *arr.* Châteaudun). In 993/4 Arnulf had renounced certain dues that he was exacting from Fleury's dependants at Yèvre in return for an annual payment from the monastery during the lifetime of Bishop Arnulf (Newman, no. 6). As for the present incident, see no. 3. Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury eventually succeeded in having the fortress at Yèvre destroyed, though it was later rebuilt (see *Vita Gauzlini*, c. xlii (ed. Bautier-Labory, pp. 78 ff.); Newman, no. 80).

<sup>4</sup> See no. 4. On the notion of simony as a heresy see J. Leclercq, 'Simoniaca Heresis', *Studi Gregoriani*, i (1947), 523 ff.



## 3

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: notifying him that Arnulf of Yèvre-le-Châtel has agreed to plead his case*  
late 1006–early 1008

Dilectissimo patri et archiepiscopo suo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus suffragium orationis et obsequium fidelitatis.

Arnulfum fidelem meum arguendo conueni de his iniuriis unde michi quaerimoniam scripsistis.<sup>1</sup> Sed ille respondit se non diffugere iudicium, sponte uenire ad placitum.<sup>a</sup> Vnde per consilium et suasum eius totam hanc causam in uestram dispositionem mittimus, ut constituatis diem quo uos et nos et alii quorum interest conuenire possimus iuxta castellum Ebrae, uidelicet super ipsam terram sancti Benedicti de qua contentio est. Arnulfus enim in expeditionem cum Odone comite<sup>2</sup> proficisci constituit. Vnde uos talem diem praescribere oportet, ut et ille de expeditione possit esse reuersus, et ego meis negotiis exoccupatus possim uobis occurrere.<sup>b</sup>

## 4

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: advising him as to the penance for a simoniac priest* late 1006–early 1008

Sancto ac uenerabili<sup>a</sup> primati suo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) episcoporum humillimus fidelitatis affectum et obsequium.

De praebitero uestro ab alio episcopo per pecuniam ordinato,<sup>1</sup> ex auctoritate sanctorum canonum tale uobis consilium dono. Primum degradetur. Deinde ab aecclesia separatus, duobus annis seuera poenitentia multetur,<sup>b</sup> ut honoris gradus, quos precio taxauerat, lacrimis conquirere et reparare contendat. Postea si digne poenituerit, restauretur. Haec uero quae diximus cum in aliis locis, tum satis expresse inuenietis in canone Toletano undecimo, capitulo nono.<sup>2</sup> Caeterum rebaptizationes et reordina-

3 DRCPBVM (L)      <sup>a</sup> palatium VM      <sup>b</sup> Valete add. P      Vale add. B

4 DRCPBVMKF (L) It is copied twice in M (see p. xlvi), the second time breaking off after *ordinato*, though a partly cut-off note in the margin (*Requi-*)

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*  
late 1006–early 1008

To his very dear father and archbishop, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with the support of his prayers and the service of his fidelity.

I summoned my vassal Arnulf and charged him with those injuries of which you wrote to me in your complaint.<sup>1</sup> He replied that he was not fleeing from judgement, but would willingly stand trial. By his counsel and advice we are placing this entire case in your hands for you to fix a day when you, we, and the others who are involved can meet near Yèvre-le-Châtel, that is, on the very land of Saint Benedict's which is in dispute. Since Arnulf has made plans to go on a campaign with Count Odo,<sup>2</sup> you should set a day when it will be possible for him to be back from the campaign and for me to be free from my own affairs to meet with you.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*  
late 1006–early 1008

To his holy and venerable primate, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), most humble bishop, with the good will and service of his fidelity.

As regards your priest who paid another bishop to ordain him,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of the holy canons I advise you to do as follows. First let him be degraded. After he has been separated from the church, let two years of heavy penance be imposed on him so that he may strive to seek and to recover by tears the standing of his orders, which he thought he could buy. Then, if he has done suitable penance, let him be restored. While you can find what we have said in several places, it is explicitly stated in the canons of the eleventh council of Toledo, chapter nine.<sup>2</sup> Since the canons

may refer to the earlier copying. It is here collated from f. 314.      <sup>a</sup> Sancto . . . uenerabili om. BM, but found in M, f. 319      <sup>b</sup> multatur KF

3. <sup>1</sup> See no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Of Chartres.

4. <sup>1</sup> See no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Mansi, xi. 142 f.; Hinschius, p. 410.

tiones fieri canones uetant.<sup>3</sup> Propterea depositum non reordinabitur, sed reddetis ei suos gradus per instrumenta et per uestimenta quae ad ipsos gradus pertinent ita dicendo: 'Reddo tibi gradum hostiarii (et caetera) in nomine Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.' Nouissime autem benedictione laetificabis<sup>d</sup> eum sic concludendo: <sup>e</sup> 'Benedictio Dei Patris<sup>f</sup> et Filii<sup>g</sup> et Spiritus sancti super te descendat, ut sis confirmatus in ordine sacerdotali, et offeras placabiles hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi omnipotenti Deo, cui est honor et gloria<sup>h</sup> in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

## 5

*Fulbert to Pope John XVIII:<sup>1</sup> lodging a complaint against a local count who has gone to Rome for absolution*  
late 1006–early 1008

Domino sancto<sup>a</sup> et uniuersali papae Io(hanni) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus orationum fidelia.

Gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo qui more benignitatis suae tuam, pater, humilitatem respexit,<sup>2</sup> et summo (ut decebat) dignitatis apice sublimauit. Proinde totus mundus ad te conuertit oculos, teque unum omnes beatissimum praedicant. Contemplantur altitudinem tuam sancti uiri et gaudent quod eis similitudine omnium uirtutum alludis. Respiciunt<sup>b</sup> persecutores ecclesiae districtiois tuae baculum formidantes. Suspiciunt hi qui flagellantur ab impiis et respirant sperantes adhuc restare sibi consolationis remedium. De quorum numero sum ego magne ac<sup>c</sup> praeclarae ecclesiae pusillus episcopus, qui tibi, pater, de angustiis meis quaerimoniam scribens auxilium tuae pietatis imploro. Est enim comes quidam malefactor nomine Rodulfus,<sup>3</sup> nimium uicinus nobis, qui res ecclesiae nostrae per iniustam occasionem inuasit, unum de clericis nostris suis manibus interfecit, duos alios captos sacramentis illigauit;<sup>d</sup> et de his omnibus appellatus in

<sup>c</sup> Dei om. CB      <sup>d</sup> laetificabitur BVKF laetificabimus M      <sup>e</sup> dicendo  
DRC didendo V      <sup>f</sup> omnipotentis add. DKF (marked for deletion D)      <sup>g</sup> et  
Filii om. KF      <sup>h</sup> gloria om. KF

5 DRKCPBVM (L)      <sup>a</sup> suo CV      <sup>b</sup> Resipiscunt DRK (Respici . . . L)  
<sup>c</sup> et BVM      <sup>d</sup> alligauit CM

<sup>3</sup> As regards reordinations, see E. Amann, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, xiii, ii (Paris, 1937), 2385 ff., especially the discussion of Fulbert's letter, 2412 f. Although he states that there is no known source for the ceremony which

forbid rebaptisms and reordinations,<sup>3</sup> you should not reordain one who has been deposed, but restore his orders to him using the instruments and vestments which pertain to those orders and saying: 'I restore to you the order of doorkeeper (and so forth) in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.' At the close, you should gladden his heart by giving him your blessing and ending: 'May the blessing of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit descend upon you so that you may be confirmed in the priestly office and offer acceptable sacrifices for the sins and offences of the people to almighty God, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

*Fulbert to Pope John XVIII<sup>1</sup>      late 1006–early 1008*

To the holy and universal pope, John, from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his faithful prayers.

We give thanks to almighty God, who in his wonted kindness had regard for your humility,<sup>2</sup> father, and raised you, as was fitting, to the highest height of honour. The whole world turns its eyes toward you, and all proclaim you alone most blessed. Holy men contemplate your highness and rejoice to see in you the image of all their virtues. Those who persecute the church are mindful of you, fearing the punishment of your staff. Those who are scourged by the wicked look up to you and are revived in the hope that there still remains for them your help and consolation. I am one of them, a lowly bishop of a great and famous church; and I am writing to you, father, to complain of my distress and to implore your fatherly aid. There is a count, an evil-doer by the name of Ralph,<sup>3</sup> who lives very close to us and who, on an unjust pretext, seized possessions of our church, killed one of our clerks with his own hands, and captured two others and bound them to

Fulbert proposes (but cf. Toledo IV, c. 28 (Mansi, x. 627) = c. 27 (Hinschius, pp. 368 f.)), it seems to be merely a reversal of that for degrading a clerk: cf. the proceedings at the councils of Saint-Basle in 991, c. lv (*MGH SS* iii. 686), Orleans in 1022 (*Cart. S.-Père*, i. 114), Limoges II in 1031 (Mansi, xix. 540). The final blessing is adapted from the rite of ordination in the pontifical.

5. <sup>1</sup> 25 December 1003–late June 1009 (Zimmermann, nos. 980, 1035).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luke 1: 48.

<sup>3</sup> Identity unknown, but cf. no. 62.

curia regis, et coram plena aecclesia sepe uocatus, nec propter hominem nec propter Deum ad iusticiam uenire dignatus, a nobis tandem excommunicatus est. Nunc uero ad limina sancti Petri contendit, tanquam ibi possit accipere de peccatis absolutionem, unde uenire non uult ad emendationem. Vnde rogamus te, dilectissime pater, cui totius aecclesiae cura commissa est, ut eum de sanguine atque iniuria filiorum tuorum ita arguere et castigare memineris, sicut meritum esse tua prudentia<sup>e</sup> nouit. Nec tua sanctitas iniuste in communionem recipiat, quem diuina auctoritas sicut ethnicum alienat. Vale, bone pastor, et uigila super nos, ne per incuriam tuam grex Domini detrimentum sustineat.

## 6

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: thanking him for excommunicating an enemy before 17 February 1008*

Plurima sciencia et sanctitate pollenti patri et archiepiscopo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) utinam Dei paruulus oracionis suffragium.

Quod aduersarium nostrum Gozonem<sup>1</sup> excommunicastis, a Deo mercedem et a nobis fideles gratias habeatis. Hoc enim faciendo et Deo prebuistis obsequium, et uestro discipulo dilectionis indiculum.<sup>a</sup> Quapropter si me uestra dignacio de hac aut de alia causa rogauerit, benignam se uobis et obsequentem nostra humilitas exhibebit. Valete.

## 7

*Fulbert to Bishop Fulk of Orleans:<sup>1</sup> advising him as regards Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury's claim of exemption before 17 February 1008*

Fratri et coepiscopo suo F(ulconi) F(ulbertus).

Quod ad praesens uestrum placitum non adeo, de malicia huius temporis ortae difficultates obsistunt, uobis exponendae per ocium.

<sup>e</sup> prouidentia DRKB (prudencia L)

6 LDRKPBVM <sup>a</sup> indicium LDRK

7 DRKCPBVM (L)

himself by oaths. On all these charges he was summoned to the king's court and repeatedly cited before a full church council; and when he did not deign to come to trial out of respect for either God or man, we finally excommunicated him. Now he is hastening to the threshold of St. Peter's, as if there he could be absolved from sins for which he is unwilling to make amends. So we beg you, dearest father, to whom the care of the entire church has been entrusted, to be sure to charge and to chastise him for the blood and injuries of your children as you in your wisdom know he deserves. May your holiness not receive into communion, contrary to all justice, one whom divine authority casts out as a heathen. Farewell, good shepherd, and watch over us so that the Lord's flock may not suffer harm because you neglected it.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens before 17 February 1008*

To his father and archbishop, L(eothericus), who has the strength of great knowledge and holiness, from F(ulbert), a mere child (and would that he were God's!), with the support of his prayers.

Because you have excommunicated our enemy Gozo<sup>1</sup> may you have God's reward and our faithful thanks, for in doing this you have done your duty to God and shown your love for your disciple. So if your grace should ask anything of us in this or in any other matter, we shall humbly show ourselves well-disposed and obedient to you. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Bishop Fulk of Orleans<sup>1</sup> before 17 February 1008*

To his brother and fellow bishop, F(ulk), from F(ulbert).

I am not attending your court on the present occasion as I am held back by difficulties arising from the evils of the times which I shall have to explain to you at leisure. But what I would say if

6. <sup>1</sup> Identity unknown.

7. <sup>1</sup> After December 1003—after 17 May 1008 (Newman, p. 42 n.; above, p. lxxiii). For the circumstances see pp. lxxi–lxxiii.

Sed quod praesens dicerem, per hos apices significare curavi. Defensores legum paucos, impugnatores uero plures esse uidetis. Quin etiam dominus noster rex, cui summum iusticiae caput incumbit, perfidia malorum sic circumuentus est, ut ad praesens neque se uindicare, neque nos ut oportet adiuuare praeualeat.<sup>2</sup> Non haec iccirco dixerim, ut fortitudinem animi uestri frangere uelim, sed ut sana discretione causam uestram tractare memineritis. Igitur si abbas sancti Benedicti<sup>3</sup> de uestro contemptu<sup>a</sup> culpam suam recognouerit, et illam deinceps subiectionem promiserit quae uobis canonicè debetur, hortor et suadeo ut recipiatis. Sacramenta uero et caetera quae ad mundanam legem pertinent propter amorem domini regis missa faciatis, ut religionem magis quam secularem ambitionem uos sectari cognoscat. At si abbas in tantam superbiam intumuerit ut ipsam quoque subiectionem canonicam uobis derogare contendat, superbiae cui non parcat Deus Dei seruus quomodo parcat nescio.<sup>b</sup> Valete.

## 8

*Fulbert to Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury: admonishing him to be obedient to his bishop* 16 May–1 October 1008

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus G(auzlino) abbati regulariter agere.

Presul Aurelianorum,<sup>1</sup> qui uos excommunicauit, coepiscopos suos idem facere poscit. At ego, correptionis<sup>a</sup> uestrae non expes,<sup>b</sup> in kalendas<sup>c</sup> Octobris ei respectum dedi. Vnde nunc fraternè<sup>d</sup> commoneo, ut gradus humilitatis interim uel usque ad tertium relegendo,<sup>2</sup> episcopo uestro subiciamini sicut decet; aut si uobis non ita faciendum esse uidetur, cur fieri non debeat, rationem nobis intimare ne pigeat. Ego enim neque legem neque modum racionationis<sup>e</sup> inuenire possum, qui uos ab iugo subiectionis huius absoluat.<sup>f</sup> At<sup>g</sup> si quis alius preter uos se inuenisse fateatur,

<sup>a</sup> contemptu uestro DRK (uestro contemptu L)  
DRK (L)

<sup>b</sup> parcat? Nescio.

8 LDRCBVMKF      <sup>a</sup> correctionis RVKF      <sup>b</sup> expers BM, *post corr.* D  
<sup>c</sup> kalendis VM      <sup>a</sup> frater CB      <sup>e</sup> racionacionis LVF      racionis C

<sup>f</sup> inuenire . . . absoluat] huius qui uos absoluat inuenio LDR (qui uos *supra*, inuenio *in mar.* L) huius absoluat C      *cf. p.* lvii      <sup>g</sup> Aut KF

I were present I have tried to let you know in these lines. That there are few who support the law, but many who violate it should be obvious to you. Indeed, even our lord the king, whose position makes him the fountain-head of justice, is so beset by the treachery of the wicked that at present he is unable to avenge himself or to aid us as he should.<sup>2</sup> I have not said this in order to break the firmness of your resolve, but rather to remind you to handle your case with prudence and discretion. So if the abbot of St. Benedict's<sup>3</sup> acknowledges his guilt in disobeying you and promises from now on the obedience that he owes you in accordance with the canons, I urge and advise you to accept it. As for the oaths and other matters which pertain to secular law, put them aside out of love for the king so that he may know that you are pursuing religious rather than worldly goals. But if the abbot is so swollen with pride that he attempts to withhold even canonical obedience from you, how God's servant can forgive that pride which God himself does not pardon, I do not know. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury*

16 May–1 October 1008

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to Abbot G(auzlin), with his admonition to live in accordance with the Rule.

The bishop of Orleans,<sup>1</sup> who has excommunicated you, is asking his fellow bishops to do this too. But since I still have hope that you can be corrected, I have given you until 1 October. Now I admonish you as your brother to read again in the meantime the degrees of humility as far as the third<sup>2</sup> and to be obedient to your bishop as you should. If you do not think that you are obliged to do so, please let us know the reason why, for I cannot find a law or any manner of reasoning that might release you from the yoke of this obedience. If anyone except you should claim to have found it, I would think him a reincarnation of that famous

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a reference to the murder of Count Hugh of Beauvais (see no. 13).

<sup>3</sup> Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury (see no. 8).

8. <sup>1</sup> Fulc (see no. 7).

<sup>2</sup> St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. vii, the third degree of humility being obedience to one's superior.

nouum illum rethorem de caelo magis cecidisse quam descendisse crediderim.<sup>3</sup> Videte ne quis uos seducat inanibus uerbis.<sup>4</sup> Valete.

## 9

*Fulbert to Bishop Reginald of Paris:*<sup>1</sup> *stating his terms for accepting him as a vassal* before 17 February 1008

Noto notus, R(egenaldo) F(ulbertus).

Haec a uobis exigo: securitatem de mea uita<sup>a</sup> et membris et<sup>b</sup> terra quam habeo uel per uestrum consilium adquiram, de auxilio uestro contra omnes homines salua fidelitate Roberti, de receptu<sup>c</sup> Vindocini castrī ad meum usum et meorum fidelium qui uobis assecurabunt illud; commendationem uestrorum militum qui de nostro casamento beneficium tenent salua fidelitate uestra; iusticiam de quaerimonia Sanctionis et Huberti, et de quaerimoniis canonicorum aecclesiae nostrae,<sup>2</sup> et de legibus atriorum nostrorum. Si haec facere uultis, paratus sum conuentionem quam uobiscum inii obseruare. Si non uultis, nolite me itinere fatigare. Valete.

## 10

*Fulbert to the vassals of Bishop Reginald of Paris at Vendôme: calling on them to fulfil their obligations as his own subvassals*<sup>1</sup> before 28 March 1008

Fulbertus Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus Gundacro,<sup>a</sup> Huberto uicecomiti, Rogerio, Burcardo, Hugoni filio Hugonis, Otrede,

9 DRKPVM (L)           <sup>a</sup> uita mea DRK (L)           <sup>b</sup> et] de DRK (et L)  
<sup>c</sup> recepto VM  
 10 DRVM (L)           <sup>a</sup> Gundracco DR

<sup>3</sup> Apparently—and so I have translated it—a reference to the fall of Lucifer (cf. Isa. 14: 12 ff.; Apoc. 12: 9 f.) used here to mean that only someone who had fallen from divine favour would attempt to justify Gauzlin's claims.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eph. 5: 6.

9.<sup>1</sup> April 991–12 September 1016 (Depoin, pp. 232 ff.). In 1006 he entered into his inheritance from his father, Burchard, which included Vendôme

orator who did not descend, but rather fell from heaven.<sup>3</sup> See to it that no one lead you astray with empty words.<sup>4</sup> Farewell.

*Fulbert to Bishop Reginald of Paris*<sup>1</sup>  
 before 17 February 1008

To one friend from another, to R(eginald) from F(ulbert).

This is what I require of you: assurance as to my life and limbs and the land which I have or shall acquire with your advice, as to your aid against all men saving the fidelity you owe to Robert, and as to the handing over of Vendôme castle for me and my vassals to use, for which they will give you surety; the commendation of your knights who hold a benefice from the land with which we enfeoffed you saving the fidelity they owe to you; justice as regards the complaint of Sanctio and Hubert, the complaints of the canons of our church,<sup>2</sup> and the laws of our courts. If you accept these terms, I am prepared to keep the agreement which I made with you. If you do not, please do not put me to the trouble of making the journey. Farewell.

*Fulbert to the vassals of Bishop Reginald of Paris at Vendôme*<sup>1</sup>  
 before 28 March 1008

Fulbert, by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to Gundacrus, Hubert the vicomte, Roger, Burchard, Hugh the son of Hugh,

(Loir-et-Cher), a fief held of the bishop of Chartres (see *Vita Burcardi*, p. xviii). Nos. 9 f. have been much discussed from the standpoint of feudal law, especially as regards the development of subvassalage and the *salua fidelitate* clause by which a vassal reserved the fidelity he owed to a lord with whom he had earlier entered into a feudal contract (here King Robert). See W. Kienast, *Untertaneneid und Treuvorbehalt in Frankreich und England* (Weimar, 1952), pp. 28 ff.; F. L. Ganshof, 'Les relations féodo-vassaliques aux temps post-carolingiens', *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* ii (1955), 87 f., 106, 112; Guillot, i. 28 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The nature of these complaints is unknown. Hubert is perhaps the vicomte mentioned in no. 10; Sanctio, the brother of Fulbert's predecessor, Bishop Ralph (Merlet, p. 155).

10.<sup>1</sup> See no. 9.

Hamelino, Hugoni filio Herbrandi, et uxori Guismandi,<sup>2</sup> et omnibus illis qui tenent casamentum sanctae Mariae Carnotensis aeccliesiae per donum Regenaldi episcopi.

Voco uos et admoneo ex parte Dei et sanctae Mariae et nostra,<sup>b</sup> ut infra proximum pascha ueniatis ad nos, aut nostrum seruicium facere, aut de uestris casamentis legitimam rationem reddere.<sup>3</sup> Quod si non feceritis, excommunicabo uos propter contumaciam<sup>c</sup> uestram; et interdicam ut non audiatis diuinum officium, nec uiui recipiatis communionem, neque mortui sepulturam. Quin etiam castellum Vindocinum et territorium eius anathematizabo, ut in eis diuinum officium non caelebretur, neque mortuus sepeliatur. Postea uero ipsa casamenta quae tenetis aut uni aut pluribus dabo, nec ultra iam uobiscum de illis concordabo. Deus uos conuertat, filii mei.

## 11

*Fulbert to Abbot William:<sup>1</sup> asking him to take back a fugitive monk before 17 February 1008*

Quem iugiter in sinu memoriae fouet domno abbati Guill(elmo) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium sacerdos abundanciam caritatis.

Peregrinus quidam frater nomine Hermengaudus nos consolationem petiturus adiit, uultu, sermone, et habitu penitentis. Sentus enim et squalidus,<sup>2</sup> pallentique macie deformatus, sua culpa de uestri caenobii paradyso se conquirebatur<sup>a</sup> expulsum, in

<sup>b</sup> nostrae VM      <sup>c</sup> contumeliam DR

11 LDRKCPBVM

<sup>a</sup> conquirebatur VM

<sup>2</sup> In view of the frequent occurrence of these names in eleventh-century documents relating to Vendôme, and the widespread practice of naming a child after a parent or grandparent, it is hardly possible to identify the persons named here with any certainty. A Walter, son of Hamelin, is mentioned in Fulbert's grant to Marmoutier (Appendix C, no. 3) and among the vassals of Vendôme in *De consuetudinibus Burcardi comitis in Vindocino* (printed as an appendix in *Vita Burcardi* and dated (p. ix) c. 1032 (cf. Guillot, i. 49 f.)), p. 35. Whether these are to be identified with Hamelin of Langeais (Indre-et-Loire, arr. Chinon) and his son Walter, who appear rather frequently in the charters of Marmoutier and La Trinité de Vendôme, is not certain, though it would seem from the various charters which mention them that there may have been two

Otrodus, Hamelin, Hugh the son of Herbrandus, Guismandus's wife,<sup>2</sup> and all who hold a benefice of the church of St. Mary of Chartres by grant from Bishop Reginald.

I summon and admonish you on behalf of God, St. Mary, and ourselves, to come to us before next Easter to do service to us or to render a due account of your benefices.<sup>3</sup> If you do not do so, I shall excommunicate you for being contumacious and prohibit you from attending divine service and receiving communion while you are alive and burial when you are dead. I shall also lay an interdict on Vendôme and its surroundings so that divine service may not be celebrated there and the dead may not be buried. Then I shall give the benefices that you hold to one or more persons, and after that I shall not come to terms with you concerning them. May God convert you, my children.

*Fulbert to Abbot William<sup>1</sup> before 17 February 1008*

To Abbot William, whom he ever cherishes in the memory of his heart, from F(ulbert), bishop of Chartres, with his wish that he may abound in charity.

A wandering brother named Hermengaudus came to us seeking comfort, his face, speech, and dress those of a penitent. Unkempt and dirty,<sup>2</sup> marred by pallor and emaciation, he complained that it was his own fault that he had been driven from the paradise

Hamelins, the second being Walter's son (see Halphen, p. 159, and his 'Étude sur l'authenticité du fragment de chronique attribué à Foulques le Réchin', *Bibliothèque de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris*, xiii (1901), 23 ff.; Guillot, i. 292 f.). An Otrodus, father of Solomon, is also found in the customary, and Solomon figures in the *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois*, ed. C. A. de Trémault (Paris, 1893), pp. 38 ff., in connection with a dispute concerning the mill of La Chappe, once held by Guismandus and then sold by him with the consent of his wife Emelina, daughter of Hugh Doubleau (pp. 46 ff.; cf. above, p. xx n.) and possibly the wife addressed by Fulbert. Among others mentioned in the customary are Hubert, vicomte of Vendôme and father of Bishop Hubert of Angers (cf. Halphen, pp. 114 f.), and Gundacrius, a name which occurs several times in mid eleventh-century charters for Marmoutier.

<sup>3</sup> Comparison with no. 9 would seem to indicate that Fulbert is using *seruicium facere* as equivalent to *commendatio*; however, Guillot, i. 29 n., takes it to mean that Fulbert was calling on them to perform services which they owed as a result of having commended themselves earlier.

11. <sup>1</sup> Identity unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 236.

corpore fesso morientem animam circumferre. Quod uerbum interius admittentes,<sup>b</sup> compassione<sup>c</sup> carere, uosque pro illo non rogare nequiuimus. Precamur itaque si ius, si fas est,<sup>3</sup> in nomine eius<sup>d</sup> Domini, qui iuxta est his qui tribulato sunt corde,<sup>4</sup> ut paterna pietate recipiatis hunc<sup>e</sup> filium, iam tandem sero postliminio reuertentem, quo de conuerso peccatore non tantum angeli Dei, uerum etiam sancti fratres quorum propius interest gratulentur.<sup>5</sup> Valetē<sup>f</sup> memores nostri, uestri non inmemorum.

## 12

*Fulbert to Bishop A(vesgaudus of Le Mans?):<sup>1</sup> setting a date for a meeting before 17 February 1008*

In Domino fratri et coepiscopo suo A(uisgaudo) F(ulbertus) omnium expetendorum summam.

Gaudeo signis officii uestri curam uos habere monentibus: quod me alloqui uultis, quod querimoniae nostrae finem facere, quod incesta conubia castigare. Sunt enim haec studiosi, iusti, atque casti animi indicia. Et quia me his gerendis diem locumque statuere uoluistis, sit dies *iiix<sup>a</sup>* kalendas Marcii, locus uilla Masin-giaci.<sup>2</sup> Quo si occurritis, Haimonem<sup>3</sup> adducere mementote. Alioquin, resignate mihi tempestiue, ne frustra uiam tanti laboris ingrediar.<sup>b</sup>

|                               |  |                             |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| <sup>b</sup> admittens LC     | <sup>c</sup> compassionem L                              | <sup>d</sup> eius om. LDRKC |
| <sup>e</sup> uestrum add. DRK | <sup>f</sup> Vale L <sup>2</sup> , CVM                   |                             |
| 12 LDRPBVHKF                  | <sup>a</sup> in x B <sup>mo</sup> xii K <sup>o</sup> x F | <sup>b</sup> Valetē add. PB |

<sup>3</sup> A commonplace, perhaps from Terence, *Hec.* 387.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ps. 33: 19.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Luke 15: 10.

12. <sup>1</sup> 997/1004–1028/38 (R. Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1910), pp. 132 ff.).

of your monastery and that he was carrying about a dying soul in an exhausted body. Having taken his story to heart, we could not but feel pity or fail to intercede with you in his behalf. So we beg you, if it is just and right,<sup>3</sup> in the name of that Lord who is near to those who are troubled of heart,<sup>4</sup> to receive with a father's kindness this son who at this late hour is at last returning home, that not only the angels of God, but also the holy brothers, to whom it is of closer concern, may rejoice over the converted sinner.<sup>5</sup> Farewell, and remember us, as we remember you.

*Fulbert to Bishop A(vesgaudus of Le Mans?):<sup>1</sup> before 17 February 1008*

To his brother in the Lord and fellow bishop, A(vesgaudus), from F(ulbert), with his wish for every excellence.

I am delighted by the indications of your concern with your duties: that you wish to confer with me, to put an end to our complaint, and to punish incestuous marriage. These show that your intention is zealous, just, and pure. Since you want me to set a day and a place for attending to these matters, let the day be 17 February and the place, the village of *Masingiacum*.<sup>2</sup> If you are going there, remember to bring Haimo.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise let me know in time to keep me from setting out on such a difficult journey for nothing.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Mazangé (Loir-et-Cher, *arr.* Vendôme), where the church of Chartres later had holdings. As for the way Fulbert numbered the days of February in leap year, see no. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Haimo who is the earliest known lord of Château-du-Loir (Sarthe, *arr.* Le Mans) and who married Avesgaudus's sister (see Latouche, *op. cit.*, p. 62 n.; J. Boussard, 'La seigneurie de Bellême aux x<sup>e</sup> et xi<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 45 ff.).

## 13

*Fulbert to Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou:*<sup>1</sup> calling on him to clear himself as regards his part in the murder of Count Hugh of Beauvais 16 May 1008 or soon after

Fulbertus Dei gratia Carnotensium<sup>a</sup> episcopus comiti Fulconi commonitorium salutis.

Tam horrendo facinore praesentiam domni regis tui dedecorauere satellites, ut mundani iudices asserant capitale, te quoque reum maiestatis, qui eis postea patrocinium tuum et receptacula praebuisti.<sup>2</sup> Proinde rogabatur<sup>b</sup> a multis, ut die sacro pentecostes et te et illos excommunicaremus.<sup>3</sup> Sed nos<sup>c</sup> tuae prouidentes saluti, trium ebdomadarum ab ipso die petiuimus inducias, ut litteris te conuenire possemus. Talem etiam a rege conditionem impetrauimus si ueneris in iudicium, ut non super uitas aut super membra reorum, sed super facultates<sup>d</sup> ultio reflectatur. Vnde te commonemus, ut ante praescriptum terminum auctores tanti sceleris aut in iudicium adducas, aut propter honorem regis tui repudies, temetipsum deinde sicut per abbatem sancti Albini<sup>4</sup> promisisti expurges, et humili satisfactione regis animum places. Quod si reos ipsos nec ad iusticiam ducere, nec propter seniores tuum repudiare uolueris, Christianam communionem nobiscum ulterius non habebis. Vigila ergo sicut propter temetipsum,<sup>e</sup> et quid habeas animi<sup>f</sup> cito michi remanda. Optimam partem consilii det tibi Deus eligere.

13 DRKCBVM (L)           <sup>a</sup> Carnotensis DK; C. R.           <sup>b</sup> rogabamur DRK  
(. . . batur L)           <sup>c</sup> nos om. VM           <sup>d</sup> eorum add. DRK (om. L)  
<sup>e</sup> pro temetipso B   pro temetipsum M           <sup>f</sup> animi habeas DRKC (L?)

13. <sup>1</sup> 987–1040.

<sup>2</sup> After King Robert was forced by the church to separate from his second wife, Bertha of Troyes, he married Constance, a relative of Count Fulk of Anjou. Relations between Robert and Constance were strained; and one of Bertha's supporters, Count Hugh of Beauvais, attempted to sow further discord between them. Fulk sent some of his followers to murder Hugh, and the crime was committed during a hunt in the presence of the king himself. Fulk may

*Fulbert to Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou*<sup>1</sup>  
16 May 1008 or soon after

Fulbert, by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to Count Fulk, with a warning as regards his salvation.

Your followers have disgraced the king's presence by committing such a dreadful crime that secular judges say it is a capital offence and that you too are guilty of treason for having afterward given them your protection and a place of refuge.<sup>2</sup> Numerous persons asked us to excommunicate all of you on the feast of Pentecost;<sup>3</sup> but since we were concerned for your salvation, we asked for this to be postponed for three weeks so that we could write and admonish you. We also got the king to agree that if you will stand trial, vengeance will not be taken on the life and limbs of the guilty, but rather on their possessions. So we warn you to bring the perpetrators of this monstrous crime to trial before the prescribed date or to repudiate them out of honour for your king, and then, as you promised through the abbot of Saint-Aubin,<sup>4</sup> to clear yourself and to appease the king's mind by humbly proving your innocence. But if you are not willing to bring those who committed the crime to trial or to repudiate them for the sake of your lord, you will not remain in Christian communion with us after that date. So be on your guard as though for yourself, and quickly let me know what you intend to do. God grant that you choose the best course.

have made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in expiation. See Raoul Glaber, iii. 2 (ed. Prou, pp. 57 f.); Pfister, *Robert*, pp. 41 ff.; Halphen, pp. 32 f., 213 ff. Fulbert's reference to secular law and his definition of the crime and the penalties prescribed for it point both in substance and verbally to *Cod. Theod.* ix. 14. 3 (see J.-F. Lemarignier, 'A propos de deux textes sur l'histoire du droit romain au moyen âge (1008 et 1038)', *BEC* ci (1940), 157 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a reference to the council of Chelles, 16 May 1008 (see p. lxxi).

<sup>4</sup> Hubert of Saint-Aubin d'Angers, 1001–27 (see Halphen, p. 92 n. and *passim*; Guillot, ii. 31). Here, as in no. 36, Fulbert is apparently referring to the practice by which a defendant cleared himself by swearing that he was innocent; but it is also possible that he is simply speaking of Fulk's making proper satisfaction (i.e. 'to cleanse yourself and to appease the king's mind by humbly making satisfaction').



## 14

*Fulbert to Abbot Richard of Saint-Médard of Soissons:<sup>1</sup>  
admonishing him to be obedient to his bishop*

*16 May–1 October 1008*

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus R(icardo) abbati et omnibus sancti Medardi monachis orationis<sup>a</sup> suffragium.

Quandiu de uobis quae de bonis<sup>b</sup> et sapientibus uiris audiimus, gaudentes Deo gratias agebamus. At nunc sinistro rumore lesi uestrum periculum formidamus. Dicuntur enim uestri domestici atrium et aecclesiam beati Medardi cruenta caede uiolasse. Dicitur de uobis quod in eadem uiolata basilica sine episcopali reconciliatione Deo sacrificare praesumitis. Quod si uerum est, profecto praesumptio ista et noua est et nimia, et bonis omnibus acriter insectanda. Quid enim mali est quod in sancta aecclesia machinari incipitis? Vultis dare partes episcoporum praesbiteris, praesbiterorum laicis? Vbi uobis conceditur aecclesiam aut nouam dedicare aut prophanatam reconciliare? Sed nec oratorii quidem domum uobis edificare nisi per episcopum licet; positi nanque estis omnino sub potestate ipsius, qui, ut ait Ieronimus, potestatem habet peccantem monachum tradere sathanae in interitum carnis.<sup>2</sup> Sed ne parua auctoritate fretus haec dicere uidear, testem michi allego<sup>c</sup> magnam synodum Calcedonensem sescentorum triginta episcoporum sub papa Leone, sub Martiano<sup>d</sup> principe congregatorum, in qua Eutices abbas Constantino-politanus condemnatus est, in qua etiam de supradictis causis ita sancitum est: 'Placuit neminem aut edificare aut constituere monasteria aut oratorii domum sine conscientia ipsius ciuitatis episcopi. Eos uero qui per singulas ciuitates seu possessiones in monasteriis sunt subiectos esse debere episcopo, et quieti operam dare, atque obseruare ieiunia et orationes in locis in quibus semel Deo se deuouerunt permanentes. Et neque communicare aecclesiasticas<sup>e</sup> neque seculares aliquas attrahere actiones, relinquentes

14 DRCBVMKF (L)      <sup>a</sup> orationis om. C (L)      <sup>b</sup> quae . . . bonis] ut de magnis DR (*post corr.* L)      <sup>c</sup> alligo CVM (L) *ante corr.* F      <sup>d</sup> Marco DR (L) Matono C Matriano V Maraone KF      <sup>e</sup> aecclesiasticas] aecclesiasticis negotiis DRK

*Fulbert to Abbot Richard of Saint-Médard of Soissons<sup>1</sup>  
16 May–1 October 1008*

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to Abbot R(ichard) and all the monks of Saint-Médard, with the support of his prayers.

As long as we heard that you were conducting yourselves as good and wise men, we rejoiced and gave thanks to God. But now we are troubled by evil report and fear you are in danger. Your servants are said to have violated the forecourt and church of Saint-Médard by bloodshed and slaughter, and it is said that you are venturing to offer sacrifice to God in that same basilica which has been violated without first having had it reconciled by the bishop. If this is true, such presumption is indeed new and beyond measure and must be sharply censured by all good men. What schemes are you contriving against holy church? Do you wish to give the functions of bishops to priests, of priests to laymen? Where are you given the right to dedicate a new church or to reconcile a desecrated one? Indeed, you are not even allowed to build an oratory without the bishop's consent; for you have been totally placed under his authority, and he, as Jerome says, has the power to give an erring monk over to Satan to the ruin of his flesh.<sup>2</sup> So that my claims may not seem unsupported by competent authority, I cite as my witness the great synod of Chalcedon, where six hundred and thirty bishops gathered under Pope Leo and the Emperor Marcian, where Abbot Eutyches of Constantinople was condemned, and where the following was decreed concerning such cases: 'Be it resolved that no one is to build or to establish a monastery or oratory without the knowledge of the bishop of that city. Those who live in monasteries in the cities or on private estates should be subject to their bishop, lead a secluded life, fast, and pray, remaining in the houses where they vowed themselves to God for ever; nor should they leave their monasteries to take part in church affairs or to handle any secular business

14. <sup>1</sup> Before 1005–after 1037 (*GC* ix. 413). The cause of his dispute with his diocesan bishop, Fulk of Soissons (before 25 August 1005–6 August 1019 (Newman, p. 8 n.; *DHGE* viii. 878)), is not known, but may have been the burning issue of exemption (cf. nos. 7 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Ep. xiv. 8 (ed. Hilberg, *CSEL* liv. 55). Cf. 1 Cor. 5: 5.

propria monasteria, nisi forte iubeantur propter urgentes necessitates ab ipsius ciuitatis episcopo.<sup>3</sup> Item in eadem: 'In ptociis, monasteriis, aut martyriis constituti sub potestate sint eius qui in ea est ciuitate episcopus secundum traditionem sanctorum patrum, nec per praesumptionem recedant a suo episcopo. Eos uero qui ausi fuerint rescindere huiusmodi institutionem<sup>f</sup> quocumque modo, uel si noluerint subiacere proprio episcopo, siquidem fuerint clerici, personarum ordinatione<sup>g</sup> subiaceant condemnationibus canonum; si uero laici uel monachi fuerint, communionem priuentur.<sup>4</sup> Poteram alia multa de legibus diuinis huic rationi firmamenta subnectere, sed breuem me<sup>h</sup> scribere memini; et, ut ait Ysidorus, 'sicut militi illa arma sufficiunt quae ferre ad tempus congruenter potest, sic nobis de multis sententiis paucae prout tempus exegerit.<sup>5</sup> Nunc uobis caritatiue suadere uolo, ut sano consilio praebecatis assensum,<sup>i</sup> ad subiectionem episcopi uestri suppliciter redeatis, de praeterita culpa requiratis ueniam, de futura assumatis cautelam, ut et uobis fiat quies de oboedientia, et nobis de uestra quiete laetitia. Alioquin, pro certo sciatis, quia si (quod absit) in contumacia contra illum manseritis, in proximo conuentu episcoporum graue dispendium incurretis.

## 15

*Fulbert to Bishop Guido (of Châlons-sur-Marne?)<sup>1</sup> sending his greetings and commending the bearer*

16 May–25 December 1008

Dilecto patri et coepiscopo suo Guidoni F(ulbertus) uiuere et ualere.

Vester clericus et propinquus noster F.<sup>az</sup> ad nos ueniens eo se gratiorem exhibuit, quod de uobis bene per omnia nunciauit. Vnde nunc illum salutationis gerulum facientes, et claritati<sup>b</sup> uestrae comparati munusculi, exorare uolumus si non est inopportunum, ut eam gratiam sibi sentiat prodesse, quam apud uos iam dudum nos credimus habuisse. Valet.

<sup>f</sup> instaurationem VM      <sup>g</sup> personarum ordinatione om. RVM      <sup>h</sup> me om. DR (L)      <sup>i</sup> et add. DRC (add. in mar. L)

15 DRKCBVM (L) <sup>a</sup> F.] E. DRC (L)      <sup>b</sup> caritati DRKC

<sup>3</sup> The fourth ecumenical council held at Chalcedon in 451 under Pope Leo I (440–61) and the Emperor Marcian (450–7), c. 4 (Mansi, vii. 385; Hinschius, p. 285).

unless it should happen that they are ordered to do so by the bishop of that city because of pressing necessity.<sup>3</sup> Also in the same council: 'Let those who reside in poorhouses, monasteries, or at the shrines of saints be under the authority of the bishop of that city in accordance with the teachings of the holy fathers, and let them not venture to cut themselves off from their bishop. As for those who dare to violate this ordinance in any way or who are unwilling to be subject to their bishop, if they are clerks, by reason of their calling let them be condemned in accordance with the canons, but if they are laymen or monks, let them be severed from communion.<sup>4</sup> I could add much more from divine law to support this argument, but I have it in mind to write briefly; and as Isidore says, 'just as a soldier is content with the arms which he can conveniently carry at the time, so we are content with citing only a few of many pronouncements in accordance with the dictates of time.<sup>5</sup> Now in all charity I wish to persuade you to give your assent to sound advice and humbly to return to obedience to your bishop, to seek forgiveness for your past sins, and to take care for the future so that your conscience may be at rest as to your obedience and that we may rejoice because of this. Otherwise you may rest assured that if (God forbid) you continue to be contumacious toward your bishop, you will be severely condemned in the next episcopal council.

*Fulbert to Bishop Guido (of Châlons-sur-Marne?)<sup>1</sup>*

16 May–25 December 1008

To his dear father and fellow bishop, Guido, from F(ulbert), with his wishes for long life and good health.

When your clerk, our kinsman F.,<sup>2</sup> arrived, he made us all the happier to see him by telling us that all was well with you. So now in making him the bearer of our greetings and of a small present which we have prepared for your eminence, we wish to ask, if it is not unsuitable, that he may have the advantage of enjoying the same favour that we believe has long been ours with you. Farewell.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., c. 8 (Mansi, vii. 386; Hinschius, p. 286).

<sup>5</sup> Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, preface, vi (Hinschius, p. 19).

15. <sup>1</sup> 1002–9 (M.-J. Gut, 'Liste critique des évêques de Châlons-sur-Marne aux xi<sup>e</sup> et xii<sup>e</sup> siècles', *BPH*, 1958, p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Fulbert's nephew, Fulbert (see p. xvi n.).

## 16

*Fulbert to his clerk G.: summoning him to come for judgement  
before 25 December 1008*

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus G. suo clerico.

Quicquid boni de te sperare praesumpseram totum fere in contrarium cedit. Non solum enim nullum ex te consilium uel auxilium capio, uerum insuper odium pro dilectione reddis, et iniuriis me afficis immerentem. De quibus iam apud te per uerba legati bis quaerimoniam feci, per scripta mea nunc tercio queror. Doleo nanque quod temetipsum aecclesiae nostrae ministerio fraudas, prophanae uitae et armatae miliciae mancipatum, quod decimas et oblationes nostras ausu sacrilego detines, quod monachorum nostrorum ecclesias inuasisti, quod tui domestici canonicorum uillas praeda et incendio uasant. Haec denique omnia ut dictum est indigne michi abs te fieri quaeror, cui nichil unquam incommodi uel opera mea uel instinctu memini contigisse. Quod siquid esset unde me suspectum haberes, pro incerta causa certas offensiones non oporteret inferre.<sup>1</sup> At siquid in te manifeste peccassem, et tu scripturarum consiliis adquiescere uelles,<sup>2</sup> tuum tamen praesulem cum patientia sustineres. Sed dum in te discretionis oculum ira turbat,<sup>3</sup> cupiditas caecat, nec causam satis diligenter attendis, nec opem consilii salutaris admittis. Vnde iam<sup>a</sup> tibi satis expectato praenuntio, quod nisi ante natale Domini resipiscens ad correptionem<sup>b</sup> ueneris, senties me diuinas leges acriter exequentem, quem modo negligis suauiter admonentem. Vale.<sup>c</sup>

## 17

*Fulbert to King Robert: notifying him that he has followed his instructions and postponed his journey mid 1008 or later*

Benignissimo atque dilectissimo domino suo R(otberto) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium sacerdos.

Cognita benigna uoluntate uestra, consilioque prudentiae uestrae comperto, quia sanum est ut solet, uoluntati obsequor,

16 DRKCBVM (L) <sup>a</sup> etiam DRK (L) <sup>b</sup> correctionem K, *post corr.* RV ad correptionem *om.* C <sup>c</sup> Valet V (L) *om.* M interim *add.* BV

*Fulbert to his clerk G. before 25 December 1008*

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to his clerk G.

Whatever good I had ventured to expect of you turns out almost totally to the contrary; for not only do you fail to give me counsel or aid, but you return hatred for love and injure me unjustly. In this regard I have already made two complaints to you by messenger; now I am sending a third in writing. I am grieved that you are defaulting in your service to our church and have given yourself up to an ungodly life and armed warfare, that with sacrilegious rashness you are keeping back tithes and offerings that are ours, that you have attacked churches which belong to our monks, and that your servants are destroying farms which belong to our canons, plundering and burning them. Finally I charge you with having done all these injuries to me without reason, for I do not remember that any harm has ever come to you by my actions or at my instigation. But even if you should suspect me of having done you some harm, it is not right to inflict undoubted injuries for a doubtful cause.<sup>1</sup> Even though I had obviously sinned against you, if you were willing to accept the counsel of the Scriptures,<sup>2</sup> you would bear patiently with your bishop. While wrath clouds and cupidity blinds the eye of your discernment,<sup>3</sup> you will neither pay the careful attention to the matter that you should nor admit the aid of salutary advice. I have waited for you long enough, and I warn you that if you do not recover your senses and come for correction before Christmas, you will find me, whose gentle admonitions you still refuse to heed, strictly following divine law. Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Robert mid 1008 or later*

To his most kind and very dear lord, R(ober) t, from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres.

I have received your good wishes and learned what you in your wisdom advise; and since it is, as usual, the only sensible course,

16. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Pseudo-Zepherinus, ep. i. 4 (Hinschius, p. 131).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, c. 8 (Hinschius, p. 132); Heb. 13: 17; Ecclus. 3: 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 6: 8 (Roman Psalter); 30: 10.

consilio adquiesco; et iter institutum ad presens omittens, in tempus a uobis constitutum differo peragendum, si annuerit Deus. Si ergo de iustitia, de pace, de statu regni, de honore ecclesiae uultis agere, ecce habetis me paruum satellitem pro uiribus opitulari paratum. Valete.<sup>a</sup>

## 18

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: cautioning him against duplicity*<sup>1</sup>  
mid 1008 or later

Karissimo patri et archiepiscopo suo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) episcopus.

Proreta nauis regiae cautus et circumspectus esto. Terreni spiritus insolenter assibilant, fluctus huius seculi intumescunt, promunctoria mundanae potestatis pericula minantur et mortes, more pyratarum insidiantur ypocritae. Inter haec omnia tendendum est ad portum caelestis patriae.<sup>a</sup> Noli ergo tute ipse tibi bythalassum dubietatis ac duplicitatis in corde tuo miscere. Simplex enim est uia Domini; et qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter.<sup>2</sup> Si de uia legis diuinae qualibet occasione seductus aberraueris, in tartaream Carybdim naufragus demergeris. Regat te ualida manus omnipotentis Domini.

## 19

*Fulbert to a former clerk or student: explaining his apparent coolness and asking him to get in touch* mid 1008 or later

Caro suo D. F(ulbertus) sacerdos.

Ne turberis, fili mi, nec decidat cor tuum ab amore et fiducia nostri, non enim dereliquit te anima mea; sed quia minus credere sibi et inoboediens esse uidebaris, paululum dissimulato uultu

<sup>a</sup> Vale LRBVH

18 LDRCPBVH

19 DRKCPBVH (L)

<sup>a</sup> Inter . . . patriae om. LDR

I am complying with your wishes and accepting your advice. So I am abandoning for the present the journey that I had planned and postponing it until the time that you set, when (God willing) I hope to make it. If you wish to treat of justice, peace, the welfare of the kingdom, and the honour of the church, you have in me a little follower who is prepared to do all that he can to help you. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*<sup>1</sup>  
mid 1008 or later

To his very dear father and archbishop, L(eothericus), from Bishop F(ulbert).

As watchman on the king's ship you must be cautious and circumspect. Gales of earthliness are whistling violently, waves of this world are surging up, headlands of secular power threaten danger and death, and hypocrites lie in ambush like pirates. Amidst all these you must hold your course for the harbour of the heavenly homeland. So do not let the twin seas of doubt and duplicity mingle their waters in your heart; for the way of the Lord is simple, and he who walks in simplicity walks in confidence.<sup>2</sup> If on any occasion you are lured from the way of divine law and go astray, you will be shipwrecked and sink into the infernal Charybdis. May the strong hand of the almighty Lord guide you.

*Fulbert to a former clerk or student* mid 1008 or later

To his dear D. from Bishop F(ulbert).

Do not be troubled, my son, or let your heart fall away from its love and trust in us; for my soul did not abandon you, but since you seemed to have less confidence in it and to disobey it,

18. <sup>1</sup> The body of this letter is an adaptation of Pseudo-Clement, ep. i. 14 (Hinschius, pp. 34 f.), in which the state of the church is compared to a ship with Christ at the helm and the bishops at the prow.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prov. 10: 9.

ad exemplum Domini ire se longius finxit.<sup>1</sup> At nunc ad hospitalitatem amici pectoris<sup>a</sup> dulciter reuocata, et oblato pane diuinarum scripturarum oblectata, in ipsius panis fractione omnem uultus ambiguitatem deponit, et antiqua specie tibi renitens hilarescit. Praecor itaque si copia uehicularum suppetit, ut nos corporaliter uisites. Si non, a nobis tibi mitti iure debitum<sup>b</sup> mandes.<sup>c</sup> Vale.<sup>d</sup>

## 20

*Fulbert to a priest: advising him against celebrating mass by himself and explaining the lawfulness of mass stipends*  
mid 1008 or later

Caro suo R. Fulbertus) episcopus.

Occupatus erga plurima, paucis tibi respondere compellor. Ecclesiae nomen, extra quam ueri sacrificii non est locus,<sup>1</sup> interpretatione sua pluralitatem innuit. Sacerdotalis quoque salutatio qua<sup>a</sup> 'Dominus uobiscum' dicitur, non ad unum solum sed ad plures dirigitur. Sed et ille uersiculus de quo mihi questionem fecisti, plane sibi circumstantes requirit.<sup>2</sup> Pro his ergo atque aliis huiusmodi, non ex auctoritate quidem canonum quos mihi modo retractare non licuit, sed meo interim arbitratu, tutius esse suadeo te a missarum celebratione suspendere, quam eas sine duorum saltem aut trium fidelium attestacione celebrare. Scrupulus autem ille de offerentibus ita solui potest: quod dum sacrificamus, illi pro quibus agitur per manus nostras offerunt Deo sacrificium laudis. Haec ad praesens me respondisse contentus, aueto. Quod si noua legendo uel retractando uetera de his quippiam magis ratum inuenero, tibi caritatiue rescribam. At<sup>b</sup> si tute prior aliquid tale reppereris, eandem nobis exhibe caritatem.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> peccatoris D    <sup>b</sup> debito DRK (L) debitam BC    debitam corr. to -um? P  
<sup>c</sup> tibi . . . mandes] tibi mitti postules V    mitti postules H    <sup>d</sup> Vale om. VH  
20 LDRKCPBVH    <sup>a</sup> quia L    <sup>b</sup> Aut CP    <sup>c</sup> Valet add. B Vale add. H

it followed the Lord's example in disguising its face for a little while and making as if it would have gone further.<sup>1</sup> But now that it has been sweetly recalled to the hospitality of a friendly breast and gladdened by the offering of the bread of divine scriptures, while breaking that bread it lays aside all that would conceal its face and happily beams on you, smiling as of old. So I beg you, if you have a way to travel, to visit us in person; but if not, to let us know what we ought in justice to send to you. Farewell.

*Fulbert to a priest*

mid 1008 or later

To his dear R. from Bishop Fulbert.

I am extremely busy and forced to send you a brief reply. The very word 'church'—and it is the only place where the true sacrifice can be offered<sup>1</sup>—signifies more than one; and the priest's greeting where he says 'The Lord be with you' is addressed not to just one, but to several persons. Moreover, the versicle about which you asked me obviously presupposes the presence of bystanders.<sup>2</sup> Basing my judgement for the time being on these and similar reasons and not on the authority of the canons, which I have not been able to consult at present, I think it is safer for you to stop celebrating mass rather than to celebrate it without at least two or three of the faithful present. Your anxiety concerning those who are making the offerings can be solved like this: while we are the ones who are sacrificing, those for whom we are doing it are offering the sacrifice of praise to God through our hands. Let this reply suffice for the present, and farewell. If in reading new works or re-reading old ones I should find anything more definite about this, out of charity I shall write and let you know. But if you yourself should come across something first, please show the same charity to us.

19. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Luke 24: 15 ff., especially 28.

20. <sup>1</sup> Prosper, *Liber sententiarum*, c. xv (ed. Gastaldo, CCL lxxviii<sup>a</sup>. 260).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps (along with 'sacrificium laudis' below) a reference to the canon of the mass ('omnium circum(ad)stantium').

## 21

*Fulbert to King Robert: explaining his failure to meet him and asking forgiveness*<sup>1</sup> *mid 1008 or later*

Inperpetuum diligendo domino suo regique R(otberto) F(ulbertus) sacerdos.

Queso, domine mi,<sup>a</sup> ne indignanter accipias quod tibi proxima dominica Parisius non occurri. Scias enim<sup>b</sup> pro certo quod nuncii fefellerunt me, dicentes te illuc<sup>c</sup> ipso die non adfore, sed propter ordinacionem cuiusdam episcopi me uocari, quem omnino non noueram, nec sacram tuam nec epistolam archipresulis mei de ordinacione ipsius acceperam. Vnde siquid delicti penes me est seductum aliena fallacia, facilis tamen debet esse remissio apud regiam pietatem, cum aetiam apud forenses iudices status sit huiusmodi uenialis. 'In toto corde meo diligo te; ne repellas me a mandatis tuis.'<sup>2</sup>

## 22

*Fulbert to Bishop Thierry of Orleans:*<sup>1</sup> *explaining why he refused to consecrate him and describing the crisis which followed* *c. late 1008-1012/13*

Fratri Theoderico Fulbertus sacerdos.<sup>a</sup>

Quod te pridem ordinare noluius,<sup>b</sup> mirantur tecum (ut aiunt) amici tui, insuper et dominus noster rex;<sup>c</sup> et cur omissum sit causam ignorantes, omnes fere id iniuste ac contumeliose factum clamant.<sup>2</sup> Nos uero qui non iniuste nec contumeliose factum esse scimus, non unam tantum sed plures ueras et autenticas inde reddimus rationes, quae tibi et illis finem recti persuadeant, et a praua suspicione remoueant.

21 LDRKCPBVH      <sup>a</sup> mi only in PB      <sup>b</sup> autem LDRKC      <sup>c</sup> illic DRK

22 DRCBPVHK (L). F breaks off near the beginning and has not been used here. <sup>a</sup> written as a cryptogram DRP (L): Fratri Thfpdfrkcp (-rkchp P(L)) Fxlbfrtxs sbcfrdps. The solution is written above the cryptogram in R. The cipher has been erased in V, and the solution placed in the margin. The solution alone is

*Fulbert to King Robert*<sup>1</sup>

*mid 1008 or later*

To his ever beloved lord and king, R(ober), from Bishop F(ulbert).

I beg you, my lord, not to take offence at my failure to meet you at Paris last Sunday. You may know for a truth that the messengers deceived me, saying that you would not be there on that day and that I was summoned to consecrate a bishop of whom I knew nothing at all, nor had I received a letter from your highness or from my archbishop concerning his consecration. So if I committed an offence as a result of being treacherously misled by another, it should be easy to obtain forgiveness at the hands of a pious king, since even civil-law judges are ready to pardon a transgression of this kind. 'I love thee with my whole heart; let me not stray from thy commandments.'<sup>2</sup>

*Fulbert to Bishop Thierry of Orleans*<sup>1</sup>

*c. late 1008-1012/13*

To his brother Thierry from Bishop Fulbert.

Our refusal to consecrate you amazes not only you, but your friends, so they say, as well as the king; and since they do not know why your consecration should have been stopped, almost all declare that it was done unjustly and insultingly.<sup>2</sup> But we who know that it was done neither unjustly nor insultingly hereby offer not one, but several good reasons for it based on competent authority in the hope of convincing all of you of the honesty of our intention and of freeing us from the suspicion of evil.

given in CBHK. As regards such cryptic writing, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 290 ff. <sup>b</sup> uoluimus

BV      <sup>c</sup> Insuper . . . rex, DCP (L)

21. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 118: 10.

22. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxiii, lxxviii. The life of Thierry in *AASS*, Jan. iii. 405, mentions the controversy over his election, but not its irregularity. It appears, however, that Thierry gained the bishopric over his rival Odolricus as a result of King Robert's and Archbishop Leothericus' (cf. no. 26) support. See Boussard, pp. 179 f. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 91 f.

Vna igitur causarum haec fuit: quia die illo quo sacrandus esse uidebaris, conprouincialium episcoporum qui aberant nec litteras nec legatos habuimus. Quod solum tantum ualet, ut si nullo amplius adminiculo indigeres, tamen sine isto regulariter ordinari non posses. Talem enim ordinationem irritam esse testantur<sup>d</sup> Niceni concilii capitulum quartum et Antiocheni nonum decimum.<sup>3</sup> Haec tamen causa datis induciis<sup>e</sup> corrigi potuisset.

Altera fuit quod sub ipso deliberatae ordinationis articulo, propter crimen homicidii quod audierat, missum a domno papa uidimus interdictum. Quod si ille non mitteret, esset tamen obseruanda sententia apostoli dicentis, oportere non solum episcopum sed praesbiterum quoque et diaconum sine crimine esse.<sup>4</sup> Nec spernendum illud quod apertissime scriptum est in Regiensi concilio his uerbis: 'Qui deinceps non prouentur ad sacerdotium ex regulis canonum, necessario credidimus<sup>f</sup> inserendum, id est qui in aliquo crimine detecti sunt', et caetera usque 'subiacebit'.<sup>5</sup> At si quis obiciat aliquem de patribus post peractam poenitentiam et longam anachoresin propter religionem suam raptum fuisse ad episcopatum, respondetur quod legi communi et uniuersali singulares persone uel causae non praeiudicant,<sup>6</sup> deinde certe quod nichil ualet exemplorum inductio, ubi neque personarum neque negotiorum similitudo consequitur. Nunc caetera uideamus.

Terciam nobis causam tua confessio dedit, quae nos maxime a tua ordinatione deterruit. Nam pro captu nostrae simplicitatis caeteras quidem graues, sed terciam hanc magis periculosam esse rati sumus. Proprium capitulum huius causae nolimus<sup>g</sup> ascribere, sed commune, hoc est Niceni concilii capitulum nonum: 'Siqui<sup>h</sup> sine examinatione promoti praesbiteri sunt, et postea examinati confessi sunt peccata sua, et cum<sup>i</sup> confessi non fuissent, contra regulam uenientes homines manus eis temere imposuerunt, hos aecclesiasticus ordo non recipit. In omnibus enim quod irreprehensibile est defendit aecclesia.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>d</sup> testatur esse DR (esse testatur L)      <sup>e</sup> indiciis PH      <sup>f</sup> credimus CBVH      <sup>g</sup> nolimus om. R      nolimus VK      uolumus H      <sup>h</sup> Si DRC (-qui apparently erased L)      Sed qui VH      <sup>i</sup> cum om. PV      add. supra B (L) (altera manu B?)

<sup>3</sup> Mansi, ii. 686 f., 1333 f.; Hinschius, pp. 258, 272.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. 3: 2 ff.; Titus 1: 5 ff.

The first reason was this: that on the day you were to be consecrated we had neither letters nor messengers from the bishops of the province who were absent. This alone is so important that even if nothing else were wanting in your favour, the lack of it would prevent your being lawfully consecrated, for the fact that it is necessary for a valid consecration is attested by chapter four of the council of Nicaea and chapter nineteen of the council of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> But this could have been corrected by postponing it.

A second reason was that at the very moment set for your consecration we saw a letter which the pope had sent prohibiting it because he had heard that you were charged with homicide. Even if he had not sent it, we were obliged to follow the teaching of the apostle, who said that not only bishops, but also priests and deacons should be free from crime.<sup>4</sup> Nor should we reject what was quite plainly prescribed by the council of Riez as follows: 'Let those who in the future are not raised to the priesthood in accordance with the canons—we think it necessary to add, that is, those detected in any crime', and so forth as far as 'he will be subject'.<sup>5</sup> But if anyone should object that one of the fathers who had done penance and lived for a long time as a hermit was forced into the episcopate because of his sanctity, let him be told that individual persons and cases do not prejudice common and universal law,<sup>6</sup> and that it is not valid to argue from precedents where there is similarity neither of persons nor of circumstances. Now let us look at the rest.

Your own confession provided us with a third reason which especially deterred us from consecrating you; for though to our limited intelligence the others seemed quite serious, the third seemed even more dangerous. We do not want to cite the specific chapter for this case, but the general one, namely chapter nine of the council of Nicaea: 'If any have been promoted to the priesthood without being examined, but being examined afterwards have confessed their sins, if prior to their confession they were ordained rashly and in violation of the law, they are denied admittance into the clergy; for in all matters the church defends that which is irreproachable.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The attribution to the council of Riez is erroneous. Actually Toledo IV, c. 19 (Mansi, x. 624 f.) = c. 18 (Hinschius, pp. 367 f.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Cod. Theod.* i. 1. 4 (= *Brev.* i. 1. 4), *Inter.*

<sup>7</sup> Mansi, ii. 689; Hinschius, p. 259.

Quartam<sup>k</sup> uero mouit<sup>l</sup> proscriptio refragantium clericorum et extorta<sup>m</sup> timore electio. Verum non electio. Nam cum sit electio unius de pluribus maxime complaciti secundum liberam arbitrii uoluntatem acceptio, quomodo electio recte dici possit, ubi sic a principe unus obtruditur, ut nec clero nec populo nec ipsis summis sacerdotibus ad alium deflectere concedatur? De uiolentia huiusmodi Constantinus A(ugustus) talem contra se et contra alios principes sententiam dedit: 'Quecunque',<sup>n</sup> inquit, 'contra leges fuerint a principibus obtenta non ualeant.'<sup>8</sup> Et Regiense concilium: 'Sed nec ille', inquit, 'deinceps episcopus erit, quem nec clerus nec populus propriae ciuitatis elegerit.'<sup>9</sup> Ecce tibi promissas rationes exoluimus. Quae si iustae sunt, displicere non debent. Adiecimus etiam pauca propter breuitatem capitula diuinæ legis. Quam<sup>o</sup> primo quidem condere, magni consilii; postea uiolare,<sup>p</sup> summae reuerentiae; seruare hactenus gloriae tantae fuit, ut quisquis secundum illam uixerit, procul dubio inter beatos computatus sit. Propter has itaque rationes non audentes tibi manus imponere, utpote deinceps ordinandi potentia carituri, quia praeuaricatores legis esse nolimus,<sup>10</sup> o sacrilegam impietatem!<sup>q</sup> in ipso sinu sanctae matris aeccliesiae a fautoribus tuis pene perempti sumus; et quidem ita nobis carum fuit euasisse uiuos,<sup>r</sup> ut subsecutae praedae leuis esse iactura uideatur. Sed quia haec scandala propter te nobis fiunt, iam ut desistant te apud eos obtinere oportet, apud quos hanc persequendi sacerdotes gratiam inuenisti. Nosti enim quid portendatur homini per quem scandalum uenit.<sup>11</sup> De caetero autem, frater, est quod te celare non debemus, uideris enim nobis uehementer errare, qui sine respectu Dei praesulatum uiolentus<sup>s</sup> inuadis. Nam si sola damnatur ambitio, quid de uiolentiae importunitate censebitur? Verum non solum hoc, sed<sup>t</sup> in ipsa uiolata nec postea reconciliata aeccliesiae missarum sollempnia caelebrare praesumis. Vtrum tamen imprudenter an consulto haec facias habemus incertum.<sup>12</sup> Sed si imprudenter, instruenda simplicitas; si uero consulto, presumptio

<sup>k</sup> Quarta DR (L) Quartum C <sup>l</sup> mouit] nos mouit DR (nos *supra* L) promouit P monuit B <sup>m</sup> exorta CK <sup>n</sup> Quicumque VH <sup>o</sup> Quae VH <sup>p</sup> uiolare VH <sup>q</sup> pietatem DR (L) <sup>r</sup> uiuos *om.* VH <sup>s</sup> uiolenter DR (L) uiolentiis PV <sup>t</sup> et *add.* DR (*om.* L)

<sup>8</sup> *Cod. Theod.* i. 2. 2 (= *Brev.* i. 2. 1), *Inter.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Leo I, ep. xii. 9 (*PL* liv. 654; Hinschius, p. 624).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Matt. 18: 6 f.; Luke 17: 1 f.

<sup>9</sup> As in n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 659 f.

The fourth reason which moved us was the condemnation of the clerks who opposed you and the securing of your election by intimidation. Indeed, it was no 'election'; for since an election is the free and voluntary choice of the candidate who is the most generally acceptable, how can it rightly be called an election when one person is thrust forward by a prince so forcibly that neither the clergy, the people, nor even the bishops are permitted to turn to another? As regards force of this kind, the Emperor Constantine rendered the following judgement against himself and other princes: 'Let whatever is done by princes contrary to law be null and void.'<sup>8</sup> The council of Riez declared: 'No one in the future shall be bishop who is not elected by the clergy and people of his city.'<sup>9</sup>

Now we have fulfilled our promise and set forth our reasons. If they are just, they should meet with your approval. We have also added a few chapters—and only a few so as to keep the letter short—of divine law. To lay this down for the first time was the part of great wisdom; to violate it thereafter has been of the utmost dread; and to observe it thus far has brought such glory that whoever lives in accordance with it is doubtless to be reckoned among the blessed. When for these reasons we did not dare to place our hands on you as we should thereby be unable to ordain since we would not be transgressors of the law,<sup>10</sup> O sacrilegious impiety! in the very heart of holy mother church we were nearly killed by your partisans; and indeed, we were so glad to have escaped alive that our loss during the plundering which followed seems insignificant. But since these outrages are committed against us on your behalf, you should see to it that they are abandoned by those who have done you the kindness of persecuting bishops, for you know what is foretold for one who leads others astray.<sup>11</sup> As for the rest, brother, there is a matter which we should not conceal from you, for you seem to us to be committing a grievous sin in usurping a bishopric by force and without respect for God. If mere office-seeking is condemned, what will be judged as regards demands backed up by force? But this is not all, for in that same church which was violated and has not been reconciled you are venturing to celebrate mass. Whether you are committing these sins out of ignorance or by design we cannot tell.<sup>12</sup> If out of ignorance, your simplicity must be instructed; but if by design, your presumption must be punished.



est puniēda. Nam si te canones scire constat, et tamen inpu-  
denter<sup>a</sup> obsordescere et contraire contendis, non modo praesula-  
tum fugientem non assequeris, sed nec quod apprehendisse  
debueras presbiterium<sup>\*</sup> tenuisti.

## 23

*Fulbert to Herfridus:*<sup>1</sup> *advising him to accept the terms offered  
by Bishop Thierry of Orleans* c. late 1008–1012/13

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium<sup>a</sup> episcopus caro suo Her-  
frido).

Auctor signatae scedulae quam michi mittere uoluisti, seu  
fideliter siue impure id agat, consulit tamen iusta, leniterque<sup>b</sup>  
blanditur. Iustum est enim<sup>c</sup> aecclesiam te in qua sis ordinatus,  
quoad in ea tuto degere possis, non deserere, uesque tibi com-  
missas studiose curare. Blandum etiam est appellari filium,  
desiderium significare uidendi,<sup>d</sup> corollarium gratiae polliceri.  
Vnde si haec fideliter oblata probaueris, fideliter autem dico sine  
circunventione animae tuae, per noxia iuramenta non suadeo  
refutare. Nam quod in ordinatione ipsius erratum est neque tu  
corrigerere potes, nec amodo sic tua refert, ut ob aliorum<sup>e</sup> culpam  
tuum debeas officium deuitare. Tamen quicquid huius egeris cum  
Rogerō episcopo<sup>2</sup> te ante pertractare moneo, et cum domno  
Rodulfo cui tecum una causa est et par poena exilii. Vale non  
dubius amicitiae meae.

## 24

*Fulbert to Bishop F.:*<sup>1</sup> *sending him some ointment* 1006–28

Patri et consacerdoti suo F. F(ulbertus).

Crede, pater, nullam me compositionem unguenti laborasse,  
postquam ad ordinem episcopalem accessi. Quod tamen pauxillum

<sup>a</sup> imprudenter PBH    <sup>\*</sup> presbiteratum DR (presbiterium L) presbiterium  
V, ante corr. P CH are too abbreviated to determine

23 DRKCPBVH (L)    <sup>a</sup> Carnotis PH Carnoī CV    <sup>b</sup> leuiterque CV  
<sup>c</sup> enim est DRKCH    <sup>d</sup> uiuendi DRKB (L)    <sup>e</sup> illorum VH

24 LDRCP

23. <sup>1</sup> Herfridus and Ralph, who is mentioned later in the letter, appear to have  
been clerks of Orleans who supported Odolricus and opposed Thierry's election

If it turns out that you know the canons and yet are shamelessly  
striving to turn a deaf ear and to disobey them, not only will you  
fail to overtake the bishopric which is fleeing from you, but you  
will also lose the priesthood which you should have retained.

*Fulbert to Herfridus*<sup>1</sup>

c. late 1008–1012/13

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to his dear  
Her(fridus).

Whether the writer of the page with the affixed seal that you  
sent me is doing so with sincerity or duplicity, still he is giving  
you good advice and speaking graciously. It is good advice that as  
long as you can live there safely you should not desert the church  
for which you were ordained and should diligently care for the  
flock which was entrusted to you, and it is gracious for him to  
call you 'son', to say that he wishes to see you, and to promise you  
the gift of his favour. So if you are satisfied that the offer is  
sincere (and I emphasize sincere—that no attempt is being made  
to bring your soul into jeopardy), I advise you not to reject it  
because of the unlawful oaths; for the irregularity which was  
involved in his consecration is not something that you can correct,  
nor is it of such importance to you for the future that you should  
neglect your own duties because of the sins of others. But what-  
ever you do in this matter I recommend that you work out in  
advance with Bishop Roger<sup>2</sup> and with Ralph, who has a common  
cause with you and who is also under penalty of exile. Farewell,  
and rest assured as to my friendship.

*Fulbert to Bishop F.*<sup>1</sup>

1006–28

To his father and fellow bishop, F., from F(ulbert).

Believe me, father, I have not prepared any ointments since I  
was raised to the bishopric. But the little that is left of what

(see nos. 22, 42). They may be Herfridus, the precentor, and Ralph, the dean  
of Sainte-Croix, who witnessed Appendix C, no. 12. Ralph is possibly the  
*economus* discussed on p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Of Beauvais (c. 998–24 June 1016 (Newman, p. 51 n.)), an uncle of  
Odolricus.

24. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxiii.

ex dono cuiusdam medici<sup>2</sup> supererat mihi fraudans tibi largior,<sup>a</sup>  
rogato sospitatis auctore Christo, ut tibi illud faciat salutare. Vale.

## 25

*Fulbert to H., subdean of Tours:*<sup>1</sup> asking him to bring a  
swindler to trial 1006-28

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus domno H. Turo-  
nensium subdecano sibi dilectissimo gratiam et benedictionem  
Dei.

Cum uestram caritatem nouerim plurimis in obsequiis libenter  
mihi paruisse, adhuc etiam parere<sup>a</sup> cupientem uix sacietati cedere,  
mando uobis obnixè precans, ut accingamini ad causam quam  
expono. Apud nos<sup>b</sup> morabatur olim quidam bonorum extortor,  
legum contortor<sup>2</sup> Girardus nomine, qui susceptum unum caballum  
a famulo nostro Deodato debuit comparare<sup>c</sup> xxx duobus solidis,  
pro arrabone datis duodecim nummis. Cumque reliquos speraret  
Deodatus ad prefixum terminum se recepturum, fefellit eum ille  
subdolos, a nobis Turonim profugiens, nec equum postea nec  
precium remittens, quamuis eum sepe Deodatus utrumlibet agere  
per legatos postulauerit. Hac de causa mitto ad uos unum ex  
nostris hominibus qui ipsum G(irardum) notum uobis faciat, in  
audientiaque uestra uice Deodati hanc ipsi querelam intendat,  
qualibet lege censueritis reuicturus eum,<sup>3</sup> si forte (ut est impurus)  
dissimulauerit se rem istam scire, aut si ita esse negauerit. Deinceps  
uos talem in eum qualem ius poscit date, queso, sentenciam, ut  
uel Deodato rem suam legaliter soluat, uel debitas penas luens,  
ornetur ex suis uirtutibus.<sup>4</sup> Vigeat semper alacritas uestra.

<sup>a</sup> largio P

25 LDRP

<sup>a</sup> patere L

<sup>b</sup> uos P

<sup>c</sup> comparere L

<sup>2</sup> The term *medicus* may indicate that the doctor was a layman (see F. Vercauteren, 'Les médecins dans les principautés de la Belgique et du nord de la France, du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *MA* lvii (1951), 61 ff.).

25. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxiii f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 374.

a doctor<sup>2</sup> gave to me I am sending as a gift from me to you with  
the prayer that Christ, the author of good health, may make it  
help you. Farewell.

*Fulbert to H., subdean of Tours*<sup>1</sup> 1006-28

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to his very dear H.,  
subdean of Tours, with the grace and blessing of God.

Since I know that you in your charity have gladly performed  
many services for me and that you are still willing to do so and  
are not inclined to feel that you have done too much, I earnestly  
beg and enjoin you to gird yourself for the case that I am setting  
forth. There once stayed with us an extorter of goods and distorter  
of laws<sup>2</sup> named Gerard, who agreed to pay thirty-two shillings  
for a horse that he bought from our servant Deodatus and gave  
him twelve pennies as a deposit. Deodatus expected to receive  
the rest on the day that they had set, but that scoundrel tricked  
him and fled from here to Tours. Since then he has not sent back  
the horse or the money, though Deodatus has often sent messen-  
gers to demand that he do one or the other. So I am sending one  
of our men to put you wise to G(erard) and as Deodatus' proxy  
to bring this as a charge against him in your court with every  
intention of refuting him and proving it in whatever way you  
think best<sup>3</sup> if it should happen that Gerard, shameless as he is,  
pretends to know nothing about it or denies that the charge is  
true. Then I beg you to render the judgement against him that  
justice demands: either to discharge his debt to Deodatus in  
accordance with the law, or to be rewarded as befits his merits  
by suffering the penalty that he deserves.<sup>4</sup> May long life and  
vigorous health be always yours.

<sup>3</sup> This apparently refers not to any particular law, but rather to the means  
of proof, which was decided by the person who presided over the court. See  
L. Halphen, 'Les institutions judiciaires en France au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Région  
Angevaine', *Revue historique*, lxxvii (1901), 279 ff. (reprinted in his *A travers  
l'histoire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1950), pp. 175 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 176.

## 26

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: reproving him for consecrating Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury as archbishop of Bourges*<sup>1</sup> 1012-14

L(eutherico) Senonensium presidi<sup>a</sup> F(ulbertus) Carnotanus sacerdos.

Quod me, pater, amicum appellas gratanter annuerem, si te quoque exhiberes amicum. Sed cum sine meo consilio episcopos ordinando dignitatem suam ecclesiae Carnotensi derogas, cumque in eodem negocio legem canonicam multimode soluis, non solum me ledis, sed omnes pariter qui iustitiam colunt. Ego quidem meam adhuc multe<sup>b</sup> pacior; sed lex ipsa diuina suam iniuriam bene ex parte uindicat, quae dum a te soluitur, tua opera cassat. Hoc pridem in T(heoderico) factum<sup>2</sup> in G(auzlino) nuper iterasti, qui sic a te pastor est constitutus, ut nec gregem sibi commissum nouerit, nec grex ipsum recipere uelit. Reprobatus itaque et a finibus episcopatus extorris,<sup>3</sup> cum palam intrare per hostium non potest ut legitimus pastor, nec aliunde furtius ascendere,<sup>4</sup> per uiolenciam regis irrumpere nititur ut tyrannus. Nec miror adeo si iuuenis ille tali patuit<sup>c</sup> ambitione temptari, cui uel aetas ipsa uel quae eius aetatis pedisequa solet esse imprudencia locum forsitan obtineat excusandi. Sed tu, pater, non solum mirandus, uerum insuper exhorrendus es, quem nec imprudencia fallit, nec casus turbat, nec urget ulla necessitas, sed scienter et quasi cum deliberacione quadam ultro te atque alios perdis. Nec illud sane tibi tacere debeo, quod ad tuas ordinaciones domnum F(rotmundum) Trecacensem episcopum<sup>5</sup> periculose tibi socium addis, quem certam ob causam esse non dubitas imparatum.<sup>d</sup> In qua re dupliciter te delinquere constat, cum eum ad tantam presumptionem animando, de poenitencia prioris culpa facis esse securum. De

26 LDRCPB      <sup>a</sup> praesuli DRB      <sup>b</sup> corr. to multam L      multam DR  
<sup>c</sup> potuit DRB      <sup>d</sup> imperatum L, perhaps C      impurum DR

26. <sup>1</sup> On the death of Archbishop Dagbertus of Bourges (18 January or 15 (16) February 1012/13), King Robert nominated Abbot Gauzlin of Fleury. Though Gauzlin was then consecrated, he was prevented from entering Bourges until 1 December 1014 by the hostility of the vicomte, Geoffrey, and the people of Bourges. See Adémar, iii. 39, 49 (ed. Chavanon, pp. 161 f., 172); *Vita Gauzlini*, cc. xvii, xix-xxi (ed. Bautier-Labory, pp. 50, 58 ff.). For the problems involved

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*<sup>1</sup> 1012-14

To Archbishop L(eothericus) of Sens from Bishop F(ulbert) of Chartres.

For you to address me as your friend, father, would make me quite happy, if you would also show yourself my friend. But when you detract from the honour of the church of Chartres by consecrating bishops without consulting me, and when in this same affair you violate canon law in many ways, you injure not only me, but all who are devoted to justice. I indeed am bearing with the great wrong that has been done to me; but divine law takes due vengeance for that done to it, for when you violate it, it brings your efforts to naught. What you earlier did in the case of T(hierry)<sup>2</sup> you recently repeated with regard to G(auzlin), when you made him a shepherd though he did not know the flock entrusted to him and the flock was not willing to have him. Now, rejected and banished from his diocese,<sup>3</sup> since he cannot enter openly through the door like a true shepherd nor climb in through another way like a thief,<sup>4</sup> he is striving with the help of royal power to force his way in like a tyrant. I am not especially surprised that that young man lay open to the temptation of such ambition, for perhaps his age or the imprudence which usually accompanies it can provide grounds for excusing him. But as for you, father, one must be both surprised and horrified, for you are not deceived by imprudence, disturbed by misfortune, nor pressed by any necessity, but knowingly and, so it seems, with some deliberation you willingly destroy yourself and others. Nor indeed should I fail to tell you that in having Bishop F(rotmundus) of Troyes<sup>5</sup> as one of your co-consecrators you are acquiring a dangerous associate, for you know full well that there is a definite reason why he cannot lawfully do this. In this matter it is clear that you are committing a twofold sin, for by inciting him to such great presumption, you make him feel it unnecessary to do penance for his former sin.

in the dating cf. A. Gandilhon, *Catalogue des actes des archevêques de Bourges antérieurs à l'an 1200* (Bourges, 1927), pp. xix ff.; *Vita Gauzlini*, pp. 20 f.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 616.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. John 10: 1 f.

<sup>5</sup> After 991-c. 1034 (*GC* xii. 494 f., the charter cited for the date 998 being a forgery (= Newman, no. 120)). Why he was ineligible to assist at Gauzlin's consecration is not known.

his ergo et huiusmodi te respiscere<sup>e</sup> iam et peniteri<sup>f</sup> oportet, si cum apostolo 'horrendum' credis 'incidere in manus Dei uiuentis.'<sup>6</sup> Sed ego fortassis aspere loqui uidear, aput te tamen (ut credo) non male mereri, si sis de quo dicitur: 'Argue sapientem, et diliget te.'<sup>7</sup> Ceterum in fine huius scedulae exoratum te uolo, ne amodo (sicut soles) scripta mea<sup>g</sup> publicando, mihi inimicos adquiras. Vnde si morem tuum inmutare nolis, ego tamen idcirco uera uel dicere uel scribere non desistam. Vale.

## 27

*Fulbert to his vassals: explaining his position in the struggle against Count Raginardus of Sens<sup>1</sup> c. April 1015*

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus comiti Gualeranno et comiti Gualterio<sup>2</sup> ceterisque filiis fidelibusque suis salutem et benedictionem.

Sciatis, fratres, quia rex R(otbertus) benefacit cum Christianos adiuuat et hereticos dampnat, et ad<sup>a</sup> hoc debent eum confortare et adiuuare mecum omnes sui fideles, quia hoc est<sup>b</sup> ministerium eius per quod saluus esse debet. Sciatis iterum quod archiepiscopus Senonensis requisiiuit a me consilium quid deberet facere de Raginardo heretico qui persequabatur aecclesiam Dei, et ego dedi ei tale consilium quale ad suum ordinem pertinebat. Et ecce mitto uobis utrumque scriptum, et conplanctum suum et consilium meum quod dedi ei secundum ordinem suum. Siquis autem falsarius dicat, quod ego ei alterum<sup>c</sup> consilium deinceps uel scripserim uel dixerim uel mandauerim, rogo ut me sicut patrem uestrum spiritualem defendatis, quia fiducialiter hoc facere potestis. Valet.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup> respicere C, ante corr. L      <sup>f</sup> corr. to penitere L      poenitere DRC  
<sup>g</sup> scriptam meam C      meam ante corr. L  
 27 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> et om. P      ad om. L      <sup>b</sup> est om. P      <sup>c</sup> alterum ei P  
<sup>d</sup> Vale L

<sup>6</sup> Heb. 10: 31.

<sup>7</sup> Prov. 9: 8.

27. <sup>1</sup> There was constant difficulty between Count Raginardus, who was suspected of Jewish leanings and heresy, and Archbishop Leothericus of Sens. In April 1015 Raginardus was driven from Sens by a royal army, but continued

With regard to this and similar offences it is time that you came to your senses and did penance if you believe with the apostle that 'it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.'<sup>6</sup> Perhaps I seem to be speaking harshly, but I do not think that I deserve badly of you if you are he of whom it is said: 'Rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee.'<sup>7</sup> As for the rest, at the end of this letter I want to urge you for the future not to make enemies for me as you usually do by circulating what I have written. But even if you are unwilling to mend your ways, I shall not cease to speak and to write the truth. Farewell.

*Fulbert to his vassals<sup>1</sup>*

*c. April 1015*

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to Count Galeran, Count Gautier,<sup>2</sup> and his other sons and vassals, with his greetings and blessing.

May you know, brothers, that King R(ober) acts rightly when he aids Christians and harms heretics; and all his vassals, myself included, should strengthen and aid him in doing this, for it is his office, and through it he must work out his salvation. May you also know that the archbishop of Sens has asked my advice as to what he should do with regard to the heretic Raginardus, who has been persecuting God's church, and that I have advised him as to the proper action for him as archbishop to take. I am enclosing both of our letters, his complaint and the advice I gave him as to his duty. If anyone should later lie and say that I advised him differently either by letter, word of mouth, or messenger, I ask you to defend me as your spiritual father, for you can do so with confidence. Farewell.

to ravage the surrounding area. A compromise was eventually arranged by which Raginardus recovered Sens, but on his death it was to be divided between the king and the archbishop, the latter also receiving comital powers. See Raoul Glaber, iii. 6 (ed. Prou, pp. 69 ff.); the chronicle of Clarius (Duru, ii. 500 f.); E. Houth, 'La campagne, en Bourgogne, de Galeran, comte de Meulan, en 1015', *BPH*, 1959, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Galeran I of Meulan, by 1015-68 (*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, ed. J. Depoin (Pontoise, 1895-1909), pp. 307 ff.; P. Grierson, *MA* xlix (1939), 107 n.); Gautier II le Blanc, count of Valois, Amiens, and Pontoise (Depoin, op. cit., pp. 245, 307, 331 f.; P. Feuchère, *MA* lx (1954), 35 f.), who died after 9 June 1017, when he witnessed Appendix C, no. 6.

## 28

*Fulbert to King Robert: approving his nomination of Franco to the bishopric of Paris*<sup>1</sup> 9 June 1017–12 May 1018

Benignissimo domino suo regique R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis sacerdos siqua potest oracionis suffragia.

Ex parte celsitudinis uestrae dictum est nobis quod domnum Franconem Parisiacensi ecclesiae dare uultis episcopum, et ad hoc peragendum nostrae humilitatis habere fauorem. Nobis autem uidetur quia si episcopatus de quo agitur apertus est, clericus est obtime litteratus et ad sermonem faciendum agilis (in qua re omnes episcopos decet esse non minus quam in operatione potentes atque discretos), unde si hoc fieri posse canonice domni archiepiscopi Senonensis<sup>2</sup> et coepiscoporum nostrorum probauit sagacitas, nostrum etiam, qui de hac discussione appellati non fuimus, habeatis assensum. In nullo enim quod bonum sit coram Deo uestrae uoluntati nitimur contraire.

## 29

*Fulbert to Bishop Adalbero of Laon:*<sup>1</sup> *recounting the murder of Euvardus, subdean of Chartres, and asking for his aid*  
21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

A(dalberoni) claro Laudunensium presuli F(ulbertus) Carnotensium sacerdos.

De grandi iniuria nobis facta conquerimur apud te, magne<sup>a</sup> pater, quem ex debito caritatis et officii talia curare oportet. Causa uero huiusmodi est. Quodam ecclesiae nostrae subdecano defuncto petiit a nobis R(odulfus) Silnectensis episcopus<sup>2</sup> dari

28 LDRKCPBVM

29 LDRPB <sup>a</sup> magne om. DR

28. <sup>1</sup> On the death of Bishop Reginald of Paris, 12 September 1016 (see p. 20 n.), King Robert chose Azelinus of Tronchiennes (Dronghene, near Ghent), an illegitimate son of Count Baldwin III of Flanders and twice an unsuccessful candidate for the bishopric of Cambrai (see *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*,

*Fulbert to King Robert*<sup>1</sup> 9 June 1017–12 May 1018

To his very kind lord and king, R(ober), from F(ulbert), humble bishop, with, for whatever it may avail, the support of his prayers.

We have been told in your highness's behalf that you wish to make Franco bishop of Paris and in doing so to have the support of our humble selves. It seems to us that if the bishopric in question is vacant, if the clerk is well-educated and can speak with ease (for bishops ought to be skilled in speaking as well as forceful and prudent in action), and if in their wisdom the archbishop of Sens<sup>2</sup> and our fellow bishops are satisfied that this can be done in accordance with the canons, then you may also have our consent, though we were not invited to discuss this matter; for we are not trying to oppose your wishes as regards anything that may be good in God's sight.

*Fulbert to Bishop Adalbero of Laon*<sup>1</sup>  
21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

To the illustrious bishop of Laon, A(dalbero), from F(ulbert), bishop of Chartres.

We are laying our complaint before you, eminent father, who are obliged by the duties of charity and your office to attend to such matters, of a monstrous wrong done to us. The case is as follows. On the death of the subdean of our church, Bishop R(alph) of Senlis<sup>2</sup> asked us to give his office to him or to his brother. We

i. 110, 122 (*MGH SS* vii. 448, 454)). Azelinus, however, soon withdrew and returned to Flanders (see no. 57; F. Kieckens, 'Adalbert [*sic*] de Tronchiennes', *Messenger des sciences historiques*, 1882, pp. 186 ff.). Robert then chose the royal chancellor, Franco, who became bishop between 9 June 1017, when he subscribed a charter only as chancellor, and 12 May 1018, when he signed as bishop of Paris (Appendix C, nos. 6, 7). See *Vita Burcardi*, c. vi (ed. Bourlet de la Roncière, p. 18); Depoin, p. 235. <sup>2</sup> Leothericus.

29. <sup>1</sup> 1 April 977–27 January 1030/1 or later (Coolidge, pp. 17, 92 f.). Coolidge, p. 83, suggests that Fulbert was appealing to Adalbero as Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims was unable to attend to his duties (cf. no. 34). See pp. lxxiv f.

<sup>2</sup> After October 1008–5 September 1019/20 (see E. Dhomme and A. Vattier, 'Recherches chronologiques sur les évêques de Senlis', *Comptes rendus et mémoires du Comité arch. de Senlis*, 1865, pp. 65 f.; above, pp. lxxiv f.).

sibi aut fratri suo ministerium eius. Nos autem respondimus non conuenire sibi eo quod episcopus esset, neque fratri suo aetate adhuc et moribus immaturo. Tunc elegimus de numero sacerdotum nostrorum ad illud officium Eurardum quendam scientem ac religiosum uirum. Quod factum predictus R(odulfus) materque et frater ipsius adeo inuiderunt, ut sancto uiro coram pluribus (qui testes inde sunt) terribilia minarentur; et dictum factum non caruit. Venerunt enim de ciuitate Silnectis ad nostram quidam ex domesticis eorum sic necessarii, ut absentiam illorum nec per unum diem ignorare potuerint.<sup>b</sup> Qui interdum quidem<sup>c</sup> latuerunt, sed profunda nocte egressi sanctum illum presbiterum more solito uenientem ad ecclesiam quasi lupum rabidum<sup>d</sup> lanceis falcastris et gladiis in ipso atrio principalis ecclesiae trucidarunt. Clerici autem eius, qui expeditum dominum tarde secuti sunt, inuenerunt eum adhuc extrema uerba protomartyris Stephani proferentem.<sup>e3</sup> Porro carnifices presidio noctis incogniti iam diffugerant; et cui crimen hoc intenderetur erat incertum, cum quidam, propter minas preteritas domum R(odulfi) quae erat apud nos suspectam habentes, reppererunt in ea uernaculum quendam uestes suas et calciamenta lota siccantem. Ex quo signo coniectura<sup>f</sup> incepta,<sup>4</sup> cum ad causam huius lauacri dicendam homo acrius urgeretur, se factum de quo agebatur affuisse confessus est, socios prodidit, et ordinem rei gestae exposuit. Nos denique totum hoc alcius perscrutantes pro certo ita esse<sup>g</sup> comperimus. Comperimus, inquam, inuidiae liuorem, fraudem maliciae, sacrilegii nefas, crudele, cruentum, et singulare facinus in occisione sanctissimi sacerdotis. Nunc ergo tanta causa, quia iudicatio eius obscura non est, solam (ut uides) ulcionem expostulat. Sed cum iuris sit ad utilitatem rei publicae cunctos punire maleficos, illos tamen uehemencius exturbare necesse est qui in Deum et sanctos eius tam impie tamque crudeliter audent. Quid enim mali ulterius, uel certe eque magnum excogitari queat? Multo nimirum leuius illi complices Chorae peccasse uidentur, quos tamen iudicio Dei terra uiuos absorbit.<sup>5</sup> Nam si illi sanctos Dei contempserant, non utique trucidarant. Quod si tales socordia uel iniquitas iudicium reliquerit inpunitos, cum hoc facere conspirare sit in contumeliam Dei, et<sup>h</sup> exponere

replied that it was not suitable for him, as he was a bishop, or for his brother, as he was still of immature age and character. Then we chose one of our priests for that office, Evrardus, a man both learned and pious. This aroused R(alph), his mother, and his brother to such vindictiveness that they uttered terrible threats against that saintly man in the presence of many who can testify to it, and what they threatened came to pass. Some of their servants who were so important that their absence could not go unnoticed even for one day came from the city of Senlis to Chartres. During the day they remained in hiding; but going out in the dark of night, they butchered in the very forecourt of the cathedral that holy priest, who was coming to church as usual, with spears, falchions, and swords, as if he were a fierce wolf. His clerks, who were lagging behind as their master hurried along, found him still uttering the last words of Stephen, the protomartyr.<sup>3</sup> The murderers had already fled, unrecognized under the cover of night; and to whom this crime should be attributed was uncertain, when some persons, because of R(alph's) earlier threats, became suspicious of a near-by house of his and found there a servant who had washed his clothes and shoes and was drying them. This discovery gave rise to conjecture;<sup>4</sup> and when the man was pressed more forcibly to tell why he had washed them, he confessed that he had been present at the crime in question, betrayed his companions, and told what had happened. Then we investigated the whole case more thoroughly and found that what he said was indeed true. We found, I say, jealous envy, deliberate treachery, monstrous sacrilege, and an outrage cruel, bloody, and unique, in the slaying of a most holy priest. Now since the results of the investigation are clear, such an enormous crime, as you can see, demands nothing less than vengeance. If it is right to punish all criminals for the sake of the common weal, then it is necessary to take even more vigorous measures in afflicting those who dare to commit such impious and cruel acts against God and his saints. What evil could be devised that would be greater than or even as great as this? Indeed, Corah's accomplices committed a much less grievous sin, but God still condemned them to be swallowed up alive by the earth.<sup>5</sup> Yet they but treated God's holy ones with contempt, they did not butcher them. But if out of negligence or wrongdoing the judges leave such men unpunished (which in itself is to conspire in contempt of God and to expose his servants

<sup>b</sup> absentia . . . ignorari potuerit (*perhaps correctly*) B      <sup>c</sup> quidem *om.* DR  
<sup>d</sup> presbiterum . . . rabidum *om.* DR      <sup>e</sup> praedicantem LDR    replicantem B  
<sup>f</sup> conceptura L      <sup>g</sup> esse *om.* DR      <sup>h</sup> et *om.* LDR

<sup>3</sup> See Acts 7: 59: 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 822.

<sup>5</sup> See Num. 16: 1 ff.

seruos eius ad cedem, quid restat nisi ut ipsius summi<sup>i</sup> iudicis ira deseuiens et hos et illos inaudita mortis atrocitate disperdat? Proinde nobis quibus idem Dominus ecclesiae suae tribunalia commisit adprime necessarium est regem nostrum nosque inuicem modis omnibus excitare, ne repente feriamur in huiusmodi socordia oscitantes. Quod ego<sup>k</sup> te facere deprecor, magne pater, cui Deus bene suadendi copiam incomparabilem dedit, simulque ut ipse mecum predictos maleficos citra legitimam satisfactionem excommunices, quos tamen usque in finem a communione priuandos esse non nescis. Vale.

## 30

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: rejecting his petition on behalf of Evarardus' murderers<sup>1</sup>*

21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

Venerando Senonensium presuli L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis sacerdos.

Litteras ex parte uestra suscepimus suadentes recipere quod homicidae Silnectenses offerunt, ut mereantur absolui. Nos autem in quibus oportet uobis ut patri semper obedire parati sumus; sed in hoc ad presens ideo non oportet, quia neque iustum neque commodum est. Et iustum non esse leges scriptae demonstrant. Commodum uero non est ut mors sanctorum, quae in conspectu Dei<sup>a</sup> pretiosa est,<sup>2</sup> apud homines uili precio constet. Quod si quis instituerit, omnium sanctorum qui ea de causa perituri sunt reus sanguinis erit. Sanctitas uestra ualeat semper et uigeat.

<sup>i</sup> supremi LDR  
hand? L)

30 LDRPB

<sup>a</sup> Domini DR

30. <sup>1</sup> See no. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. 115: 15.

to slaughter), what remains except for the Supreme Judge himself in his furious wrath to destroy both judges and criminals with unprecedented cruelty and death? So it is especially necessary for us to whom the Lord has entrusted the courts of his church to do all that we can to bestir our king and each of ourselves so that we be not suddenly struck down idling in such negligence. I beg you to do this, eminent father, to whom God has given an incomparable talent for effective persuasion. I also ask you to join me in excommunicating these criminals until they make legal satisfaction, and even then you know that they must be deprived of communion until the very end. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens<sup>1</sup>*

21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

To the venerable archbishop of Sens, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres.

We have received your letter advising us to accept what the murderers from Senlis are offering in order to receive absolution. We have always been ready to obey you as our father where this is proper; but in the present case it is not proper, since it is neither just nor fitting. That it is not just is proved by the written laws. Nor is it fitting that the death of saints, which is precious in the sight of God,<sup>2</sup> be held of little value by men. If anyone should set such a precedent, he will be guilty of the blood of all the saints who perish in the same way. My wishes for your holiness's long life and good health.

## 31

*Fulbert to Bishop Ralph of Senlis and his family: calling on them to plead guilty or to stand trial for the murder of Evarardus<sup>1</sup>*  
21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia [Carnotensium episcopus] siquidem fidelibus adhuc (ut aiunt) R(odulfo), G(uidoni), A.

Nec porta iustitiae nec ianua misericordiae uobis clausa est apud nos; neque uero de Briccio episcopo<sup>2</sup> fecimus hostiarium, qui uos (ut significatis) a nostris penitralibus arcet, sed utrumque aditum seruandum rationi commisimus. Si uultis intrare per portam iustitiae, defendite culpam. Si per ianuam misericordiae, agite penitentiam. Aliter enim uos ratio non admittet. Haec breuiter rescribentes, uobis consentire<sup>a</sup> putamus, dum terminos sanctorum patrum nec ipsi transgredimur,<sup>3</sup> nec uobis transgredi suademus.

## 32

*Fulbert to Bishop Ralph of Senlis: granting his request for a trial for the murder of Evarardus<sup>1</sup>*  
21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

Venerabili Silnectensium episcopo R(odulfo) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium sacerdos.

Quia iudicio contendere magis quam ueniam postulare statuistis, restat uobis conuenire iudices, qui prefixo loco et tempore nos<sup>a</sup> in alterutrum legali ratione iustificent. Non enim usurpamus officium iudicis in isto negotio sicut uos uelle dicitis, cum nullus esse possit suae causae et assertor et iudex.<sup>2</sup> Verum enim uero satis admirari nequimus quidnam mali est quod tam audacter ad iudicium properatis, nisi forte quod abhorrere humanum est publice dampnari eligitis, quam secreta<sup>b</sup> satisfactione purgari. Quid enim aliud in iudicio mereatur manifestae culpa odiosa

*Fulbert to Bishop Ralph of Senlis and his family<sup>1</sup>*

21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

F(ulbert), by grace of God [bishop of Chartres], to R(alph), G(uido), and A., if indeed they are, as they say, still faithful to him.

Neither the gate of justice nor the door of mercy is closed to you in our sight, nor have we made Bishop Briccius<sup>2</sup> a doorkeeper to prevent (as you claim) your entering into our presence; but we have entrusted the keeping of both entrances to Reason. If you wish to enter through the gate of justice, disprove your guilt; if through the door of mercy, do penance. Otherwise Reason will not let you in. In sending you this brief reply, we think you will agree that we ourselves are not transgressing the limits set by the holy fathers<sup>3</sup> nor advising you to do so.

*Fulbert to Bishop Ralph of Senlis<sup>1</sup>*

21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

To the venerable bishop of Senlis, R(alph), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres.

Since you have decided to stand trial rather than to ask for pardon, it remains for you to agree to the judges who, at a time and a place fixed in advance, will decide in favour of one or the other of us in accordance with the law; for we are not usurping the office of judge in this affair as you say you wish us to, since no one can be both advocate and judge in his own case.<sup>2</sup> But in truth, we cannot wonder enough what is wrong with you that you should hasten so boldly to stand trial, unless, perhaps, you prefer for a crime that all men naturally abhor to be publicly condemned rather than expiated by private penance. For what else might a detestable attempt to disprove obvious guilt gain from a trial?

31. <sup>1</sup> See nos. 29 f. G. and A. are apparently Ralph's brother Guido and their mother (cf. nos. 29, 36).

<sup>2</sup> Identity unknown, perhaps a pseudonym.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Prov. 22: 28.

32. <sup>1</sup> See no. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cod. Theod.* ii. 10. 5 (= *Brev.* ii. 10. 2), *Inter.*

31 LDRKCPB      <sup>a</sup> uobiscum sentire LDRKP

32 LDRCPB      <sup>a</sup> uos LP      <sup>b</sup> sacrata L      secrata D, *ante corr.* R



defensio? Et uestra quidem culpa sic manifesta<sup>c</sup> est, ut nullo excusacionis genere ualeat obumbrari. Vox enim sanguinis fratris uestri<sup>d</sup> et consacerdotis Eurardi, postquam ad aures supremi iudicis ascendit,<sup>3</sup> per totam Galliam uehementer infremuit. Qui, ut certo scimus, non est occisus ob aliam causam, quam ob uestrae cupiditatis iniustam calumniam. Viderint iudices utrum effectus referatur ad causam.

## 33

*Fulbert to Bishop Ralph of Senlis: refusing to be drawn into further correspondence concerning his trial for Evrardus' murder*  
21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

Venerabili Silnectensium episcopo R(odulfo) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium sacerdos.

Non oportet nostri ordinis uiros in superfluis scriptitacionibus occupari. Multa enim et magna negocia nobis expendenda<sup>a</sup> (si non dissimulamus) incumbunt. Sufficiant ergo uobis super his unde agimus litterae nuper a nobis missae, quarum erat extremitas: 'Viderint iudices utrum effectus referatur ad causam.'<sup>1</sup> Quae enim ibi scripta sunt, aut ipsi ea legitima assercione confirmabimus, aut uos infirmare et pernegare paciemur, si data fuerit concilii iudiciiue occasio. Sin autem, contenti erimus ea premonuisse, quae uos<sup>b</sup> credimus emendare debuisse. Valete.

<sup>c</sup> manifestata LDRC

<sup>d</sup> nostri LDRC

33 LDRCPB      <sup>a</sup> expendenda L    explenda DR    expetenda B      <sup>b</sup> quae uos] quos LCP    quae DR

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen. 4: 10.

33. <sup>1</sup> See no. 32.

Indeed, your guilt is so obvious that nothing can justify or extenuate it; for the voice of the blood of your brother and fellow priest, Evrardus, after rising to the ears of the Supreme Judge,<sup>3</sup> has uttered loud groans throughout Gaul. We know for a truth that he was killed for no other reason than your greed and unjust claim. The judges will see whether the effect is matched to the cause.

*Fulbert to Bishop Ralph of Senlis*

21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

To the venerable bishop of Senlis, R(alph), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres.

It is not proper for men of our position to be taken up with unnecessary scribbling, for there are many important matters which, if we are honest, need our attention. So be satisfied in the present case with the letter that we recently sent which ends: 'The judges will see whether the effect is matched to the cause.'<sup>1</sup> What we have written there we shall either confirm by legal proof or let you refute and disprove it altogether, if there is an opportunity for a court and a trial. If not, we shall rest content with having admonished you as to what we think you ought to correct. Farewell.

## 34

*Fulbert to Deodatus, bishop-designate of Soissons:<sup>1</sup> advising him to ask the bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne to consecrate him*  
6 Aug. 1019–5 Sept. 1019/20

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus D(eodato) episcopo designato quicquid sibi.

Sic estis per Dei gratiam in arbitrii uestri libertate positi, et finitimorum episcoporum copia fulti, ut in manus episcopi Silnectensis<sup>2</sup> incidere nulla uos necessitudo compellat. Sed ne ciuitati uel ecclesiae<sup>a</sup> Catalaunis suum derogetis honorem, meminisse uos decet quod in antiqua descriptione prouinciae Belgicae secundae, ipsa ciuitas a Remensi tertium locum habeat.<sup>3</sup> Sapienti<sup>b</sup> pauca.<sup>c4</sup> Valetate intrando per hostium in ouile ouium.<sup>5</sup>

## 35

*Fulbert to Bishop Guido of Senlis:<sup>1</sup> asking him to grant his protection to dependants of the church of Chartres, to set a date for settling matters left over from Bishop Ralph's pontificate, and to explain why he has not been consecrated at Senlis*  
5 Sept.–18 Nov. 1019/20

Dilectissimo fratri et consacerdoti suo G(uidoni) F(ulbertus) oracionis suffragium.

Rogamus caritatem uestram pro his seruis ecclesiae nostrae qui sub uestra potestate<sup>a</sup> degunt, ut eis patrocinari dignemini, et ut

34 LDRCPBVM      <sup>a</sup> uel ecclesiae om. DR  
<sup>c</sup> sufficient add. DR

35 LDRPB      <sup>a</sup> potestate om. LDR

34. <sup>1</sup> According to *DHGE* viii. 878, Bishop Fulk of Soissons died 6 August 1019 and was succeeded by his nephew Beroldus, who was not consecrated until 1021. However, an entry in a necrology of Saint-Étienne of Dijon lists Fulk, Deodatus, and Beroldus as bishops of Soissons (*GC* ix. 347); and Deodatus is also found among the witnesses to a charter of 1019 (?) which

*Fulbert to Deodatus, bishop-designate of Soissons<sup>1</sup>*  
6 Aug. 1019–5 Sept. 1019/20

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to D(eodatus), bishop-designate, with his wishes for all that he could wish for himself.

By God's grace you are free to choose whom you wish, and you have the advantage of having a number of neighbouring bishops to choose from, so there is nothing that would necessitate your falling into the hands of the bishop of Senlis.<sup>2</sup> But so that you might not detract from the honour of the city or church of Châlons, you should bear in mind that in the ancient description of the province of Belgica Secunda that city held the third place after Rheims.<sup>3</sup> A word to the wise!<sup>4</sup> My best wishes to one who is entering the sheepfold through the door.<sup>5</sup>

*Fulbert to Bishop Guido of Senlis<sup>1</sup>*  
5 Sept.–18 Nov. 1019/20

To his very dear brother and fellow bishop, G(uido), from F(ulbert), with the support of his prayers.

We ask you in your charity to deem worthy of your protection these servants of our church who live in your diocese and to set

includes all the bishops of the province of Rheims except Senlis (Coolidge, p. 100 n.). The charter is known only from a later copy, and it presents some difficulties, especially as regards its date; but it does point to the existence of Bishop Deodatus of Soissons, and the date would not be unsuitable. Deodatus is also said to have left a legacy from his patrimonial inheritance to the church of Saint-Gervais (J. Saincir, *Le diocèse de Soissons*, i (Évreux, 1935), 57, but without giving a reference). See p. 53 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph (see nos. 29 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> See 'Notitia Galliarum', *MGH AA* ix. 552 ff., especially 590 and the reference to Chartres MS. 193 (p. 566).

<sup>4</sup> A variation on the popular saying 'A word to the wise is sufficient', perhaps most easily known from Terence, *Phorm.* 541.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. John 10: 1 f.

35. <sup>1</sup> c. 1019–December 1042 (see E. Dhomme and A. Vattier, 'Recherches chronologiques sur les évêques de Senlis', *Comptes rendus et mémoires du Comité arch. de Senlis*, 1865, pp. 66 ff.; above, pp. lxxiv f.).

nobis constituatis terminum post octabas beati Martini<sup>2</sup> quando et ubi nostri legati possint uobis occurrere ad definiendam causam eorum, quae propter obitum antecessoris uestri indefinita remansit. Rogamus etiam ne nobis scripto significare grauemini, cur Siluanectis non fuerit sacratio uestra. Valete.<sup>b</sup>

## 36

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: refusing his request for a hearing for Guido as regards his part in Eyrardus' murder*<sup>1</sup>  
after 5 September 1019/20

Sancto ac<sup>a</sup> uenerabili archiepiscopo L(euthero) F(ulbertus) episcopus de uirtute in uirtutem progredi.<sup>2</sup>

De Guidone excommunicato nostro nos appellas, reuerende pater, ut ei misreamur, dicens quod episcopali se uelit examinari iudicio, et aecclesiastica satisfatione purgari.<sup>3</sup> At nos praecem tuam seu uerba minime paruipendentes,<sup>b</sup> tibi respondemus,<sup>c</sup> nos eius libenter misereri uelle, sed examinationem eius ultra non curare. Apud nos enim iam de ipso sicut de manifeste<sup>d</sup> reo optime factum est episcopale, hoc est canonicum ac decretale iudicium, dum illum secundum auctoritatem canonum ac decreta sanctorum patrum excommunicauimus. Dicimus autem illum<sup>e</sup> manifeste reum propter rationes subscriptas: primo, quia causa cupiditatis eius, fratris quoque ac matris ipsius occisus est immerito noster subdecanus; deinde, quia sciuit insidias illi praetendendas, nec michi patefecit; tercio, quod insidiatores eius quos disturbare potuit non disturbauit, sed et praesentia sua domum, ex<sup>f</sup> qua sanctae aecclesiae nostre seruire debuerat, eis receptandis dolose uacuum fecit; quarto, quod malo eius consensit. His itaque modis nobis aperte reus comprobatur. Vnde uocatus et per sex menses<sup>g</sup> expectatus dum confessionis ac poenitentiae remedia a nobis

<sup>b</sup> Vale LDR

<sup>36</sup> DRKCPBVH (L)                      <sup>a</sup> ac om. D                      <sup>b</sup> parui prudentes D  
<sup>c</sup> respondimus DRK (respondemus L)                      <sup>d</sup> manifesto DRKC (L)  
<sup>e</sup> illum om. DRKC (L)                      <sup>f</sup> ex] et D                      <sup>g</sup> per sex menses om. BVH

<sup>2</sup> 18 November, St. Martin's feast falling on 11 November.

<sup>36. 1</sup> See nos. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. 83: 8.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to refer to the procedure (later known as *purgatio canonica*)

for us a date after the octave of the feast of St. Martin<sup>2</sup> and a place where our representatives can meet you in order to conclude their case, which has remained unsettled because of your predecessor's death. We also ask if you will be so kind as to write and let us know why you have not been consecrated at Senlis. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*<sup>1</sup>

after 5 September 1019/20

To the holy and venerable Archbishop L(eothericus) from Bishop F(ulbert), with his prayer that he may advance from strength to strength.<sup>2</sup>

You appeal to us, reverend father, to have mercy on our excommunicated clerk Guido, saying that he wishes to be tried in a bishop's court and to clear himself in the manner prescribed by the church.<sup>3</sup> Though we do not take your request or message lightly, we answer that we are quite willing to have mercy on him, but no longer to be concerned with trying him; for we have already seen to it that he, as one who was obviously guilty, was properly tried in a bishop's court as provided by the canons and decretals at the time we excommunicated him in accordance with the prescriptions of the canons and the decrees of the holy fathers. We say that he is obviously guilty for the following reasons: first, because as a result of his greed and that of his brother and mother our subdean was unjustly killed; second, because he knew of the plot which had been laid for him, but did not reveal it to me; third, because he did not thwart the plotters when he could have done so, but even treacherously vacated the house from which he should have served our church so that they might hide there; fourth, because he consented to their crime. To us these reasons clearly prove him guilty. After he had been summoned and awaited for six months, during which he postponed asking us for the remedy of confession and penance, he received

whereby a defendant cleared himself by swearing to his innocence (cf. no. 13). It is, however, possible that it simply means that Guido wished to make satisfaction (i.e. 'to cleanse himself by performing the penance prescribed by the church'). As regards *crimina manifesta*, where no accusation was needed, and *purgatio canonica*, see P. Hinschius, *Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland*, v (Berlin, 1893), 338 ff.

quaerere distulit, iure meritam excommunicationis sententiam pertulit. Cum ergo supradictis irrefragabilibus scilicet causis, plures enim earum veri testes existunt parati<sup>h</sup> quemlibet resistentem conuincere,<sup>i</sup> cum ille, inquam, propter has causas indubitabili crimine teneatur obnoxius, quis curet<sup>k</sup> examinationem eius? An quia manifesta culpa examinari egeat? An forte crederetur<sup>l</sup> examinatus,<sup>m</sup> si<sup>n</sup> culpam se non habere<sup>o</sup> peiurando culpam accumularet?<sup>p</sup> Sed ut scientes aliquem peiurare sinant, ab animo sacerdotum religio prohibet. Iam uero tam<sup>q</sup> euidentis peccatum quae purgatio maneat, nisi confessio et poenitentia? Hanc si expeteret audiens extra ciuitatem<sup>r</sup> sibi infestam<sup>s</sup> me esse, propter amorem Dei cuius misericordiae me commonefecisti adhuc apud me locum eius<sup>t</sup> reperiret, atque haec ei forsitan aliquando absolutionem pareret.<sup>u</sup> Quod si hoc noluerit, quando tu concilium statueris de maioribus et utilioribus tractaturus, cum illis et haec recensurus adero tecum si mandaueris. Et siquod in illum<sup>x</sup> actum est bene stat, astipulatione tua nitatur. Sin minus, corrigatur. Vale.

## 37

*Fulbert to King Cnut of (England and) Denmark:*<sup>1</sup> *thanking him for his gift* 21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

Nobilissimo regi Danomarchiae Cnucio F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus cum suis clericis et monachis oracionis suffragium.

Quando munus tuum nobis oblatum uidimus, sagacitatem tuam et religionem pariter admirati sumus. Sagacitatem quidem, quod homo nostrae linguae ignarus, longoque a nobis terrae marisque interuallo diuisus,<sup>2</sup> non solum ea quae circa te sunt strenue capessas, sed etiam ea quae circa nos diligenter inquiras. Religionem uero, cum te quem paganorum principem audieramus,

<sup>h</sup> pareat B pareat VH <sup>i</sup> conuinci BVH <sup>k</sup> quaerat DRKC (L)  
<sup>l</sup> credetur DRK (L) <sup>m</sup> examinato VH <sup>n</sup> si om. BVH <sup>o</sup> si add.  
 BVH <sup>p</sup> accumularet DRKH (ac . . mularet L) <sup>q</sup> tam om. BVH  
<sup>r</sup> extra ciuitatem] contra ciuitatem C (L) non contra ciuitatem DRK

the sentence of excommunication which he rightly deserved. These are the causes, and irrefutable they are, for there are many witnesses to the truth of them ready to refute anyone who would deny it—these are the causes, I say, why he is held guilty of a crime which cannot be doubted, and so who would go to the trouble of trying him? Does obvious guilt require a trial? Or if he were tried, would he be thought to have cleared himself if, by forswearing his guilt, he added to it the crime of perjury? But that priests should consciously allow anyone to commit perjury is forbidden by their office. So now what expiation remains for such a flagrant sin except confession and penance? If he, hearing that I am out of the city, where he goes in fear of his life, should come and ask me for this, for the love of God, of whose mercy you have reminded me, he may yet find a place with me, and by this same mercy it may be that he will some day obtain absolution. But if he is not willing to do this, when you set up a council to treat of more important and useful matters, I shall meet with you, if you summon me, to consider the present case along with them. If the action taken against him is right, let it have your consent and support; if not, let it be corrected. Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Cnut of (England and) Denmark*<sup>1</sup>

21 Feb. 1018/19–5 Sept. 1019/20

To the most noble king of Denmark, Cnut, from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, and his clerks and monks, with the support of their prayers.

When we saw the gift that you sent us, we were amazed at your knowledge as well as your faith: at your knowledge, because you, a man who does not know our language and who is separated from us by a great expanse of land and sea,<sup>2</sup> not only vigorously take care of your own affairs, but also diligently inquire into ours; at your faith, since you, whom we had heard to be a pagan

<sup>s</sup> infestum DRKVH <sup>t</sup> eius om. VH <sup>u</sup> pararet DRK repareret  
 corr. to repararet C <sup>x</sup> illo DRK (illum L)

37 LDRCB

37. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxv. This letter is cited by William of Malmesbury (see p. lxiv).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gregory I, ep. v. 41 (*MGH Ep.* i. 332).

non modo Christianum, uerum etiam erga ecclesias atque Dei seruos benignissimum largitorem agnoscimus. Vnde gratias agentes regi regum ex cuius dispositione talia descendunt, rogamus ut ipse regnum tuum in bonis prosperari faciat, et animam tuam a peccatis absoluat, per coeternum et consubstantiali sibi unigenitum Christum dominum nostrum in unitate Spiritus sancti. Amen. Vale memor nostri, non inmemorum<sup>a</sup> tui.

## 38

*Fulbert to Bishop G.: prescribing the penance for a deacon who said mass*  
c. 1019/20?<sup>1</sup>

Caro patri et coepiscopo suo G. Fulbertus).

De<sup>a</sup> diacono qui se presbiterum simulauit, missamque celebrare presumpsit, modum poenitentiae in diuinis legibus proprie statutum non inuenimus, per ratiocinationem<sup>b</sup> similium sic estimare<sup>c</sup> possumus. Chore, Dathan, et Abiron, iudicio Dei condemnati, et horribili morte multati sunt, eo quod Aaron sacerdoti se comparare<sup>d</sup> eiusque officium usurpare presumpserunt.<sup>2</sup> Hic autem leuita more illorum<sup>e</sup> illicite sibi sacerdotium usurpauit. Quis ergo in isto dubitet esse mortale commissum, quod in illis Deo iudice uidet<sup>f</sup> morte punitum? At quia iam Saluator noster, qui uenit saluare quod perierat, non uult mortem peccatoris sed ut conuertatur et uiuat,<sup>3</sup> clementer agitur<sup>g</sup> ut degradentur huiusmodi, et inter laicos penitentiam agant. Sed ne nimis austeritatem ueteris legis haec ratiocinatio sapere uideatur, proponamus et nouam. Legitur in quodam capitulo: 'Statutum sepiissime et inhibitum est, ut missarum celebrationes in locis incongruentibus omnino non fiant'; et quibusdam interpositis, sequitur: 'Quia sicut non est concessum ut alii missam cantent et sacrificia consecrent, quam illi qui ad hoc ab episcopis sunt consecrati, ita non est licitum ut in aliis domibus uel altaribus aut locis missas celebrare presumant, quam ab episcopis consecratis'; et in fine capituli: 'Siquis ergo post tot prohibiciones haec decreta apostolica et synodali auctoritate renouata temerare presumpserit,

<sup>a</sup> inmemoris B

38 LDRKCPBVH <sup>a</sup> De erased? L om. C Si PB Sed VH (omitting the salutation and incorporating this letter with no. 23) <sup>b</sup> uero add. LDRK (supra L) autem add. C <sup>c</sup> exstimare LD existimare RK <sup>d</sup> comparasse LDRK <sup>e</sup> suorum LDRK <sup>f</sup> uidetur VH <sup>g</sup> agit VH

prince, we now know to be not only a Christian, but also a most generous donor to churches and God's servants. So we give thanks to the King of Kings, from whom, in his providence, all such things proceed, and we pray that he may make your kingdom prosperous and flourishing and absolve your soul from sin, through his coeternal, consubstantial, and only-begotten son, Christ, our Lord, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Farewell, and remember us, as we remember you.

*Fulbert to Bishop G.*

c. 1019/20?<sup>1</sup>

To his dear father and fellow bishop G. from Fulbert).

With regard to the deacon who posed as a priest and dared to celebrate mass, we have not found a specific penance prescribed in divine law, but we can judge as follows by reasoning from analogy. Corah, Dathan, and Abiron were condemned by God's judgement and punished with a horrible death because they dared to deem themselves equals of the priest Aaron and to usurp his office.<sup>2</sup> This deacon has illicitly usurped the priesthood just as they did. So who can doubt that a mortal sin has been committed in this case seeing that in theirs it was punished by God's judgement with death? But now that our Saviour, who came to save what was lost, does not desire the death of a sinner, but that he might be converted and live,<sup>3</sup> it is mercifully permitted for such persons to be degraded and to do penance among the laity. So that the way we are reasoning may not seem to savour too much of the severity of the old law, let us also set forth the new. One reads in a certain chapter: 'It has often been decreed and forbidden for mass to be celebrated in places which are unsuitable.' After a few lines, it continues: 'For just as it is not right for anyone to sing mass and to consecrate the sacrifices except those who have been ordained for this by a bishop, so it is not lawful for them to venture to celebrate mass in other buildings, on other altars, or at other places than those which have been consecrated by a bishop.' And at the end of the chapter: 'So if anyone, after so many prohibitions, should dare to violate these decrees which have been renewed by papal and synodal authority, he will be in

38. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> See Num. 16: 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. 18: 11; Ezek. 33: 11.

gradus sui periculo subiacebit.<sup>4</sup> Videmus ergo capitulum nouae legis uetustae<sup>h</sup> congruere, nec opus<sup>i</sup> est amplius quid de illo diacono faciendum sit dubitare. Est enim procul dubio extra chorum deponendus,<sup>k</sup> penitencia plectendus. Quod si de longitudine penitenciae questio fiat, meminisse debemus illius sententiae quae ad hanc questionem respondet hoc modo: 'Mensuram temporis in agenda penitencia idcirco non satis attente prefigunt canones pro unoquoque crimine, sed magis in arbitrio antistitis statuendum relinquunt, quia apud Deum non tam ualet mensura temporis quam doloris, nec abstinencia tantum ciborum sed mortificatio potius uiciorum.'<sup>5</sup> In manu ergo uestra situm est penitenciam eius uel breuiare uel protelare, iuxta quod eum<sup>l</sup> in penitendo diligentem seu negligentem uideritis. Valeat sanctitas uestra.

## 39

*Fulbert to Bishop Roger of Lisieux:*<sup>1</sup> *explaining why his priests did not pay their synodal dues and asking that they be allowed to resume their duties* 1014-22

Venerando Lexouiensium pontifici R(ogério) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium episcopus salutem et fideles oraciones.<sup>a</sup>

Presbiteri canonicorum nostrorum ex ecclesiis quas habent in episcopatu uestro uenerunt ad nos dicentes quod uos interdixistis eis ministerium suum, ideo quia de ipsis ecclesiis non ferunt uobis synodum.<sup>2</sup> Et nos quidem eam uobis iure soluendam esse non ignoramus; sed Tetoldus prepositus noster ac uester seruus<sup>3</sup> non bene rem intellexit hactenus, eo deceptus quod nulla ecclesiarum quas nostri canonici possident in episcopatu nostro

<sup>h</sup> uetustaeque LDRK (-que supra L)      <sup>i</sup> opus] episcopo VH      <sup>k</sup> et  
add. VH      <sup>l</sup> eum om. VH  
39 LDRPBVH      <sup>a</sup> fideles oraciones] benedictionem LDR

<sup>4</sup> Benedictus Levita, iii. 431 (ed. Knust, p. 129).

<sup>5</sup> A fairly common passage, probably taken from Halitgarius of Cambrai, *De uitiis et uirtutibus*, preface (PL cv. 657). See P. Anciaux, *La théologie du*

danger of losing his orders.<sup>4</sup> Thus we see that the chapter of the new law conforms to the old, nor need one have any further doubt as to what should be done with regard to that deacon, for it is clear that he must be removed from choir and punished with penance. In case there should be a question concerning the length of his penance, we ought to bear in mind the answer that is given in the following maxim: 'The length of time for doing penance is not specified by the canons for each sin in particular, but instead is left to the judgement of the bishop, for the length of time is not as important in God's sight as the degree of sorrow, nor abstinence from food as much as mortification of vices.'<sup>5</sup> So it is in your hands to shorten or to lengthen his penance according to whether you see him diligent or negligent in carrying it out. My best wishes to your holiness.

*Fulbert to Bishop Roger of Lisieux*<sup>1</sup>

1014-22

To the venerable bishop of Lisieux, R(oger), from F(ulbert), bishop of Chartres, with his greetings and faithful prayers.

The priests who serve the churches which belong to our canons in your diocese came and told us that you had prohibited them from exercising their office because they did not pay you the synodal dues for these churches.<sup>2</sup> We are well aware that the law requires these to be paid to you; but Tetoldus, our provost and your servant,<sup>3</sup> did not understand it as he was misled by the fact that none of the churches which our canons possess in our own

*sacrement de pénitence au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain, 1949), pp. 31 n., 259 n. The following sentence in Fulbert's letter is paraphrased from the same passage.

39. <sup>1</sup> Before 990-before late 1022 (GC xi. 765 f.; above, pp. lxxviii f., lxxxiii).

<sup>2</sup> The churches in question were probably those granted to Chartres by Duke Richard II of Normandy on 21 September 1014 (Fauroux, no. 15). The grant is also mentioned in Richard's obituary in the cathedral necrology (Merlet, pp. 173 f.). The *synodus* was a payment made at the time of a diocesan synod. With specific reference to Chartres see *Cart. S.-Père*, i, pp. cxxv-cxxvi; L. Merlet, 'Redevances au pays chartrain durant le moyen âge', *Mém. de la Soc. arch. d'Eure-et-Loir*, xii (1901), 222. There is no evidence that Bishop Roger remitted the *synodus* (he is not mentioned in the necrology), and his successor claimed a similar payment (cf. no. 66). See J.-F. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140* (Paris, 1937), pp. 66 f., 89 f., 108 f.

<sup>3</sup> See nos. 65, 108.

obligata est huiusmodi debito, remittente uidelicet eis<sup>b</sup> antecessorum meorum piissima liberalitate. Sed ea quantalibet caritate fulta, quantalibet laude digna, uestro tamen iuri minime preiudicat. Nunc itaque serenitati uestrae supplicamus, ut concedatis eis officium suum agendi licenciam, paratis amodo aut uestram synodum uobis reddere, aut in usus fratrum nostrorum necessarios retinere, si caritati uestrae placuerit sanctorum patrum meorum supramemoratum remissionis exemplum obseruare. Si non merui ut<sup>c</sup> causa mei aliquid faciatis, restat (spero) aliquando meritum iri opitulante gratia Christi. Valete, carissime pater, et mementote mei in oracionibus uestris.

## 40

*Fulbert to Bishop Thierry of Orleans: explaining that it will not be possible to make the procession to Orleans*

late 1020–early 1021

Venerabili Aurelianorum episcopo T(heoderico) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium sacerdos obsequium dilectionis sine fuco simulationis.<sup>1</sup>

Grator<sup>a</sup> diligenciae tuae, licet inter multa aduersancia sua strenue capessenti,<sup>b</sup> me quoque de negociis ad me pertinentibus amice commonenti. At ego commonicionem tuam benigne suscipio, in ceteris quidem quae mihi scripsisti libenter tibi prout decuerit et tempus erit obtemperaturus. De processione uero ecclesiae nostrae ad uestram fieri solita<sup>2</sup> clericos nostros conueniens, audiui ab eis quod optime noueram, et teipsum aequo animo concredere<sup>c3</sup> uolo, uidelicet quod dampnatis incendio<sup>4</sup> et ad ecclesiae restauracionem inhiantibus aliisque plurimis seriis ualida necessitate occupatis, processio non sit ad presens facilis, successu uero prosperae facultatis, cum magno gaudio ac debita deuocione se illam facturos. Vale cum beatissimo clero tuo et grege tibi commisso, cohortans eos orare Deum, ut liberet nos ab aduersis nostris.

<sup>b</sup> eis om. BVH      <sup>c</sup> ut om. VH

40 LDRKPBVH      <sup>a</sup> Gratulor BH      <sup>b</sup> capessenti L      <sup>c</sup> credere BVH

40. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi cxviii*, xiii. 27. 2 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* lxii. 297).

<sup>2</sup> The cathedral necrology contains an entry under 11 November commemorating Constantine, priest and canon of Saint-Euverte of Orleans, who asked to wash the feet of the canons of Chartres in his house after the procession

diocese is obliged to pay them since they were remitted to them by my predecessors out of their generosity and devotion. But their action, however great the underlying charity and however praiseworthy in itself, by no means prejudices your rights. So we beg your eminence to permit them to exercise their office with the understanding that they are prepared for the future to pay you the synodal dues which belong to you or to keep them to defray the expenses of our brothers if it should please you in your charity to follow the example of my holy predecessors and to remit them. If I have done nothing to merit your doing anything for my sake, there still remains my hope that by the help of Christ's grace I may some day prove deserving. Farewell, dearest father, and remember me in your prayers.

*Fulbert to Bishop Thierry of Orleans*

late 1020–early 1021

To the venerable bishop of Orleans, T(hierry), from F(ulbert), bishop of Chartres, with his loving service, sincere and unfeigned.<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for your diligence in sending me friendly advice about my affairs although you yourself are striving amidst many difficulties to take care of your own. I am happy to receive your advice, and as regards the other matters about which you wrote, so far as is proper and time permits I shall gladly comply with your wishes. But as for the procession which is usually made from our church to yours,<sup>2</sup> I held a meeting with our clerks and heard from them what I myself knew quite well and what I want you to accept with equanimity:<sup>3</sup> that because of their losses from the fire,<sup>4</sup> their eagerness to rebuild the church, and their involvement in many other serious and pressing affairs, it would be difficult to make the procession at present, but that when they are in a better position to do so, they will make it with great joy and due devotion. My best wishes to you and the most blessed clergy and flock entrusted to your care, and please urge them to pray to God to deliver us from our adversities.

and left a bequest to his heirs with instructions that they were to continue *hoc exemplum dominicum et memoriale suum* (Merlet, pp. 181 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Fulbert is apparently using *concredere* almost in the judicial sense found from the Carolingian period on to mean the voluntary acceptance of a (legal) judgement (see Du Cange, s.v.).

<sup>4</sup> 7–8 September 1020 (see p. xx).

## 41

*Fulbert to King Robert: explaining that it is not possible to make the procession to Orleans*<sup>1</sup> late 1020–early 1021

Dilectissimo domino<sup>a</sup> suo regi Francorum R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus sanctae uirtutis augmentum.

Si nobis omnes euagandi facultates simul cum uoluntate suppetere, interesset<sup>b</sup> uestrae pietatis leuitatem nostram arguere, et ad nostrae ecclesiae quae destructa est restauracionem assiduam reuocare. Nunc uero cum omnes eiusmodi facultates desint, et nos ad assiduitatem necessitudo magna coerceat, quomodo sapienciae uestrae dignum uideri possit, ut uel nos uel clerum nostrum de qualibet longa processione commoneat? Sustinete potius, sancte pater, sustinete inbecillitatem nostram, supplete indigenciam nostram, ut Deus omni bono refocilet caram animam uestram. Valet<sup>c</sup> regaliter.

## 42

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: justifying his ordination of Odolricus, bishop-elect of Orleans, to the priesthood*<sup>1</sup> before 12 March 1021

Sacro Senonensium archipresuli L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus uirtutem suae dignitatis excellentiae competentem.

Odolricum Aurelianensem ego quidem<sup>a</sup> ad episcopum non elegi sicut uobis dictum est, sed a clero et populo suae ciuitatis electum sacraui presbiterum. Quod autem eum Romam ire uelle audistis, et ibi creari episcopum, dissuasi uestri honoris gratia. Sed et ipse grantanter dissuadenti paruit, suggerentibus fidelibus suis Rodulfo scilicet et Herfrido.<sup>2</sup> Multis occupatus, pauca uobis rescribere cogor. Saluto uos quantum possum in Domino, paternitati uestrae deuotus suffraganeus.

41 LDRKPBVM

<sup>a</sup> domino only in B<sup>b</sup> interesse deberet VM<sup>c</sup> Vale L

42 LDRPBVM

<sup>a</sup> ego quidem om. DR

*Fulbert to King Robert*<sup>1</sup>

late 1020–early 1021

To his very dear lord, R(ober) t, king of France, from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his prayer that he may increase in holy virtue.

If we had all the means for wandering around and were inclined to do so, it would be your pious duty to accuse us of irresponsibility and to bid us return and persevere in rebuilding our church, which has been destroyed. But now, when all such means are wanting and we are forced by great necessity to be persevering, how can it seem right to you in your wisdom to remind us or our clergy of any long procession? But rather support us, holy father, support us in our weakness and provide for us in our need so that God may refresh your dear soul with all good things. May long life and royal splendour be ever yours.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*<sup>1</sup>

before 12 March 1021

To the holy archbishop of Sens, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with his prayer that he may have the virtue which is proper to the eminence of his office.

I myself did not 'elect' Odolricus of Orleans to the bishopric as you were told; but after he was elected by the clergy and people of his city, I did ordain him to the priesthood. As for your hearing that he wanted to go to Rome and to be consecrated bishop there, I persuaded him against this for the sake of your honour, and he gladly yielded to my dissuasion at the prompting of his friends Ralph and Herfridus.<sup>2</sup> I am very busy and forced to send you a brief reply. My very best greetings in the Lord, father, as one who is your devoted suffragan.

41. <sup>1</sup> See no. 40.42. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxvii–lxxix.<sup>2</sup> See no. 23.



## 43

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: justifying his consecration of Bishop Odolricus of Orleans<sup>1</sup>*

*before 9 June 1021*

Patri ac primati suo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) episcopus.

Gratias ago uigilantiae tuae quae meae simplicitati praemonitorium facit. Vere enim indigeo premoneri de multis propter meae indiscrecionis seu negligenciae morbum. Verum in hac causa qua de nunc agis, id est ne quibuslibet episcopandis cito<sup>a</sup> manus imponam,<sup>2</sup> opus non esse arbitror monitare.<sup>b3</sup> Nam et si tu in isto negotio consilio meo (ut decuerat) hactenus uti uoluisses, et ordo noster et tua res aliter processisset. Sed omitto preterita; de futuris uero plurimum bonae spei capio ex eo quod nunc cum uiris sanctis ac sapientibus agis, patrem nostrum Odilonem<sup>4</sup> loquor et asseculas eius. Consilio enim illorum spero te non solum animae periculum euadere, sed etiam huius uitae gloriam et honorem posse recuperare. Vale memor mei, tibi in omnibus bonis obedire et optulari parati.<sup>c</sup>

## 44

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris: supporting him in his efforts to recover church revenues and agreeing to investigate a complaint against Count Galeran of Meulan*

*before 12 March 1021*

Venerabili uiro et consacerdoti suo F(ranconi) F(ulbertus) ea quae sunt uerae pacis.

Tu, frater dilectissime, ex habundantia caritatis honore me nimio ac sapientiae laude dignaris; ego uero meam personam humilem uirtutisque inopem sicut est uideo et agnosco. Verum utcumque se habeat pusillitas mea, hoc tamen nefas inhumanitatis admittere nec uelle nec posse me fateor, ut te de erumpnis<sup>a</sup> sanctae aeclesiae sine compassione zeloque iustitiae audiam querelantem. At<sup>b</sup> quia compassio ubi corde concepta est mox

43 LDRKCPBVM <sup>a</sup> cito om. LDRKC <sup>b</sup> opus . . . monitare] non esse arbitror monitare LVM non esse opus arbitror monitare DRK (opus

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens<sup>1</sup>*

*before 9 June 1021*

To his father and primate, L(eothericus), from Bishop F(ulbert).

I thank you for your vigilance in sending me a forewarning, simple-minded as I am, for I truly need to be forewarned on many counts because of my tendency to be imprudent and negligent. But as to the matter in question, namely that I should not hastily lay my hands on whoever comes along to consecrate him to the bishopric,<sup>2</sup> I do not think I need anyone to admonish me;<sup>3</sup> for if you had only been willing earlier to accept my advice in this case as you should have done, the outcome would have been different for both the episcopate and your affairs. But no more of the past; and as for the future, I am very hopeful since you are now dealing with men who are holy and wise, I am speaking of our father Odilo<sup>4</sup> and his followers. By their counsel I hope that you will not only escape endangering your soul, but even be able to recover glory and honour in this life. Farewell, and remember that I am prepared to obey and to assist you in all good tasks.

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris before 12 March 1021*

To the venerable lord and his fellow bishop, F(ranco), from F(ulbert), wishing those things that make for true peace.

You, my very dear brother, out of the abundance of your charity deem me worthy of too much honour in praising my wisdom; I see and know myself as I am, humble and lacking in virtue. But though I cannot claim much, I confess that I am neither willing nor able to commit the inhuman crime of hearing your complaint about the hardships suffered by the holy church without feeling compassion and zeal for justice. As soon as compassion is conceived in the heart, it longs to bring forth consolation,

supra R) non esse arbitror monitare opus C <sup>c</sup> memor . . . parati om. VM

44 LDRKCPBVM <sup>a</sup> te de erumpnis] de erumpnis se L de erumpnis te DRK <sup>b</sup> Aut L

43. <sup>1</sup> See no. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 171.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. 5: 22.

<sup>4</sup> Abbot of Cluny.

consolationem edere gliscit, et plagam ulcionis infligere zelus, nosque tamen ad primum quam ad secundum prioniores esse oportet, ego quoque priusquam zelum in tuos hostes exerceam, consolatoria te ratione conuenio. Rogo itaque, frater, ne ui molestiarum impulsus indiscrecius irascaris, ne forte ad impacientiam, inde ad arma prorumpas, et cum gladium alienum usurpaueris, tuum facias non timeri. Rogo iterum ne fias ob multam iniuriam tristis, turbulentus, et anxius, sed 'delectare semper in Domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui'.<sup>1</sup> Vsum fructum uero altarium, quae tui<sup>c</sup> antecessores laicis tradiderunt, te alendis debilibus publica uoce destinare suadeo, tum ne quis illis inde fraudet aliquid interminari, et siqui in hanc fraudem irruerint, sicut fures sacrorum et occisores pauperum anathemate condempnari. Ne reuerearis<sup>d</sup> quaeso homines innocenter offendere propter Deum, ut sis eo dignus quo, nisi patrem et matrem insuper et animam tuam propter ipsum oderis,<sup>2</sup> iudicaris indignus. 'Si Deus pro te, quis contra te?'<sup>3</sup> Est autem<sup>e</sup> pro te semper in sua causa Deus, est etiam tecum ut ait: 'Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi'.<sup>4</sup> Quid ergo timeas defendere Dei causam, cum ipse tecum sit ad cooperandum, pro te sit ad tutandum? 'Confortare' itaque, frater, 'in Domino et in potencia uirtutis eius'.<sup>5</sup> Confortare, inquam, confide et gaude, exulta et tripudia, et alacri animo ad certamen eius prolude, cum propheta dicendo: 'Congregamini,<sup>f</sup> populi, et uincimini; accingite<sup>g</sup> uos, et uincimini; inite consilium, et dissipabitur; loquimini uerbum, et non fiet, quia nobiscum Deus'.<sup>6</sup> Et quia certo scio communem Dominum tibi in sua causa semper esse patrocinatorum, me quoque seruulum eius non defuturum esse<sup>h</sup> polliceor siue ad coercedas<sup>i</sup> manus persequencium, siue ad ora contradicencium obstruenda.<sup>7</sup> Ad summam autem securum te requiescere iubeo inter medios clericos,<sup>8</sup> quamdiu te audiero persecutoribus ecclesiae non cedentem. Gualerannum<sup>9</sup> uero ut petisti conueniam; et causa discussa quid inde senciam uel quid te facere oporteat, aut uerbis aut litteris innotescam. Vale.

<sup>c</sup> tibi VM      <sup>d</sup> reuearis L    uerearis C      <sup>e</sup> autem] enim LDRK  
<sup>f</sup> Congratulamini DRK      <sup>g</sup> accingimini LDRKC      <sup>h</sup> esse om. DRK  
<sup>i</sup> coercedum DRK

while zeal is eager to strike an avenging blow; but since we should be more inclined toward the one than the other, before I exercise my zeal against your enemies, I am writing to console you. I beg you, brother, not to let the force of these troubles drive you into a thoughtless rage, for fear that you burst forth into impatience and then into arms, and when you have usurped another's sword, bring it about that your own is not feared. Again, I beg you not to be saddened, disturbed, or troubled by this great injury, but 'delight in the Lord always, and he will give thee the requests of thy heart'.<sup>1</sup> As regards the usufruct of the altars which your predecessors alienated to laymen, I advise you to issue a public statement that you are setting it aside to support the needy, then to forbid anyone to deprive them of any of it under penalty of censure, and if any should dare to do so, to excommunicate them as sacrilegious robbers and murderers of the poor. Do not be afraid, I beseech you, to offend men through no fault of your own, but for the sake of God, that you may be worthy of him who will judge you unworthy unless you would hate both father and mother and even your own soul for his sake.<sup>2</sup> 'If God is for you, who is against you?'<sup>3</sup> But God is always for you when you are working in his behalf, and he is also with you as he says: 'Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world'.<sup>4</sup> So why do you fear to support God's cause when he himself is there to work with you, there to protect you? 'Be strong, brother, in the Lord and in the power of his strength'.<sup>5</sup> Be strong, I say, be confident and joyful, rejoice and dance, and eagerly prepare yourself to do battle for him, saying with the prophet: 'Gather yourselves together, O ye people, and be overcome; gird yourselves, and be overcome. Take counsel together, and it shall be defeated; speak a word, and it shall not be done, for God is with us'.<sup>6</sup> Because I know that the Lord of all will always protect you when you are working in his behalf, I promise that I too, his humble servant, will not be wanting either to restrain the hands of your persecutors or to silence the mouths of your opponents.<sup>7</sup> Finally, I bid you rest secure amid those who are your lot<sup>8</sup> so long as I hear that you are not yielding to the church's persecutors. As for Galeran,<sup>9</sup> I shall summon him as you ask; and when I have gone into the case, I shall let you know by messenger or by letter what I myself think about it and what you should do. Farewell.

44. <sup>1</sup> Ps. 36: 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luke 14: 26.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. 8: 31.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 28: 20.

<sup>5</sup> Eph. 6: 10.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. 8: 9 f., with a slight omission.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ps. 62: 12.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ps. 67: 14.

<sup>9</sup> Galeran I of Meulan (see nos. 27, 45 f.).

## 45

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris: enclosing his letter admonishing Galeran to answer Franco's charges<sup>1</sup> before 12 March 1021*

Patri et coepiscopo F(ranconi) F(ulbertus).

Gualeranno misi litteras huiusmodi: 'Fulbertus episcopus G(ualeranno) plus boni quam sit meritus. Rogo, frater, et moneo, ut emendes culpas quas habes contra Deum et me et Parisiorum episcopum, qui conplantum facit de te. Quod si non feceris ante mediam quadragesimam, abinde faciemus de te sicut de homine qui grauitur peccat et non uult emendare.' Si ergo Gualerannus se non iustificauerit uobis ante prescriptum terminum, tunc facite de illo ministerium uestrum. Valete<sup>a</sup> quamplurimum.

## 46

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris: notifying him that Galeran cannot come to trial at present, but promises to do so later<sup>1</sup> before 9 June 1021*

F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus uenerabilem patrem et coepiscopum suum F(ranconem) cum uenerit Dominus inueniri uigilantem.<sup>2</sup>

Commonitus a legato nostro Gualerannus de iustitia<sup>a</sup> prosequenda in diem et locum destinatum a uobis, respondit se esse premonitum ab Odone comite<sup>b</sup> sub nomine sacramenti de facienda expedicione contra Fulconem<sup>3</sup> circa<sup>c</sup> eundem diem, uerum infra octo dies ex quo illa expedicio uel facta erit uel omissa, uenturum se esse ad iustitiam pollicetur. Sed quando ille promissioni<sup>d</sup> suae adimplendae terminum fixum non statuit, et multae causae protelacionis incidere possunt, uel certe quae nobis conueniendi adimant facultatem, suademus (si honeste fieri possit) per uestros necessarios rem accelerare, et uestrum uobis casatum firmiter alligare.<sup>e</sup> Nescitis enim quid fortuna parturiat.<sup>f</sup> Valete.

45 LDRKPBVM <sup>a</sup> Vale L

46 LDRKCPBVH <sup>a</sup> sua add. LDRK <sup>b</sup> comite om. VH

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris<sup>1</sup> before 12 March 1021*

To his father and fellow bishop, F(ranco), from F(ulbert).

I have sent Galeran the following letter: 'Bishop Fulbert to Galeran, with better wishes, perhaps, than he deserves. I beg and admonish you, brother, to make amends for the wrongs that you have done to God, me, and the bishop of Paris, who has lodged a complaint against you. If you do not do so before mid Lent, we shall treat you from then on as one who has sinned gravely and is unwilling to make amends.' So if Galeran does not give you satisfaction before the prescribed date, do your duty as concerns him. All best wishes.

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris<sup>1</sup> before 9 June 1021*

F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, to his venerable father and fellow bishop F(ranco), with his prayer that when the Lord comes, he may be found keeping watch.<sup>2</sup>

When Galeran was summoned by our messenger to stand trial at the time and place that you set, he replied that Count Odo had already summoned him in the name of his oath to make an expedition against Fulk<sup>3</sup> about the same time; but he promises that within a week after the expedition is either completed or abandoned he will come to trial. Yet since he did not set a definite time for fulfilling his promise, and since many things can happen that would delay it or indeed deprive us of the opportunity to meet, we advise you, if you can honourably do so, to use your associates to speed the case up and to get a firm hold on your vassal, for you know not what fortune may bring forth.<sup>4</sup> Farewell.

<sup>c</sup> Fulconem circa om. LDRKCVH contra Fulconem om. B  
missionis PVH <sup>e</sup> casamentum firmiter allegare DRK <sup>d</sup> pro-  
<sup>f</sup> pariat BH

45. <sup>1</sup> See no. 44.

46. <sup>1</sup> See nos. 44 f.

<sup>3</sup> Counts Odo of Chartres and Fulk Nerra of Anjou.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Prov. 27: 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luke 12: 37.

## 47

*Fulbert to Bishop Adalbero of Laon: sending him some medicines*  
before 12 March 1021

Virtute magis predito quam predicato presuli A(dalberoni)  
F(ulbertus).

Vestrae sospitati amice gratulantes, ualitudini quoque uestri fidelis et amici nostri Ebalus<sup>1</sup> (si diuina benignitas allubescat) quanta nouimus ope subuenire parauimus, mittendo gera Galieni pociones iii et totidem tiriaceae diatesseron.<sup>2</sup> Quae quid ualeant, et modus acceptionis uel obseruacionis earum, in uestris antidotariis<sup>3</sup> facile reperitur. Vulgaginem<sup>4</sup> etiam petitam uobis mittimus, quamuis etatem uestram tali iam uomitu fatigari non suademus, sed eo pocius si opus sit alleuari, qui frequenter et sine periculo fieri possit, ex oximelle et rafanis, uel certe quod seniori magis conducibile est, morantem aluum laxatiuis pilulis incitari.<sup>5</sup> De quibus ultro uobis fere xc<sup>a</sup> oblatis, caetera omnia<sup>b</sup> bona uestra<sup>c</sup> putate. Valete.<sup>d</sup>

## 48

*Hildegard to Ebalus:<sup>1</sup> directions for taking a laxative*  
before 12 March 1021

Quem purae dilectionis affectu colit senioem suum E(balus)<sup>a</sup>  
H(ildegarius) plurimum saluere.

Potionem iera quam dominus presul tibi mittit sumes cum aqua calida ante crepusculum diei. Nocte qua debes eam accipere, non cenabis; et ipsa nocte positam pocionem in uasculo in quo dis-

47 LDRCPBVM      <sup>a</sup> cx DR      <sup>b</sup> omnia] nostra P om. B      <sup>c</sup> uestra  
om. LDR      <sup>d</sup> Vale LRPB

48 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> G. LR

47. <sup>1</sup> Probably the future archbishop of Rheims (see no. 56), who is said to have been Adalbero's *secretarius* (*Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, iii. 25 (MGH SS vii. 473)).

<sup>2</sup> *Hiera* (or *gera*) and *theriaca* are frequently found in early medieval medical handbooks and were composed of various ingredients and thought to cure many

*Fulbert to Bishop Adalbero of Laon*  
before 12 March 1021

To Bishop A(dalbero), by whom virtue is possessed rather than professed, from F(ulbert).

As your friend we rejoice to hear that you are in good health; and as for the illness of your faithful servant and our good friend Ebalus,<sup>1</sup> we have taken steps to give him all the help in our power, if God in his mercy approves, by sending three doses of Galen's *hiera* and three of the four-in-one syrup.<sup>2</sup> What these are good for and how to take or to administer them can easily be found in your *antidotaria*.<sup>3</sup> We are also sending the wild nard<sup>4</sup> that you asked for, though we do not advise a man of your age to weaken himself by using this as a purgative, but rather, if it is necessary to be relieved, to stimulate sluggish bowels with oximel and radishes (which can be done frequently and without danger) or indeed, as is more suitable for an older man, with laxative pills.<sup>5</sup> We are taking the liberty of sending you about seven and a half dozen of them, and please consider as your own whatever else we have that might help you. Farewell.

*Hildegard to Ebalus<sup>1</sup>*      before 12 March 1021

To his lord, E(balus), whom he cherishes with sincere love and affection, from H(ildegard), with many greetings.

Take the dose of *hiera* which the bishop is sending you with warm water before twilight. On the evening when you are going to take it, do not eat supper. On that evening put the *hiera* in the

different ailments. See H. Sigerist, *Studien und Texte zur frühmittelalterlichen Rezeptliteratur* (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin, xiii (Leipzig, 1923)), pp. 23, 30, 34, 43 f., and *passim*. See no. 48.

<sup>3</sup> For such handbooks of *materia medica* see L. C. MacKinney, 'Medieval Medical Dictionaries and Glossaries', *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in honor of James Westfall Thompson* (Chicago, 1938), pp. 251 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Sigerist, *op. cit.*, index, s.v. *asarum*.

<sup>5</sup> For oximel (a mixture of vinegar and honey) and radish, see Sigerist, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 135 f.; and for the use of pills, *ibid.*, pp. 48 ff., 55 ff., and *passim*.

48. <sup>1</sup> See no. 47.

temperanda est asperges salis gemma, uel si haec non adest,<sup>b</sup> delicato sale ad pensum unius scripuli. Accepta pocione, sed eas ante focum absque ullo tumultu cauens tibi penitus a frigore; et si paululum cubueris, non nocebit, nolo tamen ut dormias. Cum primum sencies moueri tibi uentrem, deambula pedetemptim,<sup>c</sup> et sic ad secessum uade. Si propter solutionem tandem ceperit te sitis, nequaquam bibes, nisi paululum aceti cum aqua calida mixti, propter stomachum diluendum seu releuandum, quod etiam non urgente siti facere poteris, solutione propemodum uacante. Prandere differes, quousque sencies<sup>d</sup> catarticum nihil amplius operari uelle. Cum sederis ad mensam, uide ne quid nimis, neque manduces aliquid stipticum uel plus aequo salsum. Plura de obseruacionis modo notarem, nisi pauca sufficerent sapienti.<sup>2</sup> Hoc tandem scribere me iubet nescia simulari<sup>e</sup> caritas, ut talem pocionis huius sencias effectum,<sup>f</sup> quatenus semper incolumis perseueres. Vale.

## 49

*Fulbert to Abbot Odilo of Cluny: thanking him for his greetings and his concern over his health and asking for his counsel*  
before 9 June 1021

Prudenter humili et preclare magnifico patri O(diloni) F(ulbertus) suus ut ait.<sup>a</sup>

Sic nunquam ab alio liberaliter acceptus, quas opere nequeo, affectu saltem gratias reconpenso. Tali enim apparatu in epistola tua dignatus sum, quali non festiuor expectetur in ferculo Salomonis.<sup>1</sup> Inter organa uatum et ardentes cicendelas uirginum angelicum mihi manna posuisti, non sine mistica dape columbarum ac<sup>b</sup> turturum. Propinabas<sup>c</sup> interea karitatis nectar, quo inhianter hausto et ad cordis interiora transmissio, si non propheticæ ut Dauid uerbum bonum,<sup>2</sup> panagirice tamen (ut fit) et inprecatore sic ut filio refocilatus Israel<sup>3</sup> tibi patri filius eructare

<sup>b</sup> est LDR      <sup>c</sup> pedetempti LC      <sup>d</sup> sencias LDRC      <sup>e</sup> simulare DR  
<sup>f</sup> effectum sencias LDRC

49 LDRPBVM      <sup>a</sup> ut ait om. VM      <sup>b</sup> aut DR      <sup>c</sup> Propinabis LDR

<sup>2</sup> See p. 63 n. 4.

vessel in which it is to be mixed and sprinkle it with a crystal of salt or, if this is not available, with one twenty-fourth of an ounce by weight of clarified salt. After you take it, sit in front of the hearth, away from any excitement, and guard yourself completely from the cold. If you lie down for a little while, it will not hurt you, but I do not want you to go to sleep. As soon as you feel your bowels moving, walk slowly and go to the privy. If you should become thirsty because of the purging, do not drink anything except a little vinegar mixed with warm water so as to wash out and refresh the stomach. (You can do this, even if you are not very thirsty, when the purging is almost over.) Do not eat until you feel that the purgative has stopped acting. When you sit down at the table, see to it that you observe moderation and eat nothing sharp or more salty than average. I would set down more about how to take this save that a few words are enough for a wise man.<sup>2</sup> But I am writing this much at the bidding of charity, which cannot be feigned, so that you may feel a good effect from this medicine and remain in continual good health. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Abbot Odilo of Cluny*      before 9 June 1021

To his father O(dilo), in wisdom lowly, glorious in splendour, from F(ulbert), his friend, as he calls him.

I have never been received by anyone so warmly as I was by you when you called me your friend; and though there is nothing I can do to repay you, I can at least offer you my thanks and affection. In your letter you deemed me worthy of all the splendour and festivity that might be expected at Solomon's pavilion.<sup>1</sup> Amid bards playing their instruments and maidens carrying burning lamps you set before me the manna of angels and a mystical feast of doves and turtle-doves. Meanwhile you gave me the nectar of charity to drink; and after I had eagerly drunk it and it was carried to my innermost heart, I rejoiced to speak to you as a son to his father, if not, as did David, with the prophecy of a good word,<sup>2</sup> yet with praise, as it were, and invocation, as Israel spoke to his son who had given him refreshment.<sup>3</sup> Then you showed with

49. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Cant. 3: 9 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently an error for Isaac: cf. Gen. 27: 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. 44: 2.

gaudebam. Paterna deinde cura significasti te meae ualitudinis habitum sagaciter explorasse, atque ubi uitalis calor aliquod in me dabat<sup>d</sup> sospitatis indicium gratulari, dolere autem morbi signum, et formidare periculum. Nec uero tandem benignitas tua plagam meam relinquere passa est suae curacionis exortem, quin arte diuina mirabiliter<sup>e</sup> usus liquorem quendam instar uini Samyi prius infudisti, qui indigestum uulneris humorem excoqueret, dehinc alterum oliuo persimilem, quo<sup>f</sup> totus omnino tumor atque dolor mitigatus abscederet. Nunc ergo tua curatus industria, tuis<sup>g</sup> epulis recreatus dignum duco, ut omnes meae uires tuae uoluntatis semper amminiculentur effectui,<sup>h</sup> nec aliquatenus a tua sententia discrepatum ire statuo, quia te cum Deo quantum homini datur idem uelle atque nolle confido.<sup>4</sup> Decet itaque, pater, ut tu quoque uicissim me tuum seruulum de te pendentem, teque non sine magna fiducia respectantem,<sup>5</sup> sacris intercessionibus adiuues. Sum enim ualde miserabilis homo, qui cum ad propriam non sufferem, ad publicam curam (nescio qua seu racione siue temeritate) perductus sum. Idque certe est, ne dissimules, quod te specialiter mihi facit consilii atque auxilii debitorem, quod te suasore non desero hunc laborem. Vale.<sup>i</sup>

## 50

*Abbot Odilo of Cluny to Fulbert: praising him for following the Lord's example in inquiring about himself, but refusing to sit in judgement on him* 1021 or later

Domino et uenerabiliter desiderabili et desiderabiliter uenerabili sancto sancteque<sup>a</sup> carissimo fratri et compresbitero Fulberto frater Odilo salutem in Domino.

O inlustrissime uir, quid sibi uult questio prolata nobis a quodam uestro fideli clerico? Placuit,<sup>b</sup> ut ipse fatetur, paternitati uestrae me licet indignum iudicem fieri uitae uestrae, mandando mihi ut litteratim describerem uobis quid michi uideretur<sup>c</sup> de uestra quantum dici fas est inreprehensibili conuersacione? Sed oculi caligine caecitatis obtecti non ualent perspicue intueri splendorem firmamenti et globos stellarum caeli. Splendorem uero

<sup>a</sup> dabit LDR      <sup>e</sup> mirabiliter om. DR      <sup>f</sup> qui LBM      <sup>g</sup> tuisque LDR  
<sup>b</sup> affectui PVM      <sup>i</sup> Valete LV

50 LDRC C has some omissions and a large number of unique variants which have only been noted where they might point to the original reading.

<sup>a</sup> sancteque om. DR      <sup>b</sup> clerico, placuit enim C      <sup>c</sup> uidetur C

fatherly care that you had knowingly examined the state of my health and that where the vital warmth in me gave some indication of soundness, you rejoiced, but that you grieved at a sign of illness and feared danger. Nor in your kindness did you permit my affliction to be left without proper treatment, but making wondrous use of the divine art you first administered a liquid like the wine of Samos to melt out the undigested humour and then another much like olive oil to soothe and take away all the swelling and pain. Now, cured by your diligence and refreshed by your banquet, I think it fitting that I should ever strive with all my strength to carry out your wishes, and I have resolved never to stray from your judgement, for I firmly believe that, so far as this is given to man, whatever God likes and dislikes, so do you.<sup>4</sup> So it behoves you in turn, father, to help me by your holy prayers, your little servant who depends on you and who looks to you with full confidence,<sup>5</sup> for I am a most pitiful wretch who could not manage his own affairs, and yet was induced, I know not whether reasonably or rashly, to enter on a public office. It is surely this, and you cannot deny it, that makes you especially obliged to give me counsel and aid: that with you as my adviser I shall not desert this task. Farewell.

*Abbot Odilo of Cluny to Fulbert*

1021 or later

To the lord whom he holds in loving reverence and reverent love, his holy and in all holiness very dear brother and fellow priest, Fulbert, from Brother Odilo, greetings in the Lord.

Most eminent bishop, what did you mean by the question that was put to us by one of your faithful clerks? Did you wish, as he stated, father, for me, unworthy as I am, to sit in judgement on your life when you enjoined me to write and send you advice about the state of your soul, which is, so far as this can rightly be said, irreproachable? But eyes that are shrouded and darkened by blindness cannot clearly see the splendour of the firmament and the starry spheres of heaven; for I shall call you the splendour of

<sup>4</sup> A paraphrase of the commonplace that friends like and dislike the same things, perhaps taken from Sallust, *Cat.* xx. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 1. 105.

firmamenti et stellam, stellam etiam matutinam te uocabo, Danielis prophetae usus testimonio: 'Qui docti fuerint', inquit, 'fulgebunt sicut splendor firmamenti; et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, sicut stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.'<sup>1</sup> Vos enim,<sup>d</sup> qui talis ac tantus estis quem nec quidem digne cogitare ualeo, nostro debetis estimari iudicio? Nos enim, qui ignorantiae<sup>e</sup> tenebris pressi nosmetipsos non possumus dinoscere, iustorum uitam nostro arbitrio nullo modo debemus estimare. Vos omnis homo adeo laude dignum merito iudicat, ut plus de uobis<sup>f</sup> mirari libeat, quam aliquid dicere liceat. Obrueretur intellectus nostrae paruitatis pondere uestrae questionis, nisi esset in promptu recordatio diuini sermonis. Vt enim daret exemplum fidelibus auctore uitae et salutis, ut ipse melius scitis utpote uir per omnia euuangelicus, ueniens in partes Caesareae Philippi interrogabat discipulos suos: 'Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis?'; et post pauca: 'Vos autem quem me esse dicitis?'<sup>2</sup> Non idcirco interrogat quem nemo nouit, et quem nihil latet, ueluti quid nesciat, sed ut prelatis aecclesiae exemplum de se interrogandi prebeat.<sup>g</sup> Et ideo unusquisque prepositus ecclesiae a subditis debet exquirere cuius famae cuiusue sit opinionis; et si aliquid de se boni<sup>h</sup> audierit, Deo a quo siquid boni est habet gratias referat, et<sup>i</sup> de uirtutibus in uirtutem ipso annuente felici cursu perueniat, usquequo Deum Deorum in Syon uidere queat.<sup>3</sup> Si uero sinistrum aliquid de se audierit, peniteat, et de cetero sollicito emendare satagat. Sed et si uos monet<sup>k</sup> exemplo doctorum de uobis interrogandi auctoritas, predicanda a nobis est uestrae sapientiae claritas, uestrae fidei puritas, uestraeque industriae probitas. Quippe quia caret omnino silentio ueritas; sed ab homine idiota et sine litteris, non potest predicari Deo amabilis, et mundo odibilis.<sup>4</sup> Haec de uobis nunc et<sup>l</sup> alias et in communi locutione non aliqua fraude adulationis deceptus, non alicuius muneris<sup>m</sup> laudis uel pecuniae cupidus retuli; sed quod ueraciter credo, et quod ut fiat quam maxime opto, dicere etiam non recuso, nec recusabo. Si autem me adulatorem iudicaueritis, audite scripturam: 'Fili mi, si te lactauerint peccatores, ne adquiescas illis.'<sup>5</sup> Non est tamen culpabile si illos

<sup>d</sup> autem C      <sup>e</sup> ignomine C      <sup>f</sup> de uobis] a nobis C      <sup>g</sup> debeat C  
<sup>h</sup> boni om. DR      <sup>i</sup> et] ut DR      <sup>k</sup> manet C      <sup>l</sup> et om. C  
<sup>m</sup> numeris DC

50. <sup>1</sup> Dan. 12: 3.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 16: 13, 15. Odilo's interpretation is apparently based on a sermon ascribed to Heiric of Auxerre and inserted in the homilies of Paul the Deacon (PL xcv. 1477 f.). See H. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre* (*Studi e Testi*, ccxxv (Rome, 1962)), p. 174, no. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 83: 8.

<sup>4</sup> Source unidentified.

<sup>5</sup> Prov. 1: 10.

the firmament and a star, even the morning star, citing in evidence what the prophet Daniel says: 'They that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.'<sup>1</sup> Should you, whose excellence we cannot even worthily ponder, be weighed and judged by us? For we, who are oppressed by the darkness of ignorance and cannot see into ourselves, should in no way pass judgement on the lives of the just. All men rightly judge you so worthy of praise that one is more happy to admire you than free to make comments about you. Given our limited intelligence, we would have been overwhelmed by the weight of your question had God's word not come readily to mind. So as to set an example to the faithful, the Author of life and salvation (as you yourself well know, since you are in every respect a man of the gospels), as he was approaching Caesarea Philippi, asked his disciples: 'Who do men say that the Son of man is?'; and a little later, 'But who do you say that I am?'<sup>2</sup> He whom no one knew and from whom nothing is hidden did not ask as if he himself did not know, but rather that he might set an example to the leaders of the church to inquire about themselves. Thus everyone who has charge of a church should ask his subjects what people say and think of him. If he should hear anything good about himself, let him give thanks to God, from whom he has whatever is good, and let him run from strength to strength, God willing, in his happy course until he can see the God of Gods in Sion.<sup>3</sup> But if he should hear anything bad about himself, let him repent and strive diligently to do better in the future. So if you are prompted by this counsel to follow the example of those who are learned and to inquire about yourself, we must praise the splendour of your wisdom, the purity of your faith, and the sincerity of your diligence. To be sure, truth will always out, but coming from an ignorant and unlearned man it cannot be proclaimed so as to be pleasing to God and hateful to this world.<sup>4</sup> I have said these things about you now and on other occasions and said them openly, not because I have been deceived and beguiled by flattery, nor because I want to be rewarded with praise or money, but because I am not and never shall be reluctant to say what I truly believe and what I so greatly desire to happen. But if you should judge me a flatterer, listen to Scripture: 'My son, if sinners shall entice thee, consent not to them.'<sup>5</sup> Yet it is not sinful if we praise those whom we believe worthy of praise,

laudamus quos dignos laude credimus, dicente scriptura: 'Laudet te alienus, et non os tuum.'<sup>6</sup> Si autem aliquis uelit<sup>n</sup> opponere quod scriptura dicit: 'Ne laudes hominem in uita sua',<sup>7</sup> et ego assencio,<sup>o</sup> quia mortali uita uos mortuum existimo,<sup>p</sup> quia et ab apostolo audistis: 'Mortui enim estis, et uita uestra<sup>q</sup> abscondita est cum Christo in Deo';<sup>8</sup> et cum ipso et uerbis et operibus dicitis: 'Si enim uiuimus, Domino uiuimus; si uero morimur, Domino morimur.<sup>7</sup> Siue enim uiuimus siue morimur, Domini<sup>s</sup> sumus.'<sup>9</sup> De cetero, carissime, ut quidam sapiens ait: 'Omnia fugere poterit homo preter cor suum. Non enim potest a se quisque recedere; ubicumque enim abierit, conscientia sua illum non derelinquit.'<sup>10</sup> Et apostolus Paulus: 'Nemo scit quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est.'<sup>11</sup> Dicerem tamen aliquid exhortandi gratia, sed quomodo debet docere indoctus, quem unctio spiritualis docet de omnibus?<sup>12</sup> Sed<sup>l</sup> illud recitem euuangelicum: 'Adhuc unum tibi deest.'<sup>13</sup> Quid illud sit, quam optime nosti. Vale et in contemplatiuis memor esto nostri.<sup>u</sup>

## 51

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine: setting forth the obligations between vassal and lord before 9 June 1021*

Glorioso<sup>a</sup> duci Aquitanorum W(illelmo) F(ulbertus) episcopus oracionis suffragium.

De forma fidelitatis aliquid scribere monitus, haec uobis quae secuntur breuiter ex librorum auctoritate notauit.<sup>1</sup> Qui domino suo fidelitatem iurat, ista sex in memoria semper habere debet: incolume, tutum, honestum, utile, facile, possibile. Incolume uidelicet, ne sit in dampnum domino de corpore suo. Tutum, ne

<sup>n</sup> uellet L      <sup>o</sup> assentior C      <sup>p</sup> uitae nos mortuum existunt C  
<sup>q</sup> uestra uita L      <sup>r</sup> Domino morimur om. L      <sup>s</sup> Dei L      <sup>t</sup> ut  
 add. C      <sup>u</sup> mei C

51 LDRCBPVMK      <sup>a</sup> Gloriosi L

<sup>6</sup> Prov. 27: 2.

<sup>7</sup> Eccles. 11: 30.

<sup>8</sup> Col. 3: 3.

<sup>9</sup> Rom. 14: 8.

<sup>10</sup> Isidore, *Sententiae*, ii. 26. 2 (*PL* lxxxiii. 627).

<sup>11</sup> I Cor. 2: 11.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. I John 2: 27.

<sup>13</sup> Luke 18: 22.

51. <sup>1</sup> Although Fulbert's immediate sources are not certain, H. Mitteis, *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar, 1933), pp. 312 ff., has suggested that he was influenced by Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ii. 4. 4 (see above, p. xxxi), the writings

as Scripture says: 'Let another praise thee, and not thine own mouth.'<sup>6</sup> But if someone wishes to object that Scripture says: 'Praise not a man in his lifetime',<sup>7</sup> I myself agree, for I consider you dead to this mortal life, as you hear from the apostle: 'For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God',<sup>8</sup> and you say with him both in words and in works: 'For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord. So whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's.'<sup>9</sup> As for the rest, my very dear friend, as a wise man says: 'A man can escape from everything except his own heart. No one can run away from himself; for wherever he goes, his conscience will be there with him.'<sup>10</sup> The apostle Paul says: 'No one knoweth the things of a man but the spirit of a man that is in him.'<sup>11</sup> Still I would say something by way of exhortation, yet how should one who is untaught teach him who is taught on all matters by his spiritual anointing?<sup>12</sup> But let me repeat what the gospel says: 'Yet one thing is wanting to thee.'<sup>13</sup> What that may be, you yourself know full well. Farewell, and remember us in your prayers.

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine*

*before 9 June 1021*

To the glorious duke of Aquitaine, W(illiam), from Bishop F(ulbert), with the support of his prayers.

Since you have asked me to write a few words concerning the oath of fidelity, I have briefly set down the following for you based on what I have read.<sup>1</sup> He who swears fidelity to his lord should always keep these six terms in mind: safe and sound, secure, honest, useful, easy, possible. Safe and sound, that is, not to cause his lord any harm as to his body. Secure, that is, not to

of Hincmar of Rheims, and the Carolingian capitularies, though to be sure none of these contain a similarly comprehensive exposition. For the circumstances which perhaps prompted William's query see M. Garaud, 'Un problème d'histoire: à propos d'une lettre de Fulbert de Chartres à Guillaume le Grand, comte de Poitou et duc d'Aquitaine', *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, i (Paris, 1965), 559 ff.; G. Beech, 'A Feudal Document of Early Eleventh Century Poitou', *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, i (Poitiers, 1966), 203 ff.; J. Martindale, 'Conuentum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comes et Hugonem Chiliarchum', *English Historical Review*, lxxxiv (1969), 528 ff. See pp. xli, lx f.



sit ei in dampnum de secreto suo uel de municionibus per quas tutus esse potest. Honestum, ne sit ei in dampnum de sua iustitia uel de aliis causis quae ad honestatem eius pertinere uidentur. Vtile, ne sit ei in dampnum de suis possessionibus. Facile uel possibile, ne id bonum quod dominus suus leuiter facere poterat faciat ei difficile, neue id quod possibile erat, reddat ei impossibile. Vt fidelis haec nocumenta caueat iustum est, sed non ideo casamentum meretur. Non enim sufficit abstinere a malo, nisi fiat quod bonum est.<sup>b2</sup> Restat ergo ut in eisdem sex supradictis consilium et auxilium domino suo fideliter prestet, si beneficio dignus uideri uult, et saluus esse de fidelitate quam iurauit. Dominus quoque fideli suo in his omnibus<sup>c</sup> uicem reddere debet. Quod si non fecerit, merito censebitur malefidus, sicut ille, si in eorum preuaricatione uel faciendo uel consenciendo deprehensus fuerit, perfidus et periurus. Scripsissem uobis lacius si occupatus non essem, cum aliis multis, tum etiam restauracione ciuitatis et ecclesiae nostrae, quae tota nuper horrendo incendio conflagrauit.<sup>3</sup> Quo damno etsi aliquantisper non moueri non possumus, spe tamen diuini atque uestri solatii respiramus.

## 52

*Fulbert to Count Stephen of Troyes:<sup>1</sup> admonishing him to abandon his support of Lisiardus for the bishopric of Meaux before 9 June 1021*

Nobili comiti S(tephano) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus fideles oraciones.

Si in eligendo uestrae ciuitatis episcopo regulariter ageritis, suffragium nostrae humilitatis non deforet iuxta modum rationis. Nunc autem palatinus ac publicus rumor est quod ille clericus quem eligere uultis fauorem uestrum sit aucupatus promissionum sibilis et pecuniae uisco. Dicunt etiam quod sine iussu regis et consensu episcoporum conprouincialium aedes et rem episco-

<sup>b</sup> Non . . . est *om.* LDR    <sup>c</sup> in his omnibus *om.* DR

52 LDRKCPBVH

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prosper, *Liber sententiarum*, c. lxxxvi (ed. Gastaldo, *CCL* lxxviii<sup>a</sup>. 277).

<sup>3</sup> 7–8 September 1020 (see p. xx).

52. <sup>1</sup> c. 994/5–mid 1021 (see Newman, pp. 63 n., 64 n.; above, p. lxxxi). See no. 53.

endanger him by betraying his secrets or the fortresses which make it possible for him to be secure. Honest, that is, not to do anything that would detract from his lord's rights of justice or the other prerogatives which have to do with his honour. Useful, not to cause him any loss as regards his possessions. Easy and possible, not to make it difficult for his lord to do something that would be of value to him and that he could otherwise do with ease, or to render it impossible for him to do what was otherwise possible. That the vassal should avoid injuring his lord in any of these ways is only right, but this does not entitle him to a fief; for it is not enough to abstain from evil, it is also necessary to do good.<sup>2</sup> So it remains for him to give his lord faithful counsel and aid as regards these six points if he wishes to be considered worthy of his benefice and secure as to the fidelity that he has sworn. The lord, in turn, should be faithful to his vassal in all these matters. If he does not do so, he will rightly be considered unfaithful, just as the vassal, if he is caught violating any of them by his own actions or by giving his consent, will be considered perfidious and perjured. I would have written you at greater length if I were not taken up with many other matters and especially with rebuilding our city and church, which not long ago was totally destroyed by a terrible fire.<sup>3</sup> Although it is impossible for us not to be concerned for some time over this loss, yet now we are breathing again in the hope of comfort from God and you.

*Fulbert to Count Stephen of Troyes<sup>1</sup> before 9 June 1021*

To the noble Count S(tephen) from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with the faithful service of his prayers.

If in electing a bishop for your city you were proceeding in accordance with the law, you would have our humble support so far as is just and proper. But now it is rumoured both in the court and outside that the clerk whom you wish to elect has lured your favour with the whistling of promises and the bird-lime of money. These rumours also have it that he has seized control of the bishop's palace and possessions though the king has not ordered it and the bishops of the province have not given their consent.

palem inuasit.<sup>a</sup> Quae si sunt uera, non sunt regularia; nec me uel uobis uel aliis contra ius et fas opitulari oportet. Valet.<sup>b</sup>

## 53

*Fulbert to King Robert: advising him as regards Lisiardus' usurpation of the bishopric of Meaux<sup>1</sup> before 9 June 1021*

Dilectissimo domino suo regique R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus humilitatem in prosperis, fidenciam<sup>a</sup> in aduersis.

De Lisiardo clerico, qui Meldensis episcopii res odiosa inopunitate inuasit, tale consilium damus. Precipite archiepiscopo Senonensi<sup>2</sup> ut uel ipse episcopium uisitet, uestraeque et suae dicioni reuocet ut dignum est, uel si id facere prohibeatur, mandet predicto Lisiardo per litteras ex sua et nostra (suorum uidelicet suffraganeorum) parte conscriptas, ut cedat loco et rebus stulte peruasis, et de presumptione sua nobis satisfacere studeat ante proximam festiuitatem sancti Petri apostolorum principis.<sup>3</sup> Quod si facere neglexerit, ex tunc in antea a nobis omnibus excommunicatus sit. Valet.

## 54

*Fulbert to Bishop T(hierry of Orleans?):<sup>1</sup> explaining that it would be better not to excommunicate those who have injured him before 9 June 1021*

Dilectissimo fratri et coepiscopo suo T(heoderico) F(ulbertus).

Illatam uobis iniuriam uere meam facio compassionis affectu, in eos qui sacro ordini fecere contumeliam zelo feruens. Sed quia nec uobis utile esse uideo nec mihi tutum ut zelus noster ad uindictam excommunicationis erumpat, expectandum et commonitoriis utendum esse reor, donec illos aut penitentia corrigat, aut summi iudicis sententia multet. Valet.

<sup>a</sup> euaserit L

<sup>b</sup> Vale L

53 LDRKPBVH

<sup>a</sup> fiduciam BH

54 LDRKCPBVH

If these things are true, they are unlawful; and it is not fitting for me to aid you or others in matters contrary to human and divine law. Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Robert<sup>1</sup>*

*before 9 June 1021*

To his very dear lord and king, R(obert), from F(ulbert), humble bishop, with his wish for humility amid prosperity, confidence amid adversity.

As regards the clerk Lisiardus, who has acted with detestable violence in seizing control of the bishopric of Meaux, we advise you to do as follows. Instruct the archbishop of Sens<sup>2</sup> to go in person to the bishop's palace and to bring it back under your control and his as it should be, or, if he cannot do this, to write a letter to Lisiardus in his name and ours (namely, as his suffragans), ordering him to surrender the office and possessions which he has foolishly usurped and to undertake to make satisfaction to us for his presumption before the next feast of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles.<sup>3</sup> But if Lisiardus should refuse to do this, let him be excommunicated by all of us forthwith. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Bishop T(hierry of Orleans?):<sup>1</sup>*

*before 9 June 1021*

To his very dear brother and fellow bishop, T(hierry), from F(ulbert).

In my warm sympathy for you I have made the wrong done to you my own, and I am burning with zeal against those who have committed a shameful crime against the episcopate. But since I do not see that it would be useful to you or safe for me if we let our zeal break forth and take vengeance by excommunicating them, I think we should rest content with sending them letters of warning until they are corrected by doing penance or punished by order of the Supreme Judge. Farewell.

53. <sup>1</sup> See no. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Leothericus.

<sup>3</sup> 29 June.

54. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxviii.

## 55

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: suggesting that he postpone a synod because of local warfare*

*before 9 June 1021*

Venerabili Senonensium archiepiscopo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus oracionis suffragium.

Vides, pater, et audis quanta bellorum incendia nostris in partibus exardescunt. Vnde periculosum esse timeo nos ad metas<sup>a</sup> destinatae synodi conuenire. Quid autem super hoc tuae prudentiae uideatur, cito mihi remanda.

## 56

*Fulbert to Bishop G.:<sup>1</sup> advising him as regards the consecration of Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims*

*5 March-9 June 1021*

Egregie dilecto coepiscopo suo G. F(ulbertus).

Amor iustitiae qui tuam, pater, animam inuit abnormitatem fecit eam offensam et ab excessibus cautam. Cuius rei fidem cum ex aliorum dictis, tum ex litteris tuis euidenter accepi. Sed ab ordinacione Ebalus<sup>2</sup> non ualde tibi metuendum esse puto, si est (ut dicitur) ab infancia Christianus, sano sensu, sacris litteris eruditus, sobrius, castus, amator pacis et dilectionis, nullo crimine, nulla infamiae nota turbatus,<sup>a</sup> tandemque a clero et populo suae ciuitatis electus.<sup>3</sup> Magni etenim uiri ut optime nosti, Ambrosius

55 LDRKPBVH  
in a different hand

<sup>a</sup> metam DRK The 's' superscribed over '-a' in L is

56 LDRKCPBVH

<sup>a</sup> turpatus PVH

56. <sup>1</sup> The addressee cannot be identified with certainty; but if, as seems probable, he was a suffragan of Rheims, it was Guido of Senlis (see p. 63), Garin of Beauvais (see p. 223 n.), or Gerard of Cambrai (see T. Schieffer, 'Ein deutscher Bischof des 11. Jahrhunderts: Gerhard I von Cambrai (1012-1051)', *Deutsches Archiv*, i (1937), 323 ff.).

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*

*before 9 June 1021*

To the venerable archbishop of Sens, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with the support of his prayers.

You see and hear, father, what great flames of war are flaring up around us, and so I fear it is dangerous for us to gather for the synod as planned. But quickly let me know what you in your wisdom think best in this matter.

*Fulbert to Bishop G.<sup>1</sup>*

*5 March-9 June 1021*

To his very dear fellow bishop G. from F(ulbert).

The love of justice with which your soul is imbued, father, has made it a stumbling-block to irregularity and wary of transgressions. I have received clear evidence of this both from what others have said and from your letter. But as regards consecrating Ebalus,<sup>2</sup> I do not think you need have any serious fear if, as is said, he has been a Christian from infancy, is of sound mind, and is learned in sacred doctrine, if he is sober, chaste, a lover of peace and charity, and unsullied by any crime or mark of infamy, and finally if he has been elected by the clergy and people of his city;<sup>3</sup> for indeed, as you well know, great men such as Ambrose of

<sup>2</sup> Whether the Ebalus who became archbishop of Rheims was Count Ebalus of Roucy is disputed. It is rejected by H. Moranvillé, 'Origine de la maison de Roucy', *BEC* lxxxiii (1922), 39 ff., and Newman, p. 71 n., and accepted by Pfister, *Robert*, pp. 183, 238, and Coolidge, pp. 67 f., 85 ff., largely on the basis of nos. 47 f. in the present collection and an entry in the thirteenth-century chronicler Alberic des Trois Fontaines. Ebalus was put forward by Bishop Adalbero of Laon (see no. 47), but opposed by Bishop Gerard of Cambrai on the grounds that church law forbade a layman to be raised directly to the episcopate (*Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, iii. 25 (*MGH SS* vii. 473 f.)). There had been notable exceptions to this including the two whom Fulbert mentions. These may indicate that he was acquainted with Paulinus' life of Ambrose and Constance of Lyon's life of Germanus or Stephan's life of Germanus' predecessor, Amator.

<sup>3</sup> Though Fulbert does not seem to be drawing on any one source, cf. *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, prologue (ed. C. Munier (Strasbourg, 1960), pp. 75 ff.)=c. 1 (Mansi, iii. 949 f.; Hinschius, p. 303). Such formulations ultimately derive from 1 Tim. 3: 1 ff.; Titus 1: 7 ff. Cf. 2 Tim. 3: 15; Jerome, ep. liiii. 3, lxx. 3 (ed. Hilberg, *CSEL* liv. 447, 704).

Mediolanensis, et Germanus Autisiodorensis, aliique nonnulli, quia tales in laico habitu extiterunt, subito nobis sancti presules exierunt.<sup>b</sup> Dominus uero papa, cuius animaduersionem te reuereri significasti, non est quod tibi merito debeat succensere, si te grauius collapsae sanctae Remensi aecclesiae aliquam spem resurrectionis audierit prouidisse. Vale inperpetuum memor mei, uere fidelis tui. Illi quoque ualeant qui tuam memoriam mihi commendauerunt.

## 57

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris: enclosing his letter rebuffing Azelinus' efforts to regain the bishopric of Paris<sup>1</sup> mid 1021-1022*

Venerabili fratri et coepiscopo F(ranconi) F(ulbertus) salutem.

Superfluum duxi longam fabulam nostri senis transcribere et mittere tibi cum totam<sup>a</sup> rationem eius (siqua est) ex mea breui responsione facile percipere possis, quae fuit huiusmodi: 'Fratri in Domino et consacerdoti suo A(zelino) F(ulbertus). Absit, frater, ut credatur uerum esse quod scripsisti, meum archipresule<sup>2</sup> et me tuam confessionem publicasse, non est enim uerum; tuque dum talia scribis, bene meritis de te<sup>b</sup> ingratus es, et iniuste contumeliam facis. Siqua enim honesta tua nouimus aut sperauimus, fideliter ea publicauimus ad testimonium tuae probitatis, contra illos maxime qui discessionem tuam ab episcopatu auaritia<sup>c</sup> uel ignauiae uel turpitudini ascribere nitebantur. Siqua uero occulta quae penitenda forent nostrae fidei credidisti, caute celata sunt. At si talia confessus es quae prius et postmodum ore uulgi uentilata sint, ea nos occultare nequimus. Comperi autem ex litteris tuis tibi molestum esse quod te monasticae uitae diximus amatorem. Quod, quia nocere non intelligo, molestum esse demiror. Amor namque religionis episcopali gradu quem repetis dignum te potius quam indignum efficeret, si nihil aliud inpediret. Vtrum autem sit uel quid sit quod inpediat, sagacitatem tuam non arbitror ignorare. Si quedam grauis causa quam dissimulas non

<sup>b</sup> exierunt *corr.* to extiterunt L extiterunt DRKVH effulserunt C

<sup>a</sup> totam *om.* DR <sup>b</sup> de te *om.* DR <sup>c</sup> auaritia<sup>c</sup> episcopatu *with* auaritia<sup>c</sup> *marked for deletion* LK auaritia<sup>c</sup> *om.* DR

57. <sup>1</sup> See no. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Leothericus of Sens.

Milan, Germanus of Auxerre, and several others, since they possessed these qualities as laymen, suddenly rose in our midst to be saintly bishops. As for your fear of being censured by the pope, there is no just reason for him to be angry with you if he hears that you have provided the holy church of Rheims, which has fallen into utter ruin, with some hope of recovery. Farewell, now and always, and remember me, your true and faithful servant. My best wishes to those who conveyed your regards to me.

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris<sup>1</sup> mid 1021-1022*

To his venerable brother and fellow bishop, F(ranco), from F(ulbert), with his greetings.

I have not thought it necessary to make a copy of our elderly friend's long story and to send it to you since you can easily grasp his whole case (such as it is) from my brief reply, which was as follows: 'To his brother in the Lord and fellow bishop, A(zelinus), from F(ulbert). Heaven forbid, brother, that what you wrote be believed to be true, namely that my archbishop<sup>2</sup> and I made your confession public; for it is not true, and when you write such statements, you are being ungrateful to those who deserve well of you and abusing them unjustly. If we knew of or hoped for anything honourable concerning you, we faithfully made it public as evidence of your integrity, especially against those who were trying to attribute your leaving the bishopric to greed, sloth, or immorality. If you entrusted to our confidence any secret matters that called for penance, they were carefully concealed. But if you confessed matters that might have been bandied about as common talk both before and since, these we could not conceal. I also learned from your letter that you are upset at our saying that you loved monastic life. Since I do not see how this can harm you, I am astonished that it upsets you, for love of the religious life would make you worthy rather than unworthy of the episcopal office that you are trying to regain, provided nothing else stood in the way. Whether there is something else and if so, what it is, I do not think that you in your wisdom are unaware. If a certain serious matter that you are hiding does not block your path, the

obstaret, ea est huiusmodi. Si de repetendo episcopio querimoniam incipere uelis, non satis apparet cui eam iure intendere possis. Nullus enim te expulit, nullus cathedram tuam te renitente peruasit; sed tutemet ultro causa egritudinis (ut aiebas) curam episcopalem simul et cathedram reliquisti (ut perhibent), et siue Franconem tunc decanum Parisiacensis ecclesiae, siue quemlibet alium subrogari tibi uerbis et scriptis a rege petisti. Quod si ita est, et sic tibi consequenter substitutus est Franco eligente clero, suffragante populo, dono regis, approbacione Romani pontificis, per manum metropolitani Senonensis, fulcitur itaque<sup>d</sup> substitucio et consecracio eius fauore quoque et auctoritate beati Gregorii papae, qui scriptis suis sicut nulli pontificum non petenti pro qualibet egritudine succedendum fore docuit, ita uoluntarie renunciandi sedi suae<sup>e</sup> successorem nullo modo denegauit.<sup>3</sup> Siquid aliud est quare te episcopatu carere oporteat, tute noueris. Sin autem, hoc tanti nobis esse uidetur, ut te facere ualeat recuperacionis exortem. Quapropter desine curiosos instigatores audire, desine reges et presules inefficacis querimoniae tediosis scriptitacionibus fatigare, et ecclesiae Parisiacensi te inopportune obtrudere uelle, quae (ut fatetur) nec ut<sup>f</sup> patronum te habuisse gauisa est, nec doluit amisisse, quippe cum<sup>g</sup> neque ex presencia tua doctrinae profectum, neque ex absentia senserit detrimentum.<sup>7</sup> Viue memor nostri.

## 58

*Fulbert to Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims: informing him that he has persuaded Count Odo of Chartres to make amends and advising him to bear up*<sup>1</sup> mid 1021–1022

Venerando Remorum archipresuli Ebalu F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus.

Angustiae tuae compaciens, Odonem comitem arguendo conueni. Respondit tandem quod in te deliquerat emendare se uelle, et ad tollendam animi tui egritudinem, adiuuare quod maxime desideras, ut Remensis ecclesia respiret ad pristinam dignitatem.

<sup>d</sup> utique P    <sup>e</sup> suae sedi LDRK    <sup>f</sup> ut om. P    <sup>g</sup> tum P

58 LDRKCPB

<sup>3</sup> e.g. ep. xi. 29; xiii. 7, 8 (*MGH Ep.* ii. 299 f., 372 ff.).

58. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxix f.

case is as follows. If you wish to initiate a complaint to regain your bishopric, it is not altogether clear against whom you can bring a legal charge; for no one drove you out, no one seized your episcopal throne against your will. But you yourself on grounds of ill health (so you said) voluntarily relinquished your episcopal charge along with your throne (as they say), and you asked the king by word of mouth and in writing to have Franco, then dean of Paris, or someone else chosen to succeed you. If this is the case, and if as a result Franco was put in your place by the election of the clergy, with the support of the people, by the grant of the king, with the approval of the Roman pontiff, and through the hand of the archbishop of Sens, then his election and consecration are supported and approved by the authority of the blessed Pope Gregory; for in his writings, just as he taught that a bishop is not to be replaced by reason of illness unless he requests it, so he in no way prohibited choosing a successor to one who voluntarily renounces his see.<sup>3</sup> If there is another reason why you should not have a bishopric, you yourself should know it; and even if there is not, this seems to us to be enough to keep you from regaining it. So stop listening to meddling trouble-makers, stop wearying kings and bishops with tiresome scribblings about an unsupportable suit, and stop wishing to force yourself by violence upon the church of Paris, which, so it confesses, was neither happy to have had you as its protector nor sorry to have lost you, since to be sure it felt neither increase of learning from your presence nor loss from your absence.<sup>7</sup> Farewell, and remember us.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims*<sup>1</sup> mid 1021–1022

To the venerable archbishop of Rheims, Ebalus, from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres.

In my sympathy for your distress, I confronted Count Odo and took him to task. At length he replied that he was willing to make amends for the wrong he had done to you and, in the hope of raising your flagging spirits, to help you realize your fondest desire, namely to restore the church of Rheims to its former

Si haec tibi facere uoluerit, recipere<sup>a</sup> suadeo, ut quamprimum expeditus redeas ad officium tuum. Deinde suggero etsi non indiges, ut ad pacem pauperum componendam<sup>b</sup> tota mente satagas,<sup>c</sup> quos sui reges et principes uehementer affligunt.<sup>2</sup> Preterea<sup>d</sup> Beroldo episcopo<sup>3</sup> referente audiui sic te merore affectum, ut curam gregis Domini relinquere uelis. Quod ego acriter et amice redarguo, testans te, si hoc egeris, non fuisse pastorem. Vale memor mei peccatoris in oracionibus tuis.

## 59

*Fulbert to King Robert: telling of his efforts to support him and of the injuries inflicted on himself* mid 1021–1022

Dilectissimo domino suo R(otberto) regi F(ulbertus) episcoporum humillimus consilium et fortitudinem a Deo.

Cum presentia mea nequeo, saltem litteris te reuiso, mi domine, sciscitans de fortunis tuis, et exponens aliqua eorum quae geruntur in partibus nostris. Carnotenses adhuc plerosque detineo ne in tuum nocumentum erumpant, sed Herbertum et Gausfridum<sup>1</sup> nullo interdicto refrenare potui. Faciunt tibi mala quae possunt, minantur quae non possunt.<sup>2</sup> Virtus altissimi conterat et disperdat superbiam eorum. Quidam autem uernaculi tui qui ab eisdem malefactoribus iniuriam passi sunt (Martinus scilicet de Villeri monte<sup>3</sup> et filii eius) iram suam retorquent in terram sanctae sanctarum<sup>a</sup> dominae nostrae, diripientes fruges et cetera bona nostra quae in uicinia sua sunt. Nos uero haec inulta<sup>b</sup> patimur propter te, expectantes et deprecantes iustitiam tuam. Sunt haec et alia multa,

<sup>a</sup> respicere L resipiscere DRK      <sup>b</sup> pacem . . . componendam] pauperum componendam LC (C has a blank space after pauperum) pauperum componendam causam DRK      <sup>c</sup> sagacitas L      <sup>d</sup> Propterea L Praetereat D

59 LDRCPB

<sup>a</sup> sanctorum om. LDRC

<sup>b</sup> multa DC

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a reference to the peace movement, though the letter is too early to connect it with the events of 1023 (Hoffmann, p. 56).

<sup>3</sup> Of Soissons, 1021–27 October 1052 (DHGE viii. 878 f.; above, p. 62 n.).

dignity. If he should be willing to do this for you, I advise you to accept so that you may be free as soon as possible to return to your duties. Then I suggest (though you do not need the hint) that you strive with all your heart to bring about peace for the poor, who are suffering terribly at the hands of their own kings and princes.<sup>2</sup> I have also heard from Bishop Beroldus<sup>3</sup> that you are so cast down and discouraged that you wish to abandon the care of the Lord's flock. As your friend I strongly urge you not to do it; and if you do so, I am witness that you have not been a shepherd. Farewell, and remember me, a sinner, in your prayers.

*Fulbert to King Robert*

mid 1021–1022

To his very dear lord, King R(ober)t, from F(ulbert), most humble bishop, with his prayer for the counsel and strength that comes from God.

While I cannot visit you in person, my lord, I can at least do so by letter, inquiring how things are going with you and telling you some of the events that have happened in our neighbourhood. I am still keeping most of those who live in the area of Chartres from breaking out and injuring you; but as for Herbert and Geoffrey,<sup>1</sup> enjoin them as I will, I have not been able to restrain them. They are doing all they can to harm you and threatening what they cannot do.<sup>2</sup> May the power of the Most High trample them down and destroy them in their pride. Some of your servants who have been injured by these evil-doers (namely, Martin of *Mons Villeri*<sup>3</sup> and his sons) are venting their wrath against the land of our most holy Lady, plundering our crops and other possessions in their neighbourhood. We are bearing with these injuries and not taking vengeance for your sake, waiting and praying for you to do us justice. There are these and many other

59. <sup>1</sup> Neither can be identified; and if my identification of Geoffrey, vicomte of Châteaudun, is correct (see p. lxxxi n.; nos. 98 ff.), he could hardly be the Geoffrey here.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory I, *Hom. in ev. xviii. 2* (PL lxxvi. 1151).

<sup>3</sup> Martin is otherwise unknown; and the place-name cannot be identified with certainty, the closest forms being Monvilliers and Villermon, neither of which is attested until much later (L. Merlet, *Dictionnaire topographique du département d'Eure-et-Loir* (Paris, 1861), pp. 124, 191).

mi domine, quae me nimis angustiant. Satis olim honeri esse uidebatur aduersa corporis ualitudo; sed tamen illud egrius tolerabam quod res ecclesiae in superfluum domesticorum uictualia sic expendere conpellebar ex praua consuetudine praecessorum<sup>c</sup> meorum, ut offitium hospitalitatis et elemosinae sicut mea interest administrare non possem. Nunc autem ipsas res, quantulae erant, passim inimici diripiunt. Additur his malis incendium ecclesiae nostrae,<sup>4</sup> quam cum unde restaurem sicut decet non habeo, mihi quoque necessarios sumptus indulgeri detracto. His itaque et pluribus aliis difficultatibus circumuentus, quas uel pudoris lex uel breuitatis enumerare uetat,<sup>5</sup> multa mecum agito, non ut erumnas in hac uita euadere coner (quod est impossibile), sed ut<sup>d</sup> aliquo labore quamuis arduo ualeam restaurandae ecclesiae opem ferre. Huius uero consultationis meae finem tibi domino meo reuelatum iri disposui, cum Deus dederit tui oportunitatem alloqui. Vale perhenniter.

## 60

*Fulbert to Bishop Odolricus of Orleans: declining his offer of assistance in going to a council* mid 1021-1022

Dilectissimo coepiscopo suo O(dolrico) F(ulbertus) ex animo quicquid uerus amicus.

Primum gratias ago, karissime, quod nobis ad concilium et comitatum et obsequium pollicemini. Quod dum facitis, ingenita benignitate uestra multum nos hylaratis. Et nobis quidem desiderium esset memorato concilio interesse, sicut etiam uenerabili archiepiscopo nostro Leutherico in audientia uestra nos dixisse meminimus; sed difficultates ex malitia huius temporis abortae non sinunt. Quod etiam uos illi<sup>a</sup> notum facere precamur, ne sit nostra expectatione suspensus. Ceterum exobtabilis colloquii uestri oportunitatem ad presens non habemus, nisi forte uobis Nouigentum<sup>1</sup> placeat propinquare. Valete.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>c</sup> praedecessorum DR      <sup>d</sup> ut om. L

60 LDRKPB      <sup>a</sup> illi uos LDRK      <sup>b</sup> Vale LB om. P

troubles, my lord, which I find most distressing. Once I thought it quite enough to be burdened with poor health. Then I found it even harder to bear that I was forced by the evil custom of my predecessors to use so much of the church's resources to support unneeded servants that I was unable to fulfil my duties of hospitality and almsgiving as I should. Now even these resources, little as they were, are plundered by enemies on one side and the other. To these troubles is added the burning of our church;<sup>4</sup> and since I do not have the means to rebuild it as I should, I am refusing to spend anything on myself, even for necessities. Beset by these and many other difficulties which the law of propriety or of brevity forbids me to recount,<sup>5</sup> I am turning over a number of schemes in my mind, not in an effort to avoid hardships in this life (which is impossible), but rather so as to be able to contribute something, however difficult it may be, to rebuilding our church. After I have thought this over and decided what to do, I intend to tell you, my lord, when God gives me the chance to speak with you. Farewell, now and always.

*Fulbert to Bishop Odolricus of Orleans* mid 1021-1022

To his very dear fellow bishop, O(dolricus), from F(ulbert), with the cordial wishes of a true friend.

First I thank you, my dear friend, for promising us an escort and assistance in going to the council, for your inborn kindness in doing this makes us very happy. In truth we wanted to attend this council, as we remember telling our venerable Archbishop Leothericus in your presence; but difficulties arising from the evils of these times will not permit it. We ask you to inform him of this so that he will not be kept waiting for us. As for the rest, there is no chance at present for us to meet you as we should very much like to do, unless, perhaps, you are willing to come to Nogent.<sup>1</sup> Farewell.

<sup>4</sup> 7-8 September 1020 (see p. xx).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Horace, *Ars poetica* 135.

60. <sup>1</sup> Probably Nogent-le-Roi (Eure-et-Loir, *arr.* Dreux), of which Odolricus was lord (see J. Devaux, 'Essai sur les premiers seigneurs de Pithiviers', *Annales de la Soc. hist. et arch. du Gâtinais*, iv (1886), 107 and *passim*).

## 61

*Fulbert to King Robert: expressing his surprise that Count Odo intends to leave the decision concerning the bishop of Meaux up to him* late 1021–1022

Serenissimo regi Francorum R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis Carnotensium episcopus quod decet et prodest.

Gratulor<sup>a</sup> tibi, domine mi, quod fonte bonitatis, ut semper irriguus, negocium Dei mandasti mihi tractare ut expedit. Talia denique te regem precipere decus est, subditosque tibi capessere<sup>b</sup> tutum.<sup>1</sup> Sed illud miror quod Odonem comitem in mea deliberatione uel posuisse uel positurum esse dixisti quid facere debeat de receptione Meldensis episcopi,<sup>2</sup> cum abhinc anno fere dimidio nec ipsum uiderim nec de tali negotio legacionem eius acceperim. Attamen si aspirante Deo ad nos uenire, et consiliis meis adquiescere uoluerit, desinet procul dubio predictam aeclesiam lacerando diuinam ulcionem in se prouocare, tuisque sacris ordinacionibus contraire.<sup>c</sup>

## 62

*Fulbert to King Robert: informing him that he has abandoned his journey as instructed, but would like to confer with him in person* 1021 or later

Regi sacerdos, R(otberto) F(ulbertus) fidelia pronus.<sup>a</sup>

Accepta legacione uestra per Rodulfum sanctae Crucis aechononum,<sup>1</sup> destinatum peregrinacionem iterum intermisi. Nunc ergo quid me uelit serenitas uestra colloquio magis, si fieri possit, quam legatis aut litteris cupiam edoceri. Venirem autem ipse protinus ad uos huius rei gratia, si commode possem. Sed uenire in armis sacrum tempus abnuit ac religio nostri ordinis; uenire inermes longa uia interminatur ac malicia secularis. Est enim mihi Olricus coluber in uia, Rodulfus cerastes in semita.<sup>2</sup> Ceterum ex arbitrio

61 LDRKCPB                   <sup>a</sup> Grator LDC   Grator corr. to Gratulor R  
<sup>b</sup> capescere LRK   capesere corr. to capessere D   capessere C                   <sup>c</sup> Valete  
add. P   Vale add. B

62 LDRB                   <sup>a</sup> promiss L   promissa DR   cf. the salutation to no. 65

*Fulbert to King Robert*

late 1021–1022

To his highness, King R(ober) of France, from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his wishes for what will redound to his honour and his profit.

I congratulate you, my lord, for having instructed me from the springs of your bounty, which are overflowing as always, to handle God's affairs as they should be. It does honour to you as king to issue such commands, and it is the part of prudence for your subjects to carry them out.<sup>1</sup> But I am astonished at your saying that Count Odo had placed or was going to place in my hands the decision as to whether he should accept the bishop of Meaux,<sup>2</sup> for it has been almost a half-year since I have seen him, and I have not received a message from him concerning it. Be that as it may, if by God's inspiration he were willing to come to us and to accept my advice, he would certainly stop calling down divine vengeance on himself by injuring the church of Meaux, and he would stop opposing your highness's commands.

*Fulbert to King Robert*

1021 or later

To the king from his bishop, to R(ober) from F(ulbert), who kneels and offers his faithful services.

I have received the message that you sent by Ralph, *economus* of Sainte-Croix,<sup>1</sup> and once again I have given up the journey I had planned. Now I should like to be told what your highness wishes of me in a conference, if possible, rather than by messenger or letter. I myself would come at once to confer with you if I could suitably do so. But to come bearing arms is prohibited by the holy season and due regard for our state of life; and to come unarmed is forbidden by the long journey and the evil of this world, for Olricus is a serpent in my way, and Ralph a horned viper in my path.<sup>2</sup> As for the rest, it is in your hands from now on

61. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* i. 76 f.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Bernerius, though the earliest evidence for him dates from 1028 (Appendix C, no. 12). See pp. lxxix, lxxx; nos. 52 f.

62. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 49: 17. Their identities are unknown.



uestro pendeat amodo quo pacto uoluntatem uestram mihi placeat indicare, quoniam apud me definitum est<sup>b</sup> uoluntati uestrae quae uobis non noceat conuenire.<sup>c</sup> Valetе regaliter.

## 63

*Fulbert to Abbot Odilo of Cluny: informing him that he has had to postpone his visit* 1021 or later

Venerabili patri suo Odiloni F(ulbertus) sacerdos non meriti confidencia sed pietatis affectu presumptum orationis suffragium.

Magnum mihi desiderium fuit et adhuc quidem est ad uos ueniendi, sed abortae nuper in nostro episcopatu dissensionum causae propositum iter omittēte coegerunt. Quod uobis quamprimum his pauculis apicibus significare curauī, ne sublimitas uestra sit ad praesens de meae pusillitatis expectatione suspensa. Veniam autem aliquando (si licuerit) ad uos quos uere Deus inhabitat salutis meae consilium diuini oraculi petiturus.<sup>a</sup> Valetе in Domino semper, iterum dico ualete.<sup>1</sup>

## 64

*Fulbert to the monk O.: explaining why he has not written earlier and asking him to convey his greetings to Abbot Odilo of Cluny* 1021 or later

Dilecto suo O. F(ulbertus).

Quod uobis olim, karissime, per ueredarium uestrum<sup>a</sup> litteras non remisi, id causae fuit quia uos quamprimum uisere destinabam; idque etsi diu distuli, desiderare non destiti. Sed interim uos scire uolo quod utique uelle scio, me scilicet ad praesens Dei gratia bene ualere, uestris<sup>b</sup> obsequiis spiritualiter instantem, corporaliter apparatus, sicut nemo fidelius excepto illo sancto monachorum archangelo<sup>1</sup> Odilone, cui me in nullo comparare presumo.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> est om. B      <sup>c</sup> uobis noceat conuenire L    nobis noceant non uenire DR  
63 LDRPB      <sup>a</sup> petiturum L

as to how it pleases you to let me know your wishes, for I have resolved to comply with those that cannot harm you. May long life and royal splendour be ever yours.

*Fulbert to Abbot Odilo of Cluny*

1021 or later

To his venerable father, Odilo, Bishop F(ulbert), not from confidence in his just deserts, but out of filial affection ventures to send the support of his prayers.

I have very much wanted to visit you, and indeed I still do, but the troubles which have recently arisen in our diocese have forced me to give up the journey that I had planned. I have tried to let you know of this as soon as possible by sending you these few lines so that your eminence might not be kept waiting at present for my humble self. But some day, if it is ever permitted, I shall come to visit you in whom God truly dwells to ask your advice, as God's oracle, concerning my salvation. Farewell in the Lord always, again I say farewell.<sup>1</sup>

*Fulbert to the monk O.*

1021 or later

To his dear O. from F(ulbert).

I did not send you a reply by your courier, my dear friend, as I had planned to visit you as soon as possible; and though I have postponed this for a long time, I still want to do so. But meanwhile I want you to know what I know you undoubtedly wish, that at present, thanks to God's grace, I am quite well and both eager in mind and ready in body to serve you more faithfully than anyone except that holy archangel of monks,<sup>1</sup> Odilo, to whom I in

64 LDRPB      <sup>a</sup> nostrum LDR      <sup>b</sup> nostris LP      <sup>c</sup> Odilone . . .  
presumo om. LDR

63. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Phil. 4: 4.

64. <sup>1</sup> Fulbert's epithet is expressly cited by Odilo's biographer, Jotsoldus, *De uita et uirtutibus sancti Odilonis abbatis*, i. 11 (PL cxlii. 906). See p. 175 n. 3.

Cuius etiam caritas squaliter afficiat animam meam aggrediar dicere, rem inenarrabilem uidear uelle narrare. Plura me scribere prohibuit tam multiplex negotiorum occupatio quam etiam legatus morarum inpaciens. Sed hoc unum tandem apud uestram benignitatem deprecor, ut cum nostrum archangelum<sup>d</sup> uice nostra salutaueritis, cum simplicitate<sup>e</sup> monastica hylaritatem angelicam quae uobis presto est induatis. Valetate prospere in uirtute Dei.

## 65

*The canons of Chartres to Archbishop Hugh of Tours:<sup>1</sup>  
asking for his aid while Fulbert is on a pilgrimage to Rome  
late 1022–early 1023*

Clarissimo Turonensium archiepiscopo H(ugoni) A(lbertus) decanus<sup>2</sup> et tota congregacio canonicorum sanctae Mariae Carnotensis prona atque deuota fidelitatis obsequium et oracionum suffragia.

Nuper antequam Romanum iter agere cepisset<sup>a</sup> beatissimus pater noster F(ulbertus) episcopus, uestro (ut scitis) dulci usus est colloquio. Vnde reuersus, dum quadam die in conuentu nostro resideret de ipso itinere nobiscum agens, conquerentibus nobis post abscessum eius multa nos a pluribus aduersa passuros,<sup>b</sup> et nominatim a Fulcherio eiusque nepotulo suorum quoque manipulis furum,<sup>3</sup> ille constanter et confortatorie ut solet in talibus respondit: 'Malorum iniurias boni aequanimiter ferre deberent.<sup>c</sup> Vt enim ipsi legitis in quadam omelia beati papae Gregorii, bonus non fuit quisquis malos non tolerauit.'<sup>4</sup> Adiecit preterea se uobis inde fuisse locutum, uos etiam illi et nobis proposse de ipsis malefactoribus adiutorium promississe. Quod si necessitas urgeret, praecepit statim uestrae paternitatis solacium nos adire. Quod nunc facimus, potentissime pater, uariis pulsi tribulacionibus. Nam ut alias omittamus, illi anathematizati quorum supra meminimus, postquam dilectissimus pastor<sup>d</sup> noster uiam suam tenuit,

<sup>d</sup> angelum LDR      <sup>e</sup> supplicitate LP

65 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> Romam iter aggrediretur LDR      <sup>b</sup> marked for corr. to passos L      <sup>c</sup> debent LDR      <sup>d</sup> pator (-er?) corr. to pastor L      pater DR

65. <sup>1</sup> 1 January 1005–10 June 1023 (see Newman, p. 25 n.; Boussard, pp. 174 ff.).

no way presume to compare myself. If I were to try to tell what his love has done for my soul, I should seem to be attempting to express the inexpressible. I am kept from writing more by my many time-consuming affairs as well as a messenger who is anxious to be on his way. But I beg you in your kindness for this one last favour: when you greet our archangel for us, please clothe with monastic simplicity the angelic gaiety which comes so readily to you. Farewell and good fortune in the strength of God.

*The canons of Chartres to Archbishop Hugh of Tours<sup>1</sup>  
late 1022–early 1023*

To his eminence, Archbishop H(ugh) of Tours, from A(lbert), the dean,<sup>2</sup> and all the community of canons of St. Mary's of Chartres, who devoutly kneel and offer the service of their fidelity and the support of their prayers.

Not long ago, before our most blessed father Bishop F(ulbert) set out on his journey to Rome, he had, as you know, the pleasure of conversing with you. After he returned from visiting you, while he was sitting in our chapter one day talking with us about his approaching journey, we complained that after he left we would suffer many wrongs from several persons and in particular from Fulcher and his nephew and their bands of thieves.<sup>3</sup> But he, in the calm and comforting way with which he usually handles such matters, replied: 'Good men should patiently bear the wrongs committed by evil ones; for as you yourselves read in one of the blessed Pope Gregory's homilies, no one is good who does not bear with those who are evil.'<sup>4</sup> He added that he had spoken to you about this and that you had promised to do whatever you could to help him and us against these evil-doers. But if there were pressing necessity, he instructed us, father, to seek your aid at once. We are doing so now, most mighty father, beset as we are by many troubles. Not to speak of other matters, after our beloved shepherd went his way, those excommunicated malefactors whom we mentioned unjustly plundered our estates which lie in the

<sup>2</sup> Dean and procurator of the cathedral and then monk and abbot of Marmoutier, 1032–64 (Merlet, p. 164; *DHGE* i. 1432 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 776. Fulcher's identity is unknown.

<sup>4</sup> *Hom. in ev.* xxxviii. 7 (*PL* lxxvi. 1286).

terras nostras quae sunt in ministerio Heruei et Tetoldi,<sup>5</sup> quasi lupi caulas ouium irrumpentes, nobis inmerentibus predati sunt; neque etiam rabidis eorum morsibus ouium dampna suffecerunt, immo uero ad uastandam quandam pastoris ipsius potestatem quae dicitur Ermenulfi uilla<sup>6</sup> se conuerterunt. Proinde rogamus uos, iustissime pater, ut propter amorem sanctae sanctarum dominae nostrae cui seruimus licet indigni, ipsius quoque dilectissimi uestri qui in uobis plurimum confidit, et nos abiens uestro patrocinio commisit, predam suam et nostram reddere<sup>e</sup> faciatis, cum nepote uestro Gausfrido<sup>7</sup> magnopere satagendo, quatenus ipsi lupi res domni praesulis et nostras deinceps non diripiant, uel donec ipse annuente Deo redeat.<sup>f</sup> Valete et nos supplices uestros quicquid de his egeritis mandando rescire dignamini.<sup>g</sup>

## 66

*The canons of Chartres to Bishop Herbert of Lisieux:<sup>1</sup>  
explaining why they have not paid their visitation dues and  
asking him to wait until Fulbert returns from Rome  
late 1022–early 1023*

Venerabili<sup>a</sup> Lexouiensium pontifici Herberto congregatio canonicorum<sup>b</sup> sanctae Mariae Carnotensis<sup>c</sup> plurimum saluere et orationum suffragia.

Iubes, inclite presul, nos dare tibi circadas pro<sup>d</sup> aecclisiis nostris quae sunt in episcopio tuo. At nos serenitati tuae uerum quiddam intimare uolumus, scilicet quod episcopi beatae memoriae in quorum diocesi possedimus aecclisias hunc semper amoris et reuerentiae cultum exhibuerunt sanctae sanctarum dominae nostrae, ut a nobis eius licet indignis famulis nequaquam exegerint<sup>e</sup> id obsequii quod requiris. Vnde quesumus ne inopportuni uocemur dum rogamus te, benigne pater, ut honesta sanctorum patrum sequens uestigia, nos huius pensionis angaria nullatenus obliges, ne in hac parte nobis officendi primus auctor ipse noteris.

<sup>e</sup> reddi LDR      <sup>f</sup> annuente Deo ipse credat P      <sup>g</sup> Valete . . . dignamini] et nos supplices uestros quicquid egeritis mandato rescire dignamini. Valete. LDR

66 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> Venerando LDR      <sup>b</sup> canonicorum om. DR  
<sup>c</sup> Carnotensium LDR      <sup>d</sup> de DR      <sup>e</sup> exigerent DR

archdeaconries of Hervé and Tetoldus<sup>5</sup> like wolves breaking into the sheepfold. Nor was the harm done to the sheep enough for their rabid bites, but instead they turned and ravaged one of our shepherd's domains called Ermenonville.<sup>6</sup> So we beg you in your great justice, father, for the love of our most holy Lady, whom we serve, though unworthy, and for the love of him who is most dear to you, who is relying very much on you, and who, as he was leaving, entrusted us to your protection, to recover what they have stolen from him and from us and with your nephew Geoffrey<sup>7</sup> to take forceful measures against them so as to keep these wolves from plundering the possessions of our bishop and ourselves for the future or until he himself (God willing) returns. Farewell, and please let us, your suppliants, know what action you are taking in these matters.

*The canons of Chartres to Bishop Herbert of Lisieux<sup>1</sup>  
late 1022–early 1023*

To the venerable bishop of Lisieux, Herbert, from the community of canons of St. Mary's of Chartres, with many greetings and the support of their prayers.

You order us, your excellency, to pay you the visitation dues for our churches which lie in your diocese. But we wish to inform your eminence of the truth of the matter, namely that the bishops of holy memory in whose diocese we have churches have always shown their loving and reverent devotion to our most holy Lady by not exacting from us, her unworthy servants, the payment that you demand. So we beg you not to accuse us of being unreasonable when we ask you in your kindness, father, to follow in the honourable footsteps of the holy fathers and not to make us pay these dues for fear that you yourself might be blamed as the one who was first responsible for the loss that this causes us. We

<sup>5</sup> Both are commemorated in the necrology as archdeacon and provost (Merlet, pp. 159, 175). See nos. 39, 108.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Ermenonville-la-Grande (Eure-et-Loir, *arr.* Chartres).

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the vicomte of Châteaudun (see nos. 98 ff.).

66. <sup>1</sup> Before late 1022–1049/50 (see *GC* xi. 766; above, p. lxxxiii). For the churches and payment in question see no. 39.

Optamus etenim potius non paruo tuae ipsius utilitatis amore ducti in albo felicis ordinis benefactorum nostrorum te recenseri, ut cum pro illis, tum etiam pro te iuge Domino sacrificium offerentes, ac humanitatis tuae beneficia coram illo recitantes, dignum te libro quoque uitae celestis inseri predicemus.<sup>2</sup> Preterea non arbitramur notitiae tuae amplitudinem preterisse dominum nostrum<sup>f</sup> Fulbertum) episcopum, cui te ualde carum esse scimus, Romam pergere. Quod ideo memoramus, quia<sup>g</sup> si liberalitati tuae placuerit nostrae petitioni fauere, nos id illi cum redierit innotescemus tibi quidem pro hoc bene et sapienter facto nimium gratulatio. Quod si non, oramus saltem expecta nos supplices tuos illum reuersum super hoc consultum ire debentes, a cuius nutu pendent nostra consilia, neque interim ullum interdictum facias aecclesiis nostris. Bene agendo ualeas, et de sacrario tui pectoris quid oraculi super haec egrediatur nobis rescribere ne graueris. Iterum iterumque ualeas et semper ualeas.

## 67

*Hildegard to Siegfried:*<sup>1</sup> reminding him that he promised to send him a horse late 1022–early 1023?

Amicus amico, Hildegardus Sigefrido, totius boni sufficienciam.

Dum apud nos morareris inter primos amicorum meorum habitus, quid mihi tuis obsequiis plerumque dedito pollicitus sis, memorem te esse puto. Ipse tamen eius rei te commonefaciens, rogo ut secundum promissionem tuam mittas mihi equum ambulatorium qualem te dare, me quoque recipere deceat.<sup>2</sup> Cum illis equidem adhuc<sup>a</sup> sentio, qui amicitiam non propter se tantum sed et propter utilitatem censent expetendam.<sup>3</sup> Diu uiuens et bene agens, premio pociaris aeterno.

<sup>f</sup> meum L      <sup>g</sup> quia] ut DR  
67 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> adhuc om. P

<sup>2</sup> The names of benefactors of a religious foundation and their grants were customarily entered in a book often entitled (as would appear to be indicated here) *Liber vitae*. These were sometimes read in commemoration during the celebration of mass, and the book itself placed on the altar. The particular volume in use at Chartres at this time is apparently lost, having been replaced by the necrology which has been repeatedly cited and of which the basic part

are inspired even more than this by no small desire for your own welfare, and we hope to see you entered in the list of benefactors of our blessed community, so that as we continually offer sacrifice to the Lord for them, and thus also for you, and recount in his presence your kind good works, we may declare that you too are worthy of being included in the book of heavenly life.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, we do not think that it has escaped you, given the breadth of your knowledge, that our lord, Bishop Fulbert, to whom we know that you are very dear, has gone to Rome. We mention this, for if it should please you in your generosity to grant our petition, we shall tell him about it when he returns, and he will be very grateful for your good and judicious kindness. But if it should not please you to do so, we beg you at least to give us, your humble servants, time, since we are bound in this matter to seek the advice, on his return, of him on whose good pleasure our plans depend, and we also beg you in the meantime not to place our churches under any censure. May a long life of good works be yours, and please be so kind as to write and let us know the answer that comes from the oracle in the sanctuary of your breast. Again and again, may you fare well, now and always.

*Hildegard to Siegfried*<sup>1</sup> late 1022–early 1023?

From one friend to another, from Hildegard to Siegfried, with his wish that he may have all good things that he needs.

While you were staying with us, I treated you as one of my very best friends; and what you promised me for having devoted most of my energies to serving you, I think you yourself remember. Be that as it may, I am reminding you of it, and I ask you to send me as you promised a horse that can travel and that you will not be ashamed to give nor I to accept.<sup>2</sup> For indeed I still agree with those who think that friendship is to be desired not only for its own sake, but also for what one gains from it.<sup>3</sup> May a long life of good works be yours, and so may you receive an eternal reward.

was copied probably in 1027 (Merlet, p. 100). There is no entry for Bishop Herbert.

67. <sup>1</sup> Possibly chaplain to Duke Richard II of Normandy (see no. 68; p. lxxxii).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Seneca, *De beneficiis* ii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De officiis* iii. 33. 118; *De finibus* ii. 26. 82 ff.

## 68

*Hildegard to Siegfried: again reminding him that he promised to send him a horse<sup>1</sup> late 1022–early 1023?*

Hildegarius domini Fulberti discipulus Sigefrido Richardi comitis<sup>2</sup> capellano adhuc salutem.

Verbis tuis fidem minime seruans, diu me fefellisti. Vnde cum me deceptum esse doleam, tum pro mendacio tuo pudor mihi maximus ingeritur. Non enim deceret talem<sup>a</sup> tantamque personam probrosam falsitatis nomen subire. Horrendum etiam esset<sup>b</sup> in sacrilegii crimen incidere,<sup>3</sup> quia sicut legitur: 'Verba sacerdotis aut uera sunt aut sacrilega.'<sup>4</sup> Obsecro itaque per sanctam amititiam quae inter nos esse debet, ut honestae ueritatis famae te reconcilies, mittendo mihi ad presens per Gualterium monachum olim meum merito mihi promissum<sup>c</sup> abs te caballum. Quod nisi feceris, noueris te funditus ab amore nostro decidisse. Teste conscientia mea dixerim in hoc quod ego<sup>d</sup> te rogo non magis utilitatem meam, quam tuam simul et honorem exopto.

## 69

*Hildegard to W(illiam V, duke of Aquitaine?):<sup>1</sup> asking him to carry out his promise late 1022–early 1023?*

H(ildegarius) G(uillelmo) uerba transformare in actus.

Tuae, mi domine, karitatiuae promissionis nuncium hactenus sustinens laboraui nimium. Sollicitus namque quid tuae celsitudini meae paruitati placuisset designare, percunctabar unde sese reciperent uiatores quosque<sup>2</sup> pendens ab urbis uallo huc respiciente; nemine uero dante responsum tui de parte, mestus redibam domum iam facta nocte.<sup>3</sup> Sed quia in humanis perfectum nihil extat ex toto,<sup>4</sup> humano parcimus ingenio. Pacto<sup>a</sup> tamen tali ne

68 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> talem om. P      <sup>b</sup> est DR      <sup>c</sup> meum . . . promissum]  
non inmerito promissum mihi LDR      <sup>d</sup> ego om. LDR

69 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> Pacto P

68. <sup>1</sup> See no. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Duke Richard II of Normandy.

*Hildegard to Siegfried<sup>1</sup> late 1022–early 1023?*

Hildegard, Bishop Fulbert's disciple, to Siegfried, Count Richard's<sup>2</sup> chaplain, even now with his greetings.

By not keeping faith with your words, you have deceived me for a long time, and I am distressed at finding myself deceived and overwhelmed with shame by your lies. It is not fitting for a person of your eminence and position to suffer the disgrace of being called a liar, and it would be a dreadful thing to fall into the sin of sacrilege,<sup>3</sup> for as one reads: 'A priest's words are either true or sacrilegious.'<sup>4</sup> So I beg you by the holy friendship that ought to exist between us to begin living up to your reputation for truthfulness and honesty by sending me now by the monk Walter the horse that you once promised me and rightly. Unless you do so, know that you will have utterly fallen from our love. With my conscience as my witness let me say that in asking you for this I am no more desirous of my own advantage than of yours, and of your honour too.

*Hildegard to W(illiam V, duke of Aquitaine?)<sup>1</sup> late 1022–early 1023?*

From H(ildegard) to W(illiam), with his wish that he might transform his words into deeds.

Until now, my lord, I have tried hard to wait for the message that you in your kindness promised. In my anxiety to know what it may have pleased your highness to tell my lowly self, I have asked every traveller<sup>2</sup> where he comes from as I hang over the city wall that faces this way; but no one has brought a reply from you, and I have gone home at night disappointed.<sup>3</sup> As nothing that involves mankind is perfect,<sup>4</sup> we are making allowances for

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heb. 10: 31.

<sup>4</sup> Hincmar, *Opusculum lv capitulorum*, c. xlv (*PL* cxxvi. 456).

69. <sup>1</sup> Although the addressee cannot be identified with certainty, William is the only one mentioned in the present collection who seems suitable (see p. lxxxii).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Job 21: 29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 122.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Priscian, *Inst. gram.*, preface (ed. H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, ii (Leipzig, 1855), 2).

proruas in uerba excusacionis, quin quod pollicitus es adimplere studeas sine fuco dilacionis.<sup>5</sup> Igitur ut cerciorem<sup>b</sup> reddas, mando et<sup>c</sup> deprecor quatenus innuere digneris quid me agere iubeas. Nolo, mi domine, hesites in calamo, bonum opus habens in animo, quoniam in perfectione erit ex Dei auxilio.<sup>6</sup> Vale.

## 70

*W(illiam V, duke of Aquitaine?)<sup>1</sup> to Hildegard: explaining that he cannot fulfil his promise at present*  
late 1022–early 1023?

H(ildegario) G(uillelmus) bene optata consequi.

Tantam<sup>a</sup> apud me tua prudens simplicitas<sup>2</sup> inuenit gratiam, ut quod a me petisti non magis ipse fieri quam ego uelim. Sed quoniam inpresenciarum facultas non suppetit, angitur<sup>b</sup> animus meus, uerens me tibi suspectum esse, quasi uerba dare molientem. Quod non esse meum credas per fidem quae inter nos est obsecro, rogans te modicum tempus adhuc sustinere, donec grauissimis quibus nunc<sup>c</sup> impediior officii expeditus, operam tibi dare queam. Quod si forte morarum impaciens mox ad me ueneris,<sup>d</sup> si uotis tuis minus respondero, nequaquam id mihi causam preductus iure succensebis. Vale nunc et semper.

## 71

*Archbishop Hugh of Tours to Bishop Hubert of Angers:<sup>1</sup> answering his charge that he had rashly excommunicated him and admonishing him as regards the health of his soul*  
before 10 June 1023

H(uberto) And(egauensium) presuli H(ugo) Tur(onensium) archiepiscopus salutem.

Quamuis tua nuper ad me directa<sup>a</sup> epistola sibi condigna mereatur rescripta, satius<sup>b</sup> tamen existimaui responsis interim suae

<sup>b</sup> te add. P      <sup>c</sup> ac LDRC

70 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> Tanquam P      <sup>b</sup> angitur om. P      <sup>c</sup> nunc om. P  
<sup>d</sup> adueneris P

71 LDRCP (see pp. xlviij n.; lvi n.).      <sup>a</sup> ad me directa nuper LC      nuper om. DR  
<sup>b</sup> satis P

human nature. But since this was our agreement, do not rush forth with excuses, but rather strive to carry out what you promised without pretending to be delayed.<sup>5</sup> So that I may have a better idea of what you want me to do, I beg and entreat you to deign to let me know. With good work in mind, let not your pen fall behind, my lord, for you will have God's help in carrying it out.<sup>6</sup> Farewell.

*W(illiam V, duke of Aquitaine?)<sup>1</sup> to Hildegard*  
late 1022–early 1023?

To H(ildegard) from W(illiam), with the wish that he may obtain what he rightly desires.

You in your wise simplicity<sup>2</sup> have found such favour in my sight that you cannot be more anxious than I am to see your request fulfilled. But since I do not have the means to do so at present, I am upset and worried that you will suspect me of trying to put you off with words. By the faith that is between us, I beg you to believe that this is not my intention, and I ask you to hold out a little longer until I have settled the very troublesome affairs in which I am now involved and can turn my attention to you. But if you should get tired of waiting and come to me now, you will have no just reason to become angry with me if I should fail to satisfy your requests, since you will already be acquainted with my circumstances. Farewell, now and always.

*Archbishop Hugh of Tours to Bishop Hubert of Angers<sup>1</sup>*  
before 10 June 1023

To Bishop H(uberto) of Angers from Archbishop H(ugh) of Tours, with his greetings.

Although the letter that you recently sent me ought to be answered in kind, I have thought it better for the time being to

<sup>5</sup> Cf. no. 40, salutation.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gregory I, *Hom. in ev.* xxi. 1 (*PL* lxxvi. 1170).

70. <sup>1</sup> See no. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. 10: 16.

71. <sup>1</sup> Hubert of Angers, 13 June 1006–2 March 1047 (*Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. C. Urseau (Documents historiques sur l'Anjou, v (1908)), p. xxvi; Boussard, pp. 166 ff.). See pp. lxxx, lxxxiii.

contumaciae debitis supersedere, quam tuae saluti quantum ad nos non consulere, et inter consulendum quibusdam eiusdem<sup>c</sup> epistolae locis discrete et humiliter non respondere. Medicorum enim est melancolicis siue maniacis seu qualibet alia ualitudine laborantibus licet ingratis et conuitiis artificem lacescentibus<sup>d</sup> nihilominus tamen suae artis experimenta impendere, et ut curentur attentius insistere. Vnde et me non professum<sup>e</sup> quidem medicum, quippe imperitissimum, sed<sup>f</sup> tamen ad hoc ita<sup>g</sup> prelationis utcumque prouectum, qui te, si exorbites, debeam corrigere, oportet ex coemptis sanctorum patrum medelis tibi licet ingrato medicari, et ut<sup>h</sup> cureris uelis nolis insistere. Sed priusquam ad hoc ueniam, libet (ut dixi) quibusdam tuae epistolae locis obuiare; nam cetera quae plurimam partem illius occupant pretereunda censeo. Quod ergo me inconsultae conceptionis fuisse, et temere ac sine culpa te non uocatum a diuino officio separasse criminariis, certa et inexpugnabili contradictione destruo. Inconsulta namque concepcio non fuit, quae tibi conditionem<sup>i</sup> quid potius uelles eligendum proposuit. Quod si bene aduertisses, inconsultum non dixisses. Inconsultius igitur fecisti qui te (ut post clarius liquebit) in peiorem partem flexisti.<sup>k</sup> Non temere uero ac<sup>l</sup> sine culpa te et tuos fuisse interdictos testantur reliquiae uinearum in quibus uestra fixistis<sup>m</sup> castra. Quod in exemplo<sup>n</sup> datum ceteris quibus acerrime culparis fidem facit. Te quoque uocatum esse qui tibi missas a me sciat litteras, quis uel insanus non asserat? Te igitur, frater, racionabiliter<sup>o</sup> pro tua culpa et canonicè uocatum et a diuino offitio separatum recognoscendo plange, et plangendo ad satisfactionem reuertere. Quod si quadragenario uocationis spacio lege canonum te defendere niteris, scito<sup>p</sup> quia singulares causae uel personae non preiudicant legi.<sup>2</sup> Nam te in furorem uersum et ex presule ducem tot armatorum factum, totam nostram patriam crudeliter uastare cernens, ferrum, ignes, diuersasque nobis mortes minatum, imminentique plagae quadragenariae

<sup>c</sup> eiusdem om. P      <sup>d</sup> lacescentibus L      <sup>e</sup> professus sum L      <sup>f</sup> si P  
<sup>g</sup> ita] iure DR      om. C      <sup>h</sup> ut om. P      <sup>i</sup> conditione LP      <sup>k</sup> ·i· (=id  
est?) add. L with a corrector's mark in mar.      <sup>l</sup> non add. P      <sup>m</sup> fixisti P  
<sup>n</sup> exemplum P      -o sup. ras. L      <sup>o</sup> racionabiliter om. DR      <sup>p</sup> scio P

<sup>2</sup> See p. 41 n. 6. As regards the delay given a defendant, the canons usually stipulated only that a reasonable time should be allowed (see Gratian, C. V q. 2 (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879-81), i. 545 ff.)); however, a delay of forty nights was prescribed by Salic law (see H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. C. von Schwerin, ii (2nd edn., Munich, 1928), 446).

refrain from answering you as your arrogance deserves and instead to attend to my duty as regards your salvation and while doing this to make a reasoned and humble reply to certain passages in your letter. It is a physician's duty to offer those who are suffering from depression, insanity, or any other illness what he has learned in the exercise of his art and to apply himself with all diligence to the task of curing them even if they are ungrateful and insult his skill. Similarly it is my duty—though I do not claim to be even the most unskilled of physicians, but only somehow to have advanced to where I have an obligation as your archbishop to correct you if you should go astray—to administer to you, ungrateful as you may be, the remedies I have acquired from the holy fathers and to apply myself to the task of curing you whether you want me to or not. But before I do so, I wish, as I have said, to refute certain passages in your letter, for I think that the other matters, which form the larger part of it, are best passed over.

With regard to your charge that I was ill-advised and acted rashly in severing you from divine worship since you were not guilty and had not been duly summoned, this I shall destroy with clear and irrefutable proof. It was not ill-advised to offer you terms you yourself ought to have chosen. If you had given sufficient thought to it, you would not have called it ill-advised. So you have been even more ill-advised, as will appear more clearly later on, in having gone from bad to worse. That you and your followers were not excommunicated rashly and without having deserved it is shown by the remains of the vineyards in which you placed your camp, and the evidence afforded by this lends conviction to the other charges of which you are so bitterly accused. As for your having been duly summoned, is there anyone, sane or not, who knows of the letters which I sent you who would not vouch for this? So admit, brother, that as reason demanded in return for your sin you were canonically summoned and severed from divine worship; in admitting it, lament; and in lamenting, return and make satisfaction. But if you should attempt to defend yourself on the grounds that canon law gives you forty days to answer the summons, know that individual cases and persons do not prejudice the law.<sup>2</sup> For when I saw you turned into a raging maniac and changed from a bishop into the leader of a substantial army, cruelly ravaging all our land, and threatening us with the sword, fire, and death in one way and

uocationis spacium ut desisteret nihil uidens prodesse, uenabulum mox tibi excommunicationis opposui, ut eo saltem uiso territus et<sup>d</sup> te et tuos uel ad momentum refrenares, et presulem quem amiseras recognosceres. Sed tu maluisti illo excommunicationis uenabulo confodi, quam accepta<sup>r</sup> tyrannide uel ad punctum refrenari. Nam quod dicis te regis hoc iussu fecisse, nec nego nec affirmo, nec quid te hoc leuet intelligo. Cuiuscumque enim hoc iussu feceris, eadem culpa ac si nullus iusserit urgeris. Nam ad exaggerationem tuae culpae ista satis transgressio sufficit, quod praeter mea tua archiepiscopi consulta contra canonicam auctoritatem tale aliquid incipere presumpsisti, quodque etiam me iubente non debuisses facere, hoc te ipso consultore fecisti. Quod autem ais te in malum Odonis<sup>3</sup> a rege<sup>s</sup> impulsus, nec etiam unam<sup>t</sup> ei palmitem destruxisti, sed uineas canonicorum sancti Mauritii<sup>4</sup> praeter cetera quae in tuam matrem aecclesiam iussu tui diui Fulconis<sup>5</sup> intulisti opprobria radicetenus comminuisti. His de causis excommunicatorias tibi litteras, quas contra ius et fas audaciae notas (non enim te oportuit tuum magistrum et dominum tam temere reprehendere), ut a tuo incepto resipisceres transmisi, non ut te uellem flecti in eam partem qua corruisti. Quod discrete an indiscrete fecerim, tua<sup>u</sup> iuridicialis libra penset, qui me consultorem quaerere mones. At si indiscrete ac sine causa temerariam in te (quod absit) excommunicationem intorsissem, sustineres tamen iudicium tui pastoris, et a sacra celebratione cessares. Quod quia non fecisti, et consultrice superbia tui magistri interdicta paruipendisti, prudens in uoraginem te excommunicationis praecipitasti. Accipe quid super hoc beatus papa Gregorius dicat: 'Vtrum', inquit, 'iuste an iniuste obliget pastor, pastoris tamen

<sup>a</sup> et om. P                      <sup>r</sup> accepta (= a coepta?) DRP                      <sup>s</sup> a rege] agere P  
<sup>t</sup> unum DR                      <sup>u</sup> tui DR

<sup>3</sup> Count of Chartres.

<sup>4</sup> The cathedral of Tours.

<sup>5</sup> Count of Anjou.

another, and when I did not see that there was anything to gain from giving you forty days' grace to put an end to the danger that was already upon us, I immediately countered with the spear of excommunication, hoping that the sight of this might at least frighten you into restraining your followers and yourself, if only for the moment, and into recognizing the pastor you had lost. But you preferred to be run through by that spear of excommunication rather than to restrain yourself, even for an instant, from the lawlessness on which you had embarked. As for your saying that you did this by order of the king, I neither deny nor affirm it, nor do I see how it can in any way lighten your responsibility; for it does not matter who ordered you to do it, you are just as guilty as if no one had done so. To establish your guilt, your sin in this regard is quite enough: that without consulting me, your archbishop, you have dared to venture on a monstrous violation of canon law, and that what you ought not to have done even if I had ordered it, you have done without consulting anyone save yourself. As to your claim that you were pushed by the king into injuring Odo,<sup>3</sup> you have not destroyed a single branch of a vine belonging to him, but you have trampled down to the very roots vineyards of the canons of Saint-Maurice,<sup>4</sup> not to mention the other reproaches which you have heaped on your holy mother, the church, by the order of your own god, Fulk.<sup>5</sup>

These were the reasons why I sent you the letter of excommunication which you brand as rash, thus violating human and divine law, since you should not be so quick to reprove your master and lord; and I sent it to make you come to your senses and abandon what you had begun, and not because I wanted to make you turn on to that path along which you have been rushing to your ruin. As to whether I have acted wisely or not, you can weigh this in the scales of your own judgement, you who are admonishing me to seek counsel. But even if (heaven forbid) I had been imprudent and rash and had hurled an excommunication against you without grounds, you should still have borne with the judgement of your pastor and refrained from celebrating mass. But since you have not done this, and since with Pride as your counsellor you have paid no attention to what your master has prohibited, you have acted with full knowledge in throwing yourself into the abyss of excommunication. Listen to what the blessed Pope Gregory says concerning this: 'Whether a pastor binds a



sententia gregi timenda est, ne is qui subest, et cum iniuste forsitan ligatur, ipsam obligationis suae sententiam ex alia<sup>x</sup> culpa mereatur. Pastor ergo uel absolueret indiscrete timeat uel ligare. Is autem qui sub manu pastoris est ligari timeat<sup>y</sup> uel iniuste, nec pastoris sui iudicium temere<sup>z</sup> reprehendat, ne etsi iniuste ligatus est ex ipsa tumidae reprehensionis superbia culpa quae non erat fiat.<sup>6</sup> Hactenus beatus Gregorius. Hac igitur, frater, cornuta argumentatione conuictus excommunicatum te recognoscendo iterum plange, et plangendo ad satisfactionem reuertere; atque his tuae epistolae locis tantum nos respondisse sufficiat. Ceteris aliquis otiosus respondeat; nam ego illa quae magis sunt necessaria et<sup>a</sup> pollicitus sum prosequar. Contemplor enim, frater, ex motibus tui corporis diuersa genera passionum tuam germinare animam.<sup>7</sup> Quibus si aliquo medicamine priusquam in uires prodeant non occurritur, miserabilem tuae animae generabunt mortem. Sed congrua cuique passioni ignorabitur medicina, nisi origenes et (ut ita dicam) radices earum intentissima discrecione fuerint exploratae. Omnium itaque passionum animae unus fons atque principium est; secundum qualitatem uero partis quae in anima uitata fuerit, unaqueque passio uocabulum sortitur. Quod et corporalium morborum docetur exemplo. Si enim uis noxii humoris obsederit<sup>b</sup> caput, cephalargica passio nuncupatur; si pedes, podagrica; si manus, ciragrica nominatur. Totque uocabula unius humoris sortitur incommoditas, quot membrorum obsederit porciones. De uisibilibus ergo ad inuisibilia transeuntes, uniuscuiusque animae partibus uim cuiusque uitii inesse credamus. Quam sapientissimi quique tripertitae diffinierunt esse uirtutis; nam et rationabilis est et irascibilis et concupiscibilis. Secundum qualitatem ergo uitatae partis, infectio cuiusque pestis nominatur. Nam si rationabilem partem infecerit, cenodoxiae, elationis, inuidiae, superbiae, presumptionis, contemptionis,<sup>c</sup> hereseos uicia procreabit. Si irascibilem uulnerauerit, furorem, impacientiam, tristitiam, accidiam, pusillanimitatem, crudelitatemque parturiet. Si concupi-

<sup>x</sup> aliqua LDR      <sup>y</sup> metuat P      <sup>z</sup> temere om. DR    tenere C  
<sup>a</sup> et] ut DR      <sup>b</sup> obsidet DR      <sup>c</sup> contentionis DR and similarly  
*throughout the following passage; likewise Cassian, with no mention of contemptio as a variant, though the context indicates that it is the correct word here*

<sup>6</sup> *Hom. in ev.* xxvi. 6 (PL lxxvi. 1201).

<sup>7</sup> The following passage is based on, and in large part copied from Cassian, *Conlationes*, xxiv. 14-16 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 690 ff.).

sin justly or unjustly, his flock should still stand in awe of his judgement, for otherwise a subject who is perhaps unjustly bound may deserve to be bound by the same sentence as a result of committing another sin. So let the pastor stand in fear of making a mistake in absolving or binding a sin; and let him who is under the pastor's power be afraid of being bound, even unjustly, and let him not take it on himself to reprove his pastor's judgement, for fear that even though there was no reason for him to be bound, yet as a result of his being so swollen with pride as to reprove his pastor he commits a sin where he had not committed one before.<sup>6</sup> Thus far St. Gregory. On the evidence presented here, brother, you stand convicted. Once again admit that you have been excommunicated and lament; and in lamenting, return and make satisfaction. As regards these passages in your letter, let this answer be sufficient; as for the rest, let someone who has time to do so answer them, for I have more important matters to pursue as I have promised.

I can tell from what you are doing, brother, that your soul is fostering various disorders.<sup>7</sup> If these are not counteracted by some remedy before they grow to full strength, they will result in your soul's dying a miserable death. But the proper remedy for each disorder cannot be known unless their origins and, as it were, their roots are examined with care and discernment. All disorders of the soul have the same source and origin, but each has its own proper name in accordance with the nature of the part of the soul which is diseased. This is also shown by the diseases of the body. If a harmful humour should attack the head, the illness is known as a headache; if it should attack the feet, it is known as gout-of-the-feet; if the hands, it is called gout-of-the-hands. Thus it is that a disease caused by a single humour has as many different names as the parts of the body that it attacks. Moving from the realm of the visible to the invisible, we think that the power of each vice dwells in different parts of the individual soul. Now philosophers distinguish three faculties in the soul: the rational, the irascible, and the concupiscible; and it is in accordance with the nature of the diseased part that each infection receives its name. If it should infect the rational part, it will produce the vices of vainglory, self-elation, envy, pride, insolence, scorn, heresy. If it should afflict the irascible part, it will bring forth anger, impatience, depression, spiritual sloth, faint-heartedness, and cruelty.

sibilem infecerit portionem, castrimargiam, fornicationem, filargiriam, auaritiam, et desideria noxia terrenaque generabit. Animaduerto igitur, frater, ex motibus tui (ut dixi) corporis tuam animam suam germinare<sup>d</sup> mortem. Nam cum tu<sup>e</sup> tantam in me tuum presertim magistrum superbiam, contemptionem, et presumptionem demonstrares, apparet rationabilem tuae animae partem miserabiliter esse corruptam. Certis enim inditiis haec tria in te notantur: superbia uidelicet, quod tam superbe tuo archiepiscopo respondes; contemptio, quod sua interdicta paruipendis, quae licet iniusta (quod absit) essent, tamen (sicut superius probatum est) timenda tibi esse debuissent; praesumptio quoque, quod iuste an iniuste interdictus, ad sacram celebrationem accedis. Quorum trium<sup>f</sup> inditia rationabilem (ut dixi) tuae animae partem praedicant esse uiciatam. Reliquas<sup>g</sup> autem siquid in te germinent, tu ipse uideris; nam huic ego parti quam tam horribiliter corruptam cerno quiddam ex sanctorum patrum coemptis (sicut pollicitus sum) medelis, quo reuocetur ad salutem procurabo. Sed haec procuratio nihil tibi proderit, si prius uulneri quo ad mortem inflexus<sup>h</sup> es satisfactionis medela non subuenerit.<sup>i</sup> Quo (ut dico) per satisfactionem sanato, tumores ilico superbiae, contemptionis, et presumptionis, quos in tuam animam induruisse suspicor, falce discretionis amputabis. Deinde amputationis illius uulnera recentia, ne aliquam aliam passionem generent, penalis cauterio<sup>k</sup> timoris ustulabis; quam usturam ne frigus impietatis tangat, caritatis ardore et oleo fouebis misericordiae. Quod si ita feceris, et superbia illa qua instigante responsa in me tam torua iaculatus es, et contemptio qua meum interdictum paruipendis, et praesumptio qua excommunicatus ad sacram celebrationem accedis peribunt, et rationabilis pars tuae animae ex magna parte ad incorruptionem reuertetur. Post hoc<sup>l</sup> autem has uirtutis speties, humilitatem, patientiam, et obedientiam, in unum melle diuinorum eloquiorum confities, et in buxtula tuae mentis hoc antidotum diligenter recondes. Vnde cotidianam tua anima dietam sumens non solum has pestes inperpetuum non germinabit, sed etiam a caeteris omnibus incorrupta fulgebit. His te, frater, monens, non fastu doctoris efferor, sed offitium meae prelationis trepidus

<sup>d</sup> generare P      <sup>e</sup> tuam LC      <sup>f</sup> tria LC      <sup>g</sup> Reliqua P  
<sup>h</sup> influxus corr. to inflexus L    inflexus P    inflexus es] influxisses C      <sup>i</sup> sub-  
ueneris LDR      <sup>k</sup> cautio LC      <sup>l</sup> haec P

If it should infect the concupiscible part, it will engender gluttony, fornication, greed, avarice, and harmful and worldly desires.

So, brother, as I have said I can tell from what you are doing that your soul is fostering that which will kill it. In showing such monstrous pride, scorn, and insolence toward me, your especial master, you reveal that the rational faculty of your soul is dreadfully diseased. That you possess these three vices is clearly proven: pride, by the haughtiness of your answer to your archbishop; scorn, by your having no regard for his injunctions, which, as was shown above, you should have feared even if (heaven forbid) they were unjust; insolence, by your having ventured to celebrate mass when you were excommunicated, whether justly or not. These three vices are clear proof, as I have said, that the rational part of your soul is diseased. As to whether the other parts of your soul have fostered any vice, you must see to it yourself; for to this part, which I see to be so horribly diseased, I shall, as I have promised, administer one of the remedies acquired from the holy fathers so as to restore it to health. But what I administer will not do you any good unless the remedy of penance is first applied to heal that wound which will lead to your death. As soon, I say, as this has been healed by penance, use the scalpel of prudence to cut away the tumours of pride, scorn, and insolence, which I have reason to believe have already become hardened in your soul. Then cauterize the raw wounds that this produces with the hot iron of holy fear so as to prevent their fostering some other disorder; and keep the places you have cauterized warm with the fire of charity and the oil of mercy that they may not be chilled by the touch of impiety. When you have done this and have destroyed that pride which moved you to assail me with such savage replies, that scorn which prompted you to have no regard for my injunctions, and that insolence which led you to venture to celebrate mass when you were excommunicated, the rational part of your soul will in large part be restored to good health. Then take the virtues of humility, patience, and obedience, and mix them with the honey of the divine word, and carefully store this remedy in the cupboard of your mind. By eating some of this daily, not only will your soul never foster these same disorders, but it will shine forth untarnished by any others.

In sending you this warning, brother, I am not being haughty and lording my teaching office over you, but rather carrying out

exequor. Quibus si annueris, tuae (ut arbitror) saluti prouidebis. Si autem (quod absit) aliter senseris, non erit culpa monentis. At<sup>m</sup> si idcirco his quae precipio parere neglexeris, quod meis repugnent factis, ab hoc te errore dominica uoce reprimo qua ait: 'Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et pharisaei. Quaecumque ergo<sup>n</sup> dixerint uobis, seruate et facite; secundum opera uero<sup>o</sup> eorum nolite facere, dicunt enim et non faciunt.'<sup>8</sup> Scribis et pharisaeis (ut tu<sup>p</sup> ipse melius nosti) commissa erat doctrina legis, ut eam exponerent auditoribus suis. Ideo Dominus dixit: 'Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et pharisei', id est super doctrinam legis. Quorum dictis, postpositis factis, auditores obtemperare iussit cum ait: 'Quaecumque ergo dixerint uobis seruate et facite; secundum opera uero<sup>o</sup> eorum nolite facere.' Pharisei enim<sup>r</sup> quod bene<sup>s</sup> docebant, malis operibus destruebant, quod Dominus subsequenter adiunxit: 'Dicunt enim et non faciunt.' Tales sunt modo in sancta aecclesia episcopi, presbiteri, et abbates, qui bene docent et male uiuunt; de quorum etiam numero et me esse confiteor. Sed tamen quia super cathedram doctrinae et prelationis licet indignus et inperitus nec dicta factis compensans sedeo, siquid boni a me in illa cathedra sedente preceptum tibi fuerit, dominica (ut audis) ammonicione obseruare debebis. Quod si neglexeris, dominicis preceptis apertissime contraibis. Vale.

## 72

*Fulbert to Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou: calling on him to do penance for his attack on Archbishop Hugh of Tours<sup>1</sup>*  
before 10 June 1023

F(ulbertus) Carnotensium episcopus humilis F(ulconi) comiti salutem.

Doleo super te, nobilis homo, cum audio te errare et periclitari. Errare dico, quia cum debeas Deum timere, sanctos honorare,

<sup>m</sup> apparently marked for deletion L      <sup>n</sup> ergo om. DR      <sup>o</sup> uero opera LDRC  
<sup>p</sup> tu om. LDRC      <sup>q</sup> uero opera LDRC      <sup>r</sup> autem LDR  
<sup>s</sup> bene om. P

72 LDRKCPBV

<sup>8</sup> Matt. 23: 2 f. The interpretation here is apparently based on Haimo,

in all trepidation my duty as your archbishop. If you agree to do as I have said, you will, I think, be taking thought for your salvation; but if (heaven forbid) you should be of a different opinion, the fault will not be mine, for I have warned you. As for your refusing to heed my teachings on the grounds that they are at variance with my deeds, I would keep you from making this mistake by quoting the Lord's words, where he says: 'The scribes and the pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses. Whatsoever they should say to you, observe and do; but according to their works, do ye not, for they say and do not.'<sup>8</sup> The scribes and the pharisees, as you yourself know quite well, were entrusted with teaching the law and were to expound it to their disciples. Hence the Lord said: 'The scribes and the pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses', that is, they are charged with teaching the law. He commanded their disciples to follow their teachings and to disregard their deeds when he said: 'Whatsoever they should say to you, observe and do; but according to their works, do ye not'; for the pharisees undid their good teachings by their evil works, as the Lord added afterwards: 'For they say and do not.' Their counterparts in the holy church at present are those bishops, priests, and abbots, who give good instruction, but whose lives are evil, and I confess that I am one of them. Be that as it may, since I hold the office of teacher and archbishop, despite my unworthiness, my lack of skill, and the discrepancy between my words and deeds, if in the exercise of this office I should enjoin you to do anything that is good, you ought to heed the Lord's admonition and to obey. But if you should refuse, you will quite clearly be violating the Lord's own commands. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou<sup>1</sup>*  
before 10 June 1023

F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, to Count F(ulk), with his greetings.

I grieve for you, count, when I hear that you are going astray and are in danger. I say that you are going astray, because when

*Homelia cxxxiii (PL cxviii. 707 f.). Cf. H. Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre (Studi e Testi, ccxxv (Rome, 1962)), p. 157, no. 39.*

72. <sup>1</sup> See no. 71.

aecclesiam defendere, contempnis Deum, sanctos inhonoras, res ecclesiae inuadis et aufers. Periclitari dico, quoniam qui talia agunt, non habent partem in regno Dei. Propter haec peccata monuit archiepiscopus Turonensis omnes episcopos nostros et inter alios me pusillum ut te excommunicarem. Sed ego censui pium esse ut te prius monerem et deprecarer ut habeas misericordiam de anima tua, placans Deum.<sup>2</sup> Iam enim prope est tuus finis.<sup>4</sup> Festina igitur, queso, reconciliari Christo saluatori nostro, quia non est salus homini nisi per ipsum.<sup>3</sup> Tene in memoria uerbum hoc: 'Qui confitendo et penitendo finem facit peccatis suis antequam moriatur, finem habebit in altero seculo pena ipsius; et qui peccatis mortalibus penitendo non facit finem, pena ipsius erit sine fine.'<sup>4</sup> Euigila igitur propter temetipsum sicut homo in proximo moriturus, et reconciliare Christo, ne moriaris apostolica auctoritate dampnatus. Vale et remanda michi uelociter atque ueraciter uoluntatem tuam.

## 73

*Fulbert to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges: informing him that the abbot of Bonneval has resigned and left before 27 July 1023*

Sancto et sapienti uiro G(auzlino) abbati et archiepiscopo F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus uerae dilectionis affectum.

Nouerit prudentia uestra, sancte pater, quod dominus T(etfridus)<sup>a</sup> abbas<sup>b1</sup> discedens tristitiam nobis reliquit et lacrimas, non quod innocenciam eius (si esset) nequiremus facere tutam, sed quia culpam nec purgare nec tegere poteramus. Vnde si uestro ducatu quasi ad examinationem uenire affectat, cum periculo sui gradus et communi dedecore sacerdotum, conatus eius inefficaces sagaci ratione conpescere uos oportet, seruantes illud apostolicum: 'Si preoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, et caetera.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> finis tuus LDRKC

73 LDRCBPV

<sup>a</sup> T.] I. LDR

<sup>b</sup> abba LPV

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ecclus. 30: 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts 4: 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fulgentius, *De remissione peccatorum*, ii. 17, 21 f. (ed. Fraipont, *CCL* xci<sup>a</sup>. 700, 705 ff.).

you ought to fear God, honour the saints, and defend the church, you treat God with contempt, dishonour the saints, and seize the church's possessions and carry them off. I say that you are in danger, since those who commit such sins have no share in God's kingdom. Because of these sins, the archbishop of Tours has called on all our bishops, including my humble self, to excommunicate you. But I considered it my duty to admonish you first and to entreat you to have mercy on your soul and to make your peace with God,<sup>2</sup> for your end is at hand. So hasten, I beg you, to be reconciled to Christ our Saviour, for there is no salvation for man except through him.<sup>3</sup> Keep this saying in mind: 'If anyone puts an end to his sins by confessing them and doing penance before he dies, his punishment in the next world will have an end; but if anyone does not put an end to his mortal sins by doing penance, his punishment will not have an end.'<sup>4</sup> So take care for yourself as a man who is to die tomorrow, and be reconciled to Christ, so that you may not die condemned by apostolic authority. Farewell, and let me know what you intend to do quickly and truthfully.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges before 27 July 1023*

To the holy and wise abbot and archbishop, G(auzlin), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his true love and affection.

May you in your wisdom know, holy father, that Abbot T(etfridus)<sup>1</sup> departure left us sad and sorrowful, not because we were unable to maintain his innocence (such as it was), but because we could not disprove or conceal his sin. So if he comes to your province saying that he wishes to be examined, to the peril of his orders and the general dishonour of the priesthood, you ought to restrain his ventures by wise advice and bring them to naught in keeping with the apostolic precept: 'If a man be overtaken in any fault, and so forth.'<sup>2</sup>

73. <sup>1</sup> Of Saint-Florentin of Bonneval (Eure-et-Loir, *arr.* Châteaudun). See nos. 74 f. His case is otherwise unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. 6: 1, continuing: 'you, who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.'

## 74

*Fulbert to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges: informing him that he has notified the monks of Bonneval that they will have to appear at a hearing against Abbot Tetfridus and justifying his blessing Abbot Solomon<sup>1</sup> before 27 July 1023*

Venerabili Bituricensium presuli G(auzlino) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus incrementa uirtutum.

Legatum uestrum diu detinui, quia Salomon abbas<sup>2</sup> cum quibusdam monachis aberat, sine quorum consultu uobis responderi non oportebat. Quos ubi redierunt commonui, ut sese ad audienciam presentarent contra domnum Tetfridum. Ipsi uero responderunt se messiuo tempore occupatos, lites ad presens agitare non posse, sed idibus Octobris in Aurelianensi concilio quod futurum esse destinauimus, constituent uobis proximum audiencie et diem et locum, tantummodo fratrem suum Dodonem (qui est apud uos) reddatis eis infra predictum terminum. Interea oblatae sunt nobis<sup>a</sup> quaedam litterae sub uestro nomine conscriptae ad domnum Arnulfum abbatem sancti Petri,<sup>3</sup> significantes uos excommunicasse monachos nostros; sed auctoritatem qua uobis id liceat me uidisse non memini. At si apud uos habetur, nobis eam debetis ostendere, ne forte si non ostendatur, aut temere aut minime excommunicati esse dicantur. In litteris etiam quas mihi nuperrime direxistis confictam inueni reprehensionem meam de ordinacione Salomonis abbatis hoc modo: 'Miramur qua<sup>b</sup> auctoritate fieri potuit, ut sine audiencia subditus prelato prepositus sit.' Quod (ut puto) mirari non debetis, quia non est, sed illud potius attendere quod est. Non enim hoc sine audientia factum est, neque subditus Salomon Tetfrido adhuc prelato praepositus est. Domnus T(etfridus) a suis monachis criminatus (ut scitis) apud me de infamia sua querimoniam fecit, eorumque maliciam se ferre non posse dicens, sub audiencia mea et eorum qui mecum erant prelacioni suae perpetualiter renunciauit, astruens abbatem monachorum Bone Vallis ulterius se non esse futurum. Sicque petita a nobis migrandi licencia transiuit ad uos. Monachi uero qui in

74 LDRCPBV KF contain only the last half of the letter beginning with *In litteris* and have not been used here. <sup>a</sup> nobis om. PV <sup>b</sup> quia L

*Fulbert to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges<sup>1</sup>*

*before 27 July 1023*

To the venerable archbishop of Bourges, G(auzlin), from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his prayer that he may grow in virtue.

I detained your messenger for a long time as Abbot Solomon<sup>2</sup> and some of his monks were away, and I needed to consult them before I replied to you. When they returned, I notified them that they would have to appear at a hearing and plead their case against Tetfridus. They replied that it was harvest time and that they were too busy to be involved in lawsuits at present, but that at the council which we have called to meet at Orleans on 15 October they will set for you the earliest possible day and place for the hearing provided you send their brother Dodo, who is with you, back to them before then. Meanwhile a letter was brought to us written in your name to Abbot Arnulf of Saint-Père<sup>3</sup> which stated that you have excommunicated our monks. I do not recall having seen anything that authorizes you to do this. If you have such authorization, you ought to show it to us, for otherwise it may be said that they have been excommunicated rashly or not at all. Moreover, in the letter that you recently sent me, I found myself reproved as follows for having blessed Abbot Solomon: 'We wonder on what legal grounds a subject can be set over a superior without a hearing.' I do not think you ought to wonder at this, for it is not the case; but instead you should attend to what is. This was not done without a hearing, nor was Solomon, as a subject, set over Tetfridus while he was still abbot. As you know, after T(etfridus) was accused by his monks, he complained to me that he had been publicly disgraced and said that he could not continue to cope with their ill will. In the presence of my companions and myself he renounced his prelacy for ever and declared that he was no longer abbot of the monks of Bonneval. Then he asked for our permission to leave and went to you. The

74. <sup>1</sup> See no. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The new abbot of Bonneval, of whom nothing else is known except that he attended a church dedication in 1040 (*GC* viii. 1238 f.).

<sup>3</sup> c. 1013-33. His life in J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, vi. i (Paris, 1701), 315 ff., consists of excerpts from *Cart. S.-Père* and his epitaph (see p. xliii n.).

Bona Valle remanserant, hoc scientes, alium quendam ex fratribus suis electum eo quod inreprehensibilis esse uidebatur obtulerunt Odoni comiti<sup>4</sup> abbacia donandum ut mos erat, michique deinde consecrandum. Is interim locum pastoris tenet. Siquis ergo est qui me super hoc facto presumpcionis arguat, nouerit me respondere paratum, et hoc (si opus sit) tam ratione quam auctoritate approbare, quod siquis abbatum uel animi uel corporis egritudine molestatus prelacionem suam inperpetuum renunciando deserat, episcopus ipsius diocesis in loco eius alterum debeat ordinare.<sup>5</sup> Valet.

## 75

*Fulbert to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges: consenting to his request for a hearing for Abbot Tetfridus of Bonneval*<sup>1</sup>

*c. mid 1023*

Vitae pariter et doctrinae meritis uenerando abbati et archiepiscopo<sup>a</sup> G(auzlino) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus utriusque officii praemia gloriosa.

Si de mea dilectione confidis, pater, sicut litterae tuae significant, securus esto quia rem tenes, non te fallit opinio. Proinde quicquid a me competenter exposcis facile impetras, et nunc quidem specialiter de audientia domni T(etfridi) uenerabilis sacerdotis, ne<sup>b</sup> queratur diucius se fraudari oportunitate iudicii. Quod ego sibi hactenus (Deum testor) non insidiando distuli, sed prouidendo dissuasi, sciens quia causa eius in fine turpitudinis est, et sentinae modo quo amplius agitur, eo dirius fetet. Nec uero turpis tantum, sed et<sup>c</sup> periculosa est adeo ut si uenerit ad iudicium, aut ipse aut accusator eius cum magna sit contumelia degradandus. Hoc itaque prouidens,<sup>d</sup> et illud euuangelicum mente reuoluens: 'Nolite iudicare, nolite condemnare, et caetera',<sup>2</sup> herebam timorate suspensus, et expectans ut Dominus tantum dedecus ecclesiae suae sine publica discussione uel insultacione piaret. Nunc autem inapacencia domni T(etfridi) non permittit hoc fieri,

75 LDRCPBV      <sup>a</sup> suo *add.* LDR      <sup>b</sup> nec PB, *ante corr.* L      <sup>c</sup> et  
om. CP      <sup>d</sup> prouidens BV

monks who remained in Bonneval, knowing this, elected another of their brothers who seemed to be irreproachable, presented him to Count Odo<sup>4</sup> to be invested with the abbey as was the custom, and then to me to be blessed. Since then he has been their pastor. So if anyone wishes to accuse me of having acted rashly in this matter, let him know that I am prepared to answer and, if necessary, to prove by reason and on the basis of competent authority that if any abbot is afflicted with an illness of mind or body and abandons his prelacy and renounces it for ever, the bishop of his diocese should bless another to take his place.<sup>5</sup> Farewell.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges*<sup>1</sup>      *c. mid 1023*

To Abbot and Archbishop G(auzlin), who deserves to be honoured for his life and his learning, from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his wish that he may be gloriously rewarded for his excellence in both.

If you are relying on my love, father, as you say in your letter, you may rest assured that you are right and that you have judged correctly. Hence if you ask me for anything that is suitable, you easily obtain it, and now in particular a hearing for the venerable priest T(etfridus), so that he may no longer complain that he is being cheated of the chance for a trial. I call God to witness that I did not postpone this till now out of treachery, but that I advised him against it out of foresight; for I knew that his case involved immorality, and like filth the more it is stirred up, the worse it smells. Indeed, not only does it involve immorality, it is also dangerous, so much so that if he comes to trial, either he or his accuser must be degraded to his great dishonour. Foreseeing this and turning over in my mind the evangelical precept: 'Judge not, condemn not, and so forth',<sup>2</sup> I held off, anxiously waiting and hoping that the Lord would rid his church of such a great disgrace without public discussion or derision. But now in his impatience T(etfridus) will not let me do this. Instead he obstinately insists

<sup>4</sup> Of Chartres.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 100 n. 3.

75. <sup>1</sup> See nos. 73 f.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 6: 37: 'Judge not, and you shall not be judged. Condemn not, and you shall not be condemned. Forgive, and you shall be forgiven.'

sed<sup>e</sup> pertinaciter instat, ac pie dissimulantes ad iudicium bestius<sup>f</sup> urget.<sup>3</sup> Tandem ergo quamuis inuitus et coactus cedo, diemque et locum (ut rogasti) constituo, iam non audens relinquere indiscussum, quod Deum puto nolle preterire inultum.<sup>4</sup> Inperpetuum uale.

## 76

*Fulbert to Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims: commending a student*  
before 27 July 1023

Diligendo semper ac uenerando Remorum archiepiscopo E(balo) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus communicare fontem intimae caritatis.

De uestra bonitate non de nostro merito confidentes, deprecamur, obtime pater, ut notum habere dignemini hunc carum nostrum nomine Hubertum, qui de patria sua causa discendae honestatis egressus, et apud nos aliquandiu demoratus, talem se nobis exhibuit, ut non minus quam frater uterinus amari et honorari meruerit. Nunc uero eadem causa permotus, monasterium beati Remigii<sup>1</sup> quod uestrum est uisitare disposuit. Vbi si in aliquo fuerit indigus uestrae opis, sentiat, quesumus, uiscera<sup>a</sup> pietatis. Valet.

## 77

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: advising him as regards an impediment of spiritual relationship*  
before 27 July 1023

Venerabili Senonensium archiepiscopo L(eutherico) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus a summo Domino 'euge, boni serui'.<sup>a1</sup>

Placuit excellenciae uestrae sciscitari a nobis quid agendum sit de quodam uiro qui, filium suum tenendo ad confirmacionem,

<sup>e</sup> sed only in P

<sup>f</sup> uehementius B instantius V

76 LDRCPBV

<sup>a</sup> uestrae add. LDR (*supra* L)

77 LDRCPBVKF

<sup>a</sup> bone serue (*perhaps correctly*) B

and unreasonably demands<sup>3</sup> that those who are dutifully keeping silent come to trial. So I am finally forced against my will to give way and to set a day and a place as you asked, for now I do not dare to leave untried what I think God is unwilling to let pass unpunished.<sup>4</sup> Farewell, now and always.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims*

before 27 July 1023

To Archbishop E(balus) of Rheims, who is always to be loved and revered, from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his wish that he may share in the fount of inmost charity.

Trusting in your goodness and not in our just deserts, we beg you, dear father, to deign to consider our good friend Hubert, bearer of this letter, as your friend too. Having left his homeland for the sake of acquiring a sound education, and having stayed with us for some time, he has shown himself as deserving of our love and honour as if he were our born brother. Now the same reason has led him to make arrangements to visit your monastery of Saint-Remi.<sup>1</sup> If he should in any way need your help there, we beg that he may feel the kindness of your heart. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens*

before 27 July 1023

To the venerable archbishop of Sens, L(eothericus), from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his wish that he may hear from the most high Lord: 'Well done, good servant.'<sup>1</sup>

It has pleased your excellency to ask us what should be done with regard to a man who acted as his son's sponsor at confirmation

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Persius, vi. 37 f., where Bestius (as in Horace, *Ep.* i. 15. 37) is cast as the relentless critic of extravagance. It is impossible to tell whether Fulbert understood it as a proper name, and the copyists of B and V seem to have been troubled by it. The word is otherwise found (see Du Cange, s.v.) in the sense of 'beast-like', and Fulbert is apparently using it to denote one who makes persistent and unreasonable demands.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Job 24: 12.

76. <sup>1</sup> Of Rheims.

77. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. 25: 21; Luke 19: 17.

factus est de patre patrinus: uidelicet utrum ab uxore sua matre eiusdem pueri<sup>b</sup> sit separandus an non. Nos uero quod sancti patres de tali causa statuerunt, id censemus esse tenendum. Inuenitur ergo statutum in concilio Liptiniensi, capitulo vii, sub Zacharia papa, sub principe Karlomanno, hoc modo: 'Siquis filiastrum aut filiastram suam ante episcopum ad confirmationem tenuerit, separetur ab uxore et alteram non accipiat. Simili modo et mulier alterum non accipiat.'<sup>c</sup> Item in eodem: 'Nullus proprium filium uel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat, nec filiolum nec commatrem ducat uxorem, nec illam cuius filium uel filiam ad confirmationem tenuerit.'<sup>d</sup> Vbi autem factum fuerit, separentur.'<sup>2</sup> Credo ista sufficere pauca sapienti.<sup>3</sup> Valet.

## 78

*Fulbert to King Robert: notifying him that he will not meet him at Tours as instructed<sup>1</sup> before 27 July 1023*

Regi sacerdos, domino fidelis, R(otberto) F(ulbertus).

Vt uobis proximo sabbato Turonis occurrerem, quia sero comitorium accepi, non parui. Siquae aliae causae sunt, tacentur ad presens, quia minus uos tacitae quam expositae ledunt. Valet nunc et semper.

## 79

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris: explaining why he has not excommunicated an enemy, advising him as to a rebellious archdeacon, and notifying him of his action as regards a complaint before 27 July 1023*

Venerando Parisiorum antistiti F(ranconi) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus tocius prosperitatis munus.

Laudonensem illam sacrilegam res ecclesiae uestrae diripientem propter has causas excommunicare distulimus: primo, quia defuit

<sup>b</sup> pueri *om.* KF      <sup>c</sup> Simili . . . accipiat *om.* CV      <sup>d</sup> confirmationem tenuerit] contenerit LP

78 LDRCPBV It is copied twice in C.

79 LDRKP

<sup>2</sup> The attribution to the council of Estinnes (743) is erroneous. Fulbert's source was apparently Benedictus Levita, i. 7, 167 (ed. Knust, pp. 47, 54),

and so changed his relationship to him from father to godfather: should the man be separated from his wife (the boy's mother) or not? We think that you should hold to what the holy fathers decreed in such a case. One finds the following decreed in chapter seven of the council of Estinnes, held under Pope Zachary and Prince Carloman: 'If anyone acts as sponsor for his stepson or stepdaughter when he is confirmed by the bishop, let him be separated from his wife and not take another; and likewise let the woman not take another husband.' Also in the same council: 'Let no one receive his own son or daughter from the baptismal font or marry his goddaughter or fellow-sponsor or her whose son or daughter he sponsored for confirmation. Where this happens, let them be separated.'<sup>2</sup> I think these few words are enough for a wise man.<sup>3</sup> Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Robert<sup>1</sup> before 27 July 1023*

To the king from his bishop, to a lord from his vassal, to R(ober) from F(ulbert).

Since I was late in receiving your instructions to meet you at Tours next Saturday, I have not obeyed. As for any other reasons, I am saying nothing for the present, since they will give less offence if I leave them unsaid than if I should tell you. Farewell, now and always.

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris before 27 July 1023*

To the venerable bishop of Paris, F(ranco), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with his wish that all may prosper.

With regard to the woman from Laon who is committing sacrilege by ravaging your church's possessions, we have put off

where the first canon is cited shortly after a reference to that council. Fulbert was apparently misled by this and their similarity into attributing both canons to it. They actually come from the councils of Compiègne (757), c. 15 (*MGH Leges*, ii. i (1883), 38), and Mainz (813), c. 55 (*ibid.* iii. ii (1906), 273). See A. Werminghoff, 'Zu den fränkischen Reformsynoden des 8. Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv*, xxxii (1907), 230 f.; E. Brouette, *DHGE* xv. 1064 ff., who, however, accepts their attribution to Estinnes. <sup>3</sup> See p. 63 n. 4.

78. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxxiv.



qui ipsi ferre auderet nostram excommunicacionem; deinde, quia parum uobis aut nihil fortasse prodesset, si illa nesciens excommunicaretur in ecclesia nostra; tercio, quia expectauimus ut in conuentu nostrorum conprouincialium episcoporum utilius hoc fieret. Quod etiam adhuc expectandum nobis uidetur, si animi uestri serenitas adquiescat. De Lisiardo autem archidiacono uestro,<sup>1</sup> quem scripsistis in uos superbum ac rebellem esse, non opus est nos consulere, cum optime nouerit prudentia uestra quid de huiusmodi lex diuina sanciat, neque nos<sup>a</sup> oporteat quemquam absentem et causa indiscussa iudicare. Volumus autem uos scire quod Adroldus<sup>b</sup> noster de Nouigento,<sup>2</sup> cui anathematis sententiam intentatis propter querelam quam habent contra eum monachi sancti Dionisii, dicit se paratum esse ad iustificandum in audientia uestra atque nostra. Proinde si litem hanc cito iustoque fine determinare uultis, constituite diem quo uobis et monachis sancti Dionisii apud sanctum Arnulfum<sup>3</sup> occurrere ualeamus, qui locus nobis ad conueniendum oportunior esse uidetur. Valete.

## 80

*Archbishop Leothericus of Sens and Fulbert to the clergy of Paris: exhorting them to support Bishop Franco in his struggle against his archdeacon Lisiardus<sup>1</sup> c. mid 1023*

L(euthericus) Senonensium archiepiscopus, et F(ulbertus) Carnotensium<sup>a</sup> episcopus, clero<sup>b</sup> Parisiacensis ecclesiae temperanciam in prosperis, fortitudinem in aduersis, caritatem ubique.

Audiuimus, carissimi, famam iniuriarum quas patitur episcopus uester, et corde compatimur. Vos quoque illas ita sentire credimus, sicut fideles filios, et bono capiti bene coherencia membra. Sed miramur quare in tanto merore constituti, nec ad nos petendae consolacionis causa uenistis, nec saltem litteras direxistis. Nam

<sup>a</sup> uos L

<sup>b</sup> Rodulfus LDRK (*initial ad-erased* L)

80 LDRCBPVKF  
BKF

<sup>a</sup> Carnotensis R Carnot KF

<sup>b</sup> sanctae *add.*

79. <sup>1</sup> Apparently the archdeacon who is the subject of no. 80 and whose name appears in a charter of Franco (*Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. B. Guérard, i (Paris, 1850), 325).

excommunicating her for the following reasons: first, because there was no one who would dare to notify her that we had excommunicated her; second, since it would be of little or perhaps no profit to you if she were excommunicated in our church without knowing it; third, because we believe that this could be done to better advantage in a provincial council of our fellow bishops. I think that we should wait until then, if you with your usual long-suffering will concur. As for your archdeacon Lisiardus,<sup>1</sup> who you wrote was arrogant and rebellious toward you, there is no need to consult us, since you in your wisdom well know what divine law prescribes in such cases, and since we should not judge anyone who is absent and whose case has not been heard. We also want you to know that our vassal, Adroldus of Nogent,<sup>2</sup> whom you are threatening to excommunicate because of a complaint that the monks of Saint-Denis have made against him, says that he is prepared to defend himself in court before both of us. So if you wish to bring this case to a rapid and just conclusion, set a day when we can meet you and the monks of Saint-Denis at Saint-Arnoul,<sup>3</sup> which seems to be the most convenient place for us to come together. Farewell.

*Archbishop Leothericus of Sens and Fulbert to the clergy of Paris<sup>1</sup> c. mid 1023*

L(euthericus), archbishop of Sens, and F(ulbert), bishop of Chartres, to the clergy of the church of Paris, with their wishes for moderation amid prosperity, fortitude amid adversity, charity at all times.

We have heard, dear friends, a report of the injuries suffered by your bishop, and in our hearts we suffer with him. We believe that you share our feelings in this regard as faithful sons and members closely joined to a good head. But we wonder why in the midst of your great sorrow you have not come to ask us for consolation or even sent us a letter, for your affliction is not so

<sup>2</sup> Probably the vicomte of Nogent-le-Roi (Eure-et-Loir, *arr.* Dreux), who witnessed Appendix C, nos. 11 f.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Saint-Arnoult-en-Yveline (Seine-et-Oise, *arr.* Rambouillet), where Saint-Maur-des-Fossés had recently received a grant (Appendix C, no. 7).

80. <sup>1</sup> See no. 79.

neque plaga uestra tanta est ut inuenire<sup>e</sup> nequeat consolacionis remedium, neque uerus medicus ille dereliquit aecclesiam, qui se nobis 'omnibus diebus usque ad consummacionem seculi'<sup>2</sup> promisit affuturum. Miramur iterum cur impios homines qui diuinis sanctionibus aduersantur, et in uestrum pastorem contumaces existunt, in communionem recipitis contra canonicam legem, quam uobis et ignorare nefas est et periculum soluere. Quod si putatis eos tandiu uobis in communionem habendos, quousque ab episcopo uestro palam excommunicentur, corrigit hanc estimacionem Petrus apostolus in sermone habito ad Romanos de ordinacione Clementis his uerbis: 'Quedam', inquit, 'fratres ex uobis<sup>d</sup> intelligere debetis, siqua sunt quae uester episcopus propter insidias malorum hominum non possit euidentius et manifestius<sup>e</sup> proloqui: uerbi gratia, si inimicus est alicui pro actibus suis, uos nolite expectare ut ipse uobis dicat, sed prudenter obseruare debetis,<sup>f</sup> uoluntati eius absque commonicione obsecundare, et auertere uos ab eo cui ipsum sentitis aduersum.'<sup>g3</sup> Haec et plura huiusmodi beatus Petrus in predicto sermone. Nos autem, fratres, dum talia uobis proponimus, nolite estimare<sup>h</sup> (absit enim) ut sinistrum aliquid de uobis suspicemur; sed officium nostrum facimus, cum aut uos aut alios fratres nostros ad cautelae uigilanciam excitamus. Non enim sine causa<sup>i</sup> scriptum est propheticum illud de pennatis animalibus quod se inuicem alarum commocione contingant.<sup>k4</sup> Vnde nos quoque uicem nobis rependi postulantem, agili penna exhortacionis uos ad haec<sup>l</sup> excitare cupimus, ut sitis in lege Domini studiosi, ad obedienciam et suffragium uestri pastoris pio amore deuoti, ad resistendum uero aduersariis eius sagaciter instructi, fideliter animati. Inter quos uidelicet aduersarios<sup>m</sup> unus est (ut audiuimus) nomine<sup>n</sup> Lisiardus, olim quidem archidiaconus, qui cum esse deberet oculus episcopi sui, dispensator pauperum, catecizator insipientium,<sup>5</sup> apostatauit ab omnibus his et factus est episcopo suo quasi clauus in oculum, praedo pauperibus, dux erroris insipientibus. Quia superba et contumeliosa maledicta in episcopum suum iaculans, serenitatem speculacionis eius turbat; decimas et oblaciones altarium (stipem uidelicet pauperum) suo episcopo inconsulto seculari miliciae

<sup>e</sup> uenire L      <sup>d</sup> ipsis *add.* BKF      <sup>e</sup> et manifestius] manifestiusque  
LDR (-que *add. supra* L)      atque manifestus P      *om.* V      <sup>f</sup> et *add.*  
LDRBKF (*supra* L)      <sup>g</sup> auersum KF      <sup>h</sup> exstimare L      existimare DR  
<sup>i</sup> causa *om.* L      <sup>k</sup> commocione-ē (= est) contingantur L      <sup>l</sup> hoc BKF  
<sup>m</sup> aduersarius LDRCK      <sup>n</sup> nomine *om.* LDRC      omne V

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 28: 20.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Clement, ep. i. 17 (Hinschius, p. 36).

great that it cannot find consolation and relief, nor has that true Physician abandoned the church who promised to be with us 'all days even to the consummation of the world'.<sup>2</sup> We also wonder why you receive into communion impious men who are opposed to divine law and disobedient toward your pastor, for this is contrary to canon law, which it is wrong for you not to know and perilous for you to violate. But if you think they should remain in communion with you until they are publicly excommunicated by your bishop, the apostle Peter refutes this notion in his sermon to the Romans on Clement's consecration as follows: 'Brothers, there are certain matters you should know for yourselves in case your bishop cannot talk about them plainly and openly because of treacherous and wicked men. For example, if his actions show that he disapproves of someone, you should not wait for him to tell you, but you should watch carefully and comply with his wishes without having to be told and turn away from him to whom you feel he is opposed.'<sup>3</sup> This and more to the same purpose were said by St. Peter in that sermon. But in our pointing this out to you, brothers, do not think (heaven forbid) that we suspect you of anything evil. We are but doing our duty in rousing you or our other brothers to watch and take care, for it was not without reason that the prophet wrote as regards the winged creatures that they touch one another by moving their wings.<sup>4</sup> So while asking you to do the same for us in return, we wish to rouse you by the nimble wing of exhortation to be zealous for the law of the Lord, to obey and support your pastor with filial love and devotion, and to be armed with wisdom and inspired with fidelity to resist his enemies. Among them there is one (so we have heard) named Lisiardus, who was once an archdeacon. When he should have been the eye of his bishop, the steward of the poor, and the instructor of the unlearned,<sup>5</sup> he deserted all these and became, as it were, a beam in his bishop's eye, a robber of the poor, and a leader in wrongdoing to the unlearned. For by assailing his bishop with haughty, insolent, and slanderous abuse, he disturbs his peace of mind; he takes the tithes and offerings of the altars (that is, the alms for the poor) and without consulting his

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ezek. 3: 13. According to Gregory I, *Hom. in Ez.* i. x. 30 ff. (*PL* lxxvi. 898 ff.), the animals who touch each other in moving their wings signify holy men who rouse each other to further spiritual progress by the sight of their virtues.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pseudo-Clement, ep. i. 12 (Hinschius, p. 34).

tradit; et cum talia facit, dat insipientibus erroris et perditionis exemplum, quibus inpendere debuerat uerae scientiae catholicismum. Quid dicemus de iuramento fidelitatis quod ita contaminat, ut episcopo suo nec corde nec uerbo nec opere fidelis existat? Non autem temere de corde<sup>o</sup> iudicamus,<sup>6</sup> cum ueraciter in sacro poemate dictum sit: 'Ex operum specie clarescunt intima cordis.'<sup>7</sup> Is itaque pro contumacia sua qua poena dignus sit, si ruina angeli non sufficit ad exemplum, contumacis Chore manifestat interitus.<sup>8</sup> Pro perfidia uero sua et contumeliosa maledictione quid meruerit, suspendium Iudae et sororis Aaron lepra testatur.<sup>9</sup> O hominem infelicem nimium, cui tam horrenda tempestas diuinae ulcionis incumbit! Condemnat illum testamentum uetus his uerbis: 'Qui maledixerit patri, morte moriatur.'<sup>10</sup> Condemnat illum lex Christianorum iudicium hac sententia: 'Siquis episcopo aliquam iniuriam aut iniustam dehonorationem fecerit, de uita componat, et omnia quae habere uisus fuerit ecclesiae cui praeesse dinoscitur integerrime societur.'<sup>11</sup> Excommunicat illum Gangrense concilium capitulo septimo et octauo;<sup>12</sup> degradat illum Cartaginiense concilium capitulo lvii;<sup>13</sup> sed et alia plura.<sup>b</sup> Quapropter et nos a sanctorum patrum sententia discrepare nolentes, consequenter illum a communione separamus, quantum nostrae potestati conceditur, donec resipiscat, et episcopo suo digne humiliatus satisfaciatur. Et nisi cito resipiscens ad satisfactionem uenerit, in plenaria synodo perpetuo anathemate ferietur. Mandamus autem uobis, karissimi, ut ipsi L(isiardo) has litteras<sup>q</sup> ostendatis, ut tam horrenda pericula uel grauiter admonitus exire meminerit. Patet etenim<sup>r</sup> adhuc euadendi locus dicente Domino per Hiezechielem: 'Si impius egerit poenitentiam ab omnibus peccatis<sup>s</sup> quae operatus est, et custodierit uniuersa precepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iustitiam, uita uiuet et non morietur';<sup>14</sup> et per Iohannem: 'Filioli, haec scribo uobis ut non peccetis; et<sup>t</sup> siquis peccauerit, aduocatum habemus apud patrem iustum

<sup>o</sup> ipsius *add.* BKF    <sup>p</sup> plurima KF    <sup>q</sup> litteras has LDRC    <sup>r</sup> enim RCBVKF  
<sup>s</sup> suis *add.* BKF    <sup>t</sup> Sed et DR

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Prosper, *Liber sententiarum*, c. xxi (ed. Gastaldo, *CCL* lxxviii<sup>a</sup>. 262), which was taken up in Pseudo-Zepherinus, ep. i. 7 (Hinschius, p. 132).

<sup>7</sup> Source unidentified.

<sup>8</sup> See Isa. 14: 12 ff.; Num. 16: 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See Matt. 27: 5; Num. 12: 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. 21: 17; Lev. 20: 9.

<sup>11</sup> Benedictus Levita, ii. 99 (ed. Knust, p. 78).

bishop uses them to wage impious warfare; and in so doing, he shows the unlearned the way of sin and damnation when he should have offered them instruction in true knowledge. What shall we say as to his oath of fidelity, which he violates to the point of being unfaithful to his bishop in thought, word, and deed? Nor are we making a rash judgement as to his thoughts,<sup>6</sup> for the Christian poet rightly says: 'In the way a man acts the secrets of his heart are revealed.'<sup>7</sup> The punishment he deserves for his arrogance is clearly shown, if the ruin of the angels is not a suitable example, by the destruction of Corah for wilful defiance.<sup>8</sup> What he deserves for his faithlessness and insolent curses is attested by Judas's hanging himself and the leprosy of Aaron's sister.<sup>9</sup> O wretched, wretched man on whom falls such a dreadful storm of divine vengeance! The Old Testament condemns him in these words: 'He that curseth his father shall die the death.'<sup>10</sup> The law of Christian judges condemns him with this pronouncement: 'If anyone commits an injury against a bishop or in any way unjustly dishonours him, let him pay with his life, and let all that he has be given to the church of which that bishop has charge.'<sup>11</sup> The council of Gangres, chapters seven and eight, excommunicates him;<sup>12</sup> the council of Carthage, chapter fifty-seven, degrades him;<sup>13</sup> and there are many more. So since we do not wish to differ from the judgement of the holy fathers, we too sever him from communion so far as in us lies until he comes to his senses, is suitably humbled, and makes satisfaction to his bishop; and unless he quickly comes to his senses and makes satisfaction, he will be stricken and permanently excommunicated in a full synod. We also ask you, dear friends, to show this letter to L(isiardus) himself, so that having been so solemnly admonished he may take thought as to how to escape such dreadful perils. For the way to escape still lies open, as the Lord says through Ezekiel: 'If the wicked do penance for all his sins which he hath committed, and keep all my commandments, and do judgement and justice, living he shall live, and shall not die';<sup>14</sup> and through John: 'My little children, these things I write to you that you may not sin. But if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus the just,

<sup>12</sup> Mansi, ii. 1111; Hinschius, p. 265.

<sup>13</sup> *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, c. 57 (Mansi, iii. 956; Hinschius, p. 305) = c. 44 (ed. C. Munier (Strasbourg, 1960), p. 87), traditionally ascribed to Carthage IV.

<sup>14</sup> Ezek. 18: 21.

Ihesum;<sup>u</sup> ipse est exoracio pro peccatis nostris.<sup>15</sup> Et ipse Dominus ait: 'Gaudium est angelis Dei super uno peccatore penitentiam agente quam super<sup>x</sup> xcviiii iustis qui non indigent penitencia.'<sup>16</sup> Certum enim habet catholica fides, ut uerbis beati Fulgencii utar, quia 'quocumque tempore homo egerit penitentiam, quamlibet iniquus,<sup>y</sup> quamlibet annosus, si toto corde renunciauerit peccatis preteritis<sup>z</sup> et pro eis in conspectu Dei non solum corporis sed aetiam cordis lacrimas fuderit, et malorum operum maculas bonis operibus diluere curauerit, omnium peccatorum indulgentiam mox habebit.'<sup>17</sup> Verum ut ait pater Augustinus: 'Qui ueniam penitenti promisit, dissimulanti diem crastinum non spondit.'<sup>18</sup> Rogamus etiam, fratres, ut domnum F(ranconem) uenerabilem episcopum uice nostra salutare et confortare memineritis, certo scientes suam tristitiam nostram<sup>a</sup> esse, nostra prospera sua. Valet cum ipso.

## 81

*Fulbert to King Robert: explaining why he cannot attend a conference with the Emperor Henry II<sup>1</sup>*

*before 27 July 1023*

Domino suo R(otberto) regi benignissimo F(ulbertus) humilis sacerdos inperpetuum uigere.

Sacram maiestatis uestrae nuperrime<sup>a</sup> suscepi monentem me vi kalendas Augusti uestro et H(einrici) imperatoris interesse colloquio, non solum uestri obsequii sed et nostrae commoditatis causa. Vnde suppliciter uobis pro tanta erga me pietatis affectione gratulans, rescribo me iamdiu infirmatum, egritudinem hoc tempore maxime reuereri, longum iter aggredi non audere, successu uero temporis oportuniore, annuente Deo libenter uos eo siue alias comitaturum esse; quamquam ad presens si ualitudo non obsisteret, longe tamen ante premoneri me tanti itineris oporteret. Valet feliciter.

<sup>u</sup> et *add.* DR  
<sup>z</sup> praesentis L

<sup>x</sup> supra LDR  
<sup>a</sup> sua tristitia nostra CPBKF (tristia KF)

<sup>y</sup> quamlibet iniquus *om.* PB

and he is the propitiation for our sins.'<sup>15</sup> The Lord himself says: 'There is more joy among the angels of God over one sinner that doth penance than over ninety-nine just who need not penance.'<sup>16</sup> The catholic faith holds it for certain, to quote St. Fulgentius, that 'at whatever time a man does penance, however wicked, however old he may be, if he renounces his past sins with all his heart and in the sight of God pours forth tears for them not only from his body, but also from his heart, and takes care to wash away the stain of evil deeds with good works, he will immediately obtain forgiveness for all his sins'.<sup>17</sup> But as St. Augustine says: 'He who promised pardon to the penitent did not give to the hypocrite the assurance of a morrow.'<sup>18</sup> We also ask you, brothers, to remember to greet and comfort your venerable bishop F(ranco) for us. You may rest assured that his sadness is ours and our good fortune his. Our best wishes to you and him.

*Fulbert to King Robert<sup>1</sup>*

*before 27 July 1023*

To his very kind lord and king, R(ober), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his wish that he may flourish for ever.

I have just received your majesty's letter summoning me in the name of the service that I owe you as well as for our common good to attend a conference between you and the Emperor H(enry) on 27 July. While I humbly thank you for showing me such fatherly affection, I am writing to let you know that I have been in poor health for some time and am very much afraid of becoming ill now, and so I do not dare to undertake a long journey, but that when I am better able to do so, I shall (God willing) accompany you there or elsewhere. But even if I were not held back by ill health at present, I should have been notified of such a long journey far in advance. Farewell, and good fortune.

81 LDRKCP It is copied twice in P.

<sup>a</sup> nuperrime *om.* DRK

<sup>15</sup> 1 John 2: 1 f.

<sup>16</sup> Luke 15: 7, 10.

<sup>17</sup> *De fide*, c. xxxix (ed. Fraipont, *CCL* xci<sup>a</sup>. 737).

<sup>18</sup> Actually Prosper, *Liber sententiarum*, c. lxxi (ed. Gastaldo, *CCL* lxxviii<sup>a</sup>. 274).

81. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxx, lxxxii–lxxxiv.

## 82

*Fulbert to Bishop Bonibertus of Fünfkirchen:*<sup>1</sup> *thanking him for his letter and sending him a copy of Priscian*

*c. mid 1023*

Sancto ac uenerabili coepiscopo suo Boniberto F(ulbertus) fidelitatis obsequium et summi pastoris benedictionem.

Primum quidem benedicimus Deum Patrem ingenitum, filium-que suum unigenitum Ihesum Christum dominum nostrum,<sup>a</sup> et Spiritum sanctum paraclitum, unum uerum Deum qui cuncta creauit, qui te quoque, dilectissime pater, multa sapientia inlustrauit ad docendum populum suum, et decore sanctitatis ad prebendum bonae uitae exemplum decenter ornauit. Deinde magnas tibi referimus<sup>b</sup> grates, quod nos licet inmeritos atque ignotos salutacionis tuae pariterque munere gratiae dignatus es preuenire. Vnde profecto nos in amorem tuum sic animasti, ut perhennem tui memoriam in intimo cordis nostri uigere uelimus, ut saltem per crebra oracionum suffragia, si aliter facultas non suppecierit, tuae benignitati uicem rependere satagamus. Significauit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus<sup>2</sup> tuae caritatis erga nos insignia, fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te uelle, quem et per eundem libenter mittimus, quicquid etiam de nostro pecieris hilarissime tibi (si possibile fuerit) transmissuri, ipsam quoque presenciam nostram, si tibi opus esset ac uoluntas, nobisque<sup>c</sup> potestas, obsequentissime prestaturi. Ad ultimum saluere te semper obtamus, precantes ut illam nouam ac gloriosam adoptionis prolem summi regis, regem uidelicet Stephanum, ex nostri parte salutes, intimans excellenciae suae ex nostra parte<sup>d</sup> et uniuersarum congregacionum quae sunt in episcopatu nostro, canonicorum scilicet ac monachorum, oracionum fidelia.

82 LDRKP            <sup>a</sup> Ihesum . . . nostrum] dominum Ihesum Christum LDRK  
<sup>b</sup> referimus tibi LDRK            <sup>c</sup> nobis quoque LDRK            <sup>d</sup> salutes . . . parte  
om. P

*Fulbert to Bishop Bonibertus of Fünfkirchen*<sup>1</sup> *c. mid 1023*

To his holy and venerable fellow bishop, Bonibertus, from F(ulbert), with his faithful service and the blessing of the Most High Pastor.

First we bless the unbegotten God the Father and his only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, one true God, who created all things and illumined you, my dear father, with great wisdom so that you might teach his people and suitably adorned you with the beauty of holiness that you might show them how to live rightly. Then we thank you very much for having deigned to take the first step in sending our undeserving and unknown selves the gift of your greeting and friendship. In doing this you have inspired us with such love for you that we wish ever to cherish your memory in our inmost heart so that we may strive to repay you for your kindness, if in no other way, at least with the support of our constant prayers. Our son and your faithful servant Hilduinus<sup>2</sup> has told us of your gestures of charity toward us and dutifully stated that you would like one of our copies of Priscian. We are happy to send this by him, and whatever else you should ask of us we shall be most delighted to send you if we can; and if you should need and want us to, and if we are able, we ourselves shall most obediently attend you in person. In closing we send our wishes for your continual well-being, and we ask you to convey our greetings to that new and glorious adopted son of the Most High King, namely King Stephen, and to assure his excellency on behalf of us and all the communities in our diocese, both canons and monks, of our faithful prayers.

82. <sup>1</sup> The first bishop of Fünfkirchen (Pecs, in southern Hungary), who resigned in 1036 and died in 1042 (*Annales Posonienses* (MGH SS xix. 572)). Pilgrims to the Holy Land began to use the land route through Hungary about this time, and King Stephen (997–1038) became known for his generosity to them (see Raoul Glaber, iii. 1 (ed. Prou, p. 52); the letter to Stephen from Abbot Odilo of Cluny in Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 9376, f. 60 (see p. xlvi n.), from which it was printed in Pfister, *Fulbert*, pp. 53 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Hilduinus mentioned in no. 105 and possibly the son of the vidame Reginald (see no. 121) and subdeacon and canon of Chartres (Merlet, p. 179).

## 83

*Fulbert to Duke Richard II of Normandy:*<sup>1</sup> asking him not to impose new burdens on the lands he gave to Chartres

c. mid 1023

Venerando Normannorum principi R(icardo) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus salutem et oracionum suffragia.

Multa bona fecistis ecclesiae sanctae Mariae dominae nostrae. Retribuat vobis Deus per intercessionem ipsius. Nos quoque pro illis animae uestrae corporique uestro et fideles sumus, et semper esse ualeamus.<sup>a</sup> Sed nuper ad nos insperata uenit legacio, quod ipsam terram quam nobis dedistis<sup>2</sup> Baldricus minister uester<sup>b</sup> reuocauerit, nostro ministro quem ibi prefeceramus<sup>c</sup> aliquid disponendi potestatem interdixerit, suas etiam res inuaserit, nostris hominibus nouam angariam induxerit, banniendo scilicet ut irent ad molendinum sancti Audoeni,<sup>3</sup> quinque leugis (ut ferunt) ab eorum hospiciis remotum. Si haec, obtime princeps, uestro iussu (quod minime credimus) facta sunt, plurimum uestri causa dolemus, et ut corrigantur suppliciter postulamus. Quin etiam iubeat prudentia uestra ministris uestris, ne ulterius inquietent nostros homines, et deinceps terram predictam ita libere nos possidere sinant, ut eam a benignissima uestra manu<sup>d</sup> suscepimus. Vigeat diutissime incolumitas et potencia uestra.

## 84

*Fulbert to Bishop R.: advising him as regards the bond of betrothal*

mid 1023–early 1024

F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus uenerabili consacerdoti suo R. boni propositi finem optimum.

Mulier illa, de cuius causa nostram humilitatem consulere uoluistis, impedita est uinculo iuramenti, nec potest inire conubium sine crimine peiurii,<sup>a</sup> nisi per consensum aut post obitum illius cui se tali iuramento condicionaliter obligauit. Valet.

83 LDRKP                   <sup>a</sup> uolumus DRK                   <sup>b</sup> uester minister LDRK  
<sup>c</sup> prefeceramus L   preferamus P                   <sup>d</sup> manu uestra LDRK  
 84 LDRPBVKF           <sup>a</sup> corr. to peiurii L

*Fulbert to Duke Richard II of Normandy*<sup>1</sup> c. mid 1023

To the venerable prince of Normandy, R(ichard), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with his greetings and the support of his prayers.

You have performed many good services for the church of our Lady, St. Mary. May God reward you through her intercession. In return for them we too are faithful vassals of your soul and body, and we hope that we can always be so. But recently we received an unexpected message that your servant Baldricus has recalled the land that you gave us,<sup>2</sup> forbidden the servant whom we placed in charge there to exercise any authority and seized his possessions, and imposed a new *banalité* on our men by ordering them to use the mill at Saint-Ouen,<sup>3</sup> which (so they say) is five leagues away from their holdings. If these things, most excellent prince, were done at your command (which we by no means believe), we are very much grieved on your account, and we humbly beg that they may be corrected. May you in your wisdom instruct your servants not to give our men any further trouble and from now on to let us hold this land on the same terms as we received it from your most kind hand. May good health and strength be yours for many years.

*Fulbert to Bishop R.*

mid 1023–early 1024

F(ulbert), a humble bishop, to his venerable fellow bishop R., with his wish that what he has resolved may meet with every success.

With regard to the woman about whose case you consulted our humble selves, she is held back by the bond of her oath and cannot enter into marriage without committing perjury except with the consent or after the death of him to whom she bound herself under the terms of her oath. Farewell.

83. <sup>1</sup> November 996–23 August 1026 (D. Douglas, 'Some Problems of Early Norman Chronology', *English Historical Review*, lxx (1950), 289 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 71 n. 2. A 'Baldricus procurator' was one of the witnesses to the charter cited there.

<sup>3</sup> A fairly common place-name which cannot be identified with certainty. The only mill of that name listed in Le Marquis de Blosseville, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Eure* (Paris, 1877), pp. 203 f., is apparently too distant.

## 85

*Fulbert to O(dilo, abbot of Cluny?): informing him that he cannot meet him as planned* mid 1023–early 1024

Sanctissimo atque dilectissimo patri O(diloni) F(ulbertus) humilis sacerdos oracionis suffragium.

Volebam uobis occurrere, pater, ut mandauī per R. diaconem meum; sed domestici mei nouo quodam rumore permoti, nec me iter ad presens agere, nec se itineris mei fore comites adquiescunt, donec tutius id fieri posse perpendant. Valetē.

## 86

*Count Odo II of Chartres to King Robert: explaining why he did not come to trial and calling on him to do him justice<sup>1</sup>* mid 1023–early 1024

Domino suo regi R(otberto) comes Odo.

Pauca tibi, domine, dicere uolo si audire digneris. Comes Ricardus<sup>2</sup> tuus fidelis monuit me uenire ad iustitiam aut ad concordiam de querelis quas habebas contra me. Ego uero misi causam hanc totam in manu ipsius. Tum ille ex consensu tuo constituit mihi placitum, et ubi hoc perfici posset. Sed instante termino cum ad hoc peragendum paratus essem, mandauit mihi ne me fatigarem ad condictum placitum ueniendo, quia non erat tibi cordi aliam iustificacionem seu concordiam recipere, nisi hoc tantum ut faceres mihi defendere quod non essem dignus ullum beneficium tenere de te, nec sibi competere dicebat, ut me ad tale iudicium exhiberet sine conuentu parium suorum. Haec causa est cur tibi ad placitum non occurri. Sed de te, domine mi, ualde miror, qui me tam prepropere causa indiscussa tuo beneficio iudicabas indignum. Nam si respiciatur ad condicionem generis, claret Dei gratia quod hereditabilis sim. Si ad qualitatem beneficii quod mihi dedisti, constat quia non est de tuo fisco sed de his quae mihi per tuam gratiam ex maioribus meis hereditario iure

*Fulbert to O(dilo, abbot of Cluny?)* mid 1023–early 1024

To his most holy and very dear father O(dilo) from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with the support of his prayers.

I wanted to meet you, father, as I told you through my deacon R.; but my servants are disturbed by a new rumour and will not consent to my travelling at present or to accompany me on my journey until they consider it safer to do so. Farewell.

*Count Odo II of Chartres to King Robert<sup>1</sup>*  
mid 1023–early 1024

To his lord, King R(ober) t, from Count Odo.

I wish to say a few words to you, my lord, if you will deign to listen. Your vassal Count Richard<sup>2</sup> called on me to stand trial or to come to an agreement with you as regards the charges you made against me. I placed the whole case in his hands. Then with your consent he set up for me a court where this could be done. But when the time came and I was ready to go through with it, he sent me word not to bother going to the court that he had conuened since you did not intend to accept any other judgement or agreement, but only to charge me with being unworthy to hold any benefice from you, and he said that it was not right for him to bring me to trial on this charge except before a court of his peers. This is why I did not meet you at that court. But as regards you, my lord, I am exceedingly astonished that so hastily and without hearing my case you have judged me unworthy to hold a benefice from you. For if it is a question of my birth, it is clear that by God's grace I am able to enter on an inheritance. If it is a question of the nature of the benefice you gave me, the fact is that it does not come from your domain, but from the estates which come to me with your consent by hereditary right from

86. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxix ff., lxxxiv, and especially the article by Halphen cited there whose interpretation I have largely followed.

<sup>2</sup> Duke Richard II of Normandy.

contingunt. Si ad seruicii meritum, ipse profecto nosti donec tuam gratiam habui quomodo tibi seruierim domi et militiae et peregre. At postquam gratiam tuam auertisti a me, et honorem quem dederas mihi tollere nisus es, si me et honorem meum defendendo aliqua tibi ingrata commisi, feci hoc lacesitus iniuriis et necessitate coactus. Quomodo enim dimittere possum, ut non defendam honorem meum?<sup>3</sup> Deum et animam meam testor, quod magis eligerem honoratus mori, quam uiuere dishonoratus. At si me dishonorare uelle desistas, nihil in mundo est quod magis quam gratiam tuam uel habere uel promereri desiderem. Discordia enim tua mihi quidem molestissima est, sed tibi, mi domine, tollit officii tui radicem et fructum, iustitiam loquor et pacem. Vnde suppliciter exoro clementiam illam quae tibi naturaliter adest, si maligno consilio non tollatur, ut iam tandem a persecucione mea desistas, meque tibi siue per domesticos tuos seu per manus principum reconciliari permittas.<sup>a</sup>

## 87

*Fulbert and Bishop Avesgaudus of Le Mans to Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims: asking him to support Avesgaudus in his struggle against Count Herbert of Le Mans*  
mid 1023–early 1024

Gloria et honore digno patri et archiepiscopo Ebalu F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus cum uenerabili Cinomannensium episcopo Auisgaudo salutem.

Scientes uos habere zelum diuinae legis, nec minus opitulari uelle quam debere fratribus uestris, sed et plurimum posse, fiducialiter a uobis auxilium petimus in necessitatibus nostris, ac<sup>a</sup> nunc quidem singulariter in precursorem antichristi<sup>b</sup> Herbertum comitem Cinomannis,<sup>1</sup> qui sedem episcopalem eiusdem ciuitatis

<sup>a</sup> Vale add. B Valete add. V

87 LDRPBV <sup>a</sup> at RB <sup>b</sup> Christi L persecutorem Christi DR

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this passage the writer is playing on 'honour' in its double meaning of benefice and respect.

87. <sup>1</sup> 1014/15–1032/5 (R. Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1910), pp. 22 ff.). There was continual friction between

my ancestors. If it is a question of what I deserve in return for my service, you yourself know how as long as I had your favour I served you at home, in the field, and in foreign parts. But after you withdrew your favour from me and tried to dishonour me by taking away the benefice you had given me, if in defending myself and my benefice I in any way offended you, I did so because I was provoked by the wrongs done to me and forced by the circumstances. For how can I honourably forgo defending my benefice?<sup>3</sup> I call God and my soul to witness that I would prefer to die with honour while defending it than to live dishonoured by its loss. But if you would stop trying to dishonour me in this way, there is nothing in the world that I should like more to have or to deserve than your favour. The discord that you have caused is indeed very troublesome to me, but as for you, my lord, it takes away the root and fruit of your office, that is to say justice and peace. So I humbly beg you, in that clemency to which you are by nature inclined unless you are dissuaded from it by bad advice, now, at last, to stop persecuting me and to let me be reconciled to you through your servants or by the mediation of the princes.

*Fulbert and Bishop Avesgaudus of Le Mans to Archbishop Ebalus of Rheims*  
mid 1023–early 1024

To their father and archbishop Ebalus, who is worthy of glory and honour, from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, and the venerable Bishop Avesgaudus of Le Mans, with their greetings.

Since we know that you are a zealous supporter of God's law, that you wish to help your brothers no less than you should, and that you can help them very much, we confidently ask you for aid in our necessities and now in particular against a precursor of the antichrist, Count Herbert of Le Mans,<sup>1</sup> who is trying to destroy

Avesgaudus and Herbert. On the present occasion, according to the *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, c. xxx (ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru, *Archives historiques du Maine*, ii (1901), 358 f.), which quotes from a lost letter by Fulbert to Herbert ('... misit epistolam sale satis conditam, et scripsit in ea: nisi ab hac malitia se temperaret et rectum ei faceret, excommunicatum omninoque damnatum a Domino se crederet'), Avesgaudus fled and took refuge with Fulbert. At Count Herbert's request Fulbert went to Le Mans and arranged a settlement.



euertere nititur. Episcopum enim predictum (uidelicet Auis-gaudum) in ea cum pace manere non sinit, domus eius et terras et fruges et omnia uictualia insuper et prebendas canonicas ecclesiae peruasit. Haec itaque uos ad uiuum sentire uolumus nisunque indissimulato propellere. Et ut facilem modum habeat petitio uestra,<sup>c</sup> precamur uos illi commonitorium scribere, ut iam dicto episcopo sua reddat, et eum in pace uiuere sinat; alioquin, ut pro certo nouerit se a uobis et suffraganeis uestris excommunicatum<sup>d</sup> iri, ex illo die quo eum excommunicauerit Auis-gaudus episcopus. Commonitorium autem quod illi sacrilego uestra dignacio mittet, nobis<sup>e</sup> transcribi postulamus et mitti. Valet in<sup>f</sup> infinitum.

## 88

*Fulbert to Hildegard: advising him on the administration of Saint-Hilaire and sending him an excerpt from Amalarius on liturgical vestments*  
before 5 April 1024

F(ulbertus) episcoporum humillimus H(ildegario) suo salutem.

Absentia tua sepe commemoror<sup>a</sup> quam necessarius eras presens. Sed hoc me consolator, quod obsequia tua tali<sup>t</sup> delegauerim qui sit dignus<sup>b</sup> recipere, et utrique<sup>c</sup> remunerare paratus. Spero enim ut michi quoque de tuis benemeritis (siqua Deo dante fuerint) aliqua tecum mercedis porciuncula cedat. Opitulabor itaque tibi<sup>d</sup> ad bene promerendum ex animo; sed ueniendi ad uos diem statuere dubito, quia et ibi<sup>e</sup> uictualia michi puto deesse, et in mea diocesi multis occupor. Fac tu interim quod te facere opto et credo. Lectioni, oracioni, et erudicioni fratrum operam tuam cum alacritate diuide, animae simul et corporis curam gerens, ne propter secundum lassitudinem primi<sup>g</sup> uigor euanescat.<sup>2</sup> De re sancti patris H(ylarii) et nostra fideliter disponenda, scio te non indigere monitis, dummodo fures caueas. Vestes et caetera ornamenta ecclesiae quae

<sup>c</sup> nostra DR      <sup>d</sup> excommunicaturum LDR      <sup>e</sup> uobis PV      <sup>f</sup> in om. LBV

the episcopal see of that city. He will not let Bishop Avesgaudus remain there in peace and quiet and has seized his houses, lands, crops, and all his provisions, as well as the prebends of the canons of the church. We want you to take these matters to heart and to make an honest effort to put an end to them. So that your case may turn out successfully, we ask you to write to Count Herbert, admonishing him to return Bishop Avesgaudus's possessions and to let him live in peace and quiet, and notifying him that otherwise he will be excommunicated by you and your suffragans from the day Bishop Avesgaudus excommunicates him. We also ask your excellency to have a copy made and sent to us of the letter that you send to that sacrilegious sinner. Farewell, now and always.

*Fulbert to Hildegard*

*before 5 April 1024*

F(ulbert), most humble bishop, to his H(ildegard), with greetings.

Your absence often reminds me how important was your presence. But I take comfort in the thought that I have transferred your services to one<sup>t</sup> who is worthy to receive them and prepared to reward us both, for I hope that some small portion of your reward for your good works (God granting there be any) may also fall to me. So I shall sincerely help you to be truly deserving, but I hesitate to set a date to visit you, since I do not think that there are adequate provisions for me there, and since I am very busy with my own diocesan affairs. Meanwhile do what I hope and trust you are doing. Divide your energy and your diligence between reading, praying, and teaching the brothers, and take care of both your soul and your body so that the one may not lose its strength because of the other's weariness.<sup>2</sup> As a faithful steward of St. H(ilary's) possessions and ours, I know that you do not need any advice from me, provided you are on your guard against thieves. As for the vestments and other furnishings of the

88 LDRKCPBV      <sup>a</sup> commemorat BV      <sup>b</sup> et dignus LDRK indignus P      <sup>c</sup> utrumque P      utrumque BV      <sup>d</sup> tibi om. BV      <sup>e</sup> tibi LCPV      <sup>f</sup> seculi RCBV      <sup>g</sup> praemii CB      premia V

88. <sup>t</sup> Namely, St. Hilary (cf. no. 121).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cassian, *Conlationes*, xii. 16 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 360).

lauari uolunt, procura ut festa paschalia suo<sup>h</sup> candore uenustent. Laurus nostrae et totum pomerium gaudeant suo cultu. Vinitorem quoque et agricolam te esse memineris.<sup>3</sup> De uario numero psal-morum qui adiciuntur a quibusdam in tempore ieiunii per singulas horas canonicas in fine post oracionem dominicam et capitula quae secuntur,<sup>4</sup> regulam non inuenio. Ex<sup>i</sup> meo quidem arbitratu<sup>k</sup> superflui essent, nisi eos tutaret psalmistarum deuocio. Finitis enim capitulis post oracionem dominicam ubi dicitur 'Domine, exaudi oracionem meam', statim esset<sup>l</sup> subdenda oracio, quae ex libro sacramentario recitatur. Patere tamen<sup>m</sup> aecclesiam retinere suum usum ad presens. De significacione clericalis ornatus, Amalarius<sup>5</sup> sic: 'Breuiter desideramus recapitulare omnem ornatum clericorum. Caput clerici in superiore parte discoopertum, mens est ubi est imago Dei, in inferiore parte circumdatum capillis, quasi aliquibus cogitacionibus de presenti necessitate. Amictus est castigacio uocis. Alba, caeterorum inferiorum sensuum, presidente magistra racione et interius per disciplinam continenciae constringente quasi quodam cingulo uoluptatem carnis. Calciamenta, prohibicio pedum ad malum festinare.<sup>n</sup> Sandalia, ornatus ad iter praedicatoris, qui caelestia non debet abscondere, neque terrenis inhiare. Secunda tunica, opera mentis sunt. Casula, opera corporis pia. Stola, iugum Christi, quod est aeuuangelium. Dalmatica<sup>o</sup> diaconi (id est ministri), cura proximorum est. Sudarium, pie et munda cogitaciones quibus detergimus molestias animi ex infirmitate corporis. Pallium archiepiscoporum, torques deuotissimae praedicationis et in ueteri testamento et in nouo.' Hactenus Amalarius. Mitto tibi Ciprianum, Porphyrium, et Vitas patrum, cum psalterio<sup>p</sup> ut petisti. Moneo aetiam ut cum Donatum construxeris, nihil admisceas ineptae leuitatis ut sit causa ioci, sed omnia seria. Spectaculum enim factus es,<sup>6</sup> caue. Vide etiam ne tui asseculae

<sup>h</sup> suo om. DRK      <sup>i</sup> Ex] Et P      Psalmi BV      <sup>k</sup> arbitrio C      arbitratui B      arbitratus V      <sup>l</sup> esset(?) corr. to est L      est DRK      <sup>m</sup> enim LDRKC      <sup>n</sup> festinantium LDRKC (-tium sup. ras. L)      <sup>o</sup> Dalmacia LPV      <sup>p</sup> et psalterio corr. to -ium L      et psalterium DRK

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Isa. 61: 5. Though Fulbert's allusion is obscure, he is apparently telling Hildegard not to concentrate on some of his duties to the neglect of others.

<sup>4</sup> As regards such additions to divine office, see E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 211 ff.; P. Salmon, *L'Office divin au moyen âge* (Paris, 1967), pp. 101 ff., 110 ff.

church which need washing, see to it that they are white and clean so as to adorn the Easter festivities. Tend our laurel and the whole orchard as they deserve and make them flourish, and remember that you are both a vine-dresser and a farmer.<sup>3</sup> As regards your question concerning the different number of psalms which some add during Lent at the end of each canonical hour after the Lord's prayer and the little chapter that follows,<sup>4</sup> I find no rule. I should think they are superfluous unless those who say the office wish to keep them for the sake of devotion; for after the little chapter and the Lord's prayer where 'O Lord, hear my prayer' is said, the collect which is read from the sacramentary ought to follow immediately. But let the church continue its usual practice for the present. As to what is signified by the dress of the clergy, Amalarius<sup>5</sup> says this: 'We wish to sum up briefly all that has been said as to the dress of the clergy. The clerk's head, which is bare in its upper part, typifies the mind, wherein is God's image; in its lower part it is beset by hair as if by thoughts concerning our daily needs. The amice signifies the disciplining of the voice; the alb, that of the other inferior senses, with reason presiding as the mistress and like a cincture inwardly restraining the desires of the flesh by the teaching of continence. Stockings are a restraint to keep the feet from hastening to evil; sandals, the dress for the journey of the preacher, who should neither lose sight of heavenly things nor long for earthly. The tunicle is works of the mind; the chasuble, pious works of the body. The stole is the yoke of Christ, which is the gospel; the deacon's (that is, the servant's) dalmatic, care of one's neighbours; the maniple, pious and pure thoughts by which we cleanse the mind of troubles arising from the body's weakness; the archbishop's pallium, the intertwined collar of very devout preaching on both the Old Testament and the New.' Thus far Amalarius. I am sending you copies of Cyprian, Porphyry, and the *Lives of the Fathers* along with a psalter as you asked. I also wish to remind you when you are construing Donatus not to mix in any unseemly levity by way of amusement, but keep everything serious. Remember that you are on show,<sup>6</sup> and take care. Also see

<sup>5</sup> Of Metz, the ninth-century liturgist whose writings on liturgical practice and symbolism were very popular. The following passage in which he summarizes his exposition of the symbolism of liturgical vestments is taken from his *Liber officialis*, ii. 26 (ed. J. M. Hanssens, *Studi e Testi*, cxxxix (Rome, 1948), 253 f.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 4: 9.

inedia uel nuditate laborent. Saluta mihi<sup>q</sup> fratres nostros in Domino, et tute uale.

Presbitero benedicenti os<sup>r</sup> non alligabis nisi ex precepto episcopi sui.<sup>7</sup> Quod oblitus fueram; prohibetur tamen Agatensi canone.<sup>8</sup>

## 89

*Fulbert to Archbishop Arnulf of Tours:<sup>1</sup> advising him not to resign merely because he has not received the pallium*  
early-mid 1024

Venerabili Turonensium archipresuli A(rnulfo) F(ulbertus) humiliss episcopus semper agere prudenter ac simpliciter.

Et nunc quidem gratia Dei sic agitis, cum licet non inconsulti fratrum tamen consilia captatis. Respondemus itaque uobis quia si pallium requisistis a Romano pontifice,<sup>2</sup> et ipse uobis illud sine causa legitima denegauit, propter hoc non est opus dimittere ministerium uestrum. Et<sup>a</sup> si uestra tarditate nondum est requisitum, cautela est expectare donec requiratur, ne uos ex inprouiso praesumpcionis arguere possit. Continentur quedam reuerenda nobis in priuilegiis Romanae ecclesiae, quae propter negligenciam nostram<sup>b</sup> non facile inueniuntur in armariis nostris. Valet.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>q</sup> Salutamus BV      <sup>r</sup> os om. LDR (Presbitero . . . canone om. K)  
89 LDRCPBV      <sup>a</sup> At BV      <sup>b</sup> uestram L      <sup>c</sup> Vale LDRPV

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 9: 9, 1 Tim. 5: 18 (citing Deut. 25: 4).

<sup>8</sup> Fulbert is apparently referring to Agde (506), c. 47 (*Concilia Galliae*, ed. C. Munier, CCL cxlviii. 212; Mansi, viii. 332; Hinschius, p. 335), which prescribed that the people were not to leave mass before the *benedictionem sacerdotis* and were to be publicly reprovved by the bishop if they did. In earlier centuries the blessing at mass had been reserved to the bishop, but by Fulbert's time it had become accepted (partly because of the ambiguous term *sacerdos*) that it could also be given by just a priest. See J. Lechner, 'Der Schlußsegen des Priesters in der heiligen Messe', *Festschrift Eduard Eichmann* (Paderborn, 1940), pp. 651 ff.; J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, ii (5th edn., Vienna, 1962), 544 ff.

89. <sup>1</sup> Arnulf succeeded his uncle Hugh as archbishop of Tours on 25 November

to it that your disciples are not troubled by want of food or clothing. Please convey my greetings to our brothers in the Lord; and as for you yourself, farewell.

You may not bind the mouth of a priest who is giving a blessing except on the instructions of his bishop.<sup>7</sup> I had forgotten this, but it is prohibited by a canon of Agde.<sup>8</sup>

*Fulbert to Archbishop Arnulf of Tours<sup>1</sup> early-mid 1024*

To the venerable archbishop of Tours, A(rnulfo), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his wish that he may always act wisely and without guile.

Now indeed by God's grace you are acting as I would wish, for though you are not without wise counsel yourself, you are still seeking the advice of your brothers. So in answer to your question, if you have asked the Roman pontiff<sup>2</sup> for the pallium and he has refused to send it to you without a lawful reason, this does not mean you need resign your archbishopric; but if you have been slow and not yet asked for it, it is common prudence to wait until you have done so, so that you cannot be accused of acting hastily and with presumption. Among the prerogatives of the Roman church there are some that we must honour which as a result of our negligence are not easily found in our book-chests. Farewell.

1023 (*Annales Vindocinenses (Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1903), p. 60) and died after 20 September 1052 (*DHGE* iv. 623 f.). See Boussard, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Benedict VIII, who died 9 April 1024 (Zimmermann, no. 1276) and was succeeded by John XIX in April or May (L. Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (2nd edn., SB Wien, ccxxix. 1 (1964)), p. 198). If Arnulf had requested the pallium, the delay may have been connected with Benedict's death.

## 90

*Fulbert to Bishop Odolricus of Orleans: advising him that impotence is grounds for annulment* early-mid 1024

Venerabili coepiscopo suo O(dolrico) F(ulbertus).

De causa unde simplicitatem nostram consulere uoluistis, in vi<sup>a</sup> libro capitularium aera<sup>1</sup> xci ita scriptum inuenimus: 'Si uir et mulier coniunxerint se in matrimonio, et postea dixerit mulier de uiro<sup>b</sup> non posse nubere cum ea, si poterit<sup>c</sup> probare quod uerum sit, accipiat alium eo quod iuxta apostolum<sup>2</sup> non potuit illi reddere uir suus<sup>d</sup> debitum.'<sup>3</sup> De profectioe autem nostra ad sanctum Hylarium, prefixum adhuc terminum non habemus. Viuite feliciter in Christo Ihesu domino nostro.

## 91

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris: reproving him for suggesting that he enfeoff laymen with church revenues* early-mid 1024

Venerabili Parisiorum episcopo F(ranconi) F(ulbertus) humilis sacerdos.

Doleo super te, karissime, cum te a pristina uirtute apostatare uideo. Olim apud me<sup>a</sup> conquerebaris de tuo antecessore qui sacrilega temeritate altaria laicis in beneficium dederat,<sup>1</sup> nunc mihi suades ut ego similiter faciam. O caelum, O terra, quid clamem,<sup>2</sup> aut quo tuis meritis digno modo te obiurgare possim? Sed conpesco nunc feruentes animi mei fluctus, donec te presencialiter exquisitis increpacionum tormentis excruciem. Vale interim.

90 LDRCPBV                   <sup>a</sup> iii LDR   au P   u V                   <sup>b</sup> suo add. LDRC  
<sup>c</sup> potuerit LDR   poterat V                   <sup>d</sup> suum DR  
 91 LDRCPBV                   <sup>a</sup> te LDRC

*Fulbert to Bishop Odolricus of Orleans* early-mid 1024

To his venerable fellow bishop O(dolricus) from F(ulbert).

As regards the case about which you consulted our simple-minded selves, in book six of the capitularies, chapter<sup>1</sup> ninety-one, we find this prescribed: 'If a man and a woman unite in matrimony, and the woman later says that her husband is not able to have intercourse with her, if she can prove that it is true, she may take another husband, for according to the apostle<sup>2</sup> her husband was not able to give her her due.'<sup>3</sup> As for our journey to Saint-Hilaire, we have not yet set a date. May long life and good fortune be yours in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

*Fulbert to Bishop Franco of Paris* early-mid 1024

To the venerable bishop of Paris, F(ranco), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop.

I grieve for you, my dear friend, when I see you falling away from your former virtue. Once you complained to me about your predecessor, who with sacrilegious rashness had given altars as benefices to laymen.<sup>1</sup> Now you advise me to do likewise. Heaven and earth, what can I say,<sup>2</sup> or how can I rebuke you as you deserve? But I am restraining the waves of my mind, raging as they are, until I can chastise you face to face with well-wrought torments and reproaches. Until then, farewell.

90. <sup>1</sup> See H. Mordek, 'Aera', *Deutsches Archiv*, xxv (1969), 216 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. 7: 3.

<sup>3</sup> Actually Benedictus Levita, ii. 91 (ed. Knust, p. 78). See p. xxiv n.

91. <sup>1</sup> See no. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 789 f.

*Fulbert to Hildegard: sending him messages for Duke William of Aquitaine, news and advice for himself, and excerpts from the fathers concerning Solomon's salvation* c. summer 1024

F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus fratri<sup>a</sup> H(ildegario).

Dic karissimo nobis principi G(uillelmo) perpetuam<sup>b</sup> fidelitatem<sup>c</sup> cum oracionibus ex parte nostra et totius cleri ac populi nostri propter elemosinam quam misit ad restauracionem ecclesiae nostrae; deinde uero nos predicasse publice (sicut ipse mandauit) uirtutem Dei per meritum sancti Iohannis ostensam in districtione Gausberti, cum gaudio et exultatione omnium qui audierunt;<sup>1</sup> monuisse quoque Bituricensis archiepiscopus per quendam monachum suum ut sese pacare<sup>d</sup> non negligat cum ipso domno Guillelmo et episcopis eius, priusquam sibi exinde scandalum oriatur;<sup>2</sup> tibi etiam misisse sibi exponendas sententias Bacharii, Bedae, et Rabani de fine Salomonis unde fecerat questionem; sed et de prebenda quae uacat sicut et de omni bono, uoluntati eius me prebere consensum. Preterea scias me propter te magistro S(igoni)<sup>3</sup> ueniam indulsisse. Ceterum Tigrinus<sup>4</sup> submonebat ut mitterem uobis aliquem procuratorem ad colligendas fruges; sed ego totum hoc curae uestrae<sup>e</sup> committo, te exercitans, illum probans. Adiutorem scholarum nolo tibi mittere, qui nondum assecutus sit maturitatem aetatis et grauitatem morum. Vtere interim clientelae tuae qualicumque subsidio, donec causam communi consilio pertractemus. Vale. Cum audio te facere quod debes, letor quamuis trepidus de futuris. Vnde

92 LDRCPBV KF contain only the last part of the letter and have not been used here. See pp. lxi f. <sup>a</sup> fratri om. DR <sup>b</sup> salutem uel add. LDR <sup>c</sup> felicitatem DB <sup>d</sup> peccare LPV <sup>e</sup> tuae curae BV

92. <sup>1</sup> The head of St. John the Baptist is said to have been discovered in the early eleventh century at the monastery of Saint-Jean d'Angély, which became a popular centre for pilgrims and was patronized by Duke William (see Adémar, iii. 56, 58 (ed. Chavanon, pp. 179 ff., 184); Richard, i. 169 ff., ii. 593 f.). According to the *Miracula sancti Leonardi*, c. vi (AASS, Nov. iii. 158), there were some who doubted its authenticity, and Gausbertus was apparently one such opponent whose punishment was interpreted as a vindication of the relic.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably a reference to the controversy concerning Bishop Jordan of Limoges, the details of which are reported only by Adémar, iii. 57 (ed. Chavanon, pp. 182 ff.). After the death of Bishop Gerald on 11 November (Adémar, iii. 50 (ed. Chavanon, p. 174)), Jordan of Laron, provost of the church

*Fulbert to Hildegard*

c. summer 1024

F(ulbert), a humble bishop, to Brother H(ildegard).

Please tell our dear prince W(illiam) on behalf of us and all our clergy and people that he has our continual fidelity and prayers for the alms that he sent for rebuilding our church; that we publicly announced, as he asked, that God has shown his power through the merits of St. John in punishing Gausbertus, and that all who heard it rejoiced and were glad;<sup>1</sup> that we have warned the archbishop of Bourges through one of his monks not to put off making peace with Duke William and his bishops before it causes him serious trouble;<sup>2</sup> that we have sent to you excerpts from Bacharius, Bede, and Rabanus as regards his question concerning Solomon's salvation so that you may expound them to him; and that as to the vacant prebend or any other suitable request, I am complying with his wishes. You may also wish to know that for your sake I have forgiven the master S(igo).<sup>3</sup> Tigrinus<sup>4</sup> has hinted that I should send someone to you as procurator to collect the first-fruits; but I am entrusting this entirely to your care, thus giving you the experience and putting him to the test. As to your request for an assistant in the schools, I do not want to send anyone who is not of mature age and proven character. Use your students to help you as best you can until we can discuss the matter together. Farewell. When I hear that you are doing what you should, I rejoice, though I am uneasy for the future. I pray

of Saint-Léonard, was chosen. He was consecrated without the consent of Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges, who placed Limoges under interdict and forbade Jordan to exercise his office. Jordan later submitted and was accepted by Gauzlin. The dates are disputed. Richard, i. 179 ff., places Gerald's death in 1022 and Jordan's election and consecration in 1023. The latest authority, however, is not so certain, but would date them 1022/3 and 1023/4 respectively (R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *Le diocèse de Limoges des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Strasbourg, 1951), p. 71). According to a twelfth-century interpolation in Adémar, iii. 57 (ed. Chavanon, p. 183), Gauzlin's censure was promulgated at a synod held in northern France at Pentecost and attended by seven archbishops and their suffragans and King Robert. There is no other evidence for this synod, and it seems unlikely that it would have been so well attended; but the date would not be unsuitable here (2 June 1023 or 24 May 1024). Jordan's case was still pending in the summer of 1025 (see nos. 107 f.), but was settled before late 1025—early 1026 (see no. 114).

<sup>3</sup> See pp. xxxv, xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a pseudonym. The name does not appear in the cathedral necrology.

summam bonitatem deprecans ut te dignetur regere, te quoque moneo ut habenis<sup>f</sup> preceptorum eius obtemperare memineris. Iterum dico uale. Bachario insertam inuenies sententiam Bedae et Rabani, quorum tamen trium sententias hic quoque subnotare non piguit. Bacharius<sup>g</sup> ait: 'Salomon ille mirabilis, qui meruit assistrici<sup>h</sup> Deo<sup>i</sup> sapientiae<sup>s</sup> copulari, in alienigenarum mulierum incurrit amplexus; et in uinculo libidinis laqueatus, etiam sacrilegii<sup>k</sup> errore se polluit quando simulacrum Camos Moabitarum idoli<sup>l</sup> fabricauit.<sup>6</sup> Sed quia per prophetam culpam erroris agnouit, numquid misericordiae caelestis extorris est? At<sup>m</sup> forsitan dicas: "Nusquam eum in canone lego penituisse, neque misericordiam consecutum." Non<sup>n</sup> ambigo, frater, de penitencia eius quae non inscribitur publicis legibus; et fortasse ideo acceptabilior iudicatur, quia non ad faciem populi sed in secreto conscientiae Deo teste penituit. Veniam autem ex hoc consecutum esse agnoscimus: quia cum solutus<sup>o</sup> fuisset a corpore, sepultum illum inter regum Israhelitarum corpora scriptura commemorat.<sup>7</sup> Quod tamen alibi peccatoribus regibus abnegatum esse cognoscimus, qui usque in finem uitae suae in propositi peruersitate manserunt.<sup>8</sup> Et ideo quia inter reges iustos meruit sepeliri, non fuit alienus a uenia. Veniam autem ipsam sine penitencia non potuit promereri.<sup>9</sup> Beda in opusculo super librum Regum capitulo xxviii premissis paucis ait: 'Vbi hoc quoque (ni<sup>b</sup> fallor) palam ostenditur quod utinam non ostenderetur: quia uidelicet Salomon de admissio<sup>q</sup> idolatriae scelere numquam perfecte penituit. Nam si fructus poenitenciae dignos faceret, satageret ante omnia ut idola quae aedificauerat de ciuitate sancta tollerentur; et non in scandalum stultorum quae ipse cum fuisset sapiens erronea fecerat, quasi sapienter ac recte facta relinqueret.'<sup>10</sup> Rabanus sic sub persona Isidori in expositione eiusdem libri: 'Iam porro de aliis operibus Salomonis quid dicam, quae uehementer arguit sancta scriptura et dampnat, nihilque de poenitencia eius uel in

<sup>f</sup> habens L, ante corr. C habens praeceptum B habens preceptis V  
<sup>g</sup> Bacharius om. LDRC <sup>h</sup> assistrici LP astitrici DR astrici corr. to  
 asitrici C astrui BV <sup>i</sup> Dei DR <sup>k</sup> sacrilegi LPV sacrilego DR  
<sup>l</sup> idola L idolum C idolo PBV <sup>m</sup> Aut CP, ante corr. L <sup>n</sup> Nam  
 LC <sup>o</sup> consolutus LDC <sup>p</sup> nisi CB <sup>q</sup> commisso BV

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wisd. 9: 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 3 Kgs. 11: 1 ff.

that God in his most high goodness may deign to guide you, and I caution you to heed the reins of his precepts with all care. Again I say farewell. In the quotation from Bacharius you will find what Bede and Rabanus say, but it is no trouble to copy the statements of all three. Bacharius says: 'Solomon, that wondrous man who deserved to share in the wisdom that sits next to God,<sup>5</sup> rushed into the embraces of foreign women; and once he was entangled in the bond of lust, he also defiled himself by committing sacrilege when he made an image of Chamos, the idol of the Moabites.<sup>6</sup> But since he was led by the prophet to acknowledge the error of his ways, is he banished from the mercy of heaven? Perhaps you will say: 'Nowhere in the canon do I read that he repented or obtained mercy.' I have no doubt, brother, as to his repentance, though this was not recorded in the public laws; and he may have been judged all the more acceptable because he did penance, not in front of the people, but in the secrecy of his conscience with God as his witness. That he obtained pardon we know from this: that when he was released from his body, Scripture states that he was buried among the bodies of the kings of Israel.<sup>7</sup> From other passages we know that this was refused to kings who sinned and who obstinately persevered in their wickedness to the end of their life.<sup>8</sup> So since he deserved to be buried among the just kings, he had received pardon; and he could not have obtained pardon unless he had repented.<sup>9</sup> Bede, in his commentary on the books of Kings, chapter twenty-nine, a few lines from the beginning, says: 'Here also, unless I am mistaken, is clearly shown what I wish were not: namely, that Solomon never fully repented for having committed the sin of idolatry. For if he had brought forth fruits worthy of repentance, he would have striven above all else to have the idols that he had made removed from the holy city; and the abominations which despite all his wisdom he had yet made he would not have left standing as though they had been made wisely and rightly and thus to be a stumbling-block to the foolish.'<sup>10</sup> Rabanus, quoting Isidore, says in his exposition of the same book: 'What shall I say as to Solomon's other works, for which holy Scripture violently charges and condemns him and

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 3 Kgs. 11: 43; 2 Para. 9: 31.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 2 Para. 21: 20; 24: 25; 28: 27.

<sup>9</sup> Bacharius, *Liber de reparatione lapsi*, c. xii (PL xx. 1048).

<sup>10</sup> Bede, *In regum librum xxx quaestiones*, c. xxix (ed. Hurst, CCL cxix. 320).

eum indulgentiae Dei omnino commemorat, nec prorsus occurrit quid saltem in allegoria bene significet? Haec est<sup>r</sup> flenda submersio.<sup>11</sup>

## 93

*Fulbert to Archbishop Robert of Rouen:<sup>1</sup> telling him of Count Galeran of Meulan's request to remarry*

*mid-late 1024*

Venerabili Rotomagensium archipraesuli R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus siqua ualet oracionum suffragia.

Procacitas G(ualeranni), cuius mihi mencionem fecistis, satis superque fatigauit me de nouis conubiis expetendis; sed ego semper obstiti dicens non licere ei sua uxore uiuente alteram usurpare. Nunc ergo tandem rogauit me seu callide siue simpliciter, ut sibi aut uxorem suam fugitiuam redderem, aut eam si reniteretur excommunicarem. Alioquin, diceret quod ego et illa pariter faceremus eum mechari.<sup>2</sup> Conuenta igitur de hac causa mulier respondit mihi nunquam se redituram ad illum; et quia certo nouerat mores suos cum moribus G(ualeranni) conuenire non posse, uelle se pocius<sup>a</sup> renunciare seculo et monacham deuenire, tantum si Gualerannus sibi uel centum libras nummorum Carnotensium ferendas ad monasterium daret. Ego uero inter haec monacham illam fieri nec prohibeo nec compello, sed nec ut ad uirum odientem peritura redeat coartare presumo. Gualerannus autem sepe mittit ad me licenciam ineundi noui conubii petens, illam se gurpisse, suamque pecuniam recepisse, licet non uere protestans. Ego uero interdicto ei licenciam istam donec uxor eius aut monacha facta sit aut defuncta. Quorum utrum prius futurum sit nescio.<sup>3</sup> Si ergo de hac causa meum consilium uultis, quod ego facio idem uos facere suadeo,<sup>b</sup> hoc adiciens, ut si causam hanc acri censura pertractare uelit, ex mea parte non contradiccionem sed suffragium uos habere sciatis.

<sup>r</sup> significet haec eius DRB

makes no mention of his repentance or God's pardoning him, nor do we find anything that might be a favourable sign even allegorically? This is a lamentable ruin.<sup>11</sup>

*Fulbert to Archbishop Robert of Rouen<sup>1</sup> mid-late 1024*

To the venerable archbishop of Rouen, R(ober), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with the support, such as it is, of his prayes.

In his shamelessness, G(aleran), whom you mentioned to me, has wearied me time and again with asking to enter into a new marriage. I have always refused, saying that while his wife is alive he is not allowed to take another. But now he has asked me, either out of cunning or innocence, to make his wife (who has run away) return to him or, if she should refuse, to excommunicate her. Otherwise he will say that the two of us are forcing him to commit adultery.<sup>2</sup> When his wife was summoned to present her side of the case, she replied that she would never return to him, and that since she knows that she and G(aleran) are incompatible, she would prefer to renounce the world and become a nun provided Galeran will give her at least a hundred pounds in the coinage of Chartres to take to the convent. For my part I am neither forbidding nor compelling her to become a nun, but neither am I venturing to force her to return to a husband who hates her and so to her death. Galeran often sends to me, asking permission to enter into a new marriage and protesting that she has left him and has received her money, though it is not true. But I refuse to let him do so until his wife has either become a nun or died. Which will happen first, I do not know.<sup>3</sup> If you want my advice as regards this case, I recommend that you do the same thing, adding that if you wish to handle it by sharply censuring him, know that so far as I am concerned you will meet not with objections, but with

<sup>11</sup> Rabanus, *Commentaria in libros iv regum*, iii. 11 (PL cix. 199), taken from Isidore, *Quaestiones in uetus testamentum: in regum tertium*, vi. 1 (PL lxxxiii. 417). 93. <sup>1</sup> 989/90–16 March 1037 (E. Vacandard, 'La liste chronologique des archevêques de Rouen', *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 1904, p. 196; D. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. 5: 32.

<sup>3</sup> She became a nun at Notre-Dame de Coulombs (E. Houth, *BPH*, 1959, p. 157 n.).

Capitula canonum ad hanc causam pertinencia nobis subscribere non uacauit ad presens, hostium persecucione turbatis. Scribemus autem et haec et alia libenter in obsequium uestrum, si Deus concesserit nobis salutem et pacem. Valete.

## 94

*Fulbert to King Robert: advising him not to hold a council at Orleans unless it is first reconciled by Bishop Odolricus before Christmas 1024*

Excellentissimo regi et caro domino suo R(otberto) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium<sup>a</sup> humilis episcopus cursum honesti continuum ad beatitudinis finem.

Inter multas sollicitudines meas, cura tui, domine mi, non mediocriter afficit. Cum enim te prudenter agere accipio, letor. Sin aliter, tristor et timeo. Audito igitur inter alia quod proxima sollempnitate natalis Domini consilium<sup>b</sup> habiturus sis<sup>c</sup> cum principibus regni de pace componenda, gaudeo. Sed audito quod Aurelianis, in ciuitate uidelicet incendio uastata, sacrilegiis profanata, et insuper excommunicatione dampnata, nec post reconciliata, miror et pauco. Quanto enim dolore putas afficiendos esse sacerdotes fideles tuos, qui ad honorificenciam Dei et tuam ipso die congregandi sunt, si in eo loco fuerint ubi nec ipsis sacrificare liceat, nec tibi sacrosanctam eucharistiam absolute percipere? Absit hoc a te, karissime domine, ut tu in tanta sollempnitate aut diuinis officiis careas, aut inlicite uel indigne te sciente usurpari permittas. Quod ideo te premonere curauī, ut uel illum locum facias reconciliari, aut ubi melius sit sollempnitatem celebrare memineris. Velim autem suadere tibi si possim, ne dimittas propter iram quae iusticiam Dei non operatur,<sup>1</sup> quin episcopo tuo trequam des, polliceare iustitiam, insuper et conductum prebeas (si uelit) ad reconciliandas ecclesias suas.<sup>2</sup> Quod si detrectauerit, ipse in periculo, tu nauigabis importu.<sup>3</sup> Ceterum quia tuis obsequiis

94 LDRCPBV  
silium om. LDR

<sup>a</sup> Carnoī (add. supra) L Carnotensis D  
<sup>c</sup> colloquium add. DR

<sup>b</sup> con-

94. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Jas. 1: 20.

<sup>2</sup> The legal terminology here suggests that Fulbert is referring to an otherwise unknown dispute between King Robert and Bishop Odolricus, perhaps occasioned by Odolricus's laying Orleans under interdict. Robert seems to have

support. As for the appropriate chapters of canon law, we do not have time at present to set them down, as we are troubled and persecuted by enemies. But we shall gladly copy these and others in obedience to your commands if God will grant us safety and peace. Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Robert*

*before Christmas 1024*

To the most excellent king and his dear lord, R(ober)t, from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his wish that he may always follow the path of honour until he reaches the goal of blessedness.

Among my many cares, my lord, my concern for you is very close to my heart. When I hear that you are acting wisely, I rejoice. But when I hear otherwise, I am disturbed and frightened. Thus when I hear among other matters that you are going to hold a council next Christmas with the princes of the realm for the sake of establishing peace, I am delighted. But when I hear that it is to be at Orleans, a city ravaged by fire, desecrated by sacrilege, laid under interdict, and not reconciled thereafter, I am amazed and frightened. Do you not think that it will be a most grievous affliction to your faithful bishops who are to gather on that day to honour God and you if they are in a place where they are not allowed to celebrate mass and you are not at full liberty to receive the most holy Eucharist? Heaven forbid, my dear lord, that on such a solemn feast you should either be deprived of divine worship or knowingly permit it to be celebrated illicitly or unworthily. I have taken care to warn you of this in advance so that you may have Orleans reconciled or arrange to celebrate the feast at a more suitable place. I should also like to persuade you, if I can, not to let your anger, which does not conduce to the working of God's justice,<sup>1</sup> keep you from granting a delay to your bishop, promising him justice, and offering him a safe-conduct, if he wishes, so that he may reconcile his churches.<sup>2</sup> But if he rejects your offer, he will be sailing in dangerous waters, while you are safe in the harbour.<sup>3</sup> As for the rest, since you have instructed me

summoned Odolricus to appear forthwith, and Fulbert is asking him to grant a delay. See p. lxxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Terence, *And.* 480



me tunc adfuturum esse<sup>d</sup> mandasti, apud sanctum Maximum<sup>4</sup> hospitari postulo, quod nec monachis quidem ipsius loci fore ingratum puto, ut ibi<sup>e</sup> natalicia nocte celebratis uigiliis, sequenti mane in tuum seruicium possim esse paratus. Vale semper et prosperare<sup>f</sup> in Domino.

## 95

*Hildegard to Fulbert: asking forgiveness for his quick temper  
late 1023–mid 1025*

Domino seruus, magno presuli F(ulberto) H(ildegarius) suorum minimus quod potis erit strenuum<sup>a</sup> fidelitatis obsequium.

Ex hoc, domine mi reuerentissime, quod te propter mores tuos matura sanctitate suauissime redolentes erga tibi subditos eo animo esse intelligo, ut bonos sinceri amoris gratia complectaris, malis pii cordis miserationem impendas, ullum<sup>b</sup> uero odisse uelud nocentissimam pestem horreas, magnae releuationis<sup>c</sup> solatium mihi comparatur ualde metuenti eo quod nimis sum ad irascendum properus gratia tua etsi non funditus, aliquatenus tamen caruisse. Cui enim etiam grauioribus delictis obnoxio apud tam bonae moralitatis uirum desperanda sit uenia, considerato quod delinquenti potius conpareris quam odis, compacientem uero ad ignoscendum minime esse difficilem, ipsum quidem dummodo correptionem<sup>d</sup> exhibeat maioris abs te usumfructum dilectionis habiturum? Tanta itaque ui bonitatis animatus, supplico ut cum mihi pro meis offensis miserescas, tum etiam eis renuntiatum ire conanti ueniamque postulanti parcens, amoris sinum amplius relaxes. Vnde absit ut te remoretur illa cogitatio me scilicet irae uicio perhennem fecisse deditioem quandoquidem multis astantibus necnon etiam in presencia tui, cui plus omnibus cultum reuerentiae debeo, aliquotiens irasci non omittam. Certe quanto crebrius huiusmodi uitium manifestatur, et maiore hominum frequentia redarguitur, tanto celerius hinc euasurum, qui uere captius eius effici noluerit, auctore<sup>e</sup> abbatis Serapionis<sup>f</sup> collacione<sup>1</sup> crediderim. Quare cum alios mihi succensere cupiam, te potissimum ut id sedulo agas oro. Te enim super cunctos mortales,

<sup>d</sup> esse om. DR      <sup>e</sup> ubi L      <sup>f</sup> properare ante corr. L, V sperare D  
prosperate C    prospere PB

95 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> pro add. LDR      <sup>b</sup> nullum DR      <sup>c</sup> reuelationis  
RCP      <sup>d</sup> correctionem DR    correptionem corr. to correctionem P

<sup>e</sup> auctoritate LDR      <sup>f</sup> et add. LDR (supra L)

to be on hand to serve you, I ask to stay at the monastery of Saint-Mesmin,<sup>4</sup> which I do not think will be unacceptable to its monks, so that after I have celebrated the vigils of Christmas night there, I may be ready on the following morning to serve you. Farewell, now and always, and good fortune in the Lord.

*Hildegard to Fulbert*

*late 1023–mid 1025*

To a lord from his servant, to the mighty Bishop F(ulbert) from H(ildegard), the least of his disciples, with the most vigorous service of his fidelity.

Since I know, my most reverend lord, that you, whose virtues emit the sweetest fragrance of mature holiness, are so disposed toward your subjects that you sincerely love and cherish those who are good, that you offer the compassion of a father's heart to those who are bad, and that you recoil from hatred for anyone as from a most dangerous pestilence, I am greatly comforted and relieved, for I very much fear that since I am so prone to anger I have lost your favour, if not altogether, yet in part. But should one who is addicted to even more serious sins despair of obtaining pardon from a man of such excellence once he has reflected that you pity rather than hate the offender, that pity easily leads to forgiveness, and that provided he shows the effect of the rebuke he has received he will have the benefit of your loving him all the more? Inspired by the force of such great goodness, I beg you to take pity on me in proportion to my offences and to forgive one who is striving to renounce them and asking for pardon, opening to him more fully the bosom of your love. Heaven forbid that you should hold back because you think that I have for ever abandoned myself to the vice of anger since on several occasions when there was a large gathering and even when you were there whom I ought to honour and revere above all others, I let myself give way to anger. Indeed, on the authority of Abbot Serapion's conference<sup>1</sup> I should rather think that the more frequently such a vice comes to light and the more publicly it is rebuked, so much the quicker will he escape from it who is truly unwilling to be its slave. So while I welcome

<sup>4</sup> Saint-Mesmin de Micy, a short distance from Orleans.

95. <sup>1</sup> Cassian, *Conlationes*, v. 4 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 124).

quod simplicitas adulacionis ignara fatetur, animae meae uisceribus diligendum mandauit. Sum namque diuina procurante gratia disciplinae tuae uernaculus a puero; nec ulli<sup>g</sup> unquam tanta<sup>h</sup> meae conscientiae secreta, nam aliis quaedam, tibi omnia detexi. Quaeso ergo te perfusus lacrimis faciem mentis, ne mei cura posthabita necessariam castigationis uel admonitionis elemosinam mihi subtrahas. Nam si hoc (auertat autem diuina pietas) egeris, nunquam ita merore frangar ullius incommodi, quam cum me uidero sic a te neglectum iri. Rogatus opusculum meum corrigere, uale summa spes consilii mei post Deum. Amen.

## 96

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Abbot Aribertus:*<sup>1</sup> asking for monks to reform the monastery of Charroux

late 1023–mid 1025

Domno Ariberto sancto ac uenerabili abbati G(uillelmus) Dei gratia dux Aquitaniae prospera cuncta.

Caritatem uestram iam secundo interpellauit, ut mitteretis ad Carroficum<sup>a</sup> monasterium quosdam ex monachis uestris qui essent feruentes in obseruanda regula sancti Benedicti, quorum sancta conuersatio fratribus ipsius loci bonum preberet exemplum, et eorum abbatem fasce regiminis leuaret. Quoniam uero petitioni meae nondum adqueuistis, nunc quoque tertio ad hostium uestrae caritatis pulso, instar illius euuangelici petitoris amicum<sup>2</sup> obnixè rogantis, ut si non propter amicitiam, saltem propter improbitatem meam accommodetis mihi quotquot habeo necessarios. Obsecro igitur uos in nomine sanctae Trinitatis quae Deus unus est, ut uel decem fratres ex collegio uestri angelici ordinis<sup>3</sup> mihi transmittatis,

<sup>g</sup> illi LDR      <sup>h</sup> tanta corr. to tacita L    tacui DR  
96 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> Corroficum LDR    Corofitum C

96. <sup>1</sup> Aribertus's identity is not known. According to Adémar, iii. 58 (ed. Chavanon, p. 184), William expelled Abbot Peter of Charroux (Vienne, *arr.* Civray), who had obtained his office by simony, and made Gunbaldus of Saint-Savin abbot. Hence it has usually been presumed that Aribertus was abbot of Saint-Savin (Vienne, *arr.* Montmorillon). The suggestion of P. de Monsabert, *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux* (Archives

the resentment of others against me, I especially beg you to be zealous in rebuking me. I confess with a simplicity that is free of flattery that I have enjoined my inmost soul to love you above all mortals; for by the care of God's grace I have been subject to your teaching since my childhood, nor to anyone have I ever revealed so many secrets of my conscience, for though to others I have revealed some, to you I have revealed all. With the face of my mind streaming with tears, I beg you not to neglect your care of me by withholding the alms of chastisement and admonition that I need. For if (which the mercy of heaven forbid) you should do this, no blow will ever strike me as cruelly as seeing myself so much neglected by you. In asking you to correct my little writing, I bid you farewell, you who are my highest hope for counsel after God. Amen.

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Abbot Aribertus*<sup>1</sup>

late 1023–mid 1025

To the holy and venerable Abbot Aribertus from W(illiam), by grace of God duke of Aquitaine, with his wish that he may prosper in every respect.

I have asked you in your charity twice to send to the monastery of Charroux some of your monks who are fervent in their observance of the Rule of St. Benedict and whose holiness of life will set a good example to the monks there and lighten the burden of their abbot's office. But since you have not yet consented to my request, I am for a third time knocking at your door and, like that man in the Gospel who persevered in calling on his friend,<sup>2</sup> asking you in your charity, if not for the sake of friendship, yet at least because of my persistence, to give me what I need. So I beg you in the name of the Holy Trinity which is one God to send me at least ten brothers who follow the angelic life<sup>3</sup> in your community,

hist. du Poitou, xxxix (1910), pp. 90 f., that the addressee might actually have been Abbot Albert of Marmoutier (see p. 111 n.), and that consequently the letter should be attributed to William VI or VII, must be rejected if only because it is included in Hildegar's correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 11: 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On the notion of monastic life as *vita angelica* see J. Leclercq, *La vie parfaite* (Turnhout, 1948), pp. 19 ff. For similar terms see nos. 64, 98.

memores tandem illius apostolici dicti: 'Alter alterius honera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.'<sup>4</sup> Valete cum omnibus uestris.

## 97

*Fulbert to King Robert: sending messages from William of Bellême and Count Odo of Chartres* mid 1024–early 1025

Dilectissimo domino suo regi R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus omnia decencia regem.

Dignum est scire te negocia regni tui. Nouerit ergo prudentia tua quod Guillelmus de Bellissimo,<sup>1</sup> ultus perfidiam filii sui, coniecit eum in carcerem, unde non egredietur (ut ait) sine consilio nostro. Mandat autem se esse paratum ad facienda que mandasti<sup>a</sup> per Hiltradum monachum. Ceterum ut a tuae sanctitatis presencia me rediisse cognouit Comes Odo, qui tunc Turonis agebat, mandauit ut post duos dies Blesis sibi<sup>b</sup> occurrerem, ad audiendum quid dicerent legati Romanorum.<sup>2</sup> Sed quoniam id mea parum intererat, ualitudine quoque prohibente, non parui. Mandat autem et obnixè precatur maiestatem tuam ipse comes ne te properanter ingeras in suum nocumentum, sed mittas ad eum Milonem de Caprosis<sup>3</sup> qui tibi referat uerba Romanorum, et Guillelmi ducis Aquitanorum, et sua. Vale.

## 98

*Fulbert to Abbot Odilo of Cluny: telling of the injuries inflicted on him by Geoffrey, vicomte of Châteaudun*  
c. early 1025

F(ulbertus) indignus episcopus ineffabiliter caro patri et domino suo O(dilioni) cum cherubin et seraphin odas loqui.<sup>1</sup>

Quantas animo concipere possum tibi gratias<sup>a</sup> habeo, sancte pater, qui meo arbitratu tediosam et uix tolerabilem importunitatem

97 LDRKCPBV           <sup>a</sup> mandastis LRKC   mandatis D           <sup>b</sup> sibi om.  
LDRK

98 LDRKCPBV           <sup>a</sup> grates LDRKC

<sup>4</sup> Gal. 6: 2.

and thus at last to be mindful of the apostolic precept: 'Bear ye one another's burdens, and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ.'<sup>4</sup> My best wishes to you and all yours.

*Fulbert to King Robert*

mid 1024–early 1025

To his very dear lord, King R(ober), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his wish for whatever is proper to a king.

Since you ought to be aware of what is happening in your kingdom, may you in your wisdom know that William of Bellême<sup>1</sup> took vengeance on his son's treachery by throwing him into prison, from which he will not release him (so he says) unless we advise it. He sends word, however, that he is prepared to carry out the instructions you sent by the monk Hiltradus. As for other matters, when Count Odo (who was then at Tours) learned that I had returned from your holiness's presence, he sent word for me to meet him at Blois to hear what the envoys of the Romans had to say.<sup>2</sup> But since that was of little importance to me, and since I was also held back by ill health, I did not go. Count Odo asks, however, and vigorously entreats your majesty not to rush forth to injure him, but to send Miles of Chevreuse<sup>3</sup> to him so that he can report to you what is said by the Romans, Duke William of Aquitaine, and Count Odo himself. Farewell.

*Fulbert to Abbot Odilo of Cluny*

c. early 1025

F(ulbert), an unworthy bishop, to his inexpressibly dear father and lord, O(dilo), with his wish that he may sing praises with the cherubim and seraphim.<sup>1</sup>

I thank you, holy father, from the very depths of my heart, for you regard my persistent demands, which to my thinking are

97. <sup>1</sup> William was lord of Bellême c. 1005–c. 1028 (G. H. White, 'The First House of Bellême', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, xxii (1940), 76 ff.; see above, p. 25 n. 3). The incident mentioned here is otherwise unknown. <sup>2</sup> See pp. lxxxv–lxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Miles is otherwise unknown except for his signature on a charter in 1031 (Newman, no. 88).

98. <sup>1</sup> See p. 175 n. 3.

meam quasi pro deliciis habes, seruoque se et sua tibi debenti omnia uersa uice dominus obsequia paras. Vere uiuit hic et fulgorat illa fortis ac speciosa caritas, quae iuxta apostolum paciens est, benigna est, et cuius uigor numquam excidit.<sup>2</sup> Hac denique presencialiter fruendi desiderio maceror, sed graui ad presens difficultate detineor. Malefactor enim ille Gausfridus<sup>3</sup> quem pro multis facinoribus excommunicaueram, incerto utrum desperatus an uersus in amenciam, collecta multitudine militum quo ducendi essent ignorancium, uillas nostras in prouiso incendio concremauit, nobisque quantas potest machinatur insidias. Super his itaque, ne tantae causae indiscussae uel inultae remaneant, necessario michi conueniendus est primitus Odo comes; qui<sup>b</sup> si dissimulauerit, restabit regis et Richardi<sup>4</sup> rogare patrocinia. Quod si isti quoque opitulari neglexerint, quid melius mihi restet non uideo, quam haec missa facere,<sup>5</sup> et Christo secrecius deseruire. Vale.

## 99

*Fulbert to King Robert and Queen Constance: informing them of the injuries inflicted on him by Geoffrey, vicomte of Châteaudun*<sup>1</sup>  
c. early 1025

Dilectissimo domino suo R(otberto) regi ac reginae C(onstantiae) utinam in Domino constantissime F(ulbertus) humilis Carnotensium episcopus fidelitatis obsequium et oracionum suffragia quantum scit ac potest.

Cognita per nuncium uestrum alacritate uestra gaudio magno<sup>a</sup> repleti sumus Deo gratias agentes. Vobis enim incolumibus, nos bene ualituros per Dei gratiam et uestram speramus. Quoniam autem placuit bonitati uestrae consulere nos super habitu nostro, scribimus uobis multis nos ad presens incommodis urgeri quae nobis infert Gausfridus uiccomes de castro Dunensi. Refecit

<sup>b</sup> quod PB

99 LDRCP

<sup>a</sup> magno om. DR

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13: 4, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the vicomte of Châteaudun of nos. 99 ff. Hugh, who was later archbishop of Tours, is attested as vicomte of Châteaudun between 997 and 1003; and Boussard, p. 175, has suggested that he resigned as vicomte in favour of either his brother-in-law Guérin of Domfront or ('L'origine des familles seigneuriales dans la région de la Loire moyenne', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, v (1962), 312 n.) his brother Geoffrey. The reference to Geoffrey in

tiresome and almost impossible to bear, as though they were a delight, and reversing our positions, you who are the master obey the servant who owes you himself and his all. Here there truly lives and shines forth that vigorous and splendid charity which according to the apostle is long-suffering and kind and whose strength never falleth away.<sup>2</sup> I am tormented by the desire to enjoy this charity face to face, but I am kept from doing so at present by a serious difficulty. That evil-doer Geoffrey,<sup>3</sup> whom I excommunicated for his many crimes, I know not whether from desperation or madness collected a number of knights who did not know where they were being led, burned down some of our farms without warning, and is treacherously plotting to do us all the harm that he can. So that such serious injuries may not remain unheard and unavenged, I must first summon Count Odo to my aid. If he puts me off, I shall still be able to ask the king and Richard<sup>4</sup> for protection. But if they too should fail to help me, I do not see that I have any other choice than to abandon such ideas<sup>5</sup> and to serve Christ in greater seclusion. Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Robert and Queen Constance*<sup>1</sup>

c. early 1025

To his very dear lord, King R(obert), and to Queen C(onstance) (and may she ever be most constant in the Lord) from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with the service of his fidelity and the support of his prayers so far as in him lies.

When we learned from your messenger of your strenuous pursuits, we were filled with great joy and gave thanks to God; for since you are safe and sound, we hope that through God's grace and yours we too may prosper. As it has pleased you in your goodness to ask how matters stand with us, we are writing to inform you that we are hard pressed at present by the many troubles inflicted on us by Geoffrey, vicomte of Châteaudun.

no. 65, however, suggests that the vicomte here might be Hugh's nephew. If so, it would almost certainly prevent his being identified with the Geoffrey in no. 59. See Merlet, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Count Odo of Chartres; Duke Richard of Normandy.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 922, 906.

99. <sup>1</sup> See no. 98.

enim ante natale Domini castellum de Galardone<sup>b</sup> quod olim destruxistis; et ecce tertia die post Epiphaniam Domini coepit facere alterum castellum apud Isleras<sup>c2</sup> intra uillas sanctae Mariae. Vnde legatos nostros misimus ad filium uestrum regem H(ugonem) et O(donem) comitem incerti utrum illorum assensu tanta mala presumpserit; aliter enim haec illum aggredi uix opinabile est. Sed si illi nos in tantis aduersitatibus non adiuuerint, ad uos post Deum respicimus, ut per uos ab huiusmodi oppressione liberemur. Dolemus autem uos ita nunc in aliis partibus occupatos, ut uestro succursu de presenti respirare nequeamus. Quod si cito nobis a filio uestro subuentum non fuerit, communi nostrorum consilio diuinum officium desitutum in toto episcopatu nostro noueritis. Si comes Odo apud uos est, monete illum ut subueniat nobis propter Deum et fidelitatem uestram. Valet.

## 100

*Fulbert to King Robert: repeating his account of the injuries inflicted on him by Geoffrey, vicomte of Châteaudun, and asking for his aid<sup>1</sup>*  
c. early 1025

Domino suo R(otherto) regi serenissimo F(ulbertus) humilis Carnotensium episcopus in gratia regis regum semper manere.

Gratias referimus benignitati uestrae quod nuper misistis legatum uestrum ad nos, qui et uestram nobis<sup>a</sup> sospitatem nunciatis nos letificaret, et fortunae nostrae modum sciscitatus<sup>b</sup> a nobis uestrae maiestati renunciaret. Ac tunc quidem scripsimus uobis de malis quae inrogat ecclesiae nostrae G(ausfridus) uicecomes, qui nec Deum nec excellenciam uestram se reuereri satis superque indicat, cum et castellum de Galardone<sup>c</sup> a uobis olim dirutum restituit, de quo dicere possumus 'Ecce ab oriente panditur malum ecclesiae nostrae'; et rursus alterum edificare presumpsit apud Isleras intra uillas sanctae Mariae, de quo et reuera dici potest 'En ab occidente malum'.<sup>2</sup> Nunc quoque de eisdem malis necessario scribentes conquerimur apud misericordiam uestram, consilium et auxilium petentes ab ea, quoniam a filio uestro

<sup>b</sup> Gualardone LDR      <sup>c</sup> Isleris LCP    cf. no. 100

100 LDRCP B breaks off shortly after the beginning and is not used here.  
<sup>a</sup> nobis om. LDRC      <sup>b</sup> suscitatus LC      <sup>c</sup> Gualardone LDRC

Before Christmas he rebuilt the fortress of Gallardon which you had earlier destroyed, and on the third day after Epiphany he began to build another at Illiers<sup>2</sup> among the estates belonging to St. Mary's. We have sent messengers to your son King H(ugh) and to Count O(do) to inquire about this, as we did not know whether they had consented to his venturing upon such monstrous evils, for it is hard to believe that he would otherwise have done so. If they should not bring us aid in our great distress, we look to you after God to free us from this affliction. We are grieved that you are so involved in other regions that we cannot at present take hope in the thought that you are hastening to help us. But if some relief should not be quickly forthcoming on the part of your son, know that by our common consent divine worship will be discontinued throughout our diocese. If Count Odo is with you, enjoin him to come to our aid for the sake of God and his fidelity to you. Farewell.

*Fulbert to King Robert<sup>1</sup>*

c. early 1025

To his lord and most high king, R(oberth), from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his prayer that he may always remain in the grace of the King of Kings.

We thank you for your kindness in having recently sent your messenger to gladden us with the news that you were safe and sound and to inquire how matters stood with us and to report this to your majesty. At that time we wrote to you about the injuries inflicted on our church by the vicomte G(eoffrey), who shows beyond all doubt that he has no regard for God or your excellency. For he has rebuilt the fortress of Gallardon which you earlier destroyed and of which we can say 'Behold, from the east shall evil break forth on our church'; and he has ventured to build another at Illiers among the estates belonging to St. Mary's, of which it can be said and in truth 'Lo, evil from the west'.<sup>2</sup> Once again we are forced to write to you about these same injuries and to lay our complaint before you in your mercy, from this very mercy begging for counsel and aid, since we have not received

<sup>2</sup> Both places are in Eure-et-Loir, *arr.* Chartres (cf. no. 100).

100. <sup>1</sup> See nos. 98 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jer. 1: 14; no. 99.

H(ugone) super hec mala nil opis uel consolacionis accepimus. Pro quibus tacti dolore cordis intrinsecus,<sup>3</sup> iam in tantum merorem nostrum prodidimus, ut signa nostra, iocunditatem et letitiam significare solita, ab intonando desinere et tristitiam nostram attestari quodammodo iusserimus, officiumque diuinum, hactenus in ecclesia nostra per Dei gratiam cum magna cordis et oris iubilatione celebrari solitum, depressis modo miserabiliter uocibus et pene silencio proximis fieri. Vnde pietatem uestram cum fletu<sup>d</sup> cordis et mentis genua flexi precamur, succurrite sanctae Dei genitricis ecclesiae cui nos fideles uestros quantum possumus licet indignos preesse uoluistis, quorum a uobis solummodo post Deum in his quae ingeruntur molestiis consolacio et respiracio funditus pendet. Cogitate ergo qualiter ab his liberemur, et ut merorem nostrum conuertatis in gaudium,<sup>4</sup> obsecrando comitem O(donem) et ei uestra regali auctoritate uiuaciter imperando, ut predictas diabolici instinctus machinas uero animo destrui iubeat, uel ipse destruat propter Deum et fidelitatem uestram, et sanctae Mariae honorem, et nostri adhuc sui fidelis amorem. Quod si nec per uos nec per illum irrita fuerit haec quasi perpetua nostri loci confusio, quid restat aliud nisi ut penitus interdiciamus agi diuinum officium in toto episcopatu nostro, ipsi inde heu inuiti et maxima necessitate coacti aliquo exulantes, nec oculis nostris uidere diucius sanctae Dei ecclesiae conculcationem ferentes? Quod ne<sup>e</sup> facere cogamur, uestram misericordiam iterum iterumque flebiliter oramus, ne et illud (quod absit) apud extraneum regem uel imperatorem fateri compellamur a uobis exules, noluisse uos uel non ualuisse sponsam Christi sanctam ecclesiam uobis regere commissam tueri.<sup>f</sup>

## 101

*Fulbert to King Robert: explaining why King Hugh has not sent him aid and interceding in his behalf*<sup>1</sup> c. early 1025

Domino suo R(otberto) regi benignissimo F(ulbertus) Dei et sui gratia Carnotensium episcopus statum plenae felicitatis.

Postquam transmisimus uobis litteras per Ragenfridum clericum querimoniae nostrae de oppressionem quam ecclesia nostra

<sup>d</sup> confletu L conflexu C

<sup>e</sup> nec ante corr. L, P

<sup>f</sup> intueri P

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen. 6: 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jas. 4: 9.

any help or consolation from your son H(ugh) in our distress. As a result of these injuries, our heart is inwardly stricken with grief,<sup>3</sup> and in our great sorrow we have already announced that we have ordered that the bells, which usually signify our joy and gladness, are to give some evidence of our sadness by their silence, and that divine worship, which in the past by God's grace has usually been celebrated in our church with great joy of heart and voice, is now to be performed mournfully, with low voices and almost in silence. With weeping heart and in our mind on bended knee, we beg you in your piety to come to the aid of the church of the holy Mother of God, of which you placed us in charge, your unworthy, though faithful, servants so far as in us lies. On you alone after God totally depends our consolation and recovery from the troubles with which we are afflicted. So take thought as to how we may be freed from them; and that you might change our sorrow into joy,<sup>4</sup> entreat Count O(do) and earnestly command him in the name of your royal authority to order in all honesty that those hell-inspired devices be destroyed or to destroy them himself for the sake of God, his fidelity to you, honour to St. Mary, and love for us who are still his faithful servants. But if this well-nigh continual disorder in our neighbourhood is not brought to an end by one of you, what remains except for us to prohibit all celebration of divine worship throughout our diocese, and then (alas) for us ourselves, forced against our will by the greatest necessity, to go somewhere into exile and no longer to have to endure seeing with our own eyes God's holy church being trampled down? So that we may not be forced to do this, we piteously beg you again and again to have mercy on us. Heaven forbid that you should compel us as exiles to confess to a foreign king or emperor that you were unwilling or unable to protect the spouse of Christ, the holy church which was entrusted to your guidance.

*Fulbert to King Robert*<sup>1</sup>

c. early 1025

To his lord and most kind king, R(obert), from F(ulbert), by God's grace and his bishop of Chartres, with his wish that he may prosper in every respect.

After we sent the letter by the clerk Ragenfridus in which we laid our complaint before you as regards the affliction with which

patitur, locuti sumus cum domino rege H(ugone) filio uestro sciscitantes ab eo cur nobis in tanta necessitate non succurrerit. Qui se contra nos humiliter purgans, respondit, quia procul a nobis erat, ideo facultatem sibi ueniendi in auxilium nostrum non fuisse, immo copiam uirorum qui se comitarentur non habuisse. Cuius nos purgacioni<sup>a</sup> minime discredentes, pro illo uestram clemenciam oramus, ne fiat aliena<sup>b</sup> uestro genito paternitatis uestrae gratia, si sanctae ecclesiae non prestitit<sup>c</sup> opem quae impossibilis erat ei prestari.<sup>d</sup> Ad<sup>e</sup> uos tandem, dilectissime domine, nostri adiutorii summa reedit, cuius gratuita bonitate presulis honore fungimur, et tutela cuius<sup>f</sup> posse eripi a malorum iniuriis omnino confidimus. Sed ab his quae modo nobis<sup>g</sup> incumbunt, sine multo<sup>h</sup> labore uestro speramus erui, dummodo prece et obsecratione cum Odone comite obnixe agatis, quatenus idem nos ab illis expediat. Ceterum serenissimam pietatem uestram appellamus pro eodem rege filio uestro, qui satis superque desolatus incedit; neque enim in domo uestra cum securitate uel caritate licet ei manere, neque foris est ei unde uiuat cum honore regi competente.<sup>2</sup> Vnde uos oportet aliquid boni consilii reperire, et illi impendere, ne dum ille quasi peregrinus et profugus agit, paterni animi fama uobis deperat.

## 102

*Bishop Isembertus of Poitiers<sup>1</sup> to Bishop Hubert of Angers: declining his invitation to attend the dedication of his cathedral before 16 August 1025*

Sancto ac uenerabili Andegauensium episcopo H(uberto) I(sembertus)<sup>a</sup> humilis Pictaunorum sacerdos suffragium orationis et fidelitatis obsequium.

Cum mihi constans dilectionis uestrae sit habitus, eo magis gauderem, presul optime, quo sepius uobis placitura facerem.

<sup>a</sup> purgationis P                      <sup>b</sup> a add. LDR (*supra* L)                      <sup>c</sup> prestat LDR  
<sup>d</sup> prestare LDR                      <sup>e</sup> At per DR                      <sup>f</sup> reedit . . . cuius *om.* LDR  
<sup>g</sup> nobis *om.* DR                      <sup>h</sup> inculto L  
102 LDRP                      <sup>a</sup> I(sembertus) *om.* P

our church is oppressed, we spoke with your son King H(ugh) and asked him why he had not brought us help when we very much needed it. He humbly cleared himself in our sight by replying that he was far away from us and did not have the means to come to our aid or even enough followers to accompany him. We are quite satisfied with his explanation, and in his behalf we beg you in your clemency not to deprive your son of your paternal favour because he did not offer the holy church the aid which it was not possible to offer it. So now it devolves on you, my lord, to be our help and mainstay, for it is by your freely given kindness that we exercise the office of bishop, and by your protection we are fully confident that we can be rescued from the injuries of evil-doers. From our present afflictions we believe that we can be delivered without much effort on your part if you will only be resolute in enjoining and entreating Count Odo to free us from them. As for the rest, we appeal to your highness's paternal affection on behalf of your son King Hugh, who is going about in utter wretchedness, for he cannot stay in your household in safety or with charity, and there is no other place where he can live with the honour that befits a king.<sup>2</sup> Hence you ought to work out some satisfactory arrangement and to offer it to him so that you may not lose your reputation for fatherly affection as a result of his living as an exile and a fugitive.

*Bishop Isembertus of Poitiers<sup>1</sup> to Bishop Hubert of Angers before 16 August 1025*

To the holy and venerable bishop of Angers, H(ubert), from I(sembertus), humble bishop of Poitiers, with the support of his prayers and the service of his fidelity.

Since you are unwavering in your affection for me, dear bishop, my joy should increase with every chance that I have to give you

<sup>2</sup> See the account in Raoul Glaber, iii. 9 (ed. Prou, pp. 81 ff.), of Hugh's early promise and of how Queen Constance forced him to leave the royal court. 102. <sup>1</sup> Before 1023/4-c. 1047 (GC ii. 1162 ff., where, however, the date of Bishop Jordan of Limoges's consecration needs to be corrected (see p. 165 n.)). The bishopric of Poitiers was virtually hereditary in his family (see M. Garaud, *Les châtelains de Poitou et l'avènement du régime féodal* (Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Fourth Series, viii (1964)), pp. 65 ff.).

Nouerit ergo serenitas uestra quod libentissime uenirem ad preciosissimam dedicationis<sup>b</sup> templi uestri sollempnitatem,<sup>2</sup> nisi detineret me causa huiusmodi. Domnus noster Guillelmus comes, habito consilio cum Italis, precepit mihi et domnis meis Isloni atque Rohos coepiscopis<sup>3</sup> sua quaedam seria procurare, quae nullatenus sunt nobis postponenda. Hac de causa quia caritatem uestram<sup>c</sup> inuitatus adire nequeo, non paruus animum meum occupauit egritudinis affectus. Sed hoc consolor, quia spero me per Dei gratiam alias offitiis uestris alacriter affuturum. Valete coram Deo in sanctitate condigna.

## 103

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Bishop Leo of Vercelli:<sup>1</sup>  
asking for his help in securing the Italian crown*

*c. mid 1025*

G(uillelmus) Dei gratia dux Aquitaniae domno Leoni Vercellensium episcopo salutem.

Itali suaserunt mihi et filio meo intromittere de regno Italiae, facientes nobis sacramentum et ipsius regni et Romani imperii<sup>a</sup> adquirendi per rectam fidem quantum poterunt.<sup>b2</sup> Vnde mando uobis et precor uestram gratiam,<sup>c</sup> ut adiuetis nos de hac causa sicut melius scitis et potestis. Modo pareat si uerum est quod semper mihi dixistis, uos amicum meum esse et rerum mearum curam habiturum si opus esset. Hoc scitote quia si nostris partibus faueritis, numquam uidistis tam bonos dies quam illos quibus nos in illum honorem mittetis. Nam omnia nostra procul dubio uestra erunt. Remandate mihi quam bene possum confidere in amore uestro et adiutorio. Valete.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> dedicationem P

<sup>c</sup> uestram caritatem LDR

103 LDRP

<sup>a</sup> sacramentum . . . imperii] sacramento et ipsius et

Romanum per id P

<sup>b</sup> potuerunt P

<sup>c</sup> praecorum uestram

bonitatem P

<sup>d</sup> Vale LR

<sup>2</sup> The cathedral of Saint-Maurice, which was consecrated 16 August 1025 (*Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. C. Urseau (Documents historiques sur l'Anjou, v (1908)), pp. xxi–xxii).

<sup>3</sup> Islo of Saintes, before 18 January 1000–1032 or later (J. Depoin, 'Chronologie des évêques de Saintes de 268 à 1918', *BPH*, 1919, p. 48); Roho of Montaigu, bishop of Angoulême, after 28 January 1018–1031/8 (Newman, p. 172 n.). See pp. lxxxv–lxxxvii.

pleasure. So I should like your eminence to know that I would be delighted and esteem it a great privilege to attend the solemn consecration of your church<sup>2</sup> if I were not prevented from doing so for the following reason. Our lord, Count William, having met with the Italians, has instructed my fellow bishops Islo and Roho<sup>3</sup> and myself to take care of some serious matters which we cannot postpone. Since this makes it impossible for me to attend despite your kind invitation, I am quite overwhelmed with disappointment. But I take comfort in the hope that on another occasion, by God's grace, I may be on hand and eagerly serve you. Farewell, and may you possess in God's sight all the holiness that is properly yours.

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Bishop Leo of Vercelli<sup>1</sup>*

*c. mid 1025*

W(illiam), by grace of God duke of Aquitaine, to Bishop Leo of Vercelli, with his greetings.

The Italians have persuaded my son and myself to intervene in the affairs of the kingdom of Italy and have sworn that in all good faith they will do what they can to secure for us that kingdom and the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> So I am writing and asking your grace to aid us in this matter to the utmost of your knowledge and power. Now let us see if what you have always told me is true: that you are my friend and will give me your support if I should need it. You may rest assured that if you will promote our cause, you will never have seen such good days as those in which you help us to attain that honour, for all that is ours will indeed be yours. Write and let me know to what extent I can rely on your love and aid. Farewell.

103. <sup>1</sup> 998/9–after 10 April 1026. Leo was one of the foremost supporters of the German emperors in northern Italy. See H. Bloch, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bischofs Leo von Vercelli und seiner Zeit', *Neues Archiv*, xxii (1897), 13 ff.; M. Uhlirz, 'Die italienische Kirchenpolitik der Ottonen', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, xlviii (1934), 278 ff. and *passim*; J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, ii (*MGH, Schriften*, xvi. 2 (Stuttgart, 1966)), pp. 90 ff. and *passim*. See above, pp. lxxxv f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. nos. 104, 109. Pabst, p. 351 n., has called attention to the verbal similarity here and suggested that this pointed to Hildegard as their author or perhaps to a common documentary source.



## 104

*Count Fulk of Anjou to King Robert: asking him on behalf of Duke William of Aquitaine to intervene in Lorraine*<sup>1</sup>

c. mid 1025

Domino suo regi R(otberto)<sup>a</sup> F(ulco) Andegauorum comes salutem et fidele seruitium.

G(uillelmus) Pictauorum comes herus meus<sup>2</sup> locutus est mihi nuper, dicens quod<sup>b</sup> postquam Itali discesserunt a uobis diffisi quod uos regem haberent,<sup>c</sup> petierunt filium suum ad regem. Quibus ille inuitus coactusque<sup>d</sup> respondit, tandem adquiescere se<sup>e</sup> uoluntati eorum, si consentirent illis cuncti marchiones Italiae et episcopi ac ceteri meliores. Illi promiserunt quod recta fide facerent illos consentire si possent. Nunc ergo mandat uobis postulans suppliciter gratiam uestram, ut detineatis homines de Lotharingia et Fredericum ducem<sup>3</sup> atque alios quos poteritis ne concordent cum rege Cono,<sup>4</sup> inflectendo eos quantum quiueritis ad auxilium eius. Dabit uobis pro hoc negotio mille libras denariorum et c pallia,<sup>f</sup> et dominae reginae Constantiae quingentas libras nummorum. Orat uos ut ipse eam salutetis et filium uestrum regem<sup>5</sup> ex parte sua; et ego precor significari mihi litteris uestris<sup>g</sup> aut nunciis quid animi uobis sit super hoc quod ipse uos rogat, ut renuntiem illi. Valet.<sup>h</sup>

## 105

*Hildegard to Fulbert: explaining why he cannot visit Chartres and sending a book to be copied*

c. mid 1025

Domino suo carissimo F(ulberto) presuli H(ildegarius) omnium expentendorum summam.

Quod ante uindemias non reuiseo uos, pater dilectissime, fratris B. morbus me<sup>a</sup> detinet, cum oportunum fuerit (annuente Deo)

104 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> R(otberto) om. P      <sup>b</sup> quod om. DR      <sup>c</sup> habere P  
<sup>d</sup> coactus L      <sup>e</sup> se om. P      <sup>f</sup> pallias P      <sup>g</sup> uestris om. P  
<sup>h</sup> Vale L

105 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> me om. LDR

*Count Fulk of Anjou to King Robert*<sup>1</sup>      c. mid 1025

To his lord, King R(ober)bert, from Count F(ulk) of Anjou, with his greetings and faithful service.

My lord, Count W(illiam) of Poitiers,<sup>2</sup> spoke with me recently and told me that after the Italians left you, since they had lost hope of getting you to be their king, they asked for his son. Much against his will he finally gave in and replied that he would agree to their request if this was acceptable to all the Italian marquises, bishops, and other nobles. They promised that in all good faith they would do what they could to secure their consent. So now he sends word and humbly asks your grace to keep the Lotharingians, Duke Frederick,<sup>3</sup> and such others as you can from coming to terms with King Conrad<sup>4</sup> and to persuade as many of them as possible to shift their support to him. In return he will give you a thousand pounds in pennies and a hundred cloaks, and Queen Constance five-hundred pounds in pennies. He asks you to convey his greetings to her and to your son the king;<sup>5</sup> and for my part I beg you to let me know by letter or messenger what you intend to do as regards his request so that I may pass it on to him. Farewell.

*Hildegard to Fulbert*      c. mid 1025

To his very dear lord, Bishop F(ulbert), from H(ildegard), with his wish for every blessing.

I cannot visit you before vintage-time, my dear father, as I am detained by Brother B.'s illness; but when I can, I shall (God

104. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxxv f.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the feudal relationship between William and Fulk, see no. 109; Halphen, pp. 54 ff.; Guillot, i. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick II, duke of Upper Lorraine, who was ruling along with his father since at least 1019 and who seems to have died 18 May 1026/7 (A. Hofmeister, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, xxxviii (1920), 503 ff.; and following him, G. Tellenbach, 'Vom karolingischen Reichsadels zum deutschen Reichsfürstenstand', *Adel und Bauern im deutschen Staat des Mittelalters*, ed. T. Mayer (Leipzig, 1943), p. 36).

<sup>4</sup> The Emperor Conrad II. On the use of the names Cuno and Conrad see Bresslau, i. 348.

<sup>5</sup> King Hugh.

libentissime id acturum. Scripto uestro interim queso mihi innotescere quomodo uos agatis, et qualiter condiscipuli mei se gerant<sup>b</sup> in scolis, et an melius solito celebrent canonicas horas. Mitto uobis unum ex duobus libellis quos amicus uester comes G(uillelmus) rogauit transcribi. Immissum cuidam libro maiori<sup>c</sup> in archa mea celabat eum obliuio, putante me illum uobis esse delatum.<sup>d</sup> Si uos uel uestros in querendo laborare feci, mea culpa. Salutate, precor, uice mea domnum meum Sigonem et Hilduinum, priorem animum meum, alterum animae meae dimidium.<sup>1</sup> Ceteri uestri omnes salui sint in Christo, summa omnium salute uos protegente. Amen.

## 106

*Hildegard to Ebrardus:*<sup>1</sup> asking about his success as schoolmaster  
c. mid 1025

Fratri E(brardo)<sup>a</sup> H(ildegarius) omne bonum.

Volo scribas mihi, carissime, quam bene tibi procedat scholasticum officium a domino meo presule rogatu meo nuper tibi commissum, quantum eius gratiam inieris, qui te demulceant, qui mordeant, quam incolumis tute consistis.<sup>b</sup> Prosperitas tua salus mihi est, aduersitas<sup>c</sup> egritudo. Valeas semper in Christo.

## 107

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine: declining his invitation to attend the consecration of the cathedral of Poitiers and informing him of his efforts to settle the case of Bishop Jordan of Limoges*  
c. summer 1025

Clarissimo duci Aquitanorum G(uillelmo) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus utile et honestum.

Gauderem, dilectissime princeps, ad dedicationem ecclesiae uestrae<sup>1</sup> deuotus occurrere, nisi me ecclesiae nostrae nullo modo

willing) most gladly do so. I beg you in the meantime to write and let me know how you are doing, how my fellow students are getting along in the schools, and whether they celebrate the hours of divine office better than they used to. I am sending you one of the two little books that your friend Count W(illiam) asked to have copied. It was hidden by a larger book in my chest, and I had forgotten about it, since I thought I had sent it to you. If I put you or yours to any trouble in searching for it, forgive me. Please convey my greetings to Sigo and Hilduinus, the one is my soul, the other half my life.<sup>1</sup> To all the rest of yours my best wishes in Christ, and may he, the most high Saviour of all, protect you. Amen.

*Hildegard to Ebrardus*<sup>1</sup>

c. mid 1025

To Brother E(brardus) from H(ildegard), with his wish that all may be well.

Please write, my dear friend, and let me know how you are doing in your office as schoolmaster to which the bishop recently appointed you at my request, how well pleased he is with you, who are favourable to you, who attack you, and how well you are yourself. Your prosperity is my happiness; your adversity, my sorrow. Farewell in Christ, now and always.

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine* c. summer 1025

To the most illustrious duke of Aquitaine, W(illiam), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his wish for what is useful and honourable.

I should be happy, my dear prince, to attend the consecration of your church<sup>1</sup> with due devotion if I were not detained by the

105. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 3. 8. See pp. xxxviii, 149.

106. <sup>1</sup> Probably the Ebrardus who witnessed Appendix C, no. 10, as *grammaticus*. He may be the Ebrardus commemorated in the necrology as deacon, subdean, and chancellor and renowned for his learning and eloquence (Merlet, p. 150) or the canon and chancellor of Chartres and later abbot of Breteuil (*ibid.*, p. 162; cf. no. 108). *Cart. S.-Père*, i. 110, mentions a sacristan of this name who was celebrated for his learning and was consulted by King Robert on his way to the council of Orleans in 1022 (see p. lxxxv).

107. <sup>1</sup> The cathedral of Saint-Pierre of Poitiers, which was consecrated 17 October 1025 (see p. lxxxvii; no. 110).

<sup>b</sup> generent P      <sup>c</sup> maiori om. P      <sup>d</sup> dimissum P  
106 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> G. LDR      <sup>b</sup> consistat P      <sup>c</sup> et add. P  
107 PB

negligenda necessitas detineret. Gratia namque Dei cum adiutorio uestro criptas nostras peruoluimus, easque priusquam hiemalis<sup>a</sup> inclementia ledat cooperire satagimus. Volo autem uos scire quia littere quas priores episcopo Azolino<sup>2</sup> misistis regi relate sunt, qui aetiam ualde contristatus est de sua uilitate quam ibi scriptam inuenit, fecissetque Bituricensis episcopus<sup>3</sup> iuxta<sup>b</sup> consilium nostrum (ut ait)<sup>c</sup> de Lemouicensi episcopo,<sup>4</sup> nisi eum regalis irae formido distineret.<sup>d</sup> Sed quia rex proximo rugitu (ut dicitur)<sup>5</sup> uenire habet in siluam Legium, quae uicina est (ut scitis) monasterio sancti Benedicti,<sup>6</sup> ego quoque (Deo fauente) illuc ire disposui, sciturus quales inueniam erga uos et regem et archiepiscopum uel quales reddere possim. Et quod interim effecero, aut ipse uobis referam, aut litteris innotescam. Valete feliciter.

## 108

*Fulbert to Hildegard: explaining why he has delayed his journey and sending him news and advice c. summer 1025*

Caro suo H(ildegario) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus.

Scio te, fili, meum desiderare aduentum; sed retardant templi restauratio, mandata regis, praedonum instantia, messivae feriae,<sup>1</sup> Lemouicensis episcopi causae pacandae difficultas,<sup>2</sup> uia scrupulosa. Egre fero moras meas, satiusque michi fuisset rem sancti patris Hilarii non suscepisse curandam, quam tali modo tractare. Sed hac consolatione respiro, quia quod potes uice mea facis. Precor ergo ut propositum urgeas<sup>3</sup> strenue tam in spiritualibus quam in secularibus agens. Si Robertum praepositum<sup>4</sup> indiligenter uilicari nosti, fer causam ad notitiam ducis nostri ut eius arbitratu uel corrigatur uel mutetur. Saluta caros nostros R., A., Hu., Dur.<sup>5</sup> et

<sup>a</sup> hiemalis om. P    <sup>b</sup> iuxta om. P    <sup>c</sup> ait om. P    <sup>d</sup> detineret B  
108 P

<sup>2</sup> Adalbero of Laon. As regards the name Azelinus, see Coolidge, p. 7 n. Whether *sua* in the following clause refers to King Robert or to Adalbero, who was notorious for his treachery, is not certain; and no further information concerning the present incident seems to be available.    <sup>3</sup> Archbishop Gauzlin.

<sup>4</sup> Jordan (see pp. 164 f.).

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the autumn mating-season

<sup>6</sup> Fleury-sur-Loire. For the name *Silua Legium* see P. Domet, *Histoire de la Forêt d'Orléans* (Orleans, 1892), pp. 1 ff.

108. <sup>1</sup> See Du Cange, s.v. *Feriae messivae*, where this passage is cited for the meaning *vacationes autumnales*.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 164 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 7. 6 f.

pressing necessities of our own church; for by God's grace and with your aid we have been hard at work on our crypts and are trying to put roofs on them before they are damaged by the rigour of winter. However, I want you to know that the letter you earlier sent to Bishop Azelinus<sup>2</sup> was brought to the king, who was very upset by the account of his base conduct which he found there, and that the bishop of Bourges<sup>3</sup> would have followed our advice (so he says) as regards the bishop of Limoges,<sup>4</sup> if he had not been restrained by fear of arousing the king's anger. But since at the next rutting-time (as it is called)<sup>5</sup> the king plans to go to the forest of Orleans, which is (as you know) near the monastery of Saint Benedict,<sup>6</sup> I too have made arrangements to go there (God willing) to see how I find the king and the archbishop disposed toward you or what I can do to change them. What I accomplish in the meantime I shall either tell you myself or let you know by letter. Farewell, and good fortune.

*Fulbert to Hildegard*

*c. summer 1025*

To his dear H(ildegard) from F(ulbert), a humble bishop.

I know, my son, that you are eager for me to come; but I am held back by the rebuilding of the church, the tasks imposed on me by the king, the constant menace of robbers, the harvest days,<sup>1</sup> the difficulty of settling the bishop of Limoges's case,<sup>2</sup> and the rough journey. I find these delays hard to bear, and it would have been better for me not to have taken charge of Saint-Hilaire than to care for it like this. But I am consoled and take hope in the thought that you are doing what you can in my place. I beg you to stick to your task<sup>3</sup> and to be vigorous in handling both spiritual and secular affairs. If you have evidence that the provost Robert<sup>4</sup> is neglecting his stewardship, bring the matter to our duke's attention so that he may be corrected or removed as he thinks best. Give our greetings to our dear R., A., Hu., Dur.,<sup>5</sup> and the

<sup>4</sup> Robert is not mentioned in any of the early eleventh-century charters in Rédet.

<sup>5</sup> R. is perhaps the Raino of nos. 120 ff. Dur. may be the Durand who witnessed several charters concerning Saint-Hilaire about this time (Rédet, xiv. 80, 82, 84), and Hu. the Ugo who witnessed the same charters and perhaps several earlier ones.

alios tam clericos quam laicos.<sup>a</sup> Frater Tetoldus obiit; frater Ebrardus monachus euasit.<sup>b</sup> Scolarum ferulam et cancellarii tabulas tibi seruo, bona parans, meliora deuotans. Tu quoque pro nobis orans, feliciter uale.

## 109

*Hildegard to Fulbert: informing him that Duke William of Aquitaine is setting out for Italy and asking whether he still intends to visit Poitiers* c. autumn 1025

Quem iugiter in precordiis animae suae fouet domino et patri suo Fulberto) H(ildegarius) perpetuo uigere.

Dux noster G(uillelmus) uobis amicissimus profecturus est in Italiam die Iouis proxime uenturo sciscitari de causa filii sui si cum honore et incolumitate sua fieri queat. Itali enim elegerunt eum sibi ad regem, facientes ei sacramentum et Italiae regnum concedendi et Romanum imperium adquirendi per rectam fidem quantum possint. Hac de causa precessurus est prudens pater filium, quod<sup>a</sup> supra dixi cum ipsis deliberaturus. Nunc ergo prudentiae uestrae sit<sup>b</sup> decernere utrum ad nos illo absente ueniatis iuxta condictum. Si ueneritis, uictualia uobis Deo largiente non deerunt. Vnde quidlibet<sup>c</sup> uobis placuerit, litteris mihi rogo significari. Interim et semper cum omnibus uestris bene ualeatis, sanctissime pater, uitae nobis dulcedo pariter et gloria.<sup>1</sup> Si transieritis Bituricas, cum Odone de Dolis<sup>2</sup> amice loquimini. Inueni illum<sup>d</sup> in Romano itinere<sup>3</sup> prudentem uirum, et spero uobis obsequentissimum fore, siquid obsequii uultis ab eo. Est etiam comiti nostro G(uillelmo) satelles fidissimus<sup>e</sup> et familiarissimus. Fulco comes<sup>4</sup> appellatus a comite G(uillelmo) ne uobis tegnam inter uias moliat, respondit in uera fide (sicut nobis<sup>f</sup> uisum est) nullam se moliturum, uelle etiam sibi premandari uestrum aduentum, ut conducat uos per sua. Prosperum iter faciat uobis Deus salutarium nostrorum.

<sup>a</sup> Tedoldus *add.* P

109 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> quam LDR      <sup>b</sup> sit *om.* P      <sup>c</sup> quodlibet P  
<sup>d</sup> eum LDR      <sup>e</sup> fidelissimus LDR      <sup>f</sup> uobis P

<sup>6</sup> See nos. 65, 106.

others, both clerks and laymen. Brother Tetoldus has died; Brother Ebrardus (the monk) has gone.<sup>6</sup> I am keeping the schoolmaster's rod and the chancellor's place for you, with good things in store and better to follow. For your part, pray for us. Farewell, and good fortune.

*Hildegard to Fulbert*

c. autumn 1025

To his lord and father, Fulbert, whom he always cherishes in the depths of his soul, from Hildegard, with his wishes for his continuous prosperity.

Your very dear friend, our Duke William, is going to leave for Italy next Thursday to see if the plan for his son can be carried out honourably and safely. The Italians have chosen him to be their king and sworn that in all good faith they will do what they can to grant him the kingdom of Italy and to secure for him the Roman Empire. So the boy's father is wisely going there first to discuss this with them. Hence it is for you in your wisdom to decide whether you are going to visit us as planned even though he will not be here. If you do come, there will (God granting) be adequate provisions for you. Whatever you decide to do, please write and let me know. In the meantime and always, my best wishes to you and all yours, most holy father, who are the sweetness and glory of our life.<sup>1</sup> If you go through Bourges, make friends with Odo of Déols.<sup>2</sup> On the journey to Rome<sup>3</sup> I found him to be a man of wisdom, and I believe that he will be most ready to serve you if you should need his help. He is also a very faithful and close follower of Count William. When Count Fulk<sup>4</sup> was called on by Count William not to give you any trouble on your journey, he replied in all good faith (or so it seems to us) that he would not do so and that in fact he wishes to be told of your coming in advance so that he himself may escort you through his land. May the God of our salvation grant you a safe journey.

109. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Com. in Somn. Scip.* i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Indre, *arr.* Châteauroux. On Odo and the house of Déols, see J. Wollasch, 'Königtum, Adel und Klöster im Berry während des 10. Jahrhunderts', *Neue Forschungen über Cluny und die Cluniacenser*, ed. G. Tellenbach (Freiburg, 1959), pp. 48 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps in connection with these same negotiations?

<sup>4</sup> Of Anjou.

## 110

*Bishop Isembertus of Poitiers to Archbishop Arnulf of Tours: thanking him for accepting his invitation to attend the consecration of his cathedral, but informing him that he cannot send an escort*  
before 16 October 1025

A(rnulfo) archipresuli I(sembertus) humilis episcopus eternam salutem.

Magnas gratias referimus uestrae caritati petitionem nostram explere sub rationabili conditione promittenti. Cui conditioni uelle nos alacriter deseruire, sed minime posse magnitudini uestrae notum facimus. Ductores enim itineris ipsi multis occupati mittere uobis non possumus, nec ab ipso comite W(illelmo) querere ualemus, quoniam abest in expeditionem profectus, ut aiunt non rediturus usque<sup>a</sup> xvii kalendas Nouembris cum sequenti<sup>b</sup> die simus dedicaturi ecclesiam nostram.<sup>1</sup> Nolumus ergo uestram excellentiam fatigatum iri, ne forte cum uelimus<sup>c</sup> presentia uestra gaudere, aliquo uestri incommodo obiter uobis illato turbemur. Quod si accideret, letitia nostrae<sup>d</sup> sollempnitatis in maximum uerteretur merorem.<sup>2</sup> Sic autem beatus Petrus et nos cum ipso uobis gratulamur, cuius obsequio interesse uolebatis, ac si interessetis. Valete<sup>e</sup> feliciter.

## 111

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Marquis Manfred of Turin and his wife:*<sup>1</sup> *informing them that it seems best to abandon the effort for the Italian crown and asking for their aid*  
c. late 1025

M(aginfrido) marchioni clarissimo et uxori suae B(ertae) prudentissimae G(uillelmus) Dei gratia dux Aquitanorum inperpetuum uigere.

Quod ceptum est de filio meo non uidetur mihi ratum fore nec utile nec honestum. Gens enim uestra infida est, insidiae graues

110 LDRP                   <sup>a</sup> ad add. DR                   <sup>b</sup> consequenti ante corr. L, D  
<sup>c</sup> uolumus P               <sup>d</sup> uestrae P               <sup>e</sup> Vale L  
111 LDRCP

*Bishop Isembertus of Poitiers to Archbishop Arnulf of Tours*  
before 16 October 1025

To Archbishop A(rnulfo) from I(sembertus), a humble bishop, with eternal greetings.

Thank you very much for your kindness in promising to comply with our request and for the reasonableness of what you stipulate in return. We are writing to inform your eminence that despite our eagerness to do our part, we can in no wise do so. We have many commitments and cannot send anyone to escort you on your journey; nor can we ask Count W(illiam) to do so since he has gone on an expedition from which he is not expected to return until 16 October, and the consecration of our church is set for the next day.<sup>1</sup> So we do not want to put your excellency to this trouble, for fear that when we wish to have the pleasure of your presence, we might instead be distressed because you met with some harm on the way. If this should happen, our joy on that solemn occasion would be turned into the greatest sorrow.<sup>2</sup> Yet Saint Peter and ourselves thank you just as much for wishing to be here to serve him as if you were here to do so in person. Farewell, and good fortune.

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Marquis Manfred of Turin and his wife*<sup>1</sup>  
c. late 1025

To the most illustrious Marquis M(anfred) and his most wise wife B(ertha) from W(illiam), by grace of God duke of Aquitaine, with his wishes for their continuous prosperity.

I do not think that the plan for my son can be carried out with profit or honour; for your fellow countrymen are not to be trusted,

110. <sup>1</sup> The cathedral of Saint-Pierre of Poitiers (see p. lxxxvii; no. 107).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jas. 4: 9.

111. <sup>1</sup> Oldericus Manfred II, before 1001–1033/5. He was married to Bertha, daughter of the Marquis Otbertus II, by 1014. See Bresslau, i. 361 ff., especially 373 ff.; C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Early History of the House of Savoy* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 166 ff.; above, p. lxxxvi.

contra nos orientur. Si eas<sup>a</sup> uel cauere uel superare non possumus, regnum nobis minime proderit, fama nostra periclitabitur.<sup>b</sup> In nostris etiam partibus diuersi diuersa iam inceptant, nouis rebus quibus nos ad presens intentos uident et in futuro artius occupari putant<sup>c</sup> animati. Quae fieri nec posse<sup>d</sup> reprimi nobis<sup>e</sup> alias intentis, uos ipsi turpe et inutile decernitis. Quocirca per fidem et amicitiam quae inter nos est obsecramus uos operam<sup>f</sup> dare qualiter absque nostro et uestro dedecore ab incepto desistatur, cauentes ne filius meus uel quilibet alius hoc resciscat donec inuicem secreto loquamur. Quod si (Deo disponente) non dimittitur quin fiat, curate ut consensu archiepiscopi Mediolanensis et episcopi Vercellensis<sup>2</sup> et aliorum quorum interest effectum optineat. Valet.<sup>g</sup>

## 112

*Bishop Leo of Vercelli to Duke William V of Aquitaine: exhorting him not to be discouraged by the failure of his Italian venture and alluding to an earlier agreement*

c. late 1025

Domno G(uillelmo) duci frater Leo seruitium.

Ne tristeris, amice karissime, si Longobardi te deceperunt. Ego certe optimum tibi<sup>a</sup> dabo consilium si mihi credere uolueris. Esto uir fortis;<sup>1</sup> et de preteritis ne cures, de futuris caueas. Per tuum fidelissimum hominem mihi manda quid uelis facere, et ego optimum tibi dabo consilium. Mitte mihi mulam mirabilem et frenum preciosum<sup>b</sup> et tapetum mirabile pro quo te rogauit ante sex annos.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> † add. L tandem add. DR      <sup>b</sup> periclitabatur L ante corr. D?  
<sup>c</sup> putant om. LDRC      <sup>d</sup> possem P      <sup>e</sup> uobis P      <sup>f</sup> date add. P  
<sup>g</sup> Vale LP

112 LDRC      <sup>a</sup> tibi optimum LDRC      <sup>b</sup> mirabile DR

<sup>2</sup> Aribertus II, archbishop of Milan 1018–45 (see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Archbishop Aribert II of Milan', *History*, li (1966), 1 ff.), and Leo of Vercelli, both ardent supporters of German rule.

112. <sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs. 18: 17; 2 Kgs. 10: 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. no. 113. It appears that William and Leo had engaged in some scheme six years earlier which they did not wish to discuss openly and of which no further details are known. It may have concerned German–Italian relations, for the Emperor Henry II had difficulty in controlling Lombardy and was

and it will give rise to dangerous plots against us. If we are unable to forestall or to overcome them, it will not be of any advantage to us to have the kingdom, and our reputation will be endangered. In our own land several persons have already been roused to embark on schemes of their own as a result of seeing our interest in this new venture at present and of thinking that we shall be more deeply involved in the future. For this to happen and for us to be unable to prevent it because we are busy elsewhere would, as you yourself see, be dishonourable and dangerous. So I beg you by our mutual faith and friendship to try to work out an honourable way for both of us to abandon this enterprise and to take care that neither my son nor anyone else learns of it until we have a chance to confer in private. But if by divine providence it is decided to go through with it, please see to it that this is done with the consent of the archbishop of Milan, the bishop of Vercelli,<sup>2</sup> and the others who are involved. Farewell.

*Bishop Leo of Vercelli to Duke William V of Aquitaine*

c. late 1025

To Duke W(illiam) from Brother Leo, with the offer of his service.

Do not be disheartened, my dear friend, if the Lombards have deceived you. For my part, I shall counsel you as best I can if you will trust me. Be strong and play the man.<sup>1</sup> As regards the past, put it out of your mind; and as for the future, be on your guard. Send one of your most trustworthy servants to let me know what you wish, and I shall counsel you as best I can. Send me the wonderful mule, the precious bridle, and the marvellous hangings for which I asked you six years ago.<sup>2</sup> Amen I say to

largely dependent on the loyalty of the churchmen and some secular nobles (cf. the terms which William says in no. 113 the Italians tried to impose on him). The only event I can find which might bear directly on this matter is the meeting which Henry held with the leading churchmen and nobles of northern Italy at Strasbourg in the autumn of 1019 (*Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich II*, ed. T. Graff (Regesta Imperii, ed. J. F. Böhmer and others, ii. 4 (2nd edn., 1971)), no. 1957<sup>a</sup>; H. Bloch, *Neues Archiv*, xxii (1897), 101 f.); but throughout Leo was one of Henry's most faithful supporters. According to Adémar iii. 41 (ed. Chavanon, p. 163) William went to Rome almost every year (cf. Richard, i. 196 n.), and he may have met Leo on one of his journeys there.

Amen dico tibi non perdes mercedem tuam,<sup>3</sup> et quicquid uolueris dabo tibi.<sup>c</sup> Vale.<sup>d</sup>

## 113

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Bishop Leo of Vercelli: answering his letter and explaining why he abandoned his efforts for the Italian crown*<sup>1</sup> c. late 1025

Domno L(eoni) Vercellensium episcopo G(uillelmus) Pictauiensis amicus eius karissimus salutem et seruitium.

Minime tristor, karissime,<sup>a</sup> super Longobardorum deceptione; non enim deceperunt me, qui nequaquam habui fidem<sup>b</sup> promissis eorum. De preteritis eorum fallaciis non curo, de futuris per Dei gratiam mihi cauebo. Non parum autem miror de te, qui et multam<sup>c</sup> preteritorum habes memoriam, et non minorem futurorum iactaris habere prouidentiam, quod illius C(ononis) partibus consensisti, qui nec in sua terra aliquid tibi umquam<sup>d</sup> donauit, neque posse donare fertur nec aliquid auferre in regno Italiae. Sed quamuis in hac causa non bene tibimet consuluisse uidearis, et mihi amicos meos probanti suffragium nullum prebueris, expectabo tamen illud optimum consilium quod mihi te daturum promittis, si tibi credere uolero. Manda ergo mihi per litteras quomodo uis ut tibi credam et que beneficia mihi proueniant per tuum consilium ex dono illius C(ononis) si regnum Italiae, quod mihi promittitur, et quod adipisci possem (Deo uolente) si multum curarem, quaerere desiero.<sup>e</sup> Mulam quam rogasti non possum ad presens tibi mittere, quia non habeo talem qualem ad opus tuum uellem, nec repperitur in nostris partibus mula cornuta, uel quae tres caudas habeat, uel quinque pedes, uel alia huiusmodi, ut congrue possis eam dicere mirabilem. Mittam uero tibi quam cicius potero unam optimam ex melioribus quas repperire possim in nostra patria cum freno pretioso. Ceterum tapetum possem tibi mittere nisi fuissem oblitus quantae longitudinis et latitudinis tapetum iamdudum requisisti. Rememora ergo, precor, quam longum et latum esse uelis, et mittetur tibi si inuenire potuero.<sup>f</sup> Sin autem, iubebo tibi fieri quale uolueris, si consuetudo fuerit

<sup>c</sup> tibi dabo LDR      <sup>d</sup> Vale om. P

113 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> karissime om. DR  
supra L)      <sup>c</sup> multum P, ante corr. L  
om. P      <sup>f</sup> potero LDRC

<sup>b</sup> fidem habuissem LDR (fidem  
<sup>d</sup> numquam P      <sup>e</sup> desiero

you, you will not lose your reward,<sup>3</sup> and whatever you should want of me, I shall give you. Farewell.

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Bishop Leo of Vercelli*<sup>1</sup>  
c. late 1025

To Bishop L(eo) of Vercelli from his very dear friend W(illiam) of Poitiers, with his greetings and the offer of his service.

I am by no means disheartened, my dear friend, at being deceived by the Lombards, for they did not deceive me since I had no faith in their promises. As regards their intrigues in the past, I have put them out of my mind; and for the future, I shall, by God's grace, be on my guard. I am, however, very much astonished at your having so much regard for the past and at your claiming to have as much foresight for the future in supporting C(onrad), who has never given you anything in his own land and who is said to be unable to give or to take away anything in the kingdom of Italy. But though you would seem to have been ill-advised here as concerns your own interests, and though you did not support me when I was putting my friends to the test, I shall still look forward to the excellent advice that you promise to send me if I would trust you. So write and let me know how you want me to trust you and what benefits you will advise C(onrad) to give me if I abandon my efforts to obtain the kingdom of Italy, which has been promised to me and which I might be able to secure, God willing, if I really wanted to. As to your request for a mule, I cannot send it to you at present because I do not have one that I would want you to use, and there is none to be found in our land that has horns, or three tails, or five feet, or any other feature that would warrant your calling it wonderful. But I shall send you as soon as I can the very best one that I can find in our land along with a precious bridle. As for the hangings, I could send them to you if I had not forgotten the length and width of those you asked for earlier. So I beg you to refresh my memory as to the length and width you want, and I shall send them to you if I can find them. Otherwise I shall have them made for you if

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. 10: 42; Mark 9: 40.

illud texendi<sup>g</sup> apud nostrates. Nec pro his quero<sup>h</sup> mercedem illam quam polliceris, ut dones mihi quaecumque<sup>i</sup> uolueris, quod fieri non potest. Peto autem ut etiam si nihil tibi dederis,<sup>k</sup> memor sis mei in orationibus tuis, et ores pro me, 'ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus uitae meae, ut uideam uoluntatem Domini, et protegar a templo sancto eius,'<sup>2</sup> et illud optimum consilium quod mihi spondes ne differas. Promissiones tuae excitant me habere in te multam fidutiam, quia meum est amico credere, et de promissis eius non diffidere, et meum est aut nunquam promittere, aut promissa adimplere. Superius sermone nostro lusimus tecum, domine L(eo) frater carissime; nunc seria uerba dicemus. Longobardos non arguo deceptionis quam in me exercere uellent. Quantum enim<sup>l</sup> in ipsis fuit partum erat mihi<sup>m</sup> regnum Italiae si unum facere uoluisssem quod nefas iudicauis, scilicet ut ex uoluntate eorum episcopos qui essent Italiae deponerem, et alios rursum illorum arbitrio eleuarem. Sed absit a me rem huiusmodi facere, ut pastores aecclisiae quibus mei patres semper<sup>n</sup> honorem exhibuerunt, et<sup>o</sup> quos ipse quantum ualui semper exaltaui, sine crimine inhonorem. Sub hac conditione uellent quidam primorum Italiae me seu filium meum regem facere. Non laudauit mihi hanc uituperabilem conditionem prudens marchio Maginfridus, nec frater eius Alricus bonus episcopus,<sup>3</sup> quorum me sanissimo plerumque uti consilio nunquam penitui.<sup>b</sup> Quos supra omnes Italos prestantioris ingenii, fidei, bonitatis esse censeo. Siquid rerum mearum tibi pro certo placuerit quod mittere possim aut debeam, non te frustrabitur spes tua. Aequam mihi, queso, repende uicem, ut et ipse uotis meis imparem te non effitias. In proxime uentura festiuitate sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae litteras tuas opto uidere, quibus animi tui secreta mihi<sup>q</sup> amico tuo fidissimo pandantur. In Christo uiuas, ualeas, uiuendo, ualendo.

<sup>g</sup> texi LDRC                    <sup>h</sup> a te add. LDRC                    <sup>i</sup> quodcumque LDRC  
<sup>k</sup> dederis tibi LDR        <sup>l</sup> enim om. LDRC        <sup>m</sup> mihi erat LDRC        <sup>n</sup> super L  
<sup>o</sup> et om. P                    <sup>p</sup> penituit LDRC                    <sup>q</sup> mihi om. LDRC

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 26: 4 (Roman Psalter).

<sup>3</sup> Manfred of Turin (see no. 111); Alricus of Asti, 1007/8–1035 (Bresslau, i. 373).

there is anyone here who can make them. In return I am not asking for the reward that you promise, namely that you would give me whatever I might want; for you cannot do so. But I am asking you, even if I should not send you anything, to remember me in your prayers and to pray for me 'that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life and that I may see the goodwill of the Lord and be protected by his holy temple,'<sup>2</sup> and not to postpone sending the excellent advice that you promise me. Your promises move me to have great confidence in you, for I am accustomed to believe my friends and not to distrust their promises and either to make no promises myself or to carry out what I do promise.

In the preceding part of our letter, we have been jesting with you, my dear friend Bishop L(eo); now we shall speak in all earnest. I am not accusing the Lombards of trying to deceive me; for so far as they were concerned, the kingdom of Italy was mine if I had only been willing to do what I judged monstrously wrong: namely to depose the bishops in Italy whom they wanted me to and to raise to the episcopate those whom they chose. But heaven forbid that I should do anything that would unjustly dishonour the shepherds of the church whom my ancestors have always honoured and whom I myself have done all that I could to exalt. This was the condition on which some of the Italian nobles would make my son or myself king. This infamous stipulation was not commended to me by the wise Marquis Manfred nor his brother, the worthy Bishop Alricus,<sup>3</sup> whose very sound advice I have usually followed and never regretted it. In innate goodness, trustworthiness, and virtue, they are, I think, the very best of the Italians. If I have anything that you would like and that I can or ought to send you, your hope will not be in vain. I beg you to repay me like for like, for thus you yourself will be doing all that I might pray for. On the next feast of God's holy mother Mary I hope to see a letter from you in which you disclose the secrets of your mind to me, your very faithful friend. Long life and good health to you, living and flourishing in Christ.



## 114

*Hildegard to Fulbert: expressing his regret that he cannot visit Poitiers and sending various greetings*

*late 1025–early 1026*

Domino suo F(ulberto) H(ildegarius) fidelis eius ad uotum omnia bene contingere.

Priorem tuae penitentiae causam super honore beati Hylarii suscepto iustam esse noui, pater, sequentem gratiae tuae potius quam iusto reputans. Cum sim tuorum minimus neque necessarii nomine dignus,<sup>1</sup> illud dumtaxat competenter dixerim, quod tua<sup>a</sup> presentia carere multum mihi sit incommodum, ut puta rudi cotidie tuis eruditionibus egenti, necnon ab obsequio almae Dei parentis iam diu uacanti. Ferre tamen hoc et tuas licet graues ad nos ueniendi protelaciones quia sic iubes utcumque satagerem, dum certus essem ecclesiam sancti Hylarii a te in proximo frequentandam<sup>b</sup> aliquatenus exaltari. Tanti esse mihi exinde prouentura tibi coram Deo et hominibus gratia, cuius spe uehementer captus mirum in modum clientelae tuae tandiu me absentari et a supradictae dominae seruitio quasi emancipari<sup>c</sup> pertulerim. Tanti esset mihi preterea quandam famae tuae minorationem abigi, quam ingruentem<sup>d</sup> uideo, nisi quid<sup>e</sup> tu ipse loco suscepto profueris. Sed cum te plus biennio detinuerit hinc sollicitudo pastoralis, hinc principum discordia, nescio quando nisi illis obeuntibus componenda, orturis<sup>f</sup> forsitan aliis pluribus causis te itidem remoraturis, uix ausim sperare te uel semel Pictauorum fines reuisere, et prout geris animo illi egregio confessori Christi deseruire. Sperabo tamen etiam adhuc sicut promittis, uice tua quod potero seruiens interim, letum rei exitum mihi tibiue annuere Deum assiduus uocibus et hanelis precibus orans. Dic, queso, pater, quis unquam tyro sine duce militauit? Quis alto mari sine remige credere se uoluit? G(uillelmus) comes amicus tuus et canonici nostri te resalutant adhuc fideliter. Iordanis etiam Lemouicensis episcopus, cui olim suffragium prestitisti apud archiepiscopum Bituricensem, plurima te salute impertiens, rogat suppliciter ut mittas ei uitam sancti Leonardi in episcopatu suo quiescentis (ut aiunt), sicubi<sup>g</sup>

114 LDRP

<sup>c</sup> mancipari LDR

<sup>f</sup> orituris DR

<sup>a</sup> tui LDR

<sup>d</sup> incongruentem LDR

<sup>g</sup> sicubi] sic *corr.* to si L si DR

<sup>b</sup> certus . . . frequentandam *om.* P

<sup>e</sup> quod DP quidem R

*Hildegard to Fulbert*

*late 1025–early 1026*

To his lord, F(ulbert), from H(ildegard), his faithful servant, with his wish that all may turn out well as he has prayed.

I know that the first reason why you regret having taken charge of Saint-Hilaire is just, father, but I think that the next is due more to your good will than is right. Though I am the least of your servants and not worthy to be called your friend,<sup>1</sup> yet I can truly say that I find your absence very troublesome; for I am inexperienced and need your instructions daily, and I have not been there to serve God's loving mother for a long time. But since you ask me to bear with this and with the disappointment of your oft-postponed visits, I would try as best I can to do so if I were certain that you were soon going to visit Saint-Hilaire and bring it some relief. The favour that you would thus find in the eyes of God and men would mean so much to me that once the wonderful hope that you might come had taken forceful hold of me, I might endure my long absence from your protection and, as it were, release from serving our Lady. It would also mean much to me to defend your reputation against the disparagement that I see attacking it unless you yourself do something for the church you have received. But since you have been detained for more than two years by your pastoral duties and by the struggle among the princes (and I know not when it will be settled as long as they are alive), and since many other matters may also arise to delay you, I hardly dare to hope that you will even once return to Poitiers and serve Christ's illustrious confessor as you have in mind. But I shall still hope that you will do as you promise. Meanwhile I am doing what I can to serve in your place and constantly praying and begging God to grant that this may turn out well for both of us. Please tell me, father, what recruit ever fought without a captain, or who was ever willing to venture on the high seas without a coxswain? Your friend Count W(illiam) and our canons still send you their faithful greetings. Bishop Jordan of Limoges, whom you earlier supported in his struggle with the archbishop of Bourges, also sends you his best wishes and humbly asks you to send him a life of St. Leonard (who is said to be

114. <sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15: 9.

repperire poteris.<sup>2</sup> Pulchre dicas hoc tibi feneratum esse.<sup>3</sup> Ex mea quoque parte non uos peniteat (te dico dominum meum karissimum, tuumque<sup>h</sup> Sigonem probis moribus et artibus<sup>i</sup> magnum) centenas millenas excipere salutes. Ne te scripti mei tedeat, ineptiarum quaedam legatis<sup>k</sup> dicere iussi quae audire poteris cum uolueris. Vale, karissime pater.<sup>l</sup>

## 115

*Hildegard to Fulbert: informing him of the reaction to his stand as regards King Henry's election*<sup>1</sup> c. spring 1026

Dilectissimo domino suo F(ulberto) episcopo H(ildegarius) eius fidelis iuxta Domini preceptum serpentinam prudentiam columbina simplicitate peditam.<sup>2</sup>

Quod tuo, beatissime pater, aliorumque multorum relatu perceperam, id ipsum nuper domno Beraldo Suessionis episcopo referente cognoui, scilicet incurrisse te grauissimum reginae odium fauentem potius marito suo de constituendo rege maiore filio, quem dicunt simulatorem esse, segnem, mollem, in negligendo iure patrissaturum, fratri suo iuniori attribuentes his contraria. Te quoque plurimi coepiscoporum mordent clanculum,<sup>3</sup> uel ab eis uel<sup>a</sup> a ceteris quasi quintum malleum a quatuor Pitariorum pro hac causa dissonantem.<sup>4</sup> Vnde quantum ex uerbis supradicti presulis aduerti sententiam coepiscoporum tuorum Francigenarum super hoc agendum negotium intimare tibi non me piguit, ut si forte sanior est, ei ne refrageris,<sup>b</sup> et a periculo tibi caueas. Est autem haec eorum ad componendam utrinque<sup>c</sup> litem sententia: patre uiuente nullum regem sibi<sup>d</sup> creari; quod si acrius institerint in uita patris hoc fieri, quem meliorem senserit<sup>e</sup> ad regem debere sublimari. Videas, pater prudentissime, ne sis plus

<sup>h</sup> tuum quoque P      <sup>i</sup> actibus DR      <sup>k</sup> legatos P      <sup>l</sup> Vale . . . pater]  
Valete P

115 LDRC      <sup>a</sup> ab . . . uel] ab eis L      ut ab eis C      <sup>b</sup> refrangeris L  
<sup>c</sup> utrique ante corr. L      utrumque C      <sup>d</sup> sibi regem C      <sup>e</sup> censeat C

<sup>2</sup> Jordan had been provost of the church of Saint-Léonard (see pp. 164 f.). The cult of St. Leonard first began to spread outside Limoges about this time, and Jordan may be responsible for the writing of the oldest extant life (see A. Poncelet, *AASS*, Nov. iii. 139 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 493.

buried in his diocese) if you can find one somewhere.<sup>2</sup> You can truly say that your help has been repaid with interest.<sup>3</sup> For my part, I hope it will not displease the two of you (I mean you, my very dear lord, and your friend Sigo, who is powerful in holiness and learning) to accept a hundred thousand greetings each. So that you may not tire of my scribbling, I have instructed the messengers to tell you some trivial matters which you can hear at leisure. Farewell, dearest father.

*Hildegard to Fulbert*<sup>1</sup>

c. spring 1026

To his very dear lord, Bishop F(ulbert), from H(ildegard), his faithful servant, with his prayer that he may follow the Lord's counsel in combining the wisdom of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove.<sup>2</sup>

What I had heard from you, most holy father, and from many others, I also recently learned from Bishop Beroldus of Soissons: namely that you have incurred the queen's bitterest hatred by opposing her and supporting her husband in making the elder son king. They say he is a hypocrite, lazy, weak, and ready to take after his father in having no regard for what is lawful, and attribute the opposite qualities to his younger brother. You are also being secretly attacked<sup>3</sup> by many of your fellow bishops who say that by differing from them and the others in this matter you are causing discord like a fifth hammer striking with Pythagoras' four.<sup>4</sup> Having learned this from Bishop Beroldus, I think I ought to tell you how your fellow bishops in France have decided to handle it so that if it should be the wiser part, you would not oppose it and thus avoid exposing yourself to danger. This is how they think the controversy between them should be settled: while the father is alive, they themselves would have no one made king over them; but if they should press on in demanding that it be done during the father's lifetime, the one who he feels is better qualified should be raised to the throne. See to it, father, that in

115. <sup>1</sup> See pp. lxxxviii f.

<sup>2</sup> See Matt. 10: 16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 411.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. Boethius, *De musica*, i. 10 (*PL* lxiii. 1178). The four Pythagorean hammers produced intervals of the fourth, fifth, and octave, and the interval produced by any other note was considered dissonant.

aequo iustus, nec a sanctis consacerdotibus tuis perperam dissi-  
deas.<sup>f</sup>

Insani nomen sanus feret, aequus iniqui,  
ultra quam satis est uirtutem si petat ipsam.<sup>5</sup>  
Inuidiam nimio cultu uitare memento;  
quae si non ledit, tamen hanc sufferre molestum est.<sup>6</sup>

Adsit tibi in omnibus magni consilii angelus,<sup>7</sup> mihi quoque  
tribuat uidere faciem tuam desiderantissimam.<sup>g</sup> Siquid forte  
insolenti<sup>h</sup> susurro tecum ago, facilem, queso, apud te ueniae locum  
obtimeam, cum magis ex prompta fidelitate quam improba temeri-  
tate peccauerim. Vale.

## 116

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Fulbert: inviting him to  
Poitiers and informing him of his position as regards King  
Henry's election* 19-29 May 1026

Domino F(ulberto) uenerabili Carnotensium episcopo G(uillel-  
mus) Dei gratia dux Aquitaniae salutem et caras amicitias.

Cum primum ad nos Pictauim, presul optime, uenire dignatus  
es, et nostrae petitioni ut curam loci sancti Hylarii gereres ad-  
quiescere, gaudium magnum fuit nobis. Sed huic gaudio multa<sup>a</sup>  
intercedit<sup>b</sup> egritudo<sup>1</sup> quod ad nos redire<sup>c</sup> dissimulas. Vnde tuam  
precamur gratiam, noli dimittere quin uenias, si fieri potest in  
octauis Pentecosten, sin autem, uel octo diebus ante natiuitatem  
sancti Iohannis Baptistae.<sup>2</sup> Tutum iter paciscimur<sup>d</sup> tibi ambulanti  
cum clericis et domesticis tuis. Apud nos satis militum habebis.  
Si non manseris nobiscum plus quam triduo, in ipsius temporis  
articulo plurimum nos recreabis. O si uenisses in proxime preteri-  
tis rogacionibus, quantam nobis et episcopis nostris et obtimatibus  
consolacionem et letitiam fecisses, tempestiue si uelles Carnotum  
ad diem festum Pentecosten reuersurus, uel si te subducere uelles

<sup>f</sup> dissileas C    <sup>g</sup> desideratissimam *post corr.* L, DR    <sup>h</sup> Sed quid forte  
insoliti C

116 LDRP    <sup>a</sup> multa *om.* P    <sup>b</sup> intercedit DR    <sup>c</sup> uenire P  
<sup>d</sup> paciscimur LDR    paciscismur P

<sup>5</sup> Horace, *Ep.* i. 6. 15 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. no. 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Disticha Catonis*, ii. 13.

your great wisdom you are not being more just than is reasonable  
and that you are not making a mistake in disagreeing with your  
fellow bishops.

Call the wise man mad, the just unjust,  
If even for virtue's self he strives unduly.<sup>5</sup>  
Hatred avoid with all possible care;  
It may do no harm, but 'tis painful to bear.<sup>6</sup>

May the Angel of Great Counsel<sup>7</sup> be always with you, and may  
he grant that I may see your face as is my heart's desire. If I seem  
in any way impertinent in running to you with these tales, I beg  
that I may easily obtain your forgiveness, since I shall have sinned  
because of my eagerness to be faithful rather than from impudent  
rashness. Farewell.

*Duke William V of Aquitaine to Fulbert 19-29 May 1026*

To F(ulbert), venerable bishop of Chartres, from W(illiam), by  
grace of God duke of Aquitaine, with his greetings and loving  
friendship.

When you first deigned to visit us at Poitiers, dear bishop,  
and to comply with our request to take charge of Saint-Hilaire,  
we were filled with great joy, but our joy is giving way to great  
disappointment<sup>1</sup> at your failure to return. So we beg your grace  
not to abandon your plan to come here, if possible during the  
octave of Pentecost, but if not, at least for the week before the  
Nativity of St. John the Baptist.<sup>2</sup> We shall see to it that the road  
is safe for you to travel with your clerks and servants. While you  
are with us, you will have sufficient protection. Even if you stay  
with us only three days, in that brief time you will greatly refresh  
us. If you had only come for the last Rogation days, how much  
comfort and joy you would have brought us and our bishops and  
nobles! You could have returned to Chartres in good time for  
Pentecost if you so wished, or you would have had an honourable

116. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Terence, *And.* 961.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 17 June, the Nativity of St. John (apparently a great feast-day for  
Duke William (see p. 164 n. 1)) being 24 June. Pentecost in 1026 fell on 29  
May.

ne ires ad curiam domini regis, satis honestam causam habiturus.<sup>3</sup> Quam in presenti adire dimitto, minores inimicicias me suscepturum putans ob meam absentiam, quam si essem cum domno rege uel regina non consensus in ordinando rege absque<sup>e</sup> meo fratre Odone comite.<sup>4</sup> Quem enim ipse regem fieri uoluerit,<sup>f</sup> ipsum et me uelle pro certo noueritis.<sup>g</sup> De eius cum domino<sup>h</sup> rege concordia quicquid audieris, et ubi sit si nosti, peto rescribe, et si noui regis erit sacratio aut non, et cuius. Vale.

## 117

*Hildegard to Fulbert: advising him as regards the treasurer-ship of Saint-Hilaire and setting a date for his visit to Chartres*  
19-29 May(?) 1026

Domino suo F(ulberto) episcopo H(ildegarius) seruulus eius gaudium perpetuae salutis.

In litteris amici tui G(uillelmi)<sup>a</sup> comitis multam deprehendere potes erga te benignitatem, familiaritatem, amicitiam, sustentiam, quae non opus est mihi exponere tibi optime scienti. Vita tua ac illius comite non amittes susceptum honorem si tenere uolueris. Suadeo ergo ne facias uel scribas eius<sup>b</sup> repudium si intelligis fore tibi utilem<sup>c</sup> et ecclesiae tuae restauracioni, et si est tibi animus et facultas ad ipsum ueniendi ut rogat, et mihi uicarium subrogandi, uel socium addendi.<sup>d</sup> Nullatenus enim ferre possum nisi iussione tua coactus uel absentari penitus me<sup>e</sup> uel<sup>f</sup> abesse diutius obsequiis alme Dei genitricis et tuis, desiderans ut ceruus ad fontes aquarum<sup>1</sup> tuis plenius instrui documentis, omni auro et argento ipsa etiam uita mihi<sup>g</sup> carioribus. Volo interim mandes mihi, bone pater, quid mercedis erit labori meo tantulo, scilicet utrum iubeas ad presens non obturari<sup>h</sup> os bouis triturantis,<sup>2</sup> an uelud Ysaac Iacob filium suum benedicens, caligantibus oculis prophetans, in presentique filium non uidens,<sup>3</sup> multa mihi bona in posterum preuideas. Feria secunda post octabas Pentecosten

<sup>e</sup> atque LD, ante corr. R?

<sup>f</sup> noluerit L

<sup>g</sup> noueris LDR

<sup>h</sup> domino om. P

117 LDRCP <sup>a</sup> G.] et P

<sup>b</sup> eius corr. to ei L ei DR

<sup>c</sup> utilem

corr. to utile L utile DR

<sup>d</sup> uel . . . addendi om. P

<sup>e</sup> me penitus

LDRC <sup>f</sup> uel om. LP

<sup>g</sup> mihi om. DR

<sup>h</sup> obturaris P

excuse if you wanted to put yourself out of reach so as to avoid going to the king's court.<sup>3</sup> I myself am staying away from there for the present, since I think that I shall incur less enmity by my absence than if I should not consent to the wishes of the king or the queen in making a king unless my brother Count Odo<sup>4</sup> does so too. You may be sure that his choice for king will also be mine. Whatever you hear as regards his reaching an agreement with the king and when it will take place, if you know, please write and tell me, and also whether a new king is to be consecrated or not, and if so, who. Farewell.

*Hildegard to Fulbert*

19-29 May(?) 1026

To his lord, Bishop F(ulbert), from H(ildegard), his humble servant, with his wishes for the joy of eternal salvation.

In your friend Count W(illiam's) letter you can perceive his great kindness, warmth, friendship, and loyalty toward you, and there is no need for me to dwell on these matters, since you are well acquainted with them. During your lifetime and his you will not lose the position you have received if you wish to keep it. So I advise you not to resign it either by word or in writing if you think it might be of some benefit to you and the rebuilding of your church, and if you intend and are able to visit him as he asks and to appoint a vicar for me or to give me a colleague. Unless you force me to, I can in no wise bear being permanently absent or away any longer from serving God's loving mother and you; and as the hart panteth after the fountains of water,<sup>1</sup> so I long to be more fully instructed by your teachings, which are more precious to me than all gold and silver and even life itself. Meanwhile, dear father, please write and tell me how I shall be rewarded for my meagre efforts: that is, whether you will order the mouth of the ox who is threshing to be left unbound for the present,<sup>2</sup> or whether like Isaac, who blessed his son Jacob and prophesied when he was blind and could not see his son at the time,<sup>3</sup> you foresee many good things coming to me later on. On Monday

<sup>3</sup> See pp. lxxxviii f.; no. 115.

<sup>4</sup> William and Odo of Chartres were cousins (Guillot, i. 39 n.).

117. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. 41: 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 160 n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gen. 27: 1 ff.

proficiscar ad te si potero, resciturus utrum uenias ad comitem in natale sancti Iohannis.<sup>4</sup>

## 118

*Fulbert to Hildegard: reproaching him for delaying his visit to Chartres<sup>1</sup>*  
after 6 June 1026

F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus H(ildegario) suo salutem.

Diu sustinui sperans te esse uenturum ut dixeras. Vnde iam nimia dilacione commotus, arguo te apud te solum. Cur enim te mendacem mihi et ingratum exhibuisti, cum tibi dulce esse debuisset paratos (siqui forent) de uenacione tua cibos seni patri inferre, ut aliquam benedictionem merereris accipere?<sup>2</sup> Noli iam morari diucius, si gaudere uis de humili gratia nostra. Vale, et ueni aut rescribe mihi quid pro certo sperare debeam de te.

## 119

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine: thanking him for his kindness as regards Saint-Hilaire and informing him that Hildegard wishes to stay longer at Chartres*  
c. late 1026

Nobilissimo ac piissimo duci Aquitanorum G(uillelmo) F(ulbertus) Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus salutem et oracionum fidelia.

Vestram, obtime princeps, erga me beniuolenciam expertus sum cunctis amicorum meorum beniuolenciis affectu mihi dulciorem, effectu quoque utiliore. Nam alii quidem amici mei uix<sup>a</sup> parem aliquando meritis meis uicem rependunt. Vobis autem me licet immerentem gratuitis beneficiis accumulare mira caritatis abundantia placet. Iam fere tercio anno preterito quod sic agitis, erubescerem munera uestra gratis suscepisse ni certus<sup>b</sup> essem Dominum Ihesum Christum et sanctam Mariam genitricem eius

118 LDRKCPBV

119 LDRCPB  
CB

<sup>a</sup> beniuolenciis *add.* LDRC

<sup>b</sup> ni certus] incertus

after the octave of Pentecost I shall, if possible, set out for Chartres to learn whether you are coming to visit the count for the Nativity of St. John.<sup>4</sup>

*Fulbert to Hildegard<sup>1</sup>*

after 6 June 1026

F(ulbert), a humble bishop, to his H(ildegard), with greetings.

I have waited for a long time in the hope that you would come as you said, and I am moved by your excessive tardiness to bring this as a charge against you with you alone as judge. Why have you shown yourself to be untruthful and ungrateful toward me when you should have been happy to bring your aged father a meal which was prepared (if possible) from your hunting so that you might deserve to receive a blessing?<sup>2</sup> Come at once if you wish to enjoy our humble favour. Farewell, and come or write and let me know for sure what to expect of you.

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine*

c. late 1026

To the most noble and pious duke of Aquitaine, W(illiam), from F(ulbert), by grace of God bishop of Chartres, with his greetings and the faithful service of his prayers.

I have found from experience, dear prince, that your kindness towards me surpasses that of all my friends in its tender affection for me and in what it does to help me; for my other friends hardly ever repay me as I deserve, but it pleases you in the wonderful abundance of your charity to heap your freely given favours upon my undeserving self. Now that you have been doing so for almost three years, I would be ashamed to have accepted your gifts without making any return unless I were certain that the Lord Jesus Christ and his holy mother Mary, in whose service they

<sup>4</sup> See p. lxxxix; no. 116.

118. <sup>1</sup> See no. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 27: 1 ff., especially 25.

in cuius officio expensa sunt mercedem uobis reddituros. Preterea non defuit mihi animus uos adeundi et in uestra regione uobis obsequendi; sed multae causae difficultatis obstiterunt. Ob quod gerendum, pro certo noueritis cuncta me difficilia postpositurum, siquomodo<sup>c</sup> fuerit possibile. Hoc dicens, releuare cupio mirabilem affectus uestri erga me dulcedinem, in cuius litteris nuper legi quod gauderetis me superstitem esse in regionibus nostris, quasi desperantes numquam in uestris me uidere. Vnde auctori<sup>d</sup> tocius boni supplico, ut et uos in hac uita longum tempus superesse faciat, et me uobiscum superstitem adhuc beato Hylario uobisque deseruire concedat. Fratrem Hyldegarium uestrum et nostrum fidelem rogastis nos uobis remittere, sed deplorat quasi iam diu nostri pectoris mamillas non suxerit.<sup>1</sup> Quibus aliquandiu refici serenitatem uestram humiliter postulat, ut aspiracione dulciori uobis ac uestris postmodum complaceat. Valeatis feliciter cum omnibus uestris.

## 120

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine: offering to resign the treasurership of Saint-Hilaire late 1026–early 1027*

Piissimo duci Aquitanorum G(uillelmo) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus fidelitatem ex corde.

Non est mirum, serenissime princeps, siquid moueris animo contra me de hoc quod sanctissimo ac sapientissimo patri nostro Hylario tibi que debita seruicia non rependo. Magnam enim honorificenciam exhibuisti mihi, largosque dedisti munificenciae fructus, pro quibus nihil presentis emolumenti recepisse uideris. Sed est quod te reconfortare plurimum<sup>a</sup> potest, hoc uidelicet quod tuas gazas in aecclesiae beatae Mariae restauracionem expensas, non solum integras, uerum etiam multiplicatas ab ipsa recipies. Ex parte uero mea quamuis perexilis porcio mercedis estimari possit, tamen quicquid sum et possum tuum est. Si autem de malitia seculi ortae difficultates meum iter impediunt ut te frequentare non possim, et dilaciones meas expectare tedet, fac, benignissime atque dilectissime princeps, de illa dignitate quam mihi commiseras, quicquid animae tuae beneplacitum fuerit,

<sup>c</sup> siquoquo modo LDR (-quo *supra* L)

were expended, would reward you themselves. I have wanted to visit you and to serve you in your land, but many difficulties have stood in the way. You may be sure than in order to do so I would put all of them to one side if it were in any way possible. In telling you this I want to revive the wondrous sweetness of your affection for me, for I recently read in a letter from you that you would be delighted if I were still alive in our own land, as though you had lost hope of ever seeing me in yours. So I pray the Author of all goodness to vouchsafe that you may have many years left in this life and to grant that I too may live and even yet serve you and St. Hilary. You ask us to send Brother Hildegard, your faithful servant and ours, back to you; but he complains that it has been a long time since he has, so to speak, fed at our breasts.<sup>1</sup> He humbly asks your highness for time to be thus refreshed so that by his sweeter breath he may then be pleasing to you and yours. Farewell, and good fortune to you and all yours.

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine*

*late 1026–early 1027*

To the most pious duke of Aquitaine, W(illiam), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his sincere fidelity.

It is no wonder, your highness, if you are exasperated with me for not performing the services that I owe to our most holy and wise father Hilary and to you, for you have shown me great honour and bestowed on me lavish fruits of your generosity for which you have received no immediate return. But there is one point that you should find very heartening, namely that you will get back the treasures you have laid out for rebuilding St. Mary's church not only undiminished, but even multiplied by her. As for my own contribution towards your reward, however little it might seem, yet all that I am and can do is yours. But if difficulties arising from the evils of the times keep me from travelling and from being able to visit you, and if you are tired of waiting for my oft-postponed arrival, most kind and very dear prince, do whatever you wish with the office you entrusted to me, and rest

119. <sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 3: 1 f., and Heb. 5: 12 f., where the instruction given to the Christian neophyte is compared to the milk given to children.

certo sciens quod ea causa beniuolenciam meam erga te nunquam scencies inminutam. Caetera quaedam quae scribere nolui, legato nostro<sup>b</sup> (domno uidelicet Rainone)<sup>1</sup> referente cognosces. Vale.

## 121

*Hildegard to R(aino?),<sup>1</sup> dean of Saint-Hilaire: informing him that he cannot return and asking him to convey Fulbert's offer to resign and various greetings*

*late 1026–early 1027*

Domno R(ainoni) uenerando atque amabili decano sancti Hylarii H(ildegarius) aeternam salutem.

Multae uobis gratiae referantur ex parte Dei et domini mei episcopi et mea, si (ut dicitis) rem sancti Hylarii bene custodistis; hinc profecto uos eius<sup>a</sup> fidelem et amicum nostrum quorum uicem exequi studueritis certissime probatis. Quia uero nobis<sup>b</sup> in presenti uos adire non licet, de quibus nos interrogastis significare curauimus, ut triginta quinque libras et alias quas uobis dimisi in opus sancti Hylarii per consilium boni ducis G(uillelmi) expendatis, nullam mihi partem reseruantes. Non enim possum me intromittere amplius de offitio sancti Hylarii, cum etiam uia sit mihi dominoque meo episcopo difficilis propter seculi malitiam quam nostis, et ita sanctae Mariae seruitio teneat astrictus, ut ab hoc sine dampno uel culpa dimoueri nequeam. Sed et ipsius Dei genitricis eminentiam apud sanctum Hylarium siqua ex me est huius rei deprecari posse reor offensam. Nec enim illum cui libet inferiorum postposuerim, sed clientelae matris Domini, quae etiam archangelorum omnium dignitati prelata est, iure ut puta eius alumnus quantuluscumque me reddiderim. Dicitis ergo illi prudentissimo duci ex parte domini mei episcopi, ut tali rectori committat locum sancti Hylarii<sup>c</sup> quem nec difficultas itineris nec inperitia aecclesiastici ordinis ab eius obsequio detineat. Et haec sunt rationes de quibus Ragenaldus uicedominus<sup>2</sup> ad seniore

<sup>b</sup> meo C uestro P

121 LDRP      <sup>a</sup> esse add. LDR      <sup>b</sup> uobis P      <sup>c</sup> locum . . .  
Hylarii] sancti Hylarii L sanctum Hilarium DR

120. <sup>1</sup> Raino is again mentioned in no. 122, and Fulbert's statement there suggests that he may be the addressee of no. 121 and so dean of Saint-Hilaire. Only a few of the documents in Rédet date from the late 1010s or 1020s, and

assured that you will never sense any lessening of my good will toward you because of it. There are some other matters I do not wish to put in writing which you will learn from our legate Raino.<sup>1</sup> Farewell.

*Hildegard to R(aino?),<sup>1</sup> dean of Saint-Hilaire*

*late 1026–early 1027*

To R(aino), dean of Saint-Hilaire, who is worthy to be revered and loved, from Hildegard, with eternal greetings.

May you receive many thanks from God, my bishop, and myself if, as you say, you are taking good care of Saint-Hilaire; for thus you are indeed very clearly proving yourself a faithful servant to him and a friend to us whose duties you are striving to carry out. Since we cannot visit you at present, we have written to tell you, in answer to your questions, that the thirty-five pounds and other money I have given you is to be used to defray the expenses of Saint-Hilaire as Duke W(illiam) thinks best and none of it is to be kept for me. I am not going to be able to resume my duties at Saint-Hilaire, since it is hard for my bishop and myself to make the journey because of the evil of this age which you know full well, and since I am so tied down by my duties at St. Mary's that I cannot leave them without incurring loss or guilt. I also think that God's own exalted mother can intercede with St. Hilary if I am in any way offending him in this, not that I would place him below anyone who is inferior to him, but since I am one of her nurslings, however lowly, I would rightly return to the patronage of the Lord's mother, whose grandeur surpasses even that of all the archangels. So on behalf of my bishop will you please tell the duke in his great wisdom to appoint someone to take charge of Saint-Hilaire who will not be prevented from serving him by a difficult journey or lack of experience in church affairs? These are the matters about which the vidame Reginald<sup>2</sup>

no mention is made of a dean whose name begins with 'R'; however, a subdean named Raino figures prominently in the charters concerning Saint-Hilaire from 985 to 1016 (Rédet, xiv. 54 ff.).

121. <sup>1</sup> See p. 216 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Of Chartres. He died c. 1035 (Merlet, pp. 116 f., 159).

meum episcopum locutus est, et unde talem uobis finem mandamus. Nunc uestram caritatem quae mihi semper fuit prestantissima<sup>d</sup> rogo, dilectissime, ut omnes clericos domni nostri dulcissimi ac beatissimi patris<sup>e</sup> Hylarii a paruo usque ad maiorem ex meo nomine salutetis, et omnibus orationum fidelia dicatis. Ipsi etiam comiti centenas millenas salutes ex mea parte conferatis, quem pre omnibus laicis diligo, memoriam eius in orationibus meis ad Deum<sup>f</sup> faciens, qualescumque ei pro amore et beneficiis quae mihi exhibuit indesinenter gratias agens. Similiter autem et domnum meum Isembertum episcopum<sup>g</sup> salutare<sup>g</sup> obsecro, cuius in me benignitatis ac hilaritatis quanta fuerit gratia, nullatenus dicere me sinit probitatis eius inmensa magnitudo. Sed et filium comitis et domnam<sup>h</sup> comitissam,<sup>h</sup> necnon alios,<sup>i</sup> quorum beniuolentia etsi inmeritis gaudebam, eodem salutis munere cunctos impertiri ne pigeat. Ad summam uos ipsum bene ualere optans, finem orationis facio.

## 122

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine: resigning the  
treasurership of Saint-Hilaire* May-June 1027

Dilecto semperque diligendo domino et duci Aquitanorum G(uillelmo) F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus in hac uita se et sua omnia, in altera gaudia sempiterna.

Doleo, uir obtime, quod nuper in conuentu regis atque nostro loquendi tecum oportunitatem non habui, non de seculari negocio, sed de loco sancti patris nostri Hilarii, cuius rectorem me esse<sup>a</sup> bonitas tua uoluit; sed huius temporis malicia non permittit. Mando itaque tibi et precor absens id quod tunc presens intimare uolebam, uidelicet ut secundum beneplacitum cordis tui constituas ibi<sup>b</sup> alium thesaurarium et capiciarium de bonis clericis qui sunt in tua uicinia, quos uia longa et periculosa non disturbet ab officio, sicut me et meos hactenus disturbauit. Nec me putes, obsecro, ita prauum, ut propter hoc uidear tibi minus esse fidelis. Agnosco enim me perpetuum debitorem esse fidelitatis animae

<sup>d</sup> presentissima LDR      <sup>e</sup> nostri *add.* LDR      <sup>f</sup> semper *add.* LDR  
<sup>g</sup> salutate LDR      <sup>h</sup> dominam *post corr.* L, DR      <sup>i</sup> bene *add.* P  
122 LDRKPBV      <sup>a</sup> rectorem . . . esse] me rectorem (me *supra*) L      me esse  
rectorem DRK      <sup>b</sup> tibi LDRK

spoke to my lord the bishop, and we are asking you to settle them in this way. Now in that pre-eminent charity which you have always shown me, I ask you, my dear friend, to convey my greetings to all the clerks of our most sweet lord and blessed father Hilary from the lowest to the highest, and to assure them all of my faithful prayers. Please present a hundred thousand greetings for me to the count himself, whom I cherish above all other laymen and whom I remember in my prayers and shall never cease to thank as best I can for the love and kindnesses he has shown me. Likewise, I beg you to give my greetings to Bishop Isembertus,<sup>3</sup> whose immense integrity in no wise permits my telling of the great kindness and joy with which he bestowed his favour on me. Also please present these same greetings to the count's son, the countess,<sup>4</sup> and all the others whose good will I enjoyed albeit undeserving. Finally, in closing my letter, my best wishes to you yourself.

*Fulbert to Duke William V of Aquitaine* May-June 1027

To his dear lord, who is ever to be loved, Duke W(illiam) of Aquitaine, from F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, with his offer of himself and all that is his in this life and his wishes for eternal joy in the next.

I am grieved, my dear duke, that at our recent meeting with the king I did not have an opportunity to speak with you, not about secular affairs, but about the church of our father St. Hilary, of which you in your goodness wished me to have charge; but the evil of this age does not permit it. So in my absence I am writing to ask of you what I wanted to suggest when I was present, namely for you to appoint someone else whom you would like to be treasurer and sacristan there from the excellent clerks in your neighbourhood who will not be hindered in performing their duties by a long and dangerous journey as my clerks and I have been in the past. Please do not think that in doing this I am so corrupt as to be wanting in fidelity toward you, for I am well

<sup>3</sup> Of Poitiers.

<sup>4</sup> Agnes, daughter of Otto William of Burgundy. Which of William's four sons is meant cannot be determined.



tuae et corpori, propter benignitatem quam mihi inmerito exhibuisti. Vnde certo scias quia si tibi aut populo tuo mei ministerii necessitas inmineret, et hoc mihi mandare dignum duceres, subuenirem tibi Deo duce, si non possem aliter, uel in habitu pauperis peregrini. Precor autem bonitatem tuam ut domno Rainoni<sup>1</sup> releuare digneris dampnum quod pertulit in seruuicio nostro. Vale nunc et semper, piissime atque benignissime;<sup>c</sup> ego uero nunquam obliuiscar te.

## 123

*Fulbert to Ralph, economus of Sainte-Croix of Orleans:<sup>1</sup> advising him as regards a priest who celebrated mass without receiving communion* late 1026–early 1027

F(ulbertus) Carnotensium humilis episcopus R(odulfo) sanctae ecclesiae Aurelianensis aechonomo.

Quod me scribere mones utilia clerico,<sup>a</sup> quodque de sciencia magnipendis, facis amice, facis<sup>b</sup> ut Christianae philosophiae cultor inuidiae purus. Ego uero etsi gnarus mei moduli non presumo grandia, tamen debiti memor, in quo parere possim exortacioni sanctae deesse non uolo. Scripsi itaque sicut monuisti<sup>c</sup> quid mihi uideatur agendum de presbitero illo qui missas celebrasse<sup>d</sup> et non communicasse compertus est in hunc modum. Videtur nanque diligenter inquirenda esse causa, qua sacrosanctam communionem subterfugerit: uidelicet utrum<sup>e</sup> heretica infidelitas sit, an timor ex consciencia plane mortalis criminis, an timor ex consciencia ebriositatis aut libidinis (quae quidem<sup>f</sup> miseri sacerdotes mortalia peccata esse aut nesciunt aut scire dissimulant, remordente tamen consciencia mala), an sit tedium ex multa celebratione missarum, an<sup>g</sup> timor indiscretus quo pusillanimes afficiuntur interdum pro leuibus culpis, an<sup>h</sup> morbus reumatizantis<sup>i</sup> et nauseantis stomachi, an passio cerebri mentem ledens. Si ergo infidelitas in causa inuenta fuerit, aut aliud plane mortale crimen, deponendus est auctoritate canonica usque ad legitimam satisfactionem. Si autem appetitus ebriositatis aut libidinis (quandoquidem et ipsae mortiferae sunt), ab officio remouendus est et tandiu abstinentia

<sup>c</sup> atque benignissime om. LDRK

123 LDRKFCPBV      <sup>a</sup> clero LDRKFC      <sup>b</sup> etiam add. LDRKFC  
<sup>c</sup> nouisti KF      <sup>d</sup> caelebrare CB      <sup>e</sup> utrum om. LD; si R      <sup>f</sup> quidam LDRKFC  
<sup>g</sup> sit add. KF      <sup>h</sup> aut KF      <sup>i</sup> reumazantis LDC

aware that I must always be faithful to your soul and body for the kindness you have shown my undeserving self. You may be sure that if you or your people should urgently need my services and should think it proper to let me know, I would come to your aid, God leading, and if no other way were possible, even in the guise of a poor pilgrim. I beg you in your goodness to repay Raino<sup>1</sup> for the loss he has incurred in serving us. Farewell, now and always, most pious and very kind duke. I shall indeed never forget you.

*Fulbert to Ralph, economus of Sainte-Croix of Orleans<sup>1</sup>*  
 late 1026–early 1027

F(ulbert), humble bishop of Chartres, to R(alph), *economus* of the holy church of Orleans.

In calling on me to write of matters that will help a clerk, and in having high regard for knowledge itself, you are acting as a friend and as an ungrudging admirer of Christian wisdom. Though I know my own limitations and do not venture upon great matters, yet I am conscious of my obligations and so far as I am able I wish to meet your pious request. I have set down as you asked what I think should be done as regards the priest who was found celebrating mass without receiving communion, and this is as follows. The reason why he refrained from receiving holy communion should be carefully investigated: that is, whether it was from heretical infidelity, fear because he knew that he was guilty of an obvious mortal sin, fear due to guilt of drunkenness or lust (which to be sure some wretched priests do not know are mortal sins or pretend not to know, despite the torments of a bad conscience), weariness as a result of repeatedly celebrating mass, the inordinate anxiety concerning venial sins that sometimes troubles the scrupulous, an illness that upsets and nauseates the stomach, or a mental disorder that affects the understanding. If heresy or another obvious mortal sin should be found to be the cause, he should be degraded as is prescribed in the canons until he makes proper satisfaction. If an addiction to drunkenness or lust (since these too are mortal sins), he should be removed from

122. <sup>1</sup> See p. 216 n. 1.

123. <sup>1</sup> See p. lxxvi.

castigandus, quousque relicto uicio et per Dei gratiam superato<sup>k</sup> reuocari uideatur idoneus. At<sup>l</sup> si ex frequenti missarum celebratione tedium, ita corripiendus est et per annum integrum a comunione pellendus, sicut scriptum est in xiii concilio Toletano, capitulo v.<sup>2</sup> Si uero indiscretus timor de leui culpa, castigandus esse uidetur cum pietate, sicut legitur in capitularium libro primo, capitulo vi.<sup>3</sup> At si prenotata passio stomachi uel cerebri fuerit in causa, quiescere debet a ministerio donec recuperet sospitatem. Si autem preter supradicta aliud aliquid in causa inuentum fuerit, ex ipsorum comparacione per racionacionem facile tractabitur. His breuiter assignatis saluto te<sup>m</sup> in Domino Ihesu Christo, uir obtime, qui me multosque alios iugiter et interrogatus<sup>n</sup> et dum prudenter interrogas bene doces.<sup>4</sup> Vale.<sup>o</sup>

## 124

*Fulbert to Bishop G.:<sup>1</sup> asking him to act as his proxy at King Henry's consecration* before 14 May 1027

Venerabili patri et coepiscopo suo G. F(ulbertus).

Ad benedictionem Heinrici regiae prolis uoto quidem raptor, sed aduersa me corporis ualitudo retardat. Temptarem tamen utcumque moderatis equitacionibus eo peruenire, si non abstereretur se uicia matris eius,<sup>a</sup> cui satis creditur cum mala<sup>b</sup> promittit, fidem facientibus multis et memorabilibus gestis eius. Qua difficultate prohibitus, rogo uestram caritatem, dilectissime, ut uice mea suadeatis domno archiepiscopo Remensi<sup>2</sup> ceterisque primoribus, ne qua occasione differant benedictionem iuuenis supradicti. Spero enim illum Deo et bonis omnibus placiturum. Valete.

<sup>k</sup> sperato L      <sup>l</sup> Aut KF      <sup>m</sup> salueto PB      saluatore V      <sup>n</sup> inter-  
rogas DRKF      <sup>o</sup> Valete LBV  
124 LDRKPBV      <sup>a</sup> eius om. DR      <sup>b</sup> male LDRK

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Toledo XII, c. 5 (Mansi, xi. 1033; Hinschius, p. 416).

office and corrected by abstinence until with the help of God's grace he has abandoned and overcome his vice and seems worthy to be recalled. If it should be weariness as a result of repeatedly celebrating mass, he should be rebuked and forbidden to receive communion for one year, as is prescribed in the Thirteenth Council of Toledo, chapter five.<sup>2</sup> If inordinate anxiety concerning a venial sin, he should be corrected gently, as one reads in the first book of the capitularies, chapter six.<sup>3</sup> But if it should be an illness of the stomach or brain as described above, he should give up his duties until he regains his health. If something else should be found to be the cause, it can easily be handled by comparing it with these and reasoning by analogy. At the close of this brief exposition, I greet you in the Lord Jesus Christ, my good friend, who by your answers to our questions and by the wise questions that you yourself ask are continually teaching me and many others.<sup>4</sup> Farewell.

*Fulbert to Bishop G.:*

before 14 May 1027

To his venerable father and fellow bishop G. from F(ulbert).

If my prayer were answered, I would indeed hasten to attend Prince Henry's consecration, but I am kept back by ill health. Yet I would try to go there as best I could by travelling a little at a time if I were not frightened away by the savagery of his mother, who is quite trustworthy when she promises evil, as is proved by her many memorable deeds. Since I am held back by this obstacle, I beg you in your charity, my dear friend, to act for me in urging the archbishop of Rheims<sup>2</sup> and the other bishops not to postpone consecrating that youth for any reason, for I believe that he will prove pleasing to God and all good men. Farewell.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Ansegisus, *Capitularia*, i. 6 (*MGH Leges*, ii. i (1883), 398), though no mention is made of any penalty.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jerome, ep. liiii. 3 (ed. Hilberg, *CSEL* liv. 449).

124. <sup>1</sup> Probably either Garin of Beauvais, 24 June 1016/9 June 1017–10 November 1030/4 (Newman, p. 168 n.), or Geoffrey of Chalon-sur-Saône, before 1015–1039 (*ibid.*, p. 65 n.), the only bishops whose name begins with 'G' to witness a charter (the former signing as 'Warin', but cf. no. 129) granted at Henry's consecration, 14 May 1027 (Newman, no. 68). See pp. lxxxviii f.

<sup>2</sup> Ebalus.

## 125

*Fulbert to King Robert: explaining what is portended by a rain of blood*  
c. late June 1027

Pio regi R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus omnia fidelia.

Sacra uestra<sup>a</sup> monitus sum<sup>b</sup> inquirere festinanter et scribere uobis siqua historia sanguinem pluisse referat, et si factum fuit,<sup>c</sup> quid<sup>d</sup> futurum portenderit.<sup>1</sup> Liuium,<sup>2</sup> Valerium,<sup>3</sup> Orosium,<sup>4</sup> et plures alios huius rei relatores inueni; de quibus ad presens solum Gregorium Turonensem episcopum testem esse productum<sup>e</sup> sufficiat, propter auctoritatem religionis suae.<sup>5</sup> Ait ergo Gregorius idem in sexto libro historiarum, capitulo xiiii: 'Anno igitur vii Childeberti regis, qui erat Chilperici et Gunthramni uicesimus et primus,<sup>f</sup> mense Ianuario, pluuiae, chorcascaciones, atque tonitrua grauias<sup>g</sup> fuerunt. Flores in arboribus ostensi sunt. Stella quam cometen superius nominaui apparuit,<sup>h</sup> ut in circuitu eius magna nigredo esset; et illa, tanquam si intra foramen aliquod posita,<sup>i</sup> ita inter tenebras<sup>k</sup> relucebat, scintillans spargensque comas. Prodiat autem ex ea radius mirae magnitudinis, qui tanquam fumus magnus<sup>l</sup> incendii apparebat a longe. Visa est autem ad partem occidentis in hora noctis prima. In die autem sancti paschae apud Suessionis<sup>m</sup> ciuitatem caelum ardere uisum est, ita ut duo apparerent incendia; et unum erat maius, aliud uero minus. Post duarum uero horarum spacium, coniuncta sunt simul, factaque in farum magnum euanuerent. In Parisiaco uero termino uerus sanguis ex nube defluxit, et super uestimenta multorum hominum cecidit, et ita tabe maculauit, ut ipsi propria indumenta horrentes abnuerent. Tribus enim locis in termino ciuitatis illius hoc prodigium apparuit. In Siluanectensi uero territorio hominis cuiusdam domus, cum ille mane surgeret, sanguine respersa<sup>n</sup> ab intus apparuit. Magna autem<sup>o</sup> eo anno lues in populo fuit. Valitudines uero uariae, melinae cum pustulis et uescis multum

125 LDRKFCBPV See p. lxi.      <sup>a</sup> quaestione add. KF      <sup>b</sup> sum om.  
LDRC      <sup>e</sup> fuerit LDRKC      <sup>d</sup> quod FC      <sup>e</sup> productum esse  
LDRKFC      <sup>f</sup> uicesimus et primus] xx KF      <sup>g</sup> grandia KF  
<sup>h</sup> ita add. DR      <sup>i</sup> esset add. LDRK (supra L)      <sup>k</sup> in tenebras LC  
in tenebris DR      <sup>l</sup> magni DR      <sup>m</sup> Suessionas LDRKF      Suessiones  
V      <sup>n</sup> aspersa KF      <sup>o</sup> enim LDR

125. <sup>1</sup> Robert's letter to Fulbert is not extant, but see his letter on the same occasion to Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges and the latter's reply (Appendix B, nos. 2 f.).

*Fulbert to King Robert*

c. late June 1027

To the pious King R(obert) from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with all the services of his fidelity.

Your highness enjoined me in your letter to make a rapid search and to write and tell you if in any historical work it is reported to have rained blood and if so, what it portended.<sup>1</sup> I have found that Livy,<sup>2</sup> Valerius,<sup>3</sup> Orosius,<sup>4</sup> and several others report its happening. Of these let it be enough for the present to cite only Bishop Gregory of Tours, whose truthfulness is avouched by his holy life and faith.<sup>5</sup> Gregory relates the following in book six of his *Histories*, chapter fourteen: 'In the seventh year of King Childebert, which was the twenty-first year of Chilperic and Guntran, in January there was frequent rain, lightning, and deep thunder. Flowers bloomed on the trees. The star that I earlier called a comet appeared, and everything around it was darkened. It shone forth in the darkness as though it had been placed in a black hole and sparkled and scattered its tail. A ray of astonishing size issued from it, which from a distance seemed to be the blaze of a great fire. This was seen in the west at the first hour of the night. On Easter Day at Soissons the sky seemed to be on fire in that two blazes appeared, the one greater, the other less. Two hours later they joined together and became one great beacon, and then they vanished. Within the city of Paris real blood rained from a cloud, fell upon the clothes of many men, and so stained them with gore that they shuddered at the sight of their own garments and tore them off. This prodigy appeared at three places within the city limits. In the area of Senlis, when one man got up in the morning, his house seemed to have been sprinkled with blood from within. In that year there was a great plague among the people. Various diseases, black spots with pustules and

<sup>2</sup> e.g. xxiv. 10; xxxiv. 45; xxxix. 46, 56; xl. 19, the last being the most suitable here. As regards how much of Livy was available at Chartres, see G. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xiv (1951), 137 ff., especially 189 n.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Histories*, iv. 5 (ed. Zangemeister, *CSEL* v. 214 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps an allusion to the profession of orthodoxy with which Gregory begins his *Histories Francorum* (*MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, i. 1 (2nd edn., 1951), 3 ff.).

populum affecerunt morte. Multi tamen adhibentes studium euaserunt. Audiuius autem eo anno in Narbonensem urbem inguinarium morbum grauitate desuisse, ita ut nullum esset spacium uitae, cum homo correptus fuisset ab eo.<sup>6</sup> Hactenus Gregorius Turonensis. Liquet igitur ex hac et ex supramemoratis<sup>p</sup> historiis quod pluuia sanguinis publicam stragem futuram esse portendat. Quod autem nuper huiusmodi cruorem in quadam parte regni uestri pluisse audistis, et quod ille cruor ubi supra petram uel super carnem hominis ceciderat, ablui non poterat, ubi autem super lignum ceciderat, facile abluebatur, per hoc tria genera hominum significata esse uidentur: per lapidem impii, per carnem fornicarii, per lignum uero (quod neque durum est ut lapis, neque molle ut caro) illi qui neque<sup>q</sup> impii sunt neque fornicarii. Cum ergo uenerit super illam gentem cui portenditur gladius siue pestilencia designata per sanguinem, si antea duri et molles non fuerint mutati in melius, morientur<sup>r</sup> perpetualiter in sanguine suo. Medii uero per angustiam mortis uel aliter poterunt liberari, pro arbitrio secretissimi atque presentissimi iudicis. Vale, piissime rex.<sup>s</sup>

## 126

*Fulbert to Archbishop Robert of Rouen: encouraging him in his adversities*  
after 5/6 August 1027

Venerabili archiepiscopo Rotomagensium R(otberto) F(ulbertus) humilis episcopus fideles oraciones.

Conpacior tibi, sancte pater, super aduersis quae indigne passus es, presertim ab eo qui et se et sua tuae fidelitati debuerat.<sup>1</sup> Super illo quoque doleo uehementer fratre et<sup>a</sup> coepiscopo nostro dum staret, in tanta nunc flagiciorum atque facinorum precipicia lapso.<sup>2</sup> Sed tibi, pater, haec uel magna consolacio est, quia si abstulit exteriora, interiora non potuit. Habes enim ex Dei gratia caritatem

<sup>p</sup> supramemoratorum LDRKFC      <sup>q</sup> nec LDRKFC      <sup>r</sup> moriuntur  
LDR      <sup>s</sup> piissime rex om. KB  
126 LDRKCPBV      <sup>a</sup> ac LDRKC

<sup>6</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Francorum*, vi. 14 (edn. cit. (p. 255 n.), pp. 283 f.).

126. <sup>1</sup> Fulbert seems to be referring to Duke Robert I of Normandy, who succeeded his brother Richard III on his death 5/6 August 1027 (D. Douglas, *English Historical Review*, lxxv (1950), 289 ff.) and then attacked his uncle

blisters killed many people, yet many took care and escaped. We have also heard that a disease of the groin raged so violently at Narbonne that year that a man died almost as soon as he was infected by it.<sup>6</sup> Thus far Gregory of Tours. It is clear from this and from the histories mentioned above that when it rains blood, this portends the coming of a public disaster. As to your having heard that there has recently been a similar rain of blood in part of your kingdom and that where it fell on rock or human flesh it could not be washed off, but that where it fell on wood it was easily washed away, this seems to refer to three kinds of men: stone signifies the impious; flesh, fornicators; and wood (which is neither hard like stone nor soft like flesh), those who are neither impious nor fornicators. When the sword or plague foretold by the blood comes upon the people for whom it was portended, if the 'hard' and the 'soft' have not previously changed for the better, they will perish for ever in their own blood; but those who stand in the middle can be delivered through the straits of death or in some other way in accordance with the will of the most secret and most powerful Judge. Farewell, most pious king.

*Fulbert to Archbishop Robert of Rouen*  
after 5/6 August 1027

To the venerable archbishop of Rouen, R(ober), from F(ulbert), a humble bishop, with his faithful prayers.

I sympathize with you, holy father, over the injuries with which you have been unjustly afflicted, especially from one who owed himself and his all to your good faith.<sup>1</sup> I am also deeply grieved over him who was our brother and fellow bishop as long as he stood upright, but who has now fallen into these great depths of crime and infamy.<sup>2</sup> But to you, father, it should be very comforting that though he has taken away your outward possessions, he could not take away those that are within; for by God's grace you have

Robert, archbishop of Rouen and count of Évreux. The latter went into exile and placed Normandy under interdict. He was later recalled and henceforth played an important role in governing Normandy. See William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vi. 3 (ed. J. Marx (Rouen, 1914), pp. 100 f.); D. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), pp. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Identity unknown.

qua ipsum errantem reuoces, frenum canonicae districtiois quo detrectantem coherceas, uirgam qua<sup>b</sup> ferias. His utere competenter, donec absolucionem promeritus dicere tibi gaudeat: 'Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.'<sup>c3</sup>

## 127

*Fulbert to Bishop Reginardus of Liège:<sup>1</sup> commending his clerk A(delman?), a student at Chartres*

*late 1027–early 1028*

Venerabili episcopo Leodicensium<sup>a</sup> R(eginardo) F(ulbertus) Car-notensis omnia caritatis obsequia.

Cum dispersas oues sollicite ac longi itineris labore queritis,<sup>b</sup> leti perpendimus, pater, quod pastoris nomen necgligencia non cassatis. De illa tamen oue quae in nostris pascuis obseruatur (fratrem<sup>c</sup> A(delmanum) subdiaconum<sup>2</sup> loquor), securus estote, quia Dei gratia bene ruminat, et luporum insidias sagaciter cauet. Nec appelletis eum ultra militem fugitium, quoniam accurate se preparat ad debellanda coram Deo et uobis et nobis agmina uiciorum. Veniet autem ad uos quantocius<sup>d</sup> poterit. Sed si nostra humilitas inuenire queat gratiam in oculis uestris, suppliciter exoramus, ut nobis illum remittere ac uestris litteris commendare dignemini, ut presencia eius sit pignus uestrae caritatis erga nos ac nostrae fidelitatis erga uos inperpetuum. Valete.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> quam L      <sup>c</sup> Vale *add.* P    Valete *add.* B

127 LDRKCPBV      <sup>a</sup> Leodicensium episcopo PB      <sup>b</sup> perquiritis  
LDRKC      <sup>c</sup> fratrem *om.* LDRKC      <sup>d</sup> quantocius LDRK

<sup>e</sup> Vale LRC *om.* V

the charity by which you may recall one who goes astray, the reins of ecclesiastical sanction by which you may restrain one who is headstrong, the rod with which you may strike him. Use these as you should until he deserves absolution and is glad to say to you: 'Thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me.'<sup>3</sup>

*Fulbert to Bishop Reginardus of Liège<sup>1</sup>*

*late 1027–early 1028*

To the venerable bishop of Liège, R(eginardus), from F(ulbert) of Chartres, with all the services of charity.

When you anxiously search for your scattered sheep and send over a long and hard way for them, we rejoice to see, father, that you are not disgracing the name of pastor by negligence. But as for the sheep that is kept in our pasture (I mean Brother A(delman), the subdeacon),<sup>2</sup> you may rest secure, for by God's grace he is ruminating well and wisely avoiding the wiles of wolves. Please stop calling him a deserter, for he is diligently preparing himself to vanquish the armies of vice before God, you, and ourselves. He will come to you as quickly as he can. But if our lowly selves are able to find favour in your sight, we humbly beg you to send him back to us with your letter of commendation, so that his presence may be a pledge of your charity toward us and our fidelity toward you for ever. Farewell.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 22: 4.

127. <sup>1</sup> After 23/4 January 1025–5 December 1037 (see H. Silvestre, 'A propos de l'építaphe de l'évêque de Liège, Durand (†1025)', *RBPH* xli (1963), 1136 ff.; Bresslau, i. 87 ff., ii. 278).

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xxxv f.

## 128

*The canons of Chartres to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens: reproaching him for consecrating Bishop Thierry**after 10 April 1028*

Sacro Senonensium archipresuli L(eutherico) canonici sanctae Mariae Carnotensis in Christo salutem et adhuc fidelitatis obsequium.

Multum miramur, uenerande pater, quod bonis initiis tam malos exitus habuisti,<sup>1</sup> uidelicet quod nobis pastore carentibus in altero substituendo primum bene fauisti, et postremo sententiam tuam deprauasti, alium quam nos elegeramus ordinando. Ne autem dicas ignorasse te electionem nostram, mandauimus tibi per diaconos nostros Odelerium et Frotmundum elegisse nos A(lbertum) decanum<sup>2</sup> cum litteris nostris idipsum continentibus, qui talis nobis uidebatur, qualem episcopum ordinari debere dicit concilium Cartaginiense quartum.<sup>3</sup> Quod si post haec alium tibi optulerunt uel rex uel aliqui ex nostris minus sapientibus, oportuisset te causam diligenter attendere, et inter nos ipsos diiudicare quorum sanior haberetur electio, sicut in decretis Leonis papae significari optime nosti his uerbis: 'Ille omnibus preponetur quem cleri<sup>a</sup> plebisque consensus concorditer postularint, ita ut si in aliam forte personam parcium se uota diuiserint, metropolitani iudicio is alteri<sup>b</sup> preponatur, qui maioribus et studiis iuuatur et meritis.'<sup>4</sup> Volumus autem scire te quod ipsam electionem nostram mandauimus domino regi per suos monachos Ernaldum priorem et Restaldum prepositum sancti Dyonisii;<sup>5</sup> quibus etiam obitientibus nobis de Teoderico ordinando regiam uoluntatem iniunximus ut dicerent regi ne id temere fieri iuberet, uocaret autem nos antea (si sibi placeret) ad curiam suam, uel suae uoluntati consensuros, uel cur dissentiremus ostensuros. His uero dictis nostris ipse dominus rex contemptis, qualem sibi libuit personam absque nostra petitione ordinari uiolentus<sup>c</sup> accelerauit, inmemor fortasse

128 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> clerici LDR      <sup>b</sup> alteri] saltim P      <sup>c</sup> uiolentiis P

128. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*, xvii. 20 (CCL xlvi. 586), where it concerns Solomon (cf. no. 92).

<sup>2</sup> For Odelerius and Frotmundus see Merlet, pp. 178, 170. Albert left at this time and became a monk at Marmoutier (see nos. 65, 129).

*The canons of Chartres to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens after 10 April 1028*

To the holy archbishop of Sens, L(eothericus), from the canons of St. Mary's of Chartres, with their greetings in Christ and even now the service of their fidelity.

We are greatly astonished, reverend father, that your good beginnings have come to such a bad end:<sup>1</sup> that is, that when we were left without a pastor, you began by supporting our right to choose his successor, but ended by abandoning your good intentions and consecrating someone we had not elected. You cannot say that you did not know of our election, for we sent you word through our deacons Odelerius and Frotmundus, with letters to the same effect, that we had elected the dean, A(lbert),<sup>2</sup> who seemed to us to satisfy the requirements for the episcopate set down by the Fourth Council of Carthage.<sup>3</sup> But if afterwards the king or any of our brethren of less sound judgement presented someone else to you, you should have investigated the case carefully and decided who had been elected by the weightier part in accordance (as you know) with the following provision in the decretals of Pope Leo: 'Let preference be given to him who is chosen by the common consent of the clergy and people. If the choice is not unanimous and some favour another candidate, let preference be given to the one the metropolitan thinks is better qualified by reason of his industry and merits.'<sup>4</sup> We also want you to know that we sent word of our election to the king through his monks Ernaldus and Restaldus, prior and provost of Saint-Denis.<sup>5</sup> When they took us to task saying that the king wished to make Thierry bishop, we enjoined them to tell the king not to order it rashly, but first to summon us to his court, if he would, to consent to his wishes or to show why we dissented. But the king had no regard for what we said and without our asking it quickly forced through the consecration of the one he wanted, perhaps forgetting the

<sup>3</sup> Actually *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, c. 1 (Mansi, iii. 949 f.; Hinschius, p. 303) = prologue (ed. C. Munier (Strasbourg, 1960), pp. 75 ff.), usually ascribed to Carthage IV.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. xiv. 5 (PL liv. 673) = c. 4 (Hinschius, p. 619).

<sup>5</sup> Both witnessed a document concerning Saint-Denis, 1002-31, simply as 'priest' (L. Levillain, 'Note sur quelques abbés de Saint-Denis', *Revue Mabillon*, i (1905), 44).

illius dicti Constantini Christianissimi inperatoris de uiolentia principum contra se et contra alios principes ita se habentis: 'Quecumque', inquit, 'contra leges fuerint a principibus optenta non ualeant.'<sup>6</sup> Sed ut ad presens de ipso taceamus (qui<sup>d</sup> sane uiderit utrum omnia recte agat, ne<sup>e</sup> post factum peniteat)<sup>7</sup> ad te, pater, querimoniae nostrae flectimus articulum quem ecclesiae nostrae curam neglexisse, immo auctoritati tuae derogare uehementer dolemus, posthabito supradicto Leonis papae decreto. Quod si obseruasses, racionabiliter utique egisses, et bene nobis ut filiis pater consuluisses. At ipso uiolato, quam multa alia sanctorum patrum decreta uiolaueris, tute considera. Nos tamen pauca tibi de multis scribimus. Legitur in decretis Celestini papae: 'Nullus inuitis detur episcopus: cleri, plebis et ordinis consensus et desiderium requiratur'; et post pauca: 'Sit facultas clericis renitendi, si se uiderint pregrauari; et quos sibi ingeri ex transuerso agnouerint, non timeant refutare, qui si non debitum premium, uel liberum de eo qui eos rectorus est debent habere iudicium.'<sup>8</sup> Item<sup>f</sup> ex concilio Cartaginiensi tertio: 'Et illud est statuendum, ut quando ad eligendum episcopum conuenerimus, siqua contradictio fuerit<sup>g</sup> oborta (quia talia facta sunt apud nos), non presumant ad purgandum eum qui ordinandus est tres iam, sed postulentur ad numerum supradictorum duo uel tres; et in eadem plebe cui ordinandus est discutiantur primo personae contradicentium, postremo illa etiam quae obitiuntur pertractentur; et cum purgatus fuerit sub conspectu<sup>h</sup> publico, ita demum ordinetur.'<sup>9</sup> Ecce quomodo patrum sententiae uiolantur. Nobis enim inuitis obtrudere uultis episcopum, nec conceditur nobis liberum de eo qui nos rectorus sit habere iudicium; et cum huic<sup>i</sup> qui ordinandus erat contradiceretur, minime purgata sunt quae obitiebantur, nec personae uel rationes contradicentium discussae. Quae cum ita sint, cumque legem canonicam in hoc negotio multimode solueris,<sup>10</sup> monemus te non increpando neque diiudicando,<sup>k</sup>

<sup>d</sup> corr. to quis L quis DR <sup>e</sup> nec L <sup>f</sup> Iterum LDRC  
<sup>g</sup> uenerit L <sup>h</sup> conspecta C conspecto P <sup>i</sup> his corr. to is L  
 is DR his C <sup>k</sup> iudicando LDRC

<sup>6</sup> See p. 42 n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eccles. 32: 24.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. iv. 5 (PL l. 434 f.; Hinschius, p. 560). As regards the meaning of *ordo* (= nobles), see F. L. Ganshof, 'Note sur l'élection des évêques dans l'empire romain', *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, iv (1950), 486 f.

<sup>9</sup> c. 40 (Mansi, iii. 887; Hinschius, p. 299).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. no. 26.

judgement as to the use of force by princes which the most Christian emperor Constantine rendered against himself and other princes as follows: 'Let whatever is done by princes contrary to law be null and void.'<sup>6</sup> But to say no more about him for the present (though to be sure let him see whether he is acting rightly in all that he does, so that he may not have cause to repent later),<sup>7</sup> it is against you, father, that we are now directing our complaint whom we deeply grieve to see neglecting to care for our church and indeed bringing your own authority into disrepute by ignoring the decretal of Pope Leo cited above. If you had followed it, you would certainly have acted in accordance with the dictates of reason and taken thought as to what was best for us as a father for his sons. But by violating it how many other decretals of the holy fathers you have violated you ought to consider for yourself; however, we are writing down just a few of them for you. One reads in the decretals of Pope Celestine: 'Let no one be given as bishop to those who do not want him, but let the consent and wishes of the clergy, people, and nobles be sought out'; and a little further on: 'Let the clergy have the right to resist if they see themselves oppressed, and let them not be afraid to reject those whom they find unexpectedly forced upon them; for even if they are owed no recompense, they should have free choice as to who is to rule them.'<sup>8</sup> Likewise from the Third Council of Carthage: 'Let it be decreed that when we meet to choose a bishop, if any objection should arise (for we have known it to happen), the three bishops who are already there should not take it on themselves to clear the one who is to be consecrated, but should ask for two or three more to be added to their number. In the presence of the congregation for which he is to be consecrated, first let the character of those who are making the objections be examined; then let the charges that they are bringing be investigated; and after he has been publicly cleared, let him be consecrated.'<sup>9</sup> Look how the decrees of the fathers are violated. You wish to thrust a bishop on us whom we do not want, nor are we allowed to have free choice of who is to rule us; and when objections were raised against the one to be consecrated, the charges were by no means disproved, and neither the character of those who objected to him nor their reasons for doing so were investigated. Since this is the case, and since in this matter you are violating canon law in many ways,<sup>10</sup> we enjoin you, not in rebuking or judging you,

sed affectu filiorum obsecrando, ipsi legi quam offenderis reconciliatum iri confitendo culpam et penitendo. Nec pudeat te dicere secreto<sup>l</sup> necessariis tuis Deum timentibus et in lege ipsius<sup>m</sup> bene eruditis, iam tandem te<sup>n</sup> animaduertisse ea quae fiunt contra statuta canonum non debere stare, sed et facientes peniteri<sup>o</sup> oportere. Quod si forte rex auctoritate tua deinceps corroborari uoluerit quod sine solutione canonum stare non possit, uideris, pater, ne aditias peccatum super peccatum; sed aut quantum poteris id corroborare dissimula, aut manifeste salua legum auctoritate id te exequi non ualere proclama. Postremo suppliciter oramus haec scripta nostra minime publicari, quae apud tui cari pectoris secretum promere audemus. Rescribe<sup>p</sup> uero nobis siquid tibi uidetur contra haec racionabiliter opponendum. Augeat tibi Deus spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, sapientiae et intellectus.<sup>11</sup>

## 129

*The canons of Chartres to Bishops Garin of Beauvais and Odolricus of Orleans and Archbishop Arnulf of Tours: asking for their aid in opposing the election of Bishop Thierry after 10 April 1028*

Sanctis presulibus G(uarino) Beluacensi, O(dolrico) Aurelianensi, A(rnulfo) Turonensi, clerici sanctae Mariae Carnotensis, famuli eorum et fratres, in Domino salutem.

Conquerimur aput uos, patres, de archiepiscopo nostro et rege, qui nobis inuitis episcopum donare uolunt quendam idiotam (ut scitis) et eiusmodi<sup>a</sup> offitio indignum et eius offitii ignarum,<sup>b</sup> precantes auxilium uestrum ut uigiletis sicut boni ecclesiae pastores ad portas eius, ne introeat in eam ille talis qui non quaesiuit intrare per hostium, sed aliunde ascendere, sicut fur et latro.<sup>1</sup> Vobis tribus portas custodientibus sciatis pro certo quartum custodem addi O(donem) comitem,<sup>2</sup> et nunquam recepturum illum in ciuitatem suam, nisi prius uestro iudicio examinatum utrum recipi debeat an non. Vigilate ergo attentius, et diligenter

<sup>l</sup> secreto om. P      <sup>m</sup> eius DR      <sup>n</sup> te om. DR      <sup>o</sup> penitere LDR

<sup>p</sup> Rescribi P

129 LDRCP

<sup>a</sup> eiusdemmodi P

<sup>b</sup> et eius . . . ignarum om. LDRC

but in beseeching you with filial affection, to make your peace with that law you have broken by confessing your sin and doing penance. Nor should it upset you to acknowledge privately to your servants who fear God and are well versed in his law that at last you have come to realize that whatever is done contrary to the decrees of the canons should not stand and that those who are guilty of such sins should do penance. But if the king later wants you to confirm by your authority what cannot stand without violating the canons, see to it, father, that you heap not sin on sin; but do all you can to avoid confirming it, or openly declare that you cannot do so without violating the authority of the laws. Finally, we humbly beg you not to divulge what we have written here and are venturing to disclose in the secrecy of your dear breast; but write and let us know if you think anything can reasonably be done to correct what has happened. May God increase in you the spirit of counsel and fortitude, wisdom and understanding.<sup>11</sup>

*The canons of Chartres to Bishops Garin of Beauvais and Odolricus of Orleans and Archbishop Arnulf of Tours after 10 April 1028*

To the holy bishops G(arin) of Beauvais, O(dolricus) of Orleans, and A(rnulfo) of Tours, from the clerks of St. Mary's of Chartres, their servants and brothers, with greetings in the Lord.

We are laying our complaint before you, fathers, as regards our archbishop and the king, who wish to force on us a bishop who is (as you know) illiterate and both unworthy of such an office and unacquainted with its duties. We ask you as good shepherds of the church to help us by standing watch at its gates and keeping out one who has not sought to enter through the door, but who has tried to climb in by another way like a thief and a robber.<sup>1</sup> You may know for a truth that to the three of you who are keeping the gates a fourth guard is added in Count O(do),<sup>2</sup> and that he will never receive him into his city unless you first examine him and decide whether he ought to be received or not. So keep careful

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Isa. 11: 2.

129. <sup>1</sup> Cf. John 10: 1.

<sup>2</sup> Of Chartres.



inquirete causam cum uestris sapientibus clericis et nobis famulis uestris si dignemini; nec propter regis reuerenciam hoc agere pigritemini, quasi hoc<sup>c</sup> pertineat ad infidelitatem<sup>d</sup> eius. Vere etenim ei fideliores eritis, siquae sunt corrigenda in regno eius<sup>e</sup> correxeritis, et animum eius ad eandem correctionem<sup>f</sup> compuleritis. Volumus autem scire uos A(lbertum) decanum<sup>3</sup> quem elegeramus factum esse monachum, nihilominus tamen nos eum optare nobis fieri episcopum, cum reprobatus fuerit ille lupus quem probare potestis indignum. Quod uos inuicem caute et diligenter et<sup>g</sup> secrete deliberare petimus utrum fieri possit an non, et nobis seruis uestris ac<sup>h</sup> fratribus deliberationis uestrae finem innotescere siue litteris siue legato fideli. Haec autem uerba nostra uidete interim ne publicentur. Valet.

## 130

*The canons of Chartres to Abbot Odilo of Cluny: asking for his aid in opposing the election of Bishop Thierry*<sup>1</sup>  
after 10 April 1028

Quem super omnes abbates diligunt sanctissimo patri O(diloni) canonici sanctae Mariae omnium uirtutum gratia prefulgere.

Obsecramus uos in nomine sanctae Trinitatis, ne faueatis contra ius et fas partibus Teoderici simulati episcopi, neque suadeatis Odoni comiti facere cum eo concordiam contra sanctorum canonum auctoritatem. Clarissimum speculum posuit uos Deus in mundo. Videte ne qualibet nigredine obscuremini qua obfuescentur<sup>a</sup> alii, sed semper uero lumine resplendeatis, quo et alii possint illustrari. Valet, beatissime pater, et rescribite nobis<sup>b</sup> quicquid melius de hac causa uobis uidetur.

<sup>c</sup> hoc om. DR      <sup>d</sup> fidelitatem LDR      <sup>e</sup> eius om. P      <sup>f</sup> correptionem L  
<sup>g</sup> ut L      <sup>h</sup> et LDRC  
130 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> obfuscantur P      <sup>b</sup> uobis P

watch and examine the case thoroughly with your clerks of sound judgement and with us, your servants, if you deem us so worthy. Please do not hold back out of deference for the king, as if it were a question of your being unfaithful to him, for indeed you will be all the more faithful to him if you correct what needs to be corrected in his kingdom and force him to correct these matters himself. We also want you to know that our dean A(lbert),<sup>3</sup> whom we elected, has become a monk, but that we still want him to be our bishop after that wolf has been rejected who you can prove is unworthy. We ask you to take counsel with each other cautiously, carefully, and secretly, as to whether this can be done or not, and to let us, your servants and brothers, know what you decide by letter or a trusted messenger. Meanwhile please see to it that what we have written here is not made public. Farewell.

*The canons of Chartres to Abbot Odilo of Cluny*<sup>1</sup>  
after 10 April 1028

To the abbot whom they love above all others, the most holy father O(dilo), from the canons of St. Mary's, with their prayer that he may shine forth with the grace of all virtues.

We beg you in the name of the Holy Trinity not to support, contrary to all that is just and right, the claims of that would-be bishop Thierry and not to persuade Count Odo to come to terms with him in violation of the authority of the holy canons. God has placed you in the world as his brightest mirror. See to it that you are not clouded over by any shadow by which others may be darkened, but that you always shine brightly with the true light by which they too may be illumined. Farewell, most blessed father, and please write and let us know what seems best to you in this matter.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. no. 128.

130. <sup>1</sup> See nos. 128 f.

## 131

*Hildegard to A(scelin?):<sup>1</sup> sending him writings on the Eucharist and telling him Fulbert's advice as regards evil thoughts after 10 April 1028*

In Christo sibi dilecto semperque diligendo domino A(scelino) H(ildegarius) seruus eius fidelis, quae retro sunt obliuisci, et iugiter in anteriora tendere.<sup>2</sup>

Causa caritatis pollicitus sum conuersari mecum Herberto nepoti tuo usque<sup>b</sup> fruges nouae colligantur, amice illum habiturus interim, quasi presentiae tuae<sup>c</sup> uicarium. Scripta quae tibi mitti poscis partim mittimus, partim minime, quia non sunt missu facilia. Quae uero mittuntur et difficilia sunt cognitu et pernecessaria, de sacramento uidelicet corporis et sanguinis Domini, quae si non fideliter ac digne percipimus, uiuere non habemus.<sup>3</sup> De cogitationibus autem quae se nolentibus nobis ingerunt, ita sentiebat carissimus pater noster F(ulbertus): 'Nihil eas nocere, si tandem menti minime placuerint; signo crucis abigendas esse ab animo uelud muscas ab oculis importunas; rationem ponendam esse mentis custodem, rerum utilium recepticem; quibus dum occupata fuerit, ab inutilibus impeti uel penetrari non possit.' Cui sententiae multas alias in Vitis patrum consentientes reperire potes, quae tuum animum optime releuabunt,<sup>d</sup> opitulante Christi gratia, sine qua nihil ualemus uel sumus. Caetera uero quae ad presens non mittuntur, quia nec adeo scriptu facilia,<sup>e</sup> nec satis idoneum gerulum habere modo uidentur,<sup>f</sup> Deo uolente spero me tibi transmissurum<sup>g</sup> uel delaturum, cum oportunum tempus et latorem inuenerint. Valeas, animo meo carissime:

Mortuus huic mundo Christum tibi uiuere noris.<sup>4</sup>  
Virtuti uiuas; sit tibi mors uitio.<sup>h</sup>

Ora pro me famulo tuo, pater.

131 LDRCP            <sup>a</sup> extendere DR            <sup>b</sup> me cum Herberto nepote tuo  
usque dum DR        <sup>c</sup> tuae om. P            <sup>d</sup> reuelabunt *corr. to* releuabunt L  
releuabunt *post corr.* R    reuelabunt DCP            <sup>e</sup> uidentur *add.* DR  
<sup>f</sup> habere . . . uidentur] haberemus uidentur L    haberemus uiderentur C  
habemus DR            <sup>g</sup> trans- om. P *leaving a blank space*            <sup>h</sup> uitium DR

131. <sup>1</sup> Although the addressee cannot be identified with certainty, the reference to his nephew suggests that it might be Ascelin the Breton, who, with his

*Hildegard to A(scelin?)<sup>1</sup>*

*after 10 April 1028*

To his beloved in Christ and ever to be loved lord, A(scelin), from H(ildegard), his faithful servant, with his prayer that he may forget what lies behind and strive ever onward.<sup>2</sup>

Out of charity I have promised to let your nephew Herbert stay with me until the new first-fruits are gathered and during that time to be friends with him as though he were your other self. As for the writings that you ask to be sent to you, we are sending some, but not others, as they are not easy to send. Those that are being sent are difficult to understand, but very important, since they treat of the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, which if we do not receive faithfully and worthily, we shall not have life.<sup>3</sup> As to evil thoughts that force themselves upon us against our will, our very dear father F(ulbert) was of the following opinion: 'They are not harmful if the mind ultimately takes no pleasure in them. They should be driven from the mind by making the sign of the cross, just as troublesome flies are driven from the eyes. Reason should be made the guardian of the mind to admit what is beneficial. While the mind is taken up with this, it cannot be attacked or forcibly entered by harmful thoughts.' You can find many other similar sayings in the *Lives of the Fathers*, which will greatly comfort your mind by the aid of Christ's grace, without which we can do and are nothing. As for the writings which are not being sent at present since it is difficult to copy them and there is no one at hand who can conveniently take them, I hope (God willing) to bring or to send them to you when a suitable opportunity and carrier are found. Farewell, my dear friend and heart's delight.

Die to this world, and know Christ lives in you.<sup>4</sup>  
Let Virtue be your life, let death take Vice.

Pray for me, your servant, father.

nephew Herbert, is commemorated in the cathedral necrology and said to have given a number of books to the chapter (Merlet, p. 158), and who was later involved in the Berengarian controversy (see p. xlviij).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Phil. 3: 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John 6: 54; 1 Cor. 11: 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rom. 6: 10; Gal. 2: 20.

THE POEMS OF  
FULBERT OF CHARTRES

## [Oratio]

Angele consilii magni,<sup>1</sup> te consulo,<sup>a</sup> Christe,<sup>b</sup>  
 [Mi factor, mea uita, salus, fiducia sola,  
 Da michi consilium et uotum uiresque sequendi,]  
 Ambiguus<sup>c</sup> quid agam, quo tandem fine quiescam,  
 Nam<sup>d</sup> uereor temere suscepto pontificatu 5  
 Seruandis ouibus mage quam prodesse nocere,  
 Atque ideo puto cedendum melioribus esse.  
 Sed recolens quod<sup>e</sup> non opibus neque sanguine fretus  
 Consendi cathedram pauper de sorde leuatus,  
 Arbitror hoc a te factum sicut tuus est mos; 10  
 Nec mutare locum nisi significaueris ausim,  
 Quamuis id<sup>f</sup> lesae moneat<sup>g</sup> mens conscia uitae.<sup>2</sup>  
 [Tu scis, sancte pater, quid sit tibi gratius horum  
 Vtiliusque michi. Praecor unde<sup>h</sup> tuam pietatem  
 Vt michi digneris hoc inspirare<sup>i</sup> labanti 15  
 Consilium, praesensque iuues ad perficiendum.]

## Ad se ipsum de se ipso

Te de pauperibus natum suscepit alendum  
 Christus, et immeritum sic enutriuit et auxit,  
 Vt collata tibi miretur munera mundus.  
 Nam puero faciles prouidit adesse magistros,  
 Et iuuenem perduxit ad hoc ut episcopus esses. 5  
 Reges, pontifices, populi te magnificabant,  
 Seruum prudentem censentes atque fidelem  
 Esse pii Domini. Sed pro pudor ipse nefande

132 LDRCP (= f. 27<sup>v</sup>), V (= f. 110<sup>v</sup>), P<sup>1</sup> (= f. 63<sup>v</sup>), V<sup>1</sup> (= f. 160) There are two versions of the poem: a shorter in LDRCPV, a longer in P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup>. (P has been revised from the longer version by a later hand, but these changes are not noted here.) The presence of both versions in P and V may point to two separate exemplars; and the omission of the first line in P<sup>1</sup> and the alternative beginning in V<sup>1</sup> indicate that the longer was the earlier version, that the poem originally

Angel of Great Counsel,<sup>1</sup> I call on you, O Christ, for I know not what to do or what will be my final rest. I fear that it was rash of me to have accepted a bishopric and that in keeping my flock I do more harm than good; hence I think I should yield it to my betters. But remembering that it was without the help of birth or riches that I rose to the episcopate, penniless and raised up from lowly origin, I believe that this was your doing in your wonted way. Nor would I dare to change my place without some sign from you, despite the promptings of a conscience which well knows my sinful life.<sup>2</sup>

## Self-Examination

You, a child of poor parents, Christ took up to raise as his own; and undeserving as you were, he so nourished and blessed you that the world marvels at the gifts he bestowed. For he saw to it that as a boy you had understanding masters; and while you were still in your prime, he raised you to the episcopate. Kings, bishops, and people have praised you, as a wise and faithful servant of the Lord, who rightly favoured you. But alas, that you have sinned

began with lines 2 f., and that these were later dropped in favour of line 1. Preference is given here to the revised version, and the lines omitted from the earlier one have been placed in brackets. The revised version is also found in Boulogne-sur-Mer MS. 83, f. 8<sup>r-v</sup>. <sup>a</sup> consule L <sup>b</sup> Angele . . . Christe om. P<sup>1</sup> AL Angele consilii magni, te consulo, Christe, ambiguus quid *written as the last lines of the preceding poem* V<sup>1</sup> <sup>c</sup> Ambiguus corr. to Ambiguus L Ambiguus CV Ambiguo P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup> Nunc P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> (uel Nam *supra* P<sup>1</sup>) <sup>e</sup> quia P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> <sup>f</sup> hoc P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> <sup>g</sup> moueat P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> <sup>h</sup> inde P<sup>1</sup> <sup>i</sup> inspirante P<sup>1</sup>

133 P

132. <sup>1</sup> Cf. the introit of the mass for Christmas Day. In the earlier version this sentence began: 'My Maker, my Life, Salvation and sole Stay, give me your counsel and the will and strength to carry it out . . .'

<sup>2</sup> The following lines were added at the end of the earlier version: 'You know, holy father, which course is more pleasing to you and better for me; and so I beg you in your piety to deign to inspire my faltering self with your counsel and to be my ever-present aid in carrying it out.'

Nec prudens nec fidus eras ut res manifestat.  
 Nam contra memorare pudet quam nequiter ipsum 10  
 Laeseris et sanctos eius tua praua tuentes,  
 Quae uix ulla satis possunt tormenta piare.  
 Prestolatur adhuc Dominus tamen ille benignus,  
 Et te uiuere perpetitur, si forte resciscens  
 Segnitiam zelo perimas, meritoque reatum. 15

## 134

*De sancta cruce*<sup>a1</sup>

Vexillum regis uenerabile cuncta regentis,  
 O crux sancta micans super omnia sidera caeli,  
 Mortifero lapsis gustu quae sola reportas  
 Antidotum uitae fructum suspensa perhennem,  
 Te colo, te fateor, uenerans te pronus adoro. 5  
 Christus, principium, finis, surrectio, uita,  
 Merces, lux, requies, sanctorum doxa, corona,  
 Pro seruis dominus redimendis hostia factus,  
 In te suspendens per lignum toxica ligni  
 Purgauit clausae reserando limina uitae. 10  
 Tanta pars ego sum libertatis, bone pastor,  
 Sed mala semper agens nunquam tibi digna rependi.  
 Heu mihi, iam bibulae numerum transcendit arenae  
 Sarcina multorum michi<sup>b</sup> quae creuere malorum.  
 Sed quia peccantis pocius bona quam mala queris, 15  
 Plusque tibi peccat, spem qui peccando relinquit,  
 Ad te confugio, tibi supplico, confiteorque.  
 Parce, precor, miserere mei, miserere meorum  
 Defuncti qui sunt et in hac qui luce parentum.  
 Qui bona fecerunt mihi pro te centupla redde; 20  
 Qui mala, conuertens peccamina cuncta remitte.  
 Omnes hoc signo qui te uenerantur et orant  
 Dirige, sustenta, custodi, protege, salua.  
 Da procul a nobis elatio sistat ut omnis,  
 Quo tibi summissi<sup>c</sup> placeamus pectora<sup>d</sup> semper. 25  
 Protege nos iugiter uentosae laudis ab aura,  
 Et nobis dignas confer tibi soluere grates.  
 Inuidiae maculam de mentibus abluere nostris,

134 LDRP  
 misso DR

<sup>a</sup> title om. LDR      <sup>b</sup> iam . . . michi om. P  
<sup>d</sup> pectore post corr. L, DR

<sup>c</sup> sum-

by being unwise and unfaithful is plain to see. For it is shameful to remember how badly you have offended him and his saints, who have seen your wicked ways; and however harsh the penance you undertake, it is hardly enough to make amends. Yet the Lord still waits in his loving-kindness and lets you go on living, so that if you should come to your senses, you may atone for your negligence by zeal, your guilt by good works.

*The Holy Cross*<sup>1</sup>

August standard of the all-ruling King, O holy cross, outshining all heaven's stars, to those who fell through the taste of death you alone restore the remedy of life, bearing an eternal fruit. You I worship, you I confess, and prostrate on my knees I revere and adore you. Christ, the beginning, end, resurrection, and life, reward, light, rest, glory of the saints, and crown, the Lord who offered himself to redeem his servants, by hanging from you with a tree's help took away the poison that came from a tree and opened again the closed doors to life. I am one of those so gloriously freed, good Shepherd; but all that I do is evil, and never have I worthily repaid you. Wretch that I am, already the vast burden of my many sins surpasses the sum of the thirsty sands. But since you seek the good of the sinner and not his harm, and he commits a greater sin against you who in sinning loses hope, to you I flee for refuge, you I supplicate and confess. Be merciful, I beg you, and have pity on me and my kindred, both those who are dead and those yet alive. Those who have helped me for your sake, reward them a hundredfold; and those who have harmed, convert them and forgive all their sins. All who with the sign of the cross worship you and pray, direct, support, guard, protect, and save. Grant that pride may ever be far from us, that with humble heart we may always please you. Ever protect us from the windy breath of praise, and grant that we may pay you worthy thanks. Wash the stain of envy from our minds, pouring into us

134. <sup>1</sup> Though Fulbert does not seem to be using any particular model, cf. the poems on the cross by Venantius Fortunatus (*MGH AA* iv. i. 27 ff.) and Rabanus Maurus (*PL* cvii. 149 ff.).

Infundens nobis ignem caelestis amoris.  
 Irae compescens stimulos, fac nos patientes, 30  
 Tristitiamque fugans, in damnis spem retinentes.  
 Crimen auaritiae nobis dona fugiamus,  
 Vt pietatis opus placitae<sup>e</sup> tibi ferre queamus.  
 Ingluuiem uentris nos uincere sobrietate,  
 Luxuriaeque luem casto concede pudore, 35  
 Vt per te mundi, per te quoque uiribus aucti,  
 Constanter uitam studeamus adire supernam.

## 135

*Oratio positi in prouectu<sup>a</sup>*

Tu qui de nichilo mundum finxisse probaris,  
 Nam tibi materies nulla cocua fuit,  
 Et nutu facili noto tibi tempore<sup>b</sup> solues,  
 Tam diuturne dehinc quam prius extiteras,  
 Quantulus hic noster modus est quo secula<sup>c</sup> uolui 5  
 Cum uitis que iubet strenua bella geri.  
 Regem militibus propriis te semper adesse<sup>d 1</sup>  
 Ad bene certandum nos uegetando proba.

## 136

*[An untitled Fragment]*

Me non Argolici docuit sed uirga Latini,  
 Constat enim Grecum quod praecipis enucleandum.  
 Mecum Virgilius, nequaquam lusit Homerus.

<sup>e</sup> placide LDR135 LDRPV The poem seems to have been revised (cf. no. 132), and preference is given here to the apparently later version. <sup>a</sup> *thus*

the fire of heavenly love. Restrain the stings of anger, and make us patient; banish dejection, and in adversity keep us hopeful. Vouchsafe that we may flee the sin of avarice so as to serve you with pleasing piety. Grant us to conquer gluttony by temperance and dire lust by chaste modesty, that cleansed by you and by you strengthened we may ever strive to attain the heavenly life.

*A Prayer of One who is Advancing*

You who clearly fashioned the world from nothingness since matter has not existed as long as you, and who with a simple nod will destroy it at the time you appoint and then continue to exist as eternally as before, how brief is our allotted span compared with the time that has elapsed since you ordered the ages to start rolling and unremitting war to be waged against vice. That you are always there as a king to help your soldiers<sup>1</sup> give proof by rousing us for the good fight.

*[An untitled Fragment]*

The schoolmaster's rod I studied under was not a Greek's, but a Latin's, for the Greek which you enjoin on me must be explained. Virgil delighted me with his verse, but not Homer.

(Oration) V Oratio P *title om.* LDR <sup>b</sup> facili . . . tempore] facili placito tibi tem P facili placito (uel noto *supra*) tempore V <sup>c</sup> noster . . . secula] medius modus est quo tempora PV <sup>d</sup> Regem . . . adesse] Te quoque de fragili rem fingere posse ualentem PV Regem . . . adesse *added at the end of P with an omission mark, but without a corresponding mark in the text*  
 136 P

135. <sup>1</sup> This clause originally read: 'That you can also make a fragile creature into strong . . .'

## 137

*De timore, spe, et amore*<sup>a1</sup>

Trinus ab illicitis hominum se continet ordo:  
 Aut penae metuens, aut prouidus emolumenti,  
 Aut bene conplacitae captus uirtutis amore.<sup>b</sup>  
 Qui<sup>c</sup> spectare licet finem uideantur ad unum,  
 Vt uitium uitent uelud exiciale uenenum, 5  
 Imparitate tamen meriti discretius absunt,  
 Vnde nec unitae ueniunt ad premia palmae.  
 Primus enim coleret genium, si posset inulte,  
 Sed uehementer ait: 'Zelantis abhorreo uultum  
 Iudicis et dirae flammis ardere gehennae.' 10  
 Anne secundus idem faciat<sup>d</sup> si premia desint?  
 Sed uigili ratione sagax,<sup>e</sup> dum gaudia pensat  
 Vera, uoluptatem caute postponit inertem.  
 Tertius ingenue bonus egregieque decorus  
 Te contemplatur, te diligit, aurea uirtus; 15  
 Malit nempe mori, quam uiuens te uiduari.<sup>f</sup>  
 Sunt igitur speties ex affectu uenientes  
 Se quibus effugiant, ut ab ordine discrepet ordo.  
 Nam quis sollicito dubitet preferre timori  
 Securam spei requiem? Sed et ipsa decenter 20  
 Vt precellenti uenerans assurgit amori.  
 Interea pater optimus hec speculatus ab alto,  
 Cuius iuditii nichil est quod fallat acumen,  
 'Ille', inquit, 'meus est uernaculus, iste satelles,  
 Hic<sup>g</sup> mea conformis, mea dilectissima proles.' 25  
 Tunc uariis meritis distantia premia librans,  
 Magna quidem primo tribuit, maiora secundo,  
 In solo totum confert probitatis amico.

## 138

*Idem breuius*<sup>a1</sup>

Tres causae faciunt homines peccata cauere:  
 Horror supplitii, spes mercis, amor probitatis.

137 LDRCPV V may preserve readings from an earlier version (cf. nos. 132, 135). Nos. 137-42 are also found in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Phill. 1694, f. 77<sup>r-v</sup>, and in British Museum, Harley 3023, ff. 65, 63 (see E.

*Fear, Hope, and Love*<sup>1</sup>

Three grades of men refrain from committing sin: those who fear punishment, those who hope for a reward, and those who are seized with love of well-pleasing virtue. Though all of them aim at the same goal, to shun vice as a deadly poison, yet they stand apart by reason of their different merits and so do not gain the same prize of victory. The first would follow his inclination could he do so without being punished, but he fervently avers: 'I am terrified of the countenance of the wrathful Judge and of burning in hell's dire flames.' And would not the second also do it if there were nothing to be gained? But wisely and with watchful Reason, in weighing true joy he prudently rejects empty pleasure. The third with innate probity and surpassing excellence has his gaze fixed on you and loves you, golden Virtue, and indeed would rather die than live without you. These are the classes into which they fall according to their internal dispositions so that one grade differs from another. For who can doubt that fearful anxiety is not as worthy as the certain hope of rest? And this out of respect duly gives way to all-surpassing love. Meanwhile the most excellent Father, watching them from on high, whose all-discerning judgement nothing can deceive, proclaims: 'The first is my servant, the second my vassal, but the third is my own likeness, my dearest child.' Then weighing their various rewards in accordance with their different merits, he gives to the first a great prize indeed, and a greater to the second, but on him who alone loves virtue's self he bestows his all.

*A Shorter Version of 'Fear, Hope, and Love'*<sup>1</sup>

There are three reasons why men refrain from sinning: fear of punishment, hope of reward, and love of virtue. Although they

Bishop, 'Unedirte Briefe zur Geschichte Berengar's v. Tours', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, i (1880), 272). <sup>a</sup> title om. RC <sup>b</sup> Quos licet hoc teneat

simul inuiolabile pactum add. V <sup>c</sup> Quo V <sup>d</sup> faciet DR  
<sup>e</sup> uigens V <sup>f</sup> uiuens te uiduari] te uiuendo relinqui V <sup>g</sup> Haec DR

138 LDRCPV <sup>a</sup> De eadem re breuius P

137. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Cassian, *Conlationes*, xi. 6 ff. (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 317 ff.).

138. <sup>1</sup> See no. 137.

Que<sup>b</sup> quamuis finem uideantur tendere ad unum,  
 Scilicet ut uitio careant, distant tamen hoc quod  
 Seruulus, et miles, et regis filius. Atqui  
 Principium timidus, cupidus habet incrementum  
 Virtutis, totam summam sincerus amator.  
 At si profitiat timor in spem, spes in amorem,  
 De seruo miles uenit, et de milite proles.<sup>2</sup>

## 139

*Idem breuissime*<sup>a1</sup>

Probra cauet uel flagra pauens,<sup>b</sup> uel premia captans,  
 Vel uirtutis amans, distant ut calo, satelles,  
 Rex: duo profitiunt, status est tibi, tertie, summus.

## 140

*De perfectione castitatis*<sup>a1</sup>

Sex gradibus consummatur perfectio casta:  
 Primo, dum uigiles,<sup>b</sup> fluxum nescire petulcum;  
 Quem sequitur lasciuia diu non uoluere corde;  
 Tum, ne uel leuiter speciem cernendo cupiscas;  
 Quartus erit nec simpliciter genitale moueri;  
 Quintus, ob auditum ueneris nil mente uagari;  
 Vltimus, in somnis nullo fantasmate ludi.<sup>c</sup>  
 Hoc<sup>d</sup> sibi nemo rapit, sed Christi gratia prestat.  
 Est tamen obseruanda diurna medela dietae:  
 Libra cibi solidi, simplex emina falerni,<sup>2</sup>  
 Preterea labor, excubiae, rogatio<sup>e</sup> crebra,  
 Ne caro languentem necet incrassata pudorem.

<sup>b</sup> Qui CP139 LDRCPV <sup>a</sup> Item breuius (*mislplaced*) C. Item de eodem [*sic*] re breuius P *title om.* LDR <sup>b</sup> timens V

aim at the same goal, namely to avoid sin, they are as different as a servant, a knight, and a king's son. Yet he who fears punishment has the beginning of virtue, he who hopes for a reward has still more, and he who truly loves it has it all. But if fear should develop into hope, and hope into love, the servant will be transformed into a knight, and the knight into a king's son.<sup>2</sup>

*A Very Short Version of 'Fear, Hope, and Love'*<sup>1</sup>

Those who avoid sin from fear of punishment, hope of reward, or love of virtue, are as different as a groom, a vassal, and a king. The first two are doing well, but the third is doing best.

*Perfect Chastity*<sup>1</sup>

There are six stages in attaining perfect chastity: first, when you are awake, not to experience carnal pleasure; next, not to entertain lustful desires; then, when you see someone who is pretty, not to feel any craving; fourth, not to be physically aroused in any way; fifth, not to let the sound of love-making distract you; finally, when asleep not to dream of anything provocative. No one acquires this by his own effort: it is the gift of Christ's grace. Yet it is helpful to watch your daily diet: a pound of solid food, a single measure of wine,<sup>2</sup> besides work, vigils, and frequent prayer, so that a gluttoned body will not weaken and destroy your sense of shame.

140 LDRCPV It is also found in Saint-Omer MS. 115. <sup>a</sup> Versus de castitate P *title om.* LDR <sup>b</sup> uigilas DR <sup>c</sup> ledi V <sup>d</sup> Hos DR <sup>e</sup> rogatio PV<sup>2</sup> Cf. Berengar of Tours, *De sacra coena*: '... Fulbertus episcopus, qui scripsit de propectu fidelium: "de seruo miles fiet et de milite proles" . . .' (ed. W. H. Beekenkamp (The Hague, 1941), p. 45).139. <sup>1</sup> See nos. 137 f.140. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Cassian, *Conlationes*, xii. 7 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 345 ff.).<sup>2</sup> Cf. St. Benedict, *Regula*, cc. xxxix-xl; no. 142.



## 141

*Idem breuius*<sup>a1</sup>

Castus agit quem nulla libido mouet uigilantem,  
Nec uiolare potest sopitum illusio fedā.

## 142

*De diēta*<sup>a1</sup>

Prandia lauta modum turbant plerumque diētae.  
Indulges stomacho, mentem male crapula uexat.  
Si parcas epulis, sequitur detractio uel laus.  
Vt medium teneas, labor est, et ualde cauendum,  
Ne tibi tristitiam pariat sicut suus est mos. 5  
Si possis igitur prorsus haec prandia uita.  
At si non liceat, hilaris cautusque recumbe, et  
Liba cuncta parum tua quae tibi regula dictat,  
Ne<sup>b</sup> summam nimiam coniectent<sup>c</sup> multa minuta.

## 143

*De sobrietate*

Cura sit haec tibi nec plus quam tria fercula<sup>1</sup> gustes,  
Et post singula fercla semel bibe, sobrius ut sis.  
Ter gula mande uorax, bibe ter—melius semel esset:  
Extincta pecus omne siti nichil amplius haurit.

141 LDRCPV      <sup>a</sup> De eadem re breuius P      *title om.* LDR

142 LDRCP      <sup>a</sup> uel discrecione *add.* P      *title om.* LDR  
LDRP      <sup>c</sup> coniectant L

143 P

<sup>b</sup> Nec

*A Shorter Version of 'Perfect Chastity'*<sup>1</sup>

The chaste man is he who is not aroused by lustful desires when awake and who cannot be polluted by shameful dreams when asleep.

*A Rule for Eating*<sup>1</sup>

Lavish dinners usually play havoc with a well-ordered diet. If you give in to your stomach, over-indulgence clouds your mind. If you eat but little, it results in your being disparaged or praised. To keep in between is hard, and you must especially watch that it does not result in the depression that commonly follows. So if you can, avoid such meals altogether. But if you cannot, take your place cheerfully and be on your guard. Taste a little of everything that your way of life allows, but don't let a lot of nibbling add up to your eating too much.

*Temperance*

Be careful not to taste more than three dishes;<sup>1</sup> and after each, drink but once, so that you will be sober. Eat thrice, greedy glutton, drink thrice—only once would be better: when its thirst is quenched, not even an animal keeps on drinking.

141. <sup>1</sup> See no. 140; Cassian, *Conlationes*, xii. 16 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 359).

142. <sup>1</sup> The title in P and the apparent source for nos. 137 ff. suggest that this may be based on Cassian, *Conlationes*, ii. 16 ff. (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* xiii. 59 ff.), though their contents are not altogether identical.

143. <sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. xxxix, who allows his monks to have as many as three dishes; Suetonius, *Aug.* lxxvii, and following him Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. xxiv (ed. L. Halphen (3rd edn., Paris, 1947), p. 72), who report that Augustus and Charlemagne usually drank only three times during a meal.

## 144

*De duplicitate<sup>a</sup>*

Duplex est qui dulcia uult et hic et inante;  
 Duplex est laudem cupiens de religione;  
 Duplex est diffidens impetrare quod orat.  
 Ve duplici, certum quia non habet emolumentum.

## 145

*Diffinitio uirtutis*

Virtus est Domino parendi firma uoluntas;  
 Virtus est medium retinendi accepta potestas.

## 146

*De libra et partibus<sup>a</sup> eius<sup>1</sup>*

Libra uel as ex unciolis constat duodenis.  
 Vncia<sup>b</sup> de libra linqvit subtracta deuncem;  
 Et sextans (hoc est eadem geminata) decuncem;<sup>c</sup>  
 Hinc quadrans (haec scilicet ipsa ter acta) dodrantem;  
 Inde triens (ipsius quadruplicacio) bissem;<sup>d</sup> 5  
 Quincunx septuncem,<sup>e</sup> que sat sua pondera produnt;  
 Semis semissem, medium<sup>f</sup> dum diuidit assem;  
 Nec uacat unciolae mediam sescuncia iungens.

144 LDRCP In P it is placed with similar verses in the miscellaneous material following the Hildegard collection, and the lines are arranged as here. In LDRC it forms part of a florilegium on penance, and the first and third lines have been exchanged. <sup>a</sup> title om. LDRC

145 P

146 LDRP (= f. 38<sup>v</sup>), P<sup>1</sup> (= f. 63) In LPP<sup>1</sup> the conventional signs for some of the terms are placed between the lines or in the margins. The poem is also found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 8069, 18081 (B. Hauréau, *Notices et*

*Hypocrisy*

The hypocrite wants his pleasure both now and hereafter The hypocrite wants to be praised for his piety. The hypocrite has no confidence that he will get what he prays for. Woe to the hypocrite, for indeed he gains nothing.

*Virtue Defined*

Virtue consists in the firm resolve to obey the Lord and in the gift of the ability to hold to the golden mean.

*The Pound and its Parts<sup>1</sup>*

The pound or *as* is composed of twelve ounces. If one ounce is subtracted from it, it leaves a *deunx*; and if a sixth (that is, two ounces) is subtracted, it leaves a *decunx*. If a quarter (that is, three ounces) is taken away, it leaves a *dodrans*; and if a third (four ounces), it leaves a *bis*. A *quincunx* leaves a *septunx*—their very names tell what they weigh. A half leaves a *semis*, for it divides the *as* in two. There is also a *sescuncia*, which adds half again to the tiny ounce.

*extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vi (Paris, 1893), 9 f.); Avranches MS. 235, f. 52; Klagenfurt, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, MS. XXIX. d. 3, f. 35<sup>v</sup> (L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (2nd edn., Cambridge, Mass., 1963), col. 824); British Museum, Additional MS. 17808, f. 73, where it lacks the titles, but has a full set of signs (printed in F. A. Yeldham, 'Notation of Fractions in the earlier Middle Ages', *Archeion*, viii (1927), 314, omitting the signs, but giving a convenient table of them on p. 319). <sup>a</sup> patribus L also in the following two titles <sup>b</sup> est add. L <sup>c</sup> deuncem LPP<sup>1</sup>, ante corr. D <sup>d</sup> bisse LP <sup>e</sup> Quincus (Quintus P) septus est semis LP Quincus septus sē P<sup>1</sup> <sup>f</sup> mediam DR

146. <sup>1</sup> See Pfister, *Fulbert*, pp. 35 f.; F. Hulstsch, *Metrologorum scriptorum reliquiae*, ii (Leipzig, 1866), 31 f.

*De untia et partibus eius*

Vncia uiginti scripulos et quattuor ambit; 10  
 Dimidium stater ac semuncia dicitur eius;  
 Terna due sescle pars est eademque duella;  
 Quarta, siclus<sup>g</sup> uel sicilicus uel denique uocari;  
 Sextula sexta modo solet et<sup>h</sup> modo sescla uocari;  
 Octauam appellant dragmam uel rarius olcem; 15  
 Et duodenariam mediam<sup>i</sup> sesclam uocitarunt;  
 Vigenam quartam scripulus seu gramma retentant.

*De scripulo et partibus eius*

Vnus item scripulus calcis componitur octo;  
 Dimidium scripuli est obolus, pars quarta cerates;<sup>k</sup>  
 Hic sextam fingi<sup>l</sup> placuit siliquamque uocari; 20  
 Vltimus est calculus ciceris duo granula pensans.

## 147

*De signis et mensibus et diebus et horis  
compendium computi<sup>a1</sup>*

Annum sol duodena means per signa rotundat.  
 Singula ter denis percurrit signa diebus  
 Atque decem horis et dimidia,<sup>b</sup> faciuntque  
 Partes hae duodenario, si multiplicentur,  
 Tercentum sexagenos et quinque dies et 5  
 Sex horas, quas quadrantem liquet esse diei.  
 Hoc igitur numero proprium sol perficit annum.  
 Sed quia planius est toto quam parte diei  
 Annum metiri, uoluit chorus astrologorum  
 Tercentum sexagenis et quinque diebus 10  
 Claudii tres annos, quarto superaddidit unum  
 Qui de quatuor annorum quadrantibus exit.  
 Hunc bissextilem dixerunt propter hoc annum,

<sup>g</sup> sidus LP      <sup>h</sup> et om. DR      <sup>i</sup> media LP      <sup>k</sup> ceratos LP  
<sup>l</sup> figi DR

147 LDRP (= f. 65), P<sup>1</sup> (= B, f. 27; the preceding leaf, which presumably contained the title and the first six lines, is lost). The numerals used in the manuscripts have been converted into words, and the paragraphing has been slightly

*The Ounce and its Parts*

The ounce contains twenty-four scruples. A half-ounce is called a *stater* or *semuncia*. A third is equal to two *sesclae* and is called a *duella*. A fourth is called a shekel, *sicilicus*, or *sicel*. A sixth is known now as a *sextula*, now as a *sescla*. They call an eighth a drachma and occasionally an *olce*, and a twelfth they named a *media sescla*. A twenty-fourth is what a scruple or gram weighs.

*The Scruple and its Parts*

The scruple is made up of eight *calci*. A half-scruple is an *obolus*, and a fourth is a *cerates*. Then it seemed suitable to invent a sixth and to call it a *siliqua*. Last comes the *calcus*, which weighs two little chickpeas.

*The Signs, Months, Days, and Hours  
Essentials of the Calendar<sup>1</sup>*

The sun goes through twelve signs in the course of a year. To go through each sign takes it thirty days and ten and a half hours; and if this is multiplied by twelve, it makes 365 days and six hours, which to be sure are one-fourth of a day. This is how long it takes the sun to complete its year. But since it is easier to measure the year by whole days rather than fractions, the astrologers' association decided to allot 365 days to three years and to add to the fourth year the extra day that results from combining the quarter days of the four years. They named this the bissextile year because two days are numbered as the sixth day before the

altered. The manuscripts vary as to the position of the accompanying tables, and the first is lacking in P. The poem is also found in Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 12117, f. 127<sup>v</sup> (L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (2nd edn., Cambridge, Mass., 1963), col. 105). <sup>a</sup> compoti P    *title om.* LDR    <sup>b</sup> dimidio L

147. <sup>1</sup> Although the fundamentals of calculation as given here were widely known in the early middle ages, and there was a tradition of such mnemonic verses (cf. Ausonius, *Ecl.*, xii ff.), Fulbert's source was probably Bede's *De temporum ratione*, of which the chapter library seems to have possessed at least two copies (Chartres MSS. 19, 75). For other computistic writings from Chartres at this time, again showing Bede's influence, see Merlet, pp. 1 ff. In general, see Bede, *Opera de temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943).

Bis quoniam sextum<sup>c</sup> Martis notat ante calendas,  
Annos preteritos supplens, redimensque futuros. 15

Per menses anni soles ita distribuerunt:<sup>2</sup>  
Ianus et Augustus iaculoque December acutus  
Fert quarto nonas, nono decimoque kalendas  
Post idus:<sup>d</sup> soles triginta scilicet unum;  
Mars, Maius, Iulius, libripens October et aequus 20  
Sexto nonas, septeno decimoque kalendas  
Post idus: soles triginta rursus et unum;  
Iunius, Aprilis,<sup>e</sup> post Septembremque Nouember  
Quarto nonas, octauo decimoque kalendas  
Post idus: soles triginta; Februus autem 25  
Fert quarto nonas, sexto decimoque kalendas  
Post idus: soles uiginti pauper et octo,  
Sed per bissextum gaudet sibi crescere nonum.  
Adnumerat proprias mensis sibi quisque kalendas,  
Nullus et octauo mensis non computat<sup>f</sup> idus. 30

Mensis habet numerum normalem quisque notatum,  
Annus habet concurrentem,<sup>g</sup> qui conuenientes  
Donant scire dies, qui menses rite kalendant.<sup>3</sup>  
Hi sunt normales numeri qui mensibus 34  
herent:

|   |               |               |
|---|---------------|---------------|
| Quinque placent Marti, nec displicet<br>unus Aprili,        | Martius v     | Aprilis i     |
| Maius habet ternos, duplicat sibi Iunius<br>ipsum,          | Maius iii     | Iunius vi     |
| Vnus item Iuli, <sup>h</sup> tibi sunt Auguste<br>quaterni, | Iulius i      | Augustus iiii |
| September septem, binis <sup>i</sup> October agit<br>rem,   | September vii | October ii    |
| Quinque Nouember abhinc repetens,<br>septemque December,    | Nouember v    | December vii  |
| Nec cupiunt Iano tres, nec sex tollere<br>Febro.            | Ianus iii     | Februus vi    |

<sup>c</sup> sexto DR      <sup>d</sup> idem L also in lines 22, 25, 27      <sup>e</sup> Apriles (-s *sup. ras.*) L  
Aprillem PP<sup>1</sup>      <sup>f</sup> computet LDR      <sup>g</sup> concurrentes DR      <sup>h</sup> Iulii L  
Iulio DR      <sup>i</sup> bis *corr. to* bini L

<sup>2</sup> The contents of the present paragraph are perhaps more easily grasped from the jingle:

In March, July, October, May,  
The Ides are on the fifteenth day,  
The Nones the seventh; but all besides  
Have two days less for Nones and Ides.

calends of March. This supplies what was wanting in preceding years and gives future ones their true beginning.

The days are distributed among the months of the year as follows.<sup>2</sup> January, August, and December of Sagittarius' keen bow have four days of nones and nineteen of calends after the ides, and thus thirty-one days. March, May, July, and October of well-balanced Libra have six days of nones and seventeen of calends after the ides, again thirty-one days. June, April, September, and then November have four days of nones and eighteen of calends after the ides, and so thirty days. February has four of nones and sixteen of calends after the ides, thus a meagre twenty-eight days; but in leap year it rejoices to grow to twenty-nine. Each month also has its own calends, and all reckon eight days of ides.

Each month has a 'regular' and each year a 'concurrent' number assigned to it, and the combination of the two gives the day of the week on which each month begins.<sup>3</sup> These are the regular numbers attached to the months: five pleases March, and April is satisfied with one; May has three, and June has twice three; one belongs to July, and August's is four; September's is seven, October's two; November reverts to five, and December to seven; three is happy with January, and six with February.

(B. L. Gildersleeve and G. Lodge, *Latin Grammar* (3rd edn., London, 1895), p. 491.) The days were otherwise reckoned backwards as being so many days before the nones or ides of the present month or the calends of the following, the day before each being counted as the second rather than the first.

<sup>3</sup> The rest of the poem is concerned with the so-called 'regular' and 'concurrent' numbers, here treated in reverse order. The concurrent or 'solar epact' is assigned to the year and tells how many days it is after the last Sunday of the preceding year before the new one begins: e.g. a concurrent of '1' indicates that the present year begins on Tuesday, of '6' on Sunday. As the common solar year consists of fifty-two weeks and one day and so begins and ends on the same day of the week, the following year begins and ends on the next day of the week, and the year after that on yet the next. Hence if every year had 365 days, they would fall into a cycle in which the year would begin on the same day of the week every seventh year. However, this cycle is broken by leap year, and the added day every fourth year so changes it that it is only after seven such days (= twenty-eight years) that the cycle can begin again. This period of twenty-eight years is known as the solar cycle. The second table here gives the concurrent numbers for the years of the solar cycle (B = leap year). Thus in the first line, the first year is a leap year with a concurrent 'one'; the next three are common solar years with concurrents of 'two', 'three', and 'four'.

The regular number indicates the day of the week with which each month of the year begins (cf. the first table). This is determined by adding it to the concurrent number of the year, and if the total is more than seven, by subtracting seven from it. The resultant number is that of the day of the week

Huic<sup>k</sup> alter numerus<sup>l</sup> concurrat ad inueniendum 41  
 Quam sibi quisque diem<sup>m</sup> mensis uelit esse kalendas;  
 Septem lineolis ipsum tibi cerne notatum.  
 Harum septem lineolarum quaelibet una  
 Spectatur summas numeri gestare quaternas; 45  
 Et sic uiginti summae numerantur et octo,  
 Diuisae totidem certa ratione per annos.  
 Hae quoque summae solares uocantur epactae.  
 Hi<sup>n</sup> concurrentes numeri uersantur in annis:  
 Vnus bissexti,<sup>o</sup> duo non neque tres neque quadri;  
 Sex sunt bissexti, non uos septem, uel, gemelli;  
 Quadri ad bissextum, quini, sex, septem aliorum;  
 Bini ad bissextum, tres, quadri, quinque seorsum;  
 Septem bissextant, unus, duo, tresque recusant;  
 Quini bissextant, sex, septem, unusque reiectant;  
 Tres bissexte, quadris, quinis, nec iungito senis.

|   |      |      |      |      |
|---|------|------|------|------|
| B | i    | ii   | iii  | iiii |
| B | vi   | vii  | i    | ii   |
| B | iiii | v    | vi   | vii  |
| B | ii   | iii  | iiii | v    |
| B | vii  | i    | ii   | iii  |
| B | v    | vi   | vii  | i    |
| B | iii  | iiii | v    | vi   |

## 148

[On the Astrolabe]<sup>1</sup>

Abdebaran tauro, geminis menkeque rigelque,  
 Frons et calbalazet prestant insigne leoni;  
 Scorpie galbalagrab, tua sit capricornie deneb,  
 Tu, batanalhaut, piscibus es satis una duobus.

<sup>k</sup> Nun (uel huic *supra*) P Nunc P<sup>1</sup> <sup>l</sup> numero L numerus *corr. to* numero  
 (-os?) P <sup>m</sup> Qua . . . die DR <sup>n</sup> Hii PP<sup>1</sup> <sup>o</sup> bissexto DR *also in*  
*line 51*

148 LDRP(= f. 39), P<sup>1</sup>(= f. 65), P<sup>2</sup>(= B, f. 27<sup>v</sup>)

reckoned as beginning with Sunday: e.g. in 1022, which had a concurrent of 7, June began on 7+6 = 13, -7 = 6, or Friday. The numbering of the regulars from March rather than January was traditional throughout the middle ages and does not indicate (as has been argued) that Fulbert regarded the year as beginning in March (see R. L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 4 ff.). In general see A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 134 ff.

148. <sup>1</sup> See pp. xxvii f.

A second number combines with it to give the day on which each month begins, and it is laid out for you in these seven little lines. Each of them contains four numbers, and the total twenty-eight are distributed over the same number of years according to a fixed pattern. These numbers are also called the solar epacts. These are the concurrent numbers for the years: the leap year's number is one, the next years' are two, three, and four; the leap year's is six, and the next's are seven, one, and two; to the leap year belongs four, while five, six, and seven belong to the following; to the leap year goes two, while three, four, and five have their own years; when the leap year is seven, the next years are one, two, and three; when it is five, they are six, seven, and one; a leap year of three is followed by four, five, and six.

[On the Astrolabe]<sup>1</sup>

Aldebaran stands out in Taurus, Menke and Rigel in Gemini, and Frons and bright Calbalazet in Leo. Scorpio, you have Galbalagrab; and you, Capricorn, Deneb. You, Batanalhaut, are alone enough for Pisces.

## 149

*Pre gaudio pacis*<sup>a1</sup>

Sanctum simpliciter patrem cole, pauperum caterua,  
 Quantumque nosti laudibus honora,  
 Ad normam redigit qui subdita secla prauitati,  
 Potens nouandi sicut et creandi,  
 Et graue dampnatae<sup>b</sup> longi tibi subuenit laboris, 5  
 Opem ferendo pacis et quietis.  
 Iam proceres legum<sup>c</sup> rationibus ante desueti  
 Quae recta<sup>d</sup> discutunt strenue capessunt.  
 Predo manum cohibet furcae memor, et latrone coram 10  
 Inermis alte precinit uiator.<sup>2</sup>  
 Dente saturnali restringitur euagata uitis,<sup>3</sup>  
 Cultuque tellus senta mansuescit.  
 Gaudet lancea falx, gaudet spata deuenire uomis,<sup>e4</sup>  
 Pax ditat imos, pauperat superbos.  
 Salue, summe<sup>f</sup> pater, fer et omnibus integram salutem, 15  
 Quicumque pacis diligunt quietem;  
 Et qui bella uolunt, hos contere dextera potenti,  
 Tradens gehennae filios maligni.

## 150

*Rithmus de Fide, Spe, et Caritate*<sup>a</sup>

Incorporeae personae gratia colloqui  
 Conuenerunt in cubile cuiusdam notarii,  
 Nomina qui singularum simul cum sententiis  
 Ratus digna memoratu sic exceptit<sup>b</sup> litteris.  
 Fides ait: 'Ter beatum facit Dei uisio, 5  
 Sed nequit uideri nisi sano mentis oculo.'  
 Spes subiecit: 'Est ut ais; potest tamen morbidus  
 Quamuis cum labore quodam expurgari oculus.'  
 Addit Caritas: 'Iocundam michi prestat requiem  
 Labor tolerari iussus ob beatitudinem.' 10

149 LDRP(= B, f. 25)V    <sup>a</sup> Versus de pace V    *title om.* LDR    <sup>b</sup> dampnati LDR (-i *sup. ras.* L)    <sup>c</sup> legum proceres V    <sup>d</sup> recte DR  
<sup>e</sup> uomem DR    <sup>f</sup> sancte V

*The Joy of Peace*<sup>1</sup>

Worship the holy Father in your simple way, O host of the poor.  
 Honour him with all the praises that you can. For he restores  
 a world which depravity held in bondage, having the power to  
 renew no less than to create, and comes to aid you who are heavily  
 oppressed by long toil, bringing the help of peace and quiet. Now  
 the nobles, who in the past knew not the ways of law, are learning  
 what is right and striving to enforce it. The robber remembers  
 the gallows and holds his hand, and before the highwayman's very  
 eyes the unarmed traveller sings aloud.<sup>2</sup> The rambling vine is  
 held in check with Saturn's pruning-shears,<sup>3</sup> and the overgrown  
 land is tended and grows tame. The spear rejoices to become a  
 scythe, the sword to become a ploughshare.<sup>4</sup> Peace brings riches  
 to the lowly and despoils the mighty. Hail highest Father! Grant  
 perfect salvation to all who love quiet peace; and those who want  
 war, crush them with your powerful right arm, handing the sons  
 of darkness over to the power of hell.

*Faith, Hope, and Charity*

Some incorporeal persons held a meeting in the chamber of a  
 clerk, who thought it worth recounting their names and what they  
 said, and so he took it down. Faith stated: 'To see God makes  
 one triply blessed, but he can only be seen by the mind's eye when  
 it is unclouded.' Hope followed: 'What you say is true; yet a  
 sickly eye can be cured, though not without an effort.' Charity  
 added: 'The effort that must be endured to attain blessedness is

150 P(= B, f. 25)V  
 excipit P

<sup>a</sup> Eiusdem de uirtutibus V

<sup>b</sup> excaepit V

149. <sup>1</sup> See Hoffmann, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 406 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Juvenal, x. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Isa. 2: 4.

Ratio argumentosa his acceptis<sup>c</sup> intulit:  
 'Quia sic est, lippae Menti medicina competit,  
 Sed de multis illa tantum facile curabitur,  
 Cui labor per amorem iocundus efficitur.'  
 Postquam est huic assensum Rationis clausulae, 15  
 Lippa Mens adepta locum ita cepit dicere:  
 'Quis det michi miserandae hunc amorem bibere,  
 Qui lenire possit michi crucem paenitentiae?'

## 151

*Rithmus de sentiētiis philosophorum de summo bono*<sup>a1</sup>

Inter illa quae profani bona putant maxime  
 Solent amare quietem iunctam opulentiae;  
 Sed philosophi uidentes hoc commune beluis  
 Aliud sanxerunt esse priuum<sup>b</sup> bonum hominis. 5  
 Indignum enim duxerunt ut humana ratio  
 Pigro uentri famuletur et inerti ocio,  
 Quae magis aeternum nomen sibi debet parere,  
 Sicut ipsa immortalis probatur existere.  
 Sensus perit corporalis capax pereuntium;  
 Sensus perstat rationis capax permanentium. 10  
 Nec resolui potest simplex mens et incorporea,  
 Que de nullis fuit ante partibus composita;  
 Et quia sine defectu semper habet uiuere,  
 Bonum suum in caducis nunquam debet querere.  
 Destinarunt ergo sibi<sup>c</sup> stabilem materiam, 15  
 Scilicet rationalem, physicam, et ethicam.  
 Tunc sagaci arbitrato secludentes uitium,  
 In uirtute statuerunt hominis officium,  
 Hoc diffinientes tandem esse bene uiuere,  
 Quod est bene scire semper atque bene facere. 20  
 Tradiderunt ergo uitae praecepta utilia,  
 Quae non seruauerunt tamen pressi mole carnea.  
 Fuit illis et de Deo tandem magna quaestio,  
 Et sententiarum quidem non parua dissensio.  
 Nullum hic et ille plures esse deos<sup>d</sup> autumat, 25  
 Sed utroque Plato maior unum tantum approbat.

<sup>c</sup> acceptis V151 P(=B, f. 26)V  
de summo bono V<sup>a</sup> Sententiae antiquorum (philosophorum *supra*)<sup>b</sup> primum P<sup>c</sup> sibi *om.* V<sup>d</sup> deos esse P

to me but a pleasant rest.' Reason, ever logical, listened to them and then deduced: 'What this means is that while there is a medicine for bleary-eyed Mind, of the many the only one who can easily be cured is she whose labour is lightened by love.' After they assented to what Reason had concluded, bleary-eyed Mind took the floor and said: 'Who will give my pitiful self to drink of this love which can make it easier for me to bear the cross of penance?'

*The Teachings of the Philosophers concerning the Highest Good*<sup>1</sup>

Of all that common men regard as life's greatest blessings they normally prize peace and plenty. But the philosophers, seeing that this is shared with brute beasts, put forth something else as the proper good of man; for they did not think it fitting for human reason to cater to a full belly and idle leisure, since it ought to be striving for eternal fame just as it itself is evidently immortal. The body's ability to perceive what is temporal perishes, the intellect's to perceive what is eternal remains. Nor can the mind, which is simple and incorporeal, be dissolved, for it was never composed of parts. Since it will not pass away, but live for ever, it should never look for its true good in what is transitory. So the philosophers devoted themselves to the study of immutable truth: to wit, rational, physical, and ethical. Then wisely excluding vice, they declared that man must strive for virtue; and this they finally defined as the upright life, which consists in right knowledge and action. So they handed down useful instructions on how to live, though they themselves did not follow them as they were weighed down by the burden of the flesh. There was also among them a great discussion concerning God and no little difference of opinion. One thought that there was no god, and another that there were several; but Plato knew better than both and proved there was only one.

151. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* i f.; and, though it may not be a direct source, Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*, viii, especially 8 ff. (CCL xlvii. 224 ff.).

## 152

*Rithmus de distantia dialectice et rethoricae*<sup>1</sup>

Multi rethores uocantur atque dialectici  
 Propter libros Ciceronis, propter Aristotilis,  
 Quos sese uidisse iactant ac legisse praedicant.  
 Vani qui si consulantur de communi genere  
 Duarum professionum et diuersa specie, 5  
 Quo iungantur aut quo distent, non habent quid hiscere.  
 His qui cupis impar esse cauta diligentia  
 Perscrutari ne graueris quid haec ludant rithmica.  
 Species sunt facultatis,<sup>2</sup> hoc iunguntur capite;  
 Distant autem usu, fine, necnon et materie. 10  
 Thesis dialecticorum, rethorum ypothesis  
 Est materia uocata, sic diuisae propriis,  
 Quaestio quia thesis est circumstantiis carens,  
 Quaestio et ypothesis est circumstantias habens.  
 Vsu quoque supradictae facultates logicae 15  
 Distant, quod rogatione breui dialectica  
 Agit rem, oratione ductili rethorica,  
 Vel quod illa sillogismis coangustat integris,  
 Haec contenta est diminuta clausula entimematis.  
 Fine differunt, quod ista persuadere arbitrio,<sup>a</sup> 20  
 Illa tendit extorquere quod uult aduersario.

## 153

*Rithmus de abbate Iohanne breuis staturae*<sup>a1</sup>

|                          |                           |   |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| In gestis patrum ueterum | quiddam legi ridiculum,   |   |
| Exemplo tamen habile,    | quod uobis dico rithmice. |   |
| Iohannes abba paruulus   | statura non uirtutibus    |   |
| Ita maiori socio         | quicum erat in heremo:    |   |
| 'Volo', dicebat, 'uiuere | secure sicut angelus,     | 5 |
| Nec ueste nec cibo frui  | qui laboretur manibus.'   |   |

152 P (= B, f. 26) It is also found in Hereford Cathedral, MS. P. i. 4, f. 46, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, d'Orville MS. 158, f. 122. See p. xxxi. <sup>a</sup> *So Hereford and d'Orville MSS.* arbitror P

153 LDRCP (= B, f. 26<sup>v</sup>) For other manuscripts see *Die Cambridger Lieder*, ed. K. Strecker (*MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, xl), pp. 97 f. <sup>a</sup> *title om.* LDRC

*How Dialectic and Rhetoric Differ*<sup>1</sup>

Many are called rhetoricians and dialecticians because they boast they have seen and proclaim they have read the works of Cicero and Aristotle. But if these braggarts are questioned about the common genus of their two subjects and their specific difference, what unites and what distinguishes them, they cannot tell you. If you do not want to be like them, you had better take a careful look at what these playful verses have to say.

Both are species of the 'faculty',<sup>2</sup> and this is what unites them; but they differ as to their method, end, and matter. The dialecticians' matter is known as the thesis, the rhetoricians' as the hypothesis, their difference being that the thesis is a proposition that lacks individuating notes, while the hypothesis is one that has them. These two faculties of logic also differ in their method, for dialectic proceeds by short questions and answers and rhetoric by continuous speech, and the one reduces the argument to perfect syllogisms, while the other is satisfied with less rigorously formulated enthymemes. As to the difference in their end, the one tries to persuade its opponent to change his mind, while the other strives to force him to concede.

*Abbot John the Small*<sup>1</sup>

In the lives of the ancient fathers I read an amusing little tale, but with a moral to it, which I shall tell to you in verse. Abbot John, small in stature, but not in virtue, said to his older companion in the wilderness: 'I wish to live like an angel and not be troubled by having to work for food and clothing.' His older friend replied: 'I advise you not to try it hastily, brother, for later you may wish

152. <sup>1</sup> As regards the source (namely Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*, iv), see pp. xxvi, xxx-xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> As to Boethius' use of the term 'faculty', see R. McKeon, *Speculum*, xvii (1942), 11.

153. <sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vitae patrum*, v. 10. 27 (*PL* lxxiii. 916 f.). There is a translation in verse in Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (7th edn., London, 1949), pp. 98 f.



Respondit<sup>b</sup> maior: 'Moneo  
Frater, quod tibi postmodum  
At minor: 'Qui non dimicat,  
Ait, et nudus heremum  
Septem dies gramineo  
Octauo fames imperat  
Qui sero clausa ianua  
Cum minor uoce debili  
Iohannes opis indigus  
Ne spernat tua pietas  
Respondet ille deintus:  
Miratur caeli cardines,  
Foris Iohannes excubat,  
Et preter uoluntariam  
Facto mane recipitur,  
Sed intentus ad crustula  
Refocilatus domino  
Dehinc rastellum brachiis  
Castigatus angustia  
Cum angelus non potuit,

ne sis incepti properus,  
sit<sup>c</sup> non caepisse sacius.'  
non cadit neque superat'  
interiorem penetrat.<sup>d</sup> 10  
uix ubi<sup>e</sup> durat pabulo;  
ut ad sodalem redeat.  
tutus sedet in cellula,  
'Frater', appellat, 'aperi.  
notis assistit foribus; 15  
quem redigit necessitas.'  
'Iohannes factus<sup>f</sup> angelus  
ultra non curat homines.'  
malamque noctem tolerat,  
hanc agit penitentiam. 20  
satisque uerbis uritur;  
fert pacienter omnia.<sup>g</sup>  
grates agit ac socio;  
temptat mouere languidis.  
de leuitate nimia, 25  
uir bonus esse didicit.

## 154

[*Saint Martin of Tours*]<sup>1</sup>

Inter patres monastici<sup>a</sup>  
Virtutis excellencia  
Non quilibet de pluribus,  
Primo, dehinc Turonicae  
Directa<sup>d</sup> quem prudencia  
Quin uniuersa sanctitas  
Is pauperi quam diuidit  
Dans signa tantae gratiae  
Mox fonte celi roscidus  
Diuoque fretus numine

uel clericalis ordinis  
Martinus est<sup>b</sup> notabilis.<sup>c</sup>  
sed ille solitarius  
presul paterque patriae,  
fortisque temperancia, 5  
ornauit, hoc est caritas.  
se ueste Christus induit,  
nondum renato cernere.  
sancti repletur Spiritus,<sup>e</sup>  
it ut potens apostolus. 10

<sup>b</sup> Respondet P    <sup>c</sup> si corr. to sit L    si DC    <sup>d</sup> penetrat LP    Quis  
explicare ualeat illa mus . . . genera add. P as the last line on the page, the  
following leaf being lost    <sup>e</sup> ibi C    <sup>f</sup> est add. DR    <sup>g</sup> crustulam . . .  
omniam (?) LC

you had not.' The younger answered: 'He who does not fight neither falls nor conquers'; and so he left all and withdrew deep into the wilderness. He lasted hardly seven days with fodder his only food; and on the eighth hunger forced him to return to his companion. The latter was seated in his cell late at night with the door barred, when the younger feebly called out: 'Brother, open up! John needs your aid and is standing at these well-known doors. In your piety do not spurn one who has been forced back by necessity.' The other replied from inside: 'John has become an angel. He gazes in ecstasy on the heavens and is no longer concerned with human cares.' John slept outside and passed an unbearable night, thus doing more penance than he wished. In the morning he was let inside, and his ears burned at what he heard; but absorbed with his piece of crust, he said not a word. Refreshed he thanked the Lord and his friend and weakly tried to hoe. Chastised for his exceeding rashness, since he could not be an angel, he strove to be a virtuous man.

[*Saint Martin of Tours*]<sup>1</sup>

Among the fathers who were monks or clerks Martin is distinguished by his pre-eminent virtue. He was not just anyone; but first as a hermit and then as bishop of Tours and father of his country he was adorned with honest prudence, steadfast temperance, and the height of holiness, namely charity. The cloak that he shared with a beggar Christ himself put on and granted that one who was not yet reborn might see tokens of his great favour. Then wet from the heavenly font he was filled with the Holy Spirit; and relying on God's aid, he went forth as a mighty

154 LDRCP(= B, f. 28<sup>v</sup>) The poem seems to have been revised (cf. nos. 132, 135, 137), and preference is given here to the apparently later version. It is also found in Rouen MS. 243 (Y. Delaporte, *Études grégoriennes*, ii (1957), 68) and several later manuscripts (cf. *Analecta hymnica*, I (Leipzig, 1907), 287).  
<sup>a</sup> monachi L    monachilis DR    <sup>b</sup> est om. DR    <sup>c</sup> Virtutis . . .  
notabilis] Martinus est uirtutibus insignis et miraculis P    <sup>d</sup> Direpta L  
Diserta DR    <sup>e</sup> sancto . . . spiritu P

154. <sup>1</sup> Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini*, especially cc. 3, 6, 17 f., 7 f., 14, 13, 16, 19 (ed. Halm, *CSEL* i. 113, 116 f., 126 f., 117 f., 123, 122 f., 125 f., 128).

Confutat ortas hereses,      iussu repellit demones,  
 Leprae medetur osculo      et mortuis precario.  
 Quid igne rapto caelitus      cremasse fana funditus,  
 Grauesque moles per fidem      hunc transtulisse predicem,  
 Dedisce cecis sidera,      sentire surdis organa,      15  
 Mutisque precinentibus      aptasse claudos saltibus?  
 Quot gesserit huiusmodi      miraculorum milia  
 Fugit ligari calculo      uelud saburra pontica.

## 155

*Rithmus de trinitate*<sup>a1</sup>

Verbum Dei Spiritumque legifer in Genesi,  
 Rex Dauid secundo psalmo post trigenum cecinit,  
 Sic uterque trinitatem unitatis prodidit.<sup>2</sup>  
 Sapiens cum genitore suo sancto<sup>b</sup> Salomon  
 Plano uerbo declarauit esse Deo filium,      5  
 Verbum scilicet eternum corde eius genitum.<sup>3</sup>  
 Moysi et Isaie testis est psalmographus  
 Quia filius cum patre Deus est et dominus,  
 Nihil enim<sup>c</sup> patre Deo gignitur nisi Deus.<sup>4</sup>  
 Deum hominem futurum esse sicut extitit      10  
 Post psalmistam Isaia liquido predocuit:<sup>d5</sup>  
 Dispensacio salutem illa nobis edidit.  
 Quodque Deus nasciturus esset matre uirgine  
 Idem ante Gabrihelem iussus est predicere:<sup>6</sup>  
 Talis porro decet ortus auctorem munditiae.      15  
 Legislator Danihelque notauerunt terminum  
 Quando rex uenturus esset expectatus gentium:<sup>7</sup>  
 Is neglectus male perdit<sup>e</sup> populum Iudaicum.  
 Summum regem affuturum pauperem et humilem      20  
 Sion ostendit propheta quasi iam uisibilem,  
 Corruit superbus hostis ante cuius faciem.<sup>8</sup>

155 LDRCP(= B, f. 25<sup>v</sup>)V The title and first three lines are missing in V, apparently owing to the loss of the preceding leaf. The poem is also found in Vatican, latin 466, f. 13, and British Museum, Royal 5. A. xiii, f. 187.

<sup>a</sup> Rithmus eiusdem LDRC      <sup>b</sup> sancto suo P      <sup>c</sup> enim om. V      <sup>d</sup> perdocuit DR      <sup>e</sup> perdit male P      male om. V

155. <sup>1</sup> This poem seems to be based on a systematic collection of Biblical excerpts found in V and manuscripts of the L-family and printed as sermon vii in *PL* cxli. 331 ff. (cf. pp. xxii n., xxvii f.). I have indicated what appear to be the appropriate passages and their respective headings.

apostle. He repressed heresies that had arisen and drove out devils by his command. He healed a leper by his kiss and raised the dead by his prayers. Why should I tell of how he totally destroyed temples by fire called down from heaven, of how by faith he turned back a huge tree that was falling, of how he made the blind to see the stars, the deaf to hear music, the dumb to sing out, and the lame to leap up? How many thousands of such miracles he performed can no more be reckoned than the sea's sands.

*The Trinity*<sup>1</sup>

Of God's Word and Spirit sang the Lawgiver in Genesis and King David in psalm thirty-two and so made known that there were Three in One.<sup>2</sup> Wise Solomon and his holy father plainly declared that God had a Son, the eternal Word begotten in his heart.<sup>3</sup> The psalmist bears witness with Moses and Isaiah that the Son as well as the Father is God and Lord, for nothing is begotten of God the Father that is not God.<sup>4</sup> Isaiah, following the psalmist, clearly foretold that God would become man, just as he did.<sup>5</sup> It was this dispensation that brought us salvation. Gabriel was sent to announce that God would be born of a virgin mother,<sup>6</sup> for it was a fitting birth for the author of purity. The Lawgiver and Daniel foretold when the king would come who was the desired of the nations,<sup>7</sup> and refusal to acknowledge him destroyed the Jewish people. That the highest king would come poor and lowly the prophet showed to Sion as clearly as if he were already there before whose face the proud enemy fell prostrate.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. 1: 2 f.; Ps. 32: 6, under the heading 'Quod Deus unus est in trinitate'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 2: 7; Prov. 30: 4, under the heading 'Quod Christus a Deo sit genitus'.

<sup>4</sup> The passages under the heading 'Quod [Christus] cum patre Deus et dominus est' are Gen. 1: 27 and Ps. 44: 7; but cf. Ps. 109: 1, 3. The reference to Isaiah is possibly to the passage under the heading cited in note 3, namely Isa. 66: 9, or perhaps those cited in note 5.

<sup>5</sup> There is no separate heading for this; but in addition to the other texts cited here, see Isa. 35: 4; 40: 9 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Luke 1: 26 ff., which is not found in the excerpts, nor is there a suitable heading. Cf. Isa. 7: 14.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gen. 49: 10; Dan. 9: 21 ff., under the heading 'De termino aduentus eius'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Isa. 62: 11, actually quoted indirectly from Matt. 21: 5, under the heading 'Quod in humilitate uenturus esset'. Cf. Zech. 9: 9.