

University of Cambridge

Faculty of History

PASTORAL CARE

ACCORDING TO THE BISHOPS OF ENGLAND AND WALES (c.1170 – 1228)

DAVID RUNCIMAN

Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge

Supervised by

DR JULIE BARRAU

Emmanuel College, Cambridge



This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

January 2019

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

DAVID RUNCIMAN

‘Pastoral care according to the bishops of England and Wales (c.1170-1228)’

Church leaders have always been seen as shepherds, expected to feed their flock with teaching, to guide them to salvation, and to preserve them from threatening ‘wolves’. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, ideas about the specifics of these pastoral duties were developing rapidly, especially in the schools of Paris and at the papal curia. Scholarly assessments of the bishops of England and Wales in this period emphasise their political and administrative activities, but there is growing interest in their pastoral role. In this thesis, the texts produced by these bishops are examined. These texts, several of which had been neglected, form a corpus of evidence that has never before been assembled. Almost all of them had a pastoral application, and thus they reveal how bishops understood and exercised their pastoral duties.

Although bishops’ preaching was rarely recorded in narrative sources, combining this evidence with the extant sermons left by bishops reveals episcopal preaching to clerical, lay, and monastic audiences. Bishops also instructed the clergy through their writing. The two subjects bishops addressed most frequently were the Eucharist and confession. As new ideas about these sacraments emerged, even educated bishops fell behind the pace of change. Bishops’ treatments of the sacraments changed significantly across the period as these ideas became established. The ‘wolves’ that threatened the flock were most readily identified as heretics. England was largely unaffected by the popular heresy seen in some other regions, and bishops dealt with heretics of this kind abroad as often as at home. Other threats to orthodoxy in England were identified, however, and in some cases resisted vigorously. The evidence of these bishops’ writing confirms that, even in the midst of political turmoil and administrative innovation, pastoral care remained fundamental to episcopal office. Bishops sought to implement the ideas of Paris and Rome in their dioceses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the Pigott doctoral studentship, administered under the Cambridge Home European Scholarship Scheme (CHESS) at the University of Cambridge. I record my thanks to the CHESS committee and to Dr Mark Pigott for his generosity and interest in my research. For their award of tenth-term funding, I also thank the Tutorial Committee of Fitzwilliam College.

I thank all the librarians and archivists of the Bodleian Library, the British Library, and Cambridge University Library for their assistance, and particularly Rosemary Firman of Hereford Cathedral Library for accommodating a last-minute request to consult a manuscript then featured in an exhibit. For scholarly advice and discussion on specific points I am very grateful to Richard Sharpe, James Willoughby, Nicholas Vincent, Teresa Webber, Elisabeth van Houts, Philippa Byrne, Sabina Flanagan and Constant Mews.

During my undergraduate degree at the University of East Anglia, I received excellent teaching and support from Nicholas Vincent, Julie Barrau, Stephen Church, and Tom Licence. At Cambridge I have been fortunate to benefit from seminars given by many scholars. All of these teachers have my thanks. Teresa Webber merits a special mention for her invaluable lessons on palaeography and codicology. I thank John Arnold for his encouragements, and Martin Brett for a gift of books. I am very grateful to Carl Watkins, not only for his teaching, but also for serving as academic advisor for my doctoral research. My fellow students at Cambridge have, I hope, sharpened my thinking through presentations of their own research and engagement with mine. I am grateful to Tom Forster, especially, for friendship and countless hours of conversation.

I owe more to my supervisor, Julie Barrau, than most doctoral candidates to theirs, having received her teaching and supervision over several years, spanning three degrees. Her enthusiasm, guidance, encouragement, and perhaps above all her trust, have shaped my work for the better. All remaining errors and deficiencies in this thesis are of my own making.

Finally, I take this opportunity to thank my family, and especially my parents, for their support. My greatest debts of gratitude are to my long-suffering wife Charlie, and to God.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| ABBREVIATIONS | 8 |
| INTRODUCTION: THE BISHOP AS PASTOR | 9 |
| Staves not swords | 9 |
| Bishops as political figures and administrators | 11 |
| Additional evidence: spiritual and theological texts | 18 |
| The nature of episcopal office | 29 |
| Pastoral care in theory and practice | 32 |
| Intellectual culture and the transmission of ideas | 35 |
| The bishops of England and Wales, c. 1170-1228 | 38 |
| This thesis | 41 |
| PART ONE | |
| FEEDING THE FLOCK | |
| BISHOPS' PREACHING AND PASTORAL INSTRUCTION | |
| CHAPTER I – EPISCOPAL PREACHING: THE SERMON COLLECTIONS | 44 |
| Aaron's unction | 44 |
| Preaching and pastoral care | 45 |
| Written sermons as source material | 47 |
| Gilbert Foliot's homilies | 48 |
| Bartholomew of Exeter's sermon collection | 55 |
| Baldwin of Forde's sermons | 68 |
| A sermon of Richard Poore? | 72 |
| Summary | 73 |
| CHAPTER II – EPISCOPAL PREACHING: THE NARRATIVE SOURCES | 75 |
| Quality and quantity | 75 |
| How often and how well were bishops preaching? | 75 |
| Gerald of Wales' <i>Itinerarium Kambriae</i> | 84 |
| Hugh of Lincoln's <i>vitae</i> on his teaching and preaching | 87 |
| Stephen Langton's preaching as archbishop of Canterbury | 92 |
| Summary | 96 |
| CHAPTER III – PASTORAL INSTRUCTION BEYOND PREACHING | 97 |
| False prophets | 97 |
| Teaching by example | 98 |
| Councils and synods | 103 |
| Patronage of schools and scholars | 107 |
| Bishops' writing: escapism or pastoral instruction? | 110 |
| Summary | 113 |
| PART ONE: CONCLUSION | 114 |

PART TWO
TENDING THE FLOCK
BISHOPS AND THE *CURA ANIMARUM*

| | |
|--|---------|
| CHAPTER IV: THE EUCHARIST | 116 |
| The saint and the sacraments | 116 |
| Bishops and the <i>cura animarum</i> | 117 |
| The real presence in the Eucharist | 119 |
| How should the Eucharist be received? | 121 |
| Bartholomew of Exeter | 121 |
| Gilbert Foliot | 123 |
| Baldwin of Forde | 125 |
| Hugh of Lincoln | 126 |
| Richard Poore | 128 |
| How should the Eucharist be administered? | 129 |
| Summary | 134 |
| CHAPTER V: CONFESSION | 135 |
| Unsatisfactory penance | 135 |
| Why was confession so important to bishops? | 136 |
| Penitence and confession in bishops' sermons | 138 |
| Penitential manuals and treatises | 148 |
| Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential | 149 |
| Senatus' treatise for Roger of Worcester | 150 |
| Guy of Southwick's <i>opusculum</i> for William de Vere | 152 |
| Stephen Langton's penitential and <i>De penitentia sub persone Magdalene</i> | 155 |
| Alexander of Stainsby's <i>De confessionibus</i> | 158 |
| Cadwgan of Llandyfai's <i>De modo confitendi</i> | 161 |
| Excommunication | 163 |
| Summary | 170 |
| PART TWO: CONCLUSION | 171 |

PART THREE
PROTECTING THE FLOCK
EPISCOPAL DEFENCE OF ORTHODOXY

| | |
|--|-----|
| CHAPTER VI: A VARIETY OF THREATS | 173 |
| Herod the heretic | 173 |
| Bishops and the defence of the Church | 174 |
| Popular heresy | 176 |
| Roger of Worcester, Gilbert Foliot and the heretical weavers | 176 |
| Reginald fitz Jocelin and the Toulouse Inquest | 179 |
| Stephen Langton and the Bogomils | 181 |
| 'Practical' heresies | 183 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Intellectual error: Roger de Pont l'Évêque and the Salomites | 186 |
| Summary | 189 |
| CHAPTER VII: BARTHOLOMEW OF EXETER AND BALDWIN OF FORDE | 190 |
| The Synagogue of Satan | 190 |
| Bartholomew and Baldwin | 191 |
| The penitential | 192 |
| Baldwin's <i>De commendatione fidei</i> | 194 |
| Bartholomew's <i>Contra fatalitatis errorem</i> | 197 |
| Bartholomew's <i>Dialogus contra Iudeos</i> | 208 |
| Baldwin's <i>Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata</i> | 216 |
| Summary | 222 |
| PART THREE: CONCLUSION | 224 |
| CONCLUSION: THE BISHOP AS PASTOR | 225 |
| Buffoon's betrayal | 225 |
| The sources: towards <i>pastoralia</i> | 226 |
| Episcopal office and the pastoral priority | 228 |
| Between Paris and parish: bishops and the transmission of ideas | 230 |
| Conclusion: the bishop as pastor | 233 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 234 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>AM</i> | H. R. Luard (ed.), <i>Annales monastici</i> , 5 vols., RS 36 (London, 1864-9) |
| Bartholomew, ‘ <i>Dialogus</i> ’ | Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 482. |
| Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’ | Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 449 |
| <i>BFO</i> | <i>Balduini de Forda opera: Sermones et De commendatione fidei</i> , ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 99 (Tournai, 1991) |
| <i>C&S</i> , I, ii | D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), <i>Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church, 871–1204</i> , vol. II (Oxford, 1981) |
| <i>C&S</i> , II, i | F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (eds.), <i>Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church (1204-1313)</i> , vol. I (Oxford, 1964) |
| CCCM | Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis |
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum Series Latina |
| <i>EHR</i> | <i>English Historical Review</i> |
| <i>GCO</i> | Gerald of Wales, <i>Giraldi Cambrensis opera</i> , 8 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, RS 21 (London, 1861-1891) |
| Gilbert, ‘Homilies’ | London, British Library, MS Royal 2 D. XXXII |
| <i>GRHS</i> | W. Stubbs (ed.), <i>Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192</i> , 2 vols. RS 49 (London, 1867) |
| <i>LCGF</i> | Gilbert Foliot, <i>Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot</i> , ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967) |
| <i>MVSH</i> | Adam of Eynsham, <i>Magna vita sancti Hugonis</i> , 2 vols., ed. D. L. Douie & D. H. Farmer, OMT (Oxford, 1961–62) |
| <i>ODNB</i> | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford, 2004-2015) |
| OMT | Oxford Medieval Texts |
| <i>PBO</i> | Peter of Blois, <i>Petri Blesensis opera omnia</i> , J.-P. Migne, PL 207 (Paris, 1855) |
| PL | Patrologia Latina |
| RS | Rolls Series |
| <i>Regula Pastoralis</i> | Gregory the Great, <i>Règle pastorale</i> , ed. F. Rommel and C. Morel, 2 vols., Sources Chrésiennes 381-2 (Paris, 1992) [Continuous pagination - vols. not referenced to avoid confusion with the books of the <i>Regula</i>] |

INTRODUCTION

THE BISHOP AS PASTOR

‘To hold staves pertains to pastors, who keep sheep and animals whom they defend from wolves with those staves. And we hold staves in our hands when we defend ourselves and protect both ourselves and our subjects from wolves, that is, from those who do evil to soul and body, and when we castigate and steer our subjects from the evil path, and when we turn them to the good path, just as the shepherd his sheep.’¹

- Bartholomew of Exeter

Staves not swords

On a Palm Sunday, in perhaps the late 1160s or early 1170s, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter (1161-84), gave a wide-ranging sermon for Passiontide that came, eventually, to address the first Passover. Bartholomew quoted, from the book of Exodus, the instruction to the Israelites that they should eat the paschal lamb in readiness for the journey from Egypt, ‘holding staves in hand’.² Bartholomew could not pass over the association of the staff (*baculus*) with pastoral care. Addressing the clergy among his congregation, he declared, ‘This teaches us to hold staves’, and proceeded to give the above summary of pastoral care.³

Bartholomew wanted to remind his subordinates of their pastoral duty, and he had a particular reason to do so. ‘But we do the opposite,’ he insisted, ‘for instead of the staves that the Lord commanded us to hold in the Church, we hold swords and battleaxes, and we carry lances to church.’⁴ This was no metaphor. The clergy were contravening a decree issued by Bartholomew’s predecessors that it was no less a sin to bear axes and swords in church than lances.⁵ These weapon-wielding clergy did not come ready to receive Christ, but as those who had arrived in Gethsemane to arrest him with swords and clubs, to whom Christ had responded, ‘Are you come out as to a robber?’⁶ Armsbearing, a symbol of

¹ ‘Baculos tenere ad pastores pertinet, qui seruant oues et pecudes quibus defendunt eas a lupis, et tenemus baculos in manibus nostris cum nos defendimus et custodimus et nos et nobis subiectos a lupis, id est, de male factoribus anime et corporis, et castigamus et auertimus a uia mala, et conuertimur ad uiam bonam sicut pastor suas oues.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 36va.

² Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 36va.

³ ‘“Tenentes baculos in manibus.” Nobis precipit baculos tenere.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 36va; cf. Exod. 12.11. All Bible references are to the Vulgate.

⁴ ‘Sed nos inuerse facimus. Nam pro baculis quos iussit Dominus tenere in ecclesia, tenemus gladios, wisairmas et spartas, et lanceas portamus ad ecclesiam.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 36va. I am grateful to Professor Richard Sharpe, Professor Nick Vincent, Dr Jacob Currie, and Dr Julie Barrau for their assistance identifying ‘wisairma’ as a variant of ‘gisarme’.

⁵ On canonists’ treatments of clerical armsbearing, which were more subtle than a simple ban, see: L. G. Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 102-44.

⁶ ‘Sed de hoc tamen facimus bonum quod lanceas sinimus extra ecclesiam, spartas et wisairmas mittimus in ecclesiam de quibus seuius occiduntur homines. Sed nescio quid melius wisairme et sparte mittuntur in ecclesia quam lancea nisi propter malum quod citius potest homo inde occidi. Et ad hoc potestis uidere quod

social status, was just one way in which the clergy could obscure or even hinder their duty of pastoral care. Bartholomew thus exhorted his fellow pastors: ‘As for your beautiful staves with which you sustain [the flock]: you ought to carry those to church, just as other peoples (*gentes*) do, and just as God commands.’⁷

Famously described by Gregory the Great in his *Regula pastoralis* as the ‘art of arts’,⁸ pastoral care was arduous and complex work, connecting the doctrines of the Church with the needs of the individual, applying things spiritual, eternal, and heavenly to the practical, temporal, and mundane. It was also the gravest responsibility: the salvation of souls was at stake. Gregory’s treatment of pastoral care remained influential in our period.⁹ But the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries saw every aspect of pastoral care thoroughly re-examined, especially in the emerging schools. The pastor’s essential duties remained as they had been since the earliest Christian times. The *pastor* was a shepherd; the *baculus* his crozier.¹⁰ He was required to feed his flock with sound doctrine, in teaching and preaching. He must use his staff to guide them along the way of salvation, and to strike any who deviated from the path. And, if any ‘wolves’ should appear, threatening his flock, the pastor was to fend them off.¹¹ Bartholomew communicated this much in his Palm Sunday sermon. But the specific implications of each of these pastoral duties developed rapidly in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Bishops needed to keep up with the times. How, and how well, they managed to do so is considered in this thesis.

Bartholomew’s exhortation to prioritise pastoral care was directed to the clergy of his diocese. But it was even more pertinent to himself and his episcopal colleagues, for two reasons: the bishop was the pastor *par excellence* in his diocese; he also had many other responsibilities that might divert his attention. Maintaining focus on pastoral care was difficult enough. Navigating the uncertainties created by changing ideas about pastoral care was an added challenge. How, then, did the bishops of England

antecessores nostri, qui lanceas ab ecclesia prohibuerunt quod similiter cetera arma prohibuerunt, et miserunt foras quia minus peccatum non est de wisairma et sparta quam lancea, et illi sic ueniunt ad ecclesiam cum gladiis, et non sunt ex illis qui humiliter Christum suscipiunt sed ex illis sunt et illos secuntur qui superbe et crudeliter Christum ceperunt gladiis et lanceis et tradiderunt, quibus dixit “tanquam ad latronem existis?” Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 36va-b; cf. Matt. 26.55, Mark 14.48, Luke 22.52.

⁷ ‘Sed uestros pulchros baculos quibus uos sustentetis: illos debetis ad ecclesiam portare, sicut alie gentes faciunt, et sicut Deus precipit.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 36vb.

⁸ ‘Ab imperitis ergo pastorale magisterium qua temeritate suscipitur, quando ars est artium regimen animarum.’ *Regula Pastoralis*, I, i, p. 128.

⁹ C. J. Mews and C. Renkin, ‘The legacy of Gregory the Great in the Latin West’, in B. Neil and M. K. Dal Santo (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 47 (Boston, 2013), pp. 315-42. Copies of the *Regula pastoralis* were attested in numerous medieval libraries in England: R. Sharpe, ‘List of identifications’, pp. 340-1. The description of pastoral care as the ‘art of arts’ was referenced most notably Lateran IV, c. 27. At least four of the bishops studied in this thesis quoted from Gregory: Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 160v; Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fols. 1r, 2r, 3v, etc.; Bartholomew, ‘*Dialogus*’, fols. 4v, 5r etc.; BFO, p. 498; Baldwin of Forde, *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, ed. J. L. Narvaja, *Rarissima Mediaevalia* 2 (Münster, 2008), pp. 84-5; Thomas of Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. F. Morenzoni, CCCM 82A (Turnhout, 1993), p. 5. On the attribution of this sermon to Richard Poore, see chapter one of this thesis, pp. 72-3.

¹⁰ W. H. Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 3.

¹¹ See especially: 1 Pet. 5.1-4; Acts 20.28-32; Tit. 1.5-9; Heb. 13.17; 1 Tim. 2.1-7, 5.17.

and Wales – the provinces of Canterbury and York – conceive of and carry out their pastoral responsibilities?

Bishops as political figures and administrators

Since the nineteenth century, the bishops of England under the Angevins have consistently been of interest to scholars. From William Stubbs via Christopher Cheney to Everett Crosby, historians have been drawn to study and to give an account of this particular group of bishops.¹² More widely, interest in the secular clergy is burgeoning, with notable studies from Hugh Thomas and Julia Barrow appearing recently.¹³ Within this historiographical context, my study offers a new approach to these bishops, using new evidence. Like all historians, scholars working on these bishops have developed approaches that depended on the sources they used. The bishops' political role has often been the primary area of interest. Increasingly, their administrative, intellectual, and sometimes their pastoral activities have also been recognised.

In the nineteenth century, historians who discussed these bishops were preoccupied with their contribution to political disputes – the Becket Controversy and the events leading to Magna Carta – and more broadly to constitutional history. For William Stubbs, the great achievement of the clergy in this period was that, 'they, by their vindication of their own liberties, showed the nation that other liberties might be vindicated as well'.¹⁴ Similarly, J. R. Green saw the bishops' principal success as mitigating the excesses of royal power, and bringing order to the English people.¹⁵ Political turmoil was thought to have consumed the bishops' time and energy. For this reason Stubbs concluded that they must have neglected their spiritual work, although he judged that this was probably to the gain of the 'State' because bishops were a force for good in the government of the realm.¹⁶ This emphasis can in part be explained by a dependence on chronicle evidence, which confirmed Stubbs and Green in their supposition that the bishops' most significant contribution must have been their part in the interactions of 'Church' and 'State', which they, as Victorian churchmen, considered to have shaped the English nation.

During the twentieth century, scholarly treatments of individual bishops began to appear. Each had their own emphasis, although most continued to focus on political affairs. F. M. Powicke led the way with his lectures on Stephen Langton. He recognised that Langton's theological writing represented a new

¹² E. U. Crosby, *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066-1216* (New York, 2013).

¹³ H. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England 1066-1216* (Oxford, 2014); J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800-c.1200* (Cambridge, 2015).

¹⁴ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England, in Its Origin and Development, 5th ed.* (Oxford, 1891), I, p. 632.

¹⁵ J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London, 1874), pp. 126-7.

¹⁶ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, p. 633.

and promising field of study.¹⁷ This was quickly inhabited by his student Beryl Smalley, who along with George Lacombe produced a study of Langton's Bible commentaries.¹⁸ This interest in the archbishop's intellectual work was detached from his pastoral office, although as we shall see the two have more lately been connected.

In the decades following, a growing interest in charter evidence led historians to characterise these bishops primarily as administrators. The Downside monk, Adrian Morey, set out this new agenda in his monograph on Bartholomew of Exeter. He was conscious of his break with previous approaches, observing that 'the history of the English Church during the twelfth century has been approached hitherto almost exclusively from the political side'.¹⁹ He recognised that narrative sources made it 'too easy to view them [the bishops] as almost entirely bound up with the activities of their royal master, as absentees to whom the daily interests of their dioceses were something alien and distasteful'.²⁰ Thus, Morey dealt also with the administrative functions of episcopal office: the development of offices within the episcopal household, the organisation of the diocese, the disputes that Bartholomew heard and judged, and the protracted building of Exeter cathedral.²¹ Just two pages were given to describing Bartholomew's personal role as a pastor of souls. Here, Morey noted that the bishop was the chief confessor within his diocese capable of absolving the graver sins, and pointed to papal decretals addressed to Bartholomew on the subject.²² He recounted a story told about one of the bishop's visitations, but without analysis.²³ Finally, Morey drew attention to Bartholomew's sermon collection.²⁴ Moving beyond the political functions of episcopal office was a significant change, but Morey was not interested in most of Bartholomew's theological writing, which he understood with reference to Bartholomew's membership of a 'literary circle'.²⁵

G. V. Scammell, in his work on Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham (1153-95), was also explicit in his determination to venture beyond the areas that had interested Bishop Stubbs.²⁶ His assessment of the episcopate as a whole was that, 'perhaps much of their distinction lay, if not in spiritual qualities, in intellectual and administrative abilities revealed in the routine of diocesan life'.²⁷ The records of administrative activity were thus brought to the fore. Scammell described Hugh, fairly enough, as 'less

¹⁷ F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), p. vii.

¹⁸ G. Lacombe and B. Smalley, 'Studies on the commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 5 (1931), 5-266.

¹⁹ A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 79.

²⁰ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 79.

²¹ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 44-99.

²² Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 80.

²³ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 80-81; Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum ab anno domini MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo*, 3 vols., ed. H. G. Hewlett, RS 84 (1886-89), I, p. 18.

²⁴ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 81 & 109-112.

²⁵ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 100 & 109.

²⁶ G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. vii.

²⁷ Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 91.

a scholar than a connoisseur'.²⁸ He deemed Hugh's book collection 'lacking in content': he had expected to find more classical works, and was mystified to find 'a heavier selection of theology'.²⁹ It is telling that Scammell was unable to identify a collection clearly appropriate to the bishop's pastoral office.³⁰

C. R. Cheney's *From Becket to Langton*, represents the best of this historiographical trend focusing on administration. Where scholars before and after him unveiled the administrative activities of individual bishops, Cheney did so for the episcopate as a whole. More than that, Cheney was careful to emphasise that administrative affairs were not the only concern for these bishops. He noted that those duties theoretically reserved for episcopal office were rarely recorded: the sacrament of confirmation, the dedications of altars, the consecrations of churches, and so on.³¹ Further, Cheney warned against the idea that these bishops were all 'pliant royal clerks'.³² He took issue with the assessment of David Knowles and Sidney Painter that Hubert Walter was 'not a spiritual man' who was 'thoroughly secular in his interests'.³³ Cheney's focus in his monograph on Hubert Walter was nevertheless the bishop's administrative activities; the main pastoral duties described were the appointment and discipline of the clergy.³⁴ Other specific duties were increasingly deputised to the bishop's official, Cheney demonstrated.³⁵ He therefore suggested that the bishop's pastoral role was limited to a distant 'paternal authority' over an administrative system.³⁶

An important step towards interest in bishops' spiritual thought came with Charles Duggan's analysis of bishops' decretal collections, focusing principally on Roger of Worcester, Bartholomew of Exeter, and Richard of Dover.³⁷ This work demonstrated that bishops engaged with canon law not merely from academic interest, but because of their episcopal office. Moreover, the decretal collections provided an insight into the interests of bishops who were not theologians and wrote nothing themselves. Duggan tried to use these decretals as a complement to other sources in order to assess Richard of Ilchester as bishop of Winchester, albeit with limited results.³⁸ But, as a result of Duggan's innovations, writers of

²⁸ Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 102.

²⁹ Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, p. 105.

³⁰ Hugh's books included: St Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*, Gregory the Great's *Moralia*, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, Peter of Ravenna's sermons, glossed bibles, the letters of Peter of Blois, and a wide array of service books. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, pp. 102-4.

³¹ C. R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London, 1967), p. 54; C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1117-1213* (Manchester, 1956), p. 26.

³² Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 31.

³³ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 40; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 334; S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 64.

³⁴ Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London, 1967), p. 54.

³⁵ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 146-8; Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 54-5.

³⁶ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 146.

³⁷ C. Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and their Importance in English History*, University of London Historical Studies 12 (London, 1963).

³⁸ C. Duggan, 'Richard of Ilchester, royal servant and bishop', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series 16 (1966), 1-24.

subsequent studies were more likely to acknowledge evidence – however scant – of bishops’ spiritual interests.

Shortly before they published the *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, Adrian Morey and Christopher Brooke produced a companion volume examining the various aspects of Gilbert’s career.³⁹ Morey and Brooke’s analysis benefitted from Cheney and Duggan’s earlier work.⁴⁰ As a consequence, Gilbert was presented, not just as a politician and an administrator, but as a papal judge-delegate, and also as a monk and scholar.⁴¹ A chapter on Gilbert as diocesan bishop focused still on the administrative side of episcopal office.⁴² However, Morey and Brooke acknowledged that pastoral work was ‘the supreme preoccupation of his [Gilbert’s] active life’.⁴³ Further, they suggested that all of Gilbert’s surviving theological writing was produced during his episcopate, and described it as ‘essentially the fruit of his pastoral work’.⁴⁴ However, they considered this theological output to be ‘not of great interest’, making next to no use of it in their analysis.⁴⁵

Mary Cheney acknowledged the use of Morey’s monograph on Bartholomew as a template for her study of Roger, bishop of Worcester (1164–79).⁴⁶ Drawing on Duggan’s work, Cheney showed Roger as a canonist as well as an administrator.⁴⁷ In addition, she frequently reminded her readers that her evidence for Roger’s episcopate revealed most about specific themes.⁴⁸ These themes, she added, were not necessarily the most important to the bishop:

This study of Bishop Roger, like many studies of the twelfth-century church, will inevitably have more to say of government than grace, of charters and courts than prayer and preaching, but no judgement is implied about the relative importance of these things, nor any suggestion that the former, rather than the latter, were the chief concern of the prelates of the time.⁴⁹

Cheney’s study extended to Roger’s pastoral care, both personal and institutional. Where earlier scholars had emphasised the latter, Cheney dealt separately with both. In her section subtitled simply ‘The pastor’, Cheney employed the approach taken up in this thesis.⁵⁰ She made particularly effective use of the theological works Roger commissioned from Senatus, demonstrating that the apparent dearth of evidence for pastoral care could be compensated for with texts patronised by bishops.

³⁹ A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge, 1967); A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge, 1965).

⁴⁰ Duggan, *Decretal Collections*.

⁴¹ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, pp. 230–44.

⁴² Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, pp. 188–229.

⁴³ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 188.

⁴⁴ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, pp. 69–70.

⁴⁵ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 70.

⁴⁶ M. G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980), p. v.

⁴⁷ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 166–212.

⁴⁸ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 5 & 56.

⁴⁹ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 57.

⁵⁰ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 56–69.

St Hugh, bishop of Lincoln (1186-1200), is unique for the way he has been presented in modern scholarship. David Farmer's biography of the saint is quite unlike the studies of other bishops.⁵¹ It follows an older hagiographical tradition that produced a number of approving accounts of the bishop's life.⁵² Farmer's work is a synthesis of the source material, containing little in the way of robust analysis of Hugh's episcopate. Such analysis is found, however, in two volumes of essays.⁵³ Here, in keeping with the other modern studies of his contemporaries, Hugh was assessed as an administrator.⁵⁴ Using the evidence of Hugh's hagiographical *vitae*, scholars were also able to present him as a holy man able to admonish the Angevin kings,⁵⁵ and as an intellectual shaped by his Carthusian identity.⁵⁶

Nicholas Vincent has published extensively on bishops of early thirteenth-century England, most especially Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester (1205-38), Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207-28), Alexander of Stainsby, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (1224-38), Richard Poore, as bishop of Salisbury (1217-28), Jocelin, bishop of Wells (1206-42), and the thirteenth-century bishops of Ely.⁵⁷ His monograph on des Roches focused on political affairs, Vincent stating at the outset that 'des Roches' career as diocesan lies beyond the confines of this study'.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Vincent was sensitive to the bishop's pastoral role. He observed in the introduction to his edition of des Roches' *acta* that this evidence was 'loaded in favour of his political rather than his pastoral concerns'.⁵⁹ Vincent stressed that des Roches 'was never entirely cut off from diocesan affairs', carefully delegated his pastoral duties, and published diocesan legislation.⁶⁰ The *arengas* to des Roches' charters were full of

⁵¹ D. H. Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1985).

⁵² H. Thurston, *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1898); C. L. Marson, *Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln: A Short Story of one of the Makers of Mediaeval England* (London, 1901); F. A. Forbes, *St Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1917); R. M. Woolley, *St. Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1927); J. Clayton, *St Hugh of Lincoln: A Biography* (London, 1931); J. A. Froude, 'Saint Hugh of Lincoln: James Anthony Froude's study of 'A Bishop of the Twelfth Century' with an introduction by Sir Maurice Powicke', *Lincoln Minster Pamphlets* 1 (Lincoln, 1959).

⁵³ H. Mayr-Harting (ed.), *Saint Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the 8th Centenary of St. Hugh's Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987); M. Sargent (ed.), *De cella in seculum* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁵⁴ D. M. Smith, 'Hugh's administration of the diocese of Lincoln', in Mayr-Harting (ed.), *Hugh of Lincoln*, pp. 19-47.

⁵⁵ K. J. Leyser, 'The Angevin kings and the holy man', in Mayr-Harting (ed.), *Hugh of Lincoln*, pp. 49-73.

⁵⁶ H. Leyser, 'Hugh the Carthusian', in Mayr-Harting (ed.), *Hugh of Lincoln*, pp. 1-18; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and bishop', in Sargent (ed.), *De cella in seculum*, pp. 41-57.

⁵⁷ N. C. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge, 1996); N. C. Vincent, 'Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury' in L.-J. Bataillon, N. Bériou, G. Dahan, R. Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 9 (Turnhout, 2010) pp. 51-126; N. C. Vincent, 'Master Alexander of Stainsby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1224-1238', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), 615-40; N. C. Vincent, "'Let us go down from this joyful commencement to the plain": Richard Poer and the refoundation of Salisbury Cathedral', in P. Binski and E. A. New (eds.), *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2012), pp. 5-40; N. C. Vincent, 'Jocelin of Wells: the making of a bishop in the reign of King John', in R. Dunning (ed.), *Jocelin of Wells: Bishop, Builder, Courtier* (Woodbridge 2010), pp. 9-33; 'The thirteenth-century bishops', in P. Meadows (ed.), *Ely: Bishops and Diocese 1109-2009* (Woodbridge 2010), pp. 26-69. See also N. Vincent, 'The election of Pandulph Verraccio as bishop of Norwich (1215)', *Historical Research* 68 (1995), 143-63.

⁵⁸ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 5.

⁵⁹ *Winchester 1205-1238*, ed. N. C. Vincent, EEA 9 (Oxford, 1994), p. xxxii.

⁶⁰ *Winchester 1205-1238*, ed. Vincent, p. xxxii.

scriptural quotations, and he founded several religious houses.⁶¹ Vincent thus concluded that des Roches seemed ‘a conscientious and extremely competent pastor’.⁶²

Alexander of Stainsby, Richard Poore, and of course Stephen Langton left more evidence of their spiritual thought. Vincent described Langton as ‘an intellectual, who nonetheless sought to bridge the gulf between the theological concerns of the Paris schools and the day to day ministry of the English parish clergy’.⁶³ Moreover, he acknowledged that Langton ‘was by no means the first English bishop to seek either the professional training of his clergy or the spiritual improvement of his flock’.⁶⁴ Using the two tracts attached to Alexander of Stainsby’s diocesan statutes, and a range of exegetical texts connected to Richard Poore, Vincent was able to illuminate the theological and pastoral ideas associated with these bishops.⁶⁵ As Mary Cheney had done for Roger of Worcester, Vincent demonstrated how such sources could be put to good use.

Vincent’s chapters on Jocelin of Wells and on the bishops of Ely each formed part of essay collections on those bishops. Contributors to these collections had most to say about politics and administration, but attempts were made to evaluate bishops’ pastoral care. Jocelin, Vincent pointed out, was remembered as an exemplary bishop.⁶⁶ Writing in the same volume, Jane Sayers agreed, but was able to present little evidence to substantiate the claim.⁶⁷ In contrast to Jocelin, the bishops of Ely had no reputation for diligence. Vincent rightly insisted that ‘the bishops had significant functions to discharge in the temporal and spiritual management of their diocese’.⁶⁸ But, assessing the twelfth-century bishops of Ely, Nicholas Karn was damning. On William Longchamp’s long absence from the diocese after October 1191, Karn remarked that ‘this probably made rather little difference, though, because he had made a limited impact upon the diocese even when he was in England’.⁶⁹

Similar assessments of bishops’ pastoral diligence, whether favourable or otherwise, have been attempted despite the dearth of published evidence. Christopher Harper-Bill examined two papal decretals sent to John of Oxford on complex marriage cases, commenting that ‘such delicate matters were as much the concern of late twelfth-century bishops as the great business of the realm’.⁷⁰ On the basis of the bishops’ charters, Harper-Bill suggested that John ‘did much to improve the pastoral

⁶¹ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 5-6; *Winchester 1205-1238*, ed. Vincent, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii.

⁶² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 5.

⁶³ Vincent, ‘Stephen Langton’, p. 112.

⁶⁴ Vincent, ‘Stephen Langton’, p. 112.

⁶⁵ Vincent, ‘Alexander of Stainsby’, pp. 624-6; Vincent, ‘Richard Poore’, pp. 5-40.

⁶⁶ N. C. Vincent, ‘Jocelin of Wells’, p. 22.

⁶⁷ J. Sayers, ‘Jocelin of Wells and the role of a bishop in the thirteenth century’, in Dunning (ed.), *Jocelin of Wells*, p. 43.

⁶⁸ Vincent, ‘The thirteenth century’, p. 31.

⁶⁹ N. Karn, ‘The twelfth century’, in Meadows (ed.), *Ely*, pp. 26-69.

⁷⁰ C. Harper-Bill, ‘John of Oxford, diplomat and bishop’, in M. J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 96.

performance of the *ecclesia Anglicana* at grass roots level'.⁷¹ It is clear that scholars are now keen to establish how bishops' pastoral duties fitted with their political and administrative activities, even though it is difficult to do so for most individual bishops due to the paucity of evidence.

In more recent decades, studies of particular bishops' theological ideas have become more common. Some texts have been edited, such as Bartholomew of Exeter's *Contra fatalitatis errorem* and Gilbert Foliot's commentary on the *Pater noster*.⁷² Baldwin of Forde's theology has been explored, especially by David Bell.⁷³ With the foundations laid by George Lacombe and Beryl Smalley,⁷⁴ many scholars continue to work on aspects of Stephen Langton's thought.⁷⁵ With regard to other bishops, some texts

⁷¹ Harper-Bill, 'John of Oxford', p. 105. See also: M. J. Franklin, 'The bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, c. 1072-1208.', in G. Demidowicz (ed.), *Coventry's First Cathedral: The Cathedral and Priory of Saint Mary. Papers from the 1993 Anniversary Symposium* (Stamford, 1994), pp. 118-38.

⁷² Bartholomew of Exeter, *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 157 (Turnhout, 1996); D. N. Bell, 'Twelfth-century divination and a passage in the *De commendatione fidei* of Baldwin of Forde', *Cîteaux* 44 (1993), 237-52; D. N. Bell, (ed.), 'The commentary on the Lord's Prayer of Gilbert Foliot', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 56 (1989), 80-101.

⁷³ D. N. Bell, 'The ascetic spirituality of Baldwin of Ford', *Cîteaux* 31 (1980), 227-50; D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Ford and twelfth-century theology' in E. R. Elder (ed.), *Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism*, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History 7, Cistercian Studies Series 65 (Kalamazoo, 1981), pp. 136-48; D. N. Bell, 'Baldwin of Ford and the sacrament of the altar', in J. R. Sommerfeldt (ed.), *Erudition at God's Service*, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History 11, Cistercian Studies Series 98 (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 217-42; D. N. Bell, 'Certitudo fidei: faith, reason, and authority in the writings of Baldwin of Forde', in J. R. Sommerfeldt (ed.), *Bernardus Magister*, Cistercian Studies Series 135 (Spencer, 1992), pp. 249-75. See also: C. J. Holdsworth, 'Baldwin of Forde, Cistercian and archbishop of Canterbury', *Annual Report, Friends of Lambeth Palace Library* (1989), 13-31; J. Holman, 'Cistercian spirituality in Baldwin of Ford', *Cistercian Studies* 23 (1988), 355-64; J. Marson, 'Baldwin of Ford: a contemplative', *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 27 (1965), 160-4; S. Flanagan, *Doubt in an Age of Faith: Uncertainty in the Long Twelfth Century* (Turnhout, 2008), *passim*.

⁷⁴ Lacombe and Smalley, 'Studies on the commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton'; G. Lacombe, 'The *Questiones* of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *The New Scholasticism* 3 (1929), 1-18 & 113-58; G. Lacombe, 'The authenticity of the *Summa* of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *The New Scholasticism* 4 (1930), 97-114; A. M. Landgraf and G. Lacombe, 'The *Questiones* of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *The New Scholasticism* 4 (1930), 115-64.

⁷⁵ Bataillon, Bériou, Dahan and Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton*; L. Antl, 'Stephen Langton's principle of determining the essence of a sacrament', *Franciscan Studies* 14 (1954), 336-73; I. P. Bejczy, 'Two questions of Stephen Langton on the cardinal virtues', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 31 (2006), 299-335; M. Bieniak, 'Christ's power of remitting sins: a critical edition of Stephen Langton's *quaestio theologiae* 62', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 39 (2014), 217-86; M. Bieniak, 'Faith and the interconnection of the virtues in William of Auxerre and Stephen Langton', in M. Forlivesi, R. Suinto, and S. Vecchio (eds.), *Fides Virtus: The Virtue of Faith from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Münster, 2014), pp. 209-20; E. Corran, 'Hiding the truth: exegetical discussions of Abraham's lie from Hugh of St. Victor to Stephen Langton', *Historical Research* 87 (2014), 1-17; G. Dahan, 'Exégèse et polémique dans les Commentaires de la Genèse d'Étienne Langton', in G. Dahan (ed.), *Les Juifs au regard de l'histoire* (Paris, 1985), pp. 129-48; M. D'Alessandro, 'La quaestio di Stefano Langton su uita contemplatiua et actiua', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 35 (2010), pp. 257-89; M. D'Alessandro, 'La Quaestio di Stefano Langton Vtrum omnes uelint esse beati (169)', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 39 (2014), 173-216; S. Ebbesen, 'The semantics of the trinity according to Stephen Langton and Andrew Sunesen', in S. Ebbesen (ed.), *Topics in Latin Philosophy from the 12th-14th centuries collected essays of Sten Ebbesen* (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 43-68; R. Hausscherr, 'Petrus Cantor, Stephan Langton, Hugo von St. Cher und der Isaias-Prolog der Bible moralisée', in R. Hausscherr and E. König (eds.), *Bible moralisée: Prachthandschriften des hohen Mittelalters; gesammelte Schriften* (Petersberg, 2009), pp. 124-39; G. P. Maggioni, and R. Quinto, 'Is it admissible for a man to will differently from God (if, indeed, he knows what God wills)? A critical edition of a theological quaestio by Stephen Langton († 1228)', *Przegląd tomistyczny* 17 (2011), 53-102; L. O. Nielsen, 'Three questions on the Old Law and the Gospel precepts by Stephen Langton', *Cahiers de l'institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin, Université de Copenhague* 78 (2008), 3-36; R. Quinto, 'Stefano Langton e i quattro sensi della

have been revisited. Julie Barrau and Jason Taliadoros have demonstrated, separately, how Gilbert Foliot made use of the Bible in his letters, and how he approached canon law.⁷⁶

Studies have been produced that take little to no account of bishops' intellectual interests and pastoral role.⁷⁷ Everett Crosby, for example, continues that older tradition of seeking to interpret the relationship between the Angevin kings and the episcopate. Even so, his conclusions are more nuanced than those of his nineteenth-century forebears, consciously avoiding the dichotomy of 'Church' and 'State'.⁷⁸ Crosby demonstrates that bishops' secular and sacred responsibilities were so entangled that it was not always easy for contemporaries then, and historians now, to delineate them with any precision. But his work shows that the established paradigm for analysis of these bishops remains focused on political and administrative activities. There is, however, a growing recognition of the bishops' intellectual interests, and a growing interest in their pastoral activity. And this too results from the identification and analysis of interesting texts associated with bishops.

Additional evidence: spiritual and theological texts

Historians were led to perceive bishops primarily as political figures by the chronicle evidence, and as administrators by the bishops' *acta*. But another corpus of source material is available with which to assess bishops' engagement with intellectual and pastoral matters. With the notable exception of Hugh of Lincoln, it has long been thought that there is very little evidence of bishops' engagement with pastoral care. The existence of materials here was recognised decades ago by Christopher and Mary Cheney. Christopher Cheney, seemingly aware of only a very small number of texts, warned of their insufficiency, suggesting that it would be 'unjust' to assess the extent to which bishops engaged in

Scrittura', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 15 (1989), 67-109; R. Quinto, 'Stefano Langton e la teologia dei maestri secolari di Parigi tra XII e XIII secolo: status quaestionis e prospettive di ricerca', *Archa verbi* 5 (2008), 122-42; R. Quinto, 'Stephen Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care' [*sic*], in B.-M. Tock (ed.), "*In principio erat verbum*" (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 301-55; R. Quinto, 'Bonte divine, toute-puissance divine et existence du mal: la discussion autour d'Augustin, Enchiridion 24-26 d'Anselme de Laon à Etienne Langton', in R. Berndt and M. Fedou (eds.), *Les réceptions des Pères de l'Église au Moyen Âge*, *Archa verbi* 10 (Münster, 2013), pp. 589-620; R. B. Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto, 1968); P. B. Roberts, 'Stephen Langton's Sermo de virginibus', in J. Kirshner and S. F. Wemple (eds.), *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in honour of John H. Mundy* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 103-18; B. Smalley, 'Stephen Langton and the four senses of scripture', *Speculum* 6 (1931), 60-76; D. Van den Eynde, 'Stephen Langton and Hugh of St. Cher on the causality of the sacraments', *Franciscan Studies* 11 (1951), 141-55.

⁷⁶ J. Barrau, 'Gilbert Foliot et l'Écriture, un exégète en politique', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27 (2005), 16-31; J. Taliadoros, 'Law and theology in Gilbert of Foliot's (c. 1105/10-1187/88) correspondence', *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005), 77-94.

⁷⁷ D. Smith, 'The rolls of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln 1209-35', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 45.112 (1972), 155-95.

⁷⁸ Crosby, *King's Bishops*, p. 14.

pastoral care from the ‘fragments’ of surviving evidence.⁷⁹ In her study of Roger of Worcester, Mary Cheney was slightly more optimistic:

It remains true that the functions of bishops as administrators and judges are relatively well documented, while more spiritual duties and interests are illuminated only by a passing reference, or by a chance survival of an unusual text.⁸⁰

For this current study, all these ‘fragments’ and ‘unusual texts’ have been assembled together to form a corpus of material that, in combination, illuminates the topic more than the individual texts are able. It is a larger body of evidence than Christopher Cheney supposed, although the warnings about uneven coverage certainly hold true. No more than thirty bishops (out of about ninety in the period as a whole) have their names attached to texts. If we exclude the bishops responsible only for letters, decretal collections and diocesan statutes, the number falls below twenty. If we count only those who wrote theological or spiritual works after promotion to the episcopate, the number falls below ten – all of them products of the schools.

For a bishop to find the time to write was not easy. In the early 1180s, Walter Map knew of just three bishops writing – Bartholomew of Exeter, Baldwin of Forde, and Gilbert Foliot – whom he commended for managing to do so.⁸¹ Complaints about the burdens of episcopal office were common. Gilbert wrote to Amice, countess of Leicester, that ‘there is no end of the cares the world produces every day, with which it afflicts miserable souls and diverts them from the purpose of pious intent.’⁸² Given their limited resources of time and energy, it took more effort than usual for bishops to engage in literary activities. It is all the more important, therefore, to discover which subjects they considered worthy of such effort. One solution to the lack of time was to patronise the production of texts. Many texts were dedicated to bishops, but in some cases there is evidence that the bishop actively requested or encouraged the work. Writers commissioned in this way sometimes acknowledged that their services were required because of their patrons’ worldly occupations, as did Guy, prior of Southwick, addressing William de Vere, bishop of Hereford (1186-98).⁸³

Our corpus comprises a diverse range of source material. Some texts are obviously spiritual; others apparently profane. Some were authored by bishops themselves; some they commissioned. Further texts written about bishops will be of use to us. Individual texts are introduced more fully in the main body of this thesis. But it is useful to provide an overview here, in order to provide some sense of this corpus

⁷⁹ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 21. Cheney knew of some texts patronised by bishops: Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 29.

⁸⁰ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 57.

⁸¹ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), p. 37. Walter identified Baldwin as the bishop of Worcester, so this passage must have been composed between 1180 and 1184.

⁸² ‘Curarum siquidem nullus est finis, et mundus in dies parturit, unde miseras affligat animas et a pie proposito intentionis auertat.’ *LCGF*, p. 266.

⁸³ A. Wilmart, ‘Un opuscule sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XIIe siècle’, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 7 (1935), 340. See chapter five of this thesis, p. 153.

at the outset. The texts that bishops wrote or commissioned were produced for various ends, a point emphasised by Christopher Cheney: ‘If we are to speak of the books they wrote, beside Baldwin ‘On the Sacrament of the altar’ and William de Vere ‘On the life and miracles of St. Osyth’ must be set Richard fitz Neal ‘On the Exchequer’ (although this was written before Richard became bishop of London).’⁸⁴ In fact, none of the profane texts produced by bishops was written during their episcopal tenure.⁸⁵ Nor, as it happens, was Baldwin’s *De sacramento altaris*.⁸⁶ We shall focus more especially on the texts produced or commissioned by bishops as bishops.

A small number of bishops left sermon texts, which are more fully introduced and evaluated in chapter one. There are collections from Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and Baldwin of Forde, archbishop of Canterbury, produced during their episcopal tenures.⁸⁷ In medieval booklists, written sermons are attributed to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford (1186-98) and Gilbert de Glanvill, bishop of Rochester (1185-1214), but these are no longer extant.⁸⁸ Of course, Stephen Langton produced a large number of sermons, mostly composed before his election to Canterbury.⁸⁹ And it is possible that at least one sermon was preserved by Richard Poore, while he was dean of Salisbury.⁹⁰ Other sources can be drawn upon to illuminate episcopal preaching. Richard Sharpe has suggested that Richard Barre’s *Compendium veteris et novi testamenti*, given to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely (1189-97), was a resource for sermon-making.⁹¹ Roger of Worcester was provided with twenty-two sermons by Senatus, monk of Worcester cathedral, although these are not known to survive.⁹²

Bishops produced a small number of theological treatises. Particularly industrious were Bartholomew of Exeter and Baldwin of Forde. Bartholomew composed his *Contra fatalitatis errorem* and *Dialogus*

⁸⁴ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 28.

⁸⁵ See below, p. 21.

⁸⁶ Bell, ‘Baldwin and the sacrament of the altar’, p. 233.

⁸⁷ London, British Library, MS Royal 2 D. XXXII, fols. 138v-168v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 449, fols. 1r-89r; *BFO*, pp. 3-339.

⁸⁸ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 145 & 815. Further details in chapter one of this thesis, p. 45.

⁸⁹ There is no critical edition of Stephen Langton’s sermons, as the authenticity of many attributions remain uncertain. Phyllis Roberts has published several of Langton’s sermons: *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton*, ed. P. B. Roberts, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 10 (Toronto, 1980); P. B. Roberts, ‘Master Stephen Langton preaches to the people and clergy: sermons texts from twelfth-century Paris’, *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* (1980), 237-68; P. B. Roberts, ‘Stephen Langton and St. Catherine of Alexandria: a Paris master’s sermon on the patron saint of scholars’, *Manuscripta: A Journal for Manuscript Research* (1976), 96-104; P. B. Roberts, ‘Stephen Langton’s Sermo de virginibus’, in J. Kirshner and S. F. Wemple (eds.), *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in honour of John H. Mundy* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 103-18; P. B. Roberts, ‘Archbishop Stephen Langton and his preaching on Thomas Becket in 1220’, in T. L. Amos, E. A. Green and B. M. Kienzle (eds.), *De ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, Studies in Medieval Culture 27 (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 75-92; P. B. Roberts, ‘Langton on Becket: a new look and a new text’, *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973), 38-48.

⁹⁰ Chobham, *Sermones*, pp. 3-15. See chapter one of this thesis, pp. 72-3.

⁹¹ London, British Library, Harley MS 3255; R. Sharpe, ‘Richard Barre’s *Compendium veteris et novi testamenti*’, *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004), 128-46.

⁹² M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 66-7.

contra Iudeos as bishop.⁹³ Baldwin wrote *De commendatione fidei* and *De sacramento altaris* while abbot of Forde in the 1170s.⁹⁴ His *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata* was probably completed later.⁹⁵ A tract praising a certain Archdeacon Bartholomew has tentatively been attributed to Baldwin, with the assumption that it described Bartholomew of Exeter.⁹⁶ If this assumption is correct, the tract was produced 1155x61 while Bartholomew was archdeacon of Exeter. In the manuscripts, a Magister Bernentinus is named in association with the work, but it seems he was responsible for collating the original tract with a guide to the ‘colours’ of rhetoric; *Ad laudem Bartholomaei Exoniensis episcopi de coloribus rhetoricis* has survived because it was eventually attached to a late medieval *Forma dictandi*.⁹⁷ Also tentatively attributed to one of our bishops is the *Liber commonitorius de contemptu mundi cuius nomen est Paupertas*, written by a bishop who had retired and joined a mendicant order.⁹⁸ One candidate for authorship is Walter Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle (1223-46), who joined the Dominicans of Oxford in 1246.⁹⁹ But the work might as easily be attributed to Ralph of Maidstone, bishop of Hereford (1234-39), or indeed to a bishop from outside England.¹⁰⁰ It was, in any case, certainly produced beyond the end of our period.

Two further works have caused confusion for scholars; this thesis makes new suggestions about how they should be interpreted. *De penitentia sub persona Magdalene* has a long association with Langton, but questions about its authorship and intended purpose have remained open.¹⁰¹ Another text that has been misunderstood is attributed to Cadwgan of Llandyfai, bishop of Bangor (1215-36). It really comprises various shorter pieces, but it has been identified hitherto as a treatise and a set of *Orationes*.¹⁰²

Penitential manuals, in various forms, were also produced by or for bishops. These manuals are introduced with more detail in chapter five. There is the penitential of Bartholomew of Exeter, who was possibly assisted in its production by Baldwin of Forde.¹⁰³ The theologian Senatus wrote a treatise on confession for Roger of Worcester.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, Guy, prior of Southwick, wrote an *opusculum* on the

⁹³ Bartholomew of Exeter, *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 157 (Turnhout, 1996); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 482.

⁹⁴ *BFO*, p. 344; Baldwin of Forde, *Le sacrement de l'autel*, 2 vols., ed. J. Morson and E. de Solms, Sources Chrétiennes 93 (Paris, 1963).

⁹⁵ Baldwin of Forde, *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, ed. J. L. Narvaja, *Rarissima Mediaevalia* 2 (Münster, 2008). On the date of production see chapter seven of this thesis, p. 217.

⁹⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 358, fols. 75r–76v; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 14. 40, pp. 359–262.

⁹⁷ M. Camargo, ‘The late fourteenth-century renaissance of Anglo-Latin rhetoric’, *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 45.2 (2012), 111 & 125–7.

⁹⁸ London, British Library, MS Royal 7 B. XIII.

⁹⁹ N. C. Vincent, ‘Walter Mauclerk (d. 1248)’, *ODNB* (2004).

¹⁰⁰ Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 737; G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection in the British Museum* (London, 1921), I, p. 173

¹⁰¹ There are three copies of *De penitentia*: Balliol College, Oxford, MS 152; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 226; and Dole, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 99–106. On this text see chapter five, pp. 156–8.

¹⁰² Hereford Cathedral MS O.6.viii. On this text see chapter three, pp. 110–13.

¹⁰³ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 163–300.

¹⁰⁴ Extracts from Senatus' treatise on confession have been published: E. Rathbone ‘Roman law in the Anglo-Norman realm’, *Studia Gratiana*, xi, (1967), 270–2; P. Delhay, ‘Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur la

subject for William de Vere, bishop of Hereford (1186-98).¹⁰⁵ Adam of Eynsham's *Visio monachi de Eynsham*, while not a penitential manual, very much related to penance and was written at the behest of Hugh of Lincoln.¹⁰⁶ Cadwgan of Llandyfai also produced a penitential formulary, *De modo confitendi*, for the clergy of his diocese.¹⁰⁷ The attribution of a *Summa de sacramentis* to Richard Poore has been proved erroneous.¹⁰⁸ Alexander of Stainsby appended two short tracts, presumably of his own making, to his diocesan statutes for Coventry and Lichfield (1224x37). One tract, on the seven sins, was designed to complement the other, on confession.¹⁰⁹ A penitential, perhaps penned by Stephen Langton, survives in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 21.¹¹⁰ Certainly, the first part of this text was incorporated into a number of copies of Langton's *De diuersis*. This penitential and the *De diuersis* were among the texts Riccardo Quinto identified as Langton's contribution to the literature of pastoral care.¹¹¹ As is well known, establishing what exactly Langton produced is no easy task. Quinto has shown that there a variety of texts, often overlapping in content. We shall make use of the *Distinctiones*, and more briefly the *Diffinitiones morales*.¹¹²

Various theological works were dedicated to particular bishops. Mary Cheney identified a letter from Adam, abbot of Evesham (d. 1191), revealing that he had been tasked with the production of such a work by Roger of Worcester. Unfortunately, the work is not known to survive, but the letter indicates that it was designed 'to inflame the bishop's devotion to his duty, and guide his every action'.¹¹³ Peter of Cornwall dedicated works to Godfrey de Lucy, Gilbert de Glanvill, and Stephen Langton. To Godfrey de Lucy, who had been Peter's fellow student under an unknown master, Peter dedicated the fourth part of his *Pantheologus*, explaining that the dedication was in celebration of Godfrey's elevation to the episcopacy in that same year.¹¹⁴ In other words, Godfrey was now a potential patron, with whom it was worth re-establishing a close connection. To Gilbert de Glanvill, Peter dedicated his *De reparatione lapsus generis humani*. This work, he claimed, was the result of his meditations on John 12:31, the text that had been Glanvill's gospel omen at his consecration as bishop.¹¹⁵ Peter dedicated his *Liber*

pénitence', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 19 (1952), 203–24. The treatise as a whole is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 633, ff. 197r–199v.

¹⁰⁵ A. Wilmart, 'Un opuscule sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XIIe siècle', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1935), 337–52.

¹⁰⁶ Adam of Eynsham, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. R. Easting (Oxford, 2002).

¹⁰⁷ J. W. Goering and H. Pryce, 'The *De modo confitendi* of Cadwgan, bishop of Bangor', *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000), 1–28.

¹⁰⁸ R. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 153–4; cf. Vincent 'Richard Poer', p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ C&S, II, i, pp. 207–26; Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby', 624–7.

¹¹⁰ Quinto, 'Langton: theology and pastoral care', pp. 303–6.

¹¹¹ Quinto, 'Langton: theology and pastoral care', pp. 301–55; R. Quinto, 'Il codice 434 di Douai, Stefano Langton e Nicola di Tournai', *Sacris Erudiri* 36 (1996), pp. 233–61.

¹¹² For the *Distinctiones*, see: R. Quinto, '*Doctor Nominatissimus*': Stefano Langton (Münster, 1994), pp. 58–71. For the *Diffinitiones morales*, see: Quinto, 'Langton: theology and pastoral care', pp. 322–9; Quinto, '*Doctor Nominatissimus*', pp. 72–6.

¹¹³ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 67.

¹¹⁴ R. Easting and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Peter of Corwall's Book of Revelations* (Toronto, 2013), p. 4.

¹¹⁵ Easting and Sharpe (eds.), *Peter of Corwall's Book of Revelations*, p. 15.

disputationum contra Symonem Iudeum to Stephen Langton. There is no evidence that the archbishop sought out the work.¹¹⁶

We do know of the circumstances that led Daniel of Morley, in the 1180s, to pen his *Philosophia*, an account of man, creation, matter, the elements, the stars, and astrology. In the prologue, Daniel explained how the work came about. Having returned to England from Toledo, Daniel set out for Northampton where the liberal arts were apparently flourishing. *En route*, he encountered an old friend, John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich (1175-1200). The bishop had many questions for the returned scholar, especially about astrology. Not being able to answer these questions there and then, for lack of time, Daniel decided to produce the *Philosophia* for his bishop.¹¹⁷

We shall not make much use of the three secular treatises produced by bishops in this period: ‘Glanvill’, the *Dialogus de scaccario*, and William Longchamp’s *Practica legum et decretorum*. All were undertaken before their authors assumed episcopal office.¹¹⁸ In passing, though, it is interesting to note that Longchamp made unusually frequent allusions to scripture in his *Practica legum et decretorum*; a feature characterised by one scholar as ‘a type of pastoral exhortation to the reader’.¹¹⁹ And Richard fitz Neal, in his *Dialogus de scaccario*, consistently sought to present a spiritual dimension to his royal service, arguing that there were ‘flowers of mystic meaning among the thistles of worldly matters’ and ‘holy mysteries’ hiding in his account of the exchequer.¹²⁰ He gave the following example, referring to Judgement Day:

For the diversity of duties, the great authority of the judiciary, the seal bearing the royal image, the sending of summonses, the writing of the rolls, the condemnation or absolution of defendants are

¹¹⁶ R. W. Hunt, ‘The disputation of Peter of Cornwall against Symon the Jew’, in R. W. Hunt (ed.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), p. 153.

¹¹⁷ ‘Inter cetera uero quedam de sublunaribus istis adiecit, que suis superioribus quadam necessitates obedientia uidentur seruire; sed quia me breuitas temporis ad presens questionibus eius non satisfacere sinebat, ideo illius discretionis examine hunc presentem tractatum presentandum decreui.’ G. Maurach (ed.), ‘Daniel of Morley, *Philosophia*’, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 212; C. Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London, 1977), p. 62; T. Silverstein, ‘Daniel of Morley, English cosmogonist and student of Arabic science’, *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948), 179-96.

¹¹⁸ Glanvill was produced between 1187 and 1189. If Godfrey de Lucy was the leading figure in its production, it was before he became bishop of Winchester in 1189: R. V. Turner, ‘Who was the author of Glanvill? Reflections on the education of Henry II’s common lawyers’, *Law and History Review* 8 (1990), 97-127. Richard fitz Neal’s *Dialogus de scaccario* was substantially complete by 1179, and although he continued to revise it later, almost certainly laid aside by the time he became bishop of London in 1189: S. Church and E. Amt (eds.), *Dialogus De Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer, and Constitutio Domus Regis: the Disposition of the Royal Household* (Oxford, 2007), pp. xviii-xx. Likewise, William Longchamp wrote his *Practica legum et decretorum* before his elevation to Ely: B. C. Brasington, *Order in the Court: Medieval Procedural Treatises in Translation*, *Medieval Law and its Practice* 21 (Leiden & Boston, 2016), p. 176.

¹¹⁹ Brasington, *Medieval Procedural Treatises*, p. 181.

¹²⁰ ‘In mundanorum enim tribulis mistici intellectus flores querere laudabile est. Nec in his tantum que commemoras set in tota scaccarii descriptione sacramentorum quedam latibula sunt.’ Church and Amt (eds.), *Dialogus*, p. 38.

symbols of the strict accounting that will be revealed when the books of all are opened and the door shut.¹²¹

The future bishop struggled to give further examples.¹²² But these treatises illustrate that even profane texts could include attempts at spiritual instruction, whether motivated by genuine or affected piety.

Among the texts attributed to bishops of England from this period are a number of Bible commentaries. Most were produced before their authors assumed episcopal office. Stephen Langton, of course, was prolific in writing commentaries in the earlier part of his life. This thesis does not analyse Langton's *oeuvre* in detail, but it is possible that he continued to revise these works as archbishop. Langton had some time to write while in exile, at Pontigny between 1207 and 1213, and at some other unknown location between 1216 and 1218.¹²³

Richard Poore may have been the author of a commentary on Baruch. Nicholas Vincent points out that Baruch – not the most popular subject for commentary – was nonetheless an apt choice for Richard. There were parallels between the narrative of Baruch, in which the Israelites sought to raise funds for the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the project to remove the cathedral from Old Sarum to its new location in Salisbury.¹²⁴ But again, this commentary would have been produced before Poore became a bishop, as it was attributed to the dean of Salisbury.¹²⁵

With Gilbert Foliot, we at last approach a bishop who was writing commentaries during his time as bishop. In the early 1180s, Walter Map wrote of Gilbert: 'As if atoning for a wasted leisure, unmooring his boat from the shore, he is to venture on the exploration of the open sea, and is hastening to redeem the time he lost by compiling with a swift pen a work on the Old and New Testaments.'¹²⁶ What exactly Walter referred to is debated.¹²⁷ Gilbert produced a commentary on the Song of Songs, and another on the *Pater noster*. The Canticles commentary was dedicated to a Robert, bishop of Hereford. Morey and

¹²¹ 'Officiorum namque diuersitas, iudiciarie potestatis auctoritas, regie imaginis impressio, citationum emissio, rotulorum conscriptio, uillicationum ratio, debitorum exactio, reorum condempnatio uel absolutio districti examinis figura sunt, quod reuelabitur cum omnium libri aperti erunt et ianua clausa.' Church and Amt (eds.), *Dialogus*, p. 38.

¹²² The work ends with the student referring back to this passage and asking for more 'sacred truths'. The *magister*, however, defers this discussion for a separate enquiry and another day: 'Magister: Magnum est quod queris et alterius egens inquisitionis, nec his exponendis ex promisso debitor tibi factus sum. His igitur ad presens supersede, in alterius diei disputationem eadem reseruans.' Church and Amt (eds.), *Dialogus*, p. 190.

¹²³ J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), pp. 27 & 30.

¹²⁴ Vincent, 'Richard Poer', pp. 13-15.

¹²⁵ A. Sulavik O.P., 'Baruch secundum Decanum Salesburiensem: text and introduction to the earliest Latin commentary on Baruch', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 68 (2001), 249-96. As with the sermon attributed to the 'dean of Salisbury', Thomas of Chobham is the other candidate for authorship.

¹²⁶ 'cum paucos modicos et luculentos fecerit tractatus, quasi penitenciam perditae uacacionis agens, nunc a litore carinam soluit, magnumque metiri pelagus aggressus, moras redimere festinat amissas, nouumque ueteris et noue legis opus festino contextit pollice.' Map, *De nugis curialium*, pp. 36-7.

¹²⁷ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 72; D. N. Bell (ed.), 'The commentary on the Lord's Prayer of Gilbert Foliot', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 56 (1989), 86-7.

Brooke thought this might be Gilbert's relative Robert Foliot, bishop 1173-86.¹²⁸ But the commentary most clearly reflects Gilbert's monastic identity. Like other monastic commentators, notably Bernard of Clairvaux, Gilbert ruminated at length on each phrase, with ten thousand words spent on just the opening phrase, '*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*'.¹²⁹ It seems possible then that it was the product of Gilbert's monastic years, in which case the addressee would have been Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford (1130-48).

Gilbert's *Pater noster* commentary was sent to his relative Walter Foliot, formerly archdeacon of Shropshire. It was thus written after 1178 when Walter retired.¹³⁰ In the preface, Gilbert complained of his old age and failing sight: 'Now truly, old age forces itself upon me, sight deserts me, my senses are reduced, and darkness overtakes my mind, along with everything else desired for study.'¹³¹ Morey and Brooke considered that Gilbert did not 'hark back to his schooldays' in his writings, which were 'essentially the fruit of his pastoral work'.¹³² The *Pater noster* commentary, in particular, addressed various pastoral questions.

Other literary works were patronised by bishops. William de Vere commissioned at least two substantial Anglo-Norman poems.¹³³ He had Simund de Freine, a canon of Hereford, produce a *Vie de Saint George* based on materials the bishop had brought from the Holy Land, and he had Johan d'Arundel, a canon of Waltham Abbey, produce a translated *Epistle of Prester John*.¹³⁴ These poems were crusade propaganda.¹³⁵ Another epic, Joseph of Exeter's *Daretis Phrygii Ilias* on the Trojan War, also connected to the crusade, was dedicated to Baldwin of Forde.¹³⁶ In the poem's epilogue, Joseph set out his intention to write about the crusade on which Baldwin was to embark.¹³⁷ There is no evidence that Baldwin commissioned the work. But, if the poem was designed to attract the archbishop's patronage, it achieved its purpose. Baldwin apparently expected Joseph to write a metrical account of the crusade.¹³⁸ And, although Baldwin died in the Holy Land, Joseph still composed his *Antiocheis*, almost all of which has

¹²⁸ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 70.

¹²⁹ Gilbert Foliot, *Expositio in cantica canticorum*, J.-P. Migne, *PL* 202 (Paris, 1855), cols. 1149-72.

¹³⁰ Bell (ed.), 'Lord's Prayer', 88-9.

¹³¹ 'Nunc uero se michi senectus ingerit, uisus deserit, minoratur sensus, et mentem caligo occupat, et cetera queque que a studiosis optantur.' Bell (ed.), 'Lord's Prayer', 90. In the early 1180s, Walter Map described how Gilbert's sight was failing from old age and much reading: Map, *De nugis curialium*, pp. 36 & 314.

¹³² Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 69.

¹³³ Simund's Anglo-Norman edition of Boethius' *De consolacione philosophie*, known as *Le roman de philosophie*, might also have been commissioned by William.

¹³⁴ J. E. Matzke (ed.), *Les oeuvres de Simund de Freine* (Paris, 1909); A. Hilka, 'Die anglonormannische version des Briefes des Presbiter Johannes', *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache* 43 (1915), 82-112.

¹³⁵ D. Runciman, 'Monk-bishops and their theological ideas in late twelfth-century England', unpublished MPhil dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2015), pp. 72-3.

¹³⁶ Joseph of Exeter, *Trojan War*, ed. A. K. Bate (Liverpool, 1986).

¹³⁷ 'Te sacre assument acies diuinae bella tunc dignum maiore tuba, tunc pectore toto nitar et immensum mecum spargere per orbem.' Joseph of Exeter, *Trojan War*, ed. Bate, pp. 34-5.

¹³⁸ *GCO*, II, *De rebus a se gestis*, p. 20; cited in Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad*, trans. A. C. Rigg (Toronto, 2005), p. viii.

unfortunately been lost.¹³⁹ To Baldwin also, Roger of Forde dedicated a poem on the Virgin Mary, probably at his own initiative.¹⁴⁰ Nigel Whiteacre addressed his *Tractatus contra curiales* to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and dedicated his *Speculum stultorum* to a William, thought also to be Longchamp.¹⁴¹ Again, it is not clear that William patronised these texts, and Nigel's sharp criticism of the bishop rather suggests not. Another poet, Henry of Avranches, was patronised by several bishops: by Richard Poore, as bishop of Salisbury, for the refoundation of Salisbury cathedral; by Eustace of Fauconberg, bishop of London, following his election; and by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in anticipation of his venture on crusade in 1227.¹⁴² Avranches' metrical life of St Hugh of Lincoln was possibly written for Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln.¹⁴³

Other hagiographies were associated with bishops. William de Vere produced a Life of St Osyth which does not survive, although details have been reconstructed.¹⁴⁴ Senatus produced for Roger of Worcester, in addition to the sermons and treatise already mentioned, two lives of the Worcester saints Oswald and Wulfstan.¹⁴⁵ At Bartholomew of Exeter's instigation, John of Forde wrote a Life of Wulfric 'for the profit of the faithful'.¹⁴⁶ Bartholomew died before the work was completed, and so John dedicated the work instead to Reginald fitz Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Wells (1173-91), and to Baldwin of Forde, John's former abbot, recently promoted archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁴⁷ Also dedicated to Baldwin was Herbert of Bosham's Life of St Thomas.¹⁴⁸ Hagiographies formed part of Gerald of Wales's works, other parts of which he dedicated or presented to bishops: the *Topographia Hibernica* to Baldwin of Forde; versions of the *Itinerarium Kambriae* and also the *Descriptio Kambriae* to Hugh of Lincoln, William Longchamp, and Stephen Langton.¹⁴⁹ Gerald claimed Baldwin had praised his 'theological

¹³⁹ Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad*, trans. Rigg, p. viii.

¹⁴⁰ A. G. Rigg, 'Roger of Ford's poem on the Virgin: a critical edition', *Cîteaux* 40 (1989), 200-14.

¹⁴¹ Nigel of Canterbury, *Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos*, ed. A. Boutemy (Paris, 1959); *Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960). On Nigel's name, see: A. G. Rigg, 'Nigel of Canterbury: what was his name?', *Medium Aevum* 56 (1987), 304-7.

¹⁴² Vincent, 'Richard Poer', p. 19; *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches relating to England*, ed. J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 109-22.

¹⁴³ C. Garton (ed.), *The Metrical Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1986)

¹⁴⁴ A. T. Baker (ed.), 'An Anglo-French life of St Osyth', *Modern Language Review* 6 (1911), 476-502; D. Bethel, 'The lives of St Osyth of Essex and St Osyth of Aylesbury', *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (Brussels, 1970), 118-21.

¹⁴⁵ Senatus, 'Vita S. Oswaldi archiepiscopi', *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, RS 71 (London, 1886), pp. 60-97; Senatus, 'Vita sanctissimi Wulfstani confessoris atque pontificis', in R. R. Darlington (ed.), *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, Camden Series, 3rd ser. 40 (London, 1928), pp. 68-108. Cf. M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 58-67.

¹⁴⁶ *Wulfric of Haselbury, by John, abbot of Ford*, ed. M. Bell, Somerset RS 47 (1933); John of Ford, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite*, ed. and trans. P. Matarasso (Collegeville, 2011), p. 92.

¹⁴⁷ John of Ford, *Life of Wulfric*, pp. 11-17.

¹⁴⁸ B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 77-8.

¹⁴⁹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: c. 500 to c. 1307* (London, 1996), pp. 218-19; R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 186 & 213-21.

moralisms and allegories'.¹⁵⁰ But Gerald did not write on behalf of episcopal patrons. Rather, he sought to attract notice by dedicating his works to lay and ecclesiastical elites.¹⁵¹

The canons, statutes, and constitutions promulgated by bishops at their councils and synods are useful evidence of bishops' administration of the Church, and they often touched on pastoral issues.¹⁵² The decretal collections compiled by bishops are also of interest.¹⁵³ Bishops' *acta*, many of which have now been edited for the *English Episcopal Acta* series or published independently, are useful in revealing bishops' activities, itineraries, and staff.¹⁵⁴ Further evidence comes from bishops' letters. These sometimes addressed subjects pertinent to pastoral care, albeit mostly in terms of administration. Two unprinted letters attributed to Richard Poore, for instance, were written to ensure that a church was kept for its priest, 'Geoffrey de O', until he came of age.¹⁵⁵

Letters and charters also demonstrate how bishops wanted to be presented and perhaps how they perceived themselves. Cheney recognised that 'when preambles to episcopal charters speak of *pastorale officium*, and *sollicitudo* or *utilitas ecclesiastica*, although these are but conventional expressions, they are conventions deliberately chosen by the bishops' draftsmen, expressive of a whole background of ideas'.¹⁵⁶ Nicholas Vincent highlighted the *arenga* clauses of Peter des Roches' charters, which 'rehearse whole passages of the gospels and the Epistles of St Paul, besides tags from writers such as St Jerome and St Gregory the Great, in what may well amount to a deliberate display of pious learning'.¹⁵⁷ Some bishops' letters are preserved in chronicles. Many more survive in the famous letter collections of the period: those of John of Salisbury, of Gilbert Foliot, and the *Epistolae Cantuariensis*.¹⁵⁸ Peter of Blois was notable for writing letters to and on behalf of bishops, most notably for the archbishops of Canterbury, Richard of Dover and Baldwin of Forde.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁰ Gerald of Wales, *Speculum duorum*, ed. Y. Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 170-2; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 145-6.

¹⁵¹ Gerald dedicated works to Henry II, Richard I, and King John: Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 219.

¹⁵² *C&S*, I, ii; *C&S*, II, i.

¹⁵³ Duggan, *Decretals*.

¹⁵⁴ *EEA*, vols. 1-45 (Oxford, 1980-2016); K. Major (ed.), *Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1207-1228* (Oxford, 1950); H. Mayr-Harting (ed.), *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester, 1075-1207* (London, 1964); D. B. Crouch (ed.), *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140-1287* (Cardiff, 1988); J. S. Barrow (ed.), *St David's Episcopal Acta, 1085-1280* (Cardiff, 1998).

¹⁵⁵ Oxford, New College, MS 210, fol. 256v; Vincent, 'Richard Poer', p. 13.

¹⁵⁶ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁷ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 6; *Winchester 1205-1238*, ed. Vincent, pp. lxvii-lxviii.

¹⁵⁸ W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1986); A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge, 1967); W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I: vol. II, Epistolae Cantuariensis*, RS 38 (London, 1865); J. Barrau, *Bible, lettres et politique: l'écriture au service des hommes à l'époque de Thomas Becket* (Paris, 2013); Taliadoros, 'Law and theology', 77-94.

¹⁵⁹ *PBO*, cols. 2-560; Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. E. Revell, *Auctores Britannici medii aevi* (Oxford, 1993), nos 14, 15, 19, 20, 22 (on behalf of Geoffrey, archbishop of York) & 24, pp. 79-84, 85-91, 104-11, 112-16 & 118-21. See also: J. D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC, 2009), pp. 176-99.

The most useful of these many and varied texts are the extant theological and spiritual works written or directly commissioned by our bishops. Many of these are not well known, and some remain unprinted. It is the intended purpose of these texts that is of particular interest. Did they reflect the pursuit of extra-episcopal interests, or were they intended to meet pastoral need? Of course, the motives for writing in each case varied. These texts all fall somewhere on the spectrum between the explicitly pastoral and the apparently profane. Pastoral care was not consistently the foremost emphasis in bishops' writing. But spiritual matters were rarely absent, and most of these texts reveal something of their authors' attitudes towards pastoral care. Of course, the clergy were those most likely to be able to read these texts. Bishops owed a duty of pastoral care first to their cathedral chapter (be they monks or secular canons) and their clergy, and then to the populace of their diocese at large. This order is reflected in bishops' writing. The subjects bishops addressed generally applied first and foremost to the clergy, and through them to the parishioners of the diocese.

'What would we not give to have the record of those conversations!'¹⁶⁰ So exclaimed Christopher Cheney, referring to the private 'holy discourse' between Hubert Walter and the prior of Witham, on board the archbishop's ship. Naturally, we share Cheney's desire for more evidence of bishops' spiritual lives. But, in fact, we have more and better evidence than Cheney thought.

Nonetheless, it is to be acknowledged at the outset that we are allowing a small proportion of the bishops to speak for the wider episcopate of this period. To what extent is this justified? This is a familiar question to all historians who must consider how much their sources truly reveal. The conclusion to this thesis will provide a fuller answer to this question. But various observations can be made here. Evidence found in other sources can complement bishops' texts, making it possible to draw a composite picture of bishops' pastoral care. There are fragments of evidence in the chronicles and annals of the period, and much more material in the *oeuvres* of Gerald of Wales and the hagiographies of Hugh of Lincoln.¹⁶¹ As well as providing additional evidence of individual bishops and their specific actions, these sources, along with texts such as the satirical poetry of Nigel Whiteacre, often provide insight into contemporary ideals about the model bishop.¹⁶² Admittedly, for many bishops we have no evidence of their pastoral care. But if the range of episcopal behaviour can be identified from the evidence that does exist, then it can be assumed that most bishops' behaviour fell within that range.

Some episcopal writing has been considered uninteresting in the past. So what can our analysis add to scholarship that is of any significance? At the most basic level, this thesis illuminates the thought of some of the most significant figures in Angevin England. But it is intended that this thesis should contribute more than that. It does not only reveal the opinions of individual bishops on particular topics, interesting though some of those are. There are three related but distinct areas of current scholarly

¹⁶⁰ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 40.

¹⁶¹ *GCO*; *MVSH*.

¹⁶² On Nigel Whiteacre see chapter three of this thesis, pp. 97-8.

interest that this thesis addresses: the nature of episcopal office, the developments in pastoral care from the perspective of priest and parishioner, and the intellectual culture of the period.

The nature of episcopal office

Some decades ago, John Gilchrist accepted, with some surprise, that Robert Benson's work on episcopal office was the 'first systematic analysis of the medieval episcopate as an office of far-reaching governing powers, both ecclesiastical and secular'.¹⁶³ Decades later, in 2004, Michel Parisse wrote, 'I've discovered with some astonishment that even in the many encyclopaedias and dictionaries published over the last few years, no attempt has been made to broach the subject of the bishop's function in anything approaching completeness'.¹⁶⁴ And even more recently, John Ott and Anna Jones found that 'the sheer volume of research [in the field of episcopal studies] disguises some surprising absences'.¹⁶⁵ In their judgement, there has been no general survey of the medieval episcopate, and the period from the fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire to the Fourth Lateran Council is 'especially under-represented'.¹⁶⁶

Why, then, has there been little attempt to define episcopal office in the medieval period? There are two main reasons. Firstly, and straightforwardly, alternative areas of research have been pursued instead. Parisse makes the point that, in the main, 'the history of bishops is written from the point of view of their political activities but not their religious functions'.¹⁶⁷ We have seen that this has been true for Angevin England. Ott and Jones identified what they describe as the bishop's 'vanishing act' from the historiography. They acknowledged that bishops were studied 'in light of prevailing social, economic, political or cultural structures', but lamented the absence of the bishop from general studies.¹⁶⁸ They attribute this, mainly, to 'soaring scholarly interest in the experiences and identities of religious minorities,' which has 'fostered a general disinterest in the study of bishops ... in part because they are frequently viewed as the exemplars of an institution that sought to silence those minorities'.¹⁶⁹

A second reason why the nature of episcopal has not been defined is the challenge of defining something that varied across place and time. Thomas Head concluded that there can be no single paradigm for medieval bishops,¹⁷⁰ while Ott and Jones worried that historians too often seek to understand bishops

¹⁶³ J. Gilchrist, 'The office of the bishop in the Middle Ages', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1971), pp. 85-6; R. L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968).

¹⁶⁴ M. Parisse, 'The bishop: prince and prelate', in S. Gilsdorf (ed.), *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium* (Münster, 2004), p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ J. S. Ott and A. T. Jones, 'Introduction: the bishop reformed', in J. S. Ott and A. T. Jones (eds.), *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ Ott and Jones, 'The bishop reformed', p. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Parisse, 'The bishop: prince and prelate', pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ Ott and Jones, 'The bishop reformed', p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ Ott and Jones, 'The bishop reformed', p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ T. Head, 'Postscript: the ambiguous bishop', in Ott and Jones (eds.), *The Bishop Reformed*, pp. 258.

using ‘interpretative frameworks of episcopal conduct imposed from outside the bishop’s immediate social context’.¹⁷¹ Even within a specific region and period, there was still significant variety between bishops. As John Cotts pointed out, ‘the English episcopacy in the late twelfth century included a diverse assortment of men and hence could be described and exhorted using a diverse range of models’.¹⁷²

Dealing specifically with patterns of episcopal power, but writing in terms that can be applied more generally, Theo Riches warned that ‘norms do not necessarily tell us about practice, in particular about practice in areas that had little to do with norms. ... Looking at the episcopal office normatively does not capture how contemporaries thought of themselves within time and place’.¹⁷³ Thus, as well as distinguishing between expectations and reality with regard to episcopal office, we must also distinguish between the behaviour that was normal to bishops and the behaviour that proceeded from their episcopal identity. Riches suggested a category of ‘extra-episcopal’ duties and activities that bishops engaged in.¹⁷⁴ This seems both valid and useful. The question remains: which duties were incidental and which integral to episcopal office? This thesis presents the texts bishops produced as key evidence for their pastoral work, and thus highly pertinent to their episcopal office. But, previously, scholars have dismissed these very same texts as hobby-pieces that bore little relation to their role as bishop.

The bishop’s role is routinely characterised as a complex, even contradictory, set of duties. As Timothy Reuter summed it up, ‘bishops undertook and were expected to undertake a broad range of activities. Alongside their role as shepherds and as advisers and supporters of rulers, they were also architects, generals, monastic founders, patrons of the arts, *litterati*, collectors’.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the bishop found himself within a ‘network of obligations’ to rulers, archbishops, and the pope.¹⁷⁶ Scholars tend to consider each of these roles and obligations separately. For instance, in the scholarly treatments of individual English bishops that we have already surveyed, the bishop’s activity is typically categorized according to their interactions with third parties: king, archbishop, fellow suffragans, diocesan clergy, cathedral chapter, papacy, and family.

The danger is that these various responsibilities are all ultimately assigned either to *temporalia* or to *spiritualia*, and the bishop’s role is reduced to an essential duality between political and pastoral office.¹⁷⁷ This approach tends to focus scholars’ attention on the tensions that might arise between the bishop’s varied duties and loyalties. Thomas Head, for example, described the ‘ambiguous bishop’,

¹⁷¹ Ott and Jones, ‘The bishop reformed’, p. 6.

¹⁷² Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, p. 213

¹⁷³ T. Riches, ‘The changing political horizons of Gesta episcoporum’, p. 51.

¹⁷⁴ Riches, ‘Gesta episcoporum’, p. 51.

¹⁷⁵ T. Reuter, ‘A Europe of bishops: the age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms’, in L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, Prinz-Albert-Forschungen 6 (Berlin, 2011), p. 37.

¹⁷⁶ Reuter, ‘A Europe of bishops’, p. 33.

¹⁷⁷ Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*, pp. 203-372; Gilchrist, ‘The office of bishop in the Middle Ages’, p. 93.

who was engaged in a number of ‘balancing acts’: between politics and piety, between loyalties to family and church institutions, and between the active and contemplative life.¹⁷⁸ Ott and Jones agreed, arguing that for the bishop to carry out both pastoral care and administrative duties was ‘an almost impossible balancing act’ conducted between ‘competing ideals of behaviour’.¹⁷⁹

In this thesis, pastoral care is isolated from other aspects of episcopal office. But the sources pay no heed to reductionist distinctions. It is to be acknowledged that pastoral duties were, in reality, interlinked with other aspects of episcopal office. While different responsibilities competed for the bishop’s time and energy, pastoral care was not the antithesis of their political engagement. Sean Gilsdorf made exactly this point, demonstrating that bishops acted on the authority both of their spiritual office and of their position as landed lords in cases of intercession and mediation.¹⁸⁰ Episcopal identity was fundamentally pastoral, but it was multi-layered. Political and administrative functions were absorbed within a pastoral framework, and only rarely kept distinct.¹⁸¹

Historians have also perceived changes in the nature of episcopal office over time. Benson’s thesis was that the constitutive act granting episcopal power changed from consecration to confirmation during the course of the twelfth century. He argued this change was a product of the reform movement. It represented, in Benson’s view, a shift in the conception of episcopal authority from a model that emphasised the bishop’s sacramental authority to one that emphasised delegated authority received from an ecclesiastical superior, ultimately the pope.¹⁸² Timothy Reuter argued that the same period saw a significant change in the character of the episcopate, brought about through frequently contested elections:

An unusual or exceptional candidate indeed had little chance in this new ambience. The period of charismatic bishops had come to an end. Arguably, the post-Gregorian era saw no more than a ‘professionalisation’ of episcopality: the patriarchal figures of the tenth and eleventh centuries were replaced by managers.¹⁸³

This view was shared by David Knowles, who argued that in England the ‘pastoral, diocesan character’ of episcopal office was eroded under Edward the Confessor.¹⁸⁴ Monika Suchan also described how the bishop’s role as a teacher and advisor began to disappear ‘because the bishops of the late Carolingian period did not fulfil their responsibility’.¹⁸⁵ In short, it is argued that bishops ceased to be maverick

¹⁷⁸ Head, ‘The ambiguous bishop’, pp. 250-264.

¹⁷⁹ Ott and Jones, ‘The bishop reformed’, p. 6.

¹⁸⁰ S. Gilsdorf, ‘The bishop as aristocrat: the case of Hugh of Chalon’, in Gilsdorf (ed.), *The Bishop*, pp. 37-49.

¹⁸¹ For an example, see Hugh of Lincoln distinguishing carefully between Hubert’s authority as archbishop and as justiciar: chapter five of this thesis, p. 167.

¹⁸² Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*, p. 385.

¹⁸³ Reuter, ‘A Europe of bishops’, p. 38.

¹⁸⁴ Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 72.

¹⁸⁵ M. Suchan, ‘Monition and advice as elements of politics’, in Körntgen and Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power*, p. 50.

independents with political and pastoral instinct, and became managerial cogs in the machine of an increasingly bureaucratised Church.

There is a risk of overstatement. Cheney is still useful on this point, for he remarked that while there was undoubtedly a growth in bureaucracy during the twelfth century, this need not imply that bishops would fail to absorb ‘the right ideas about the priestly office and the pastoral care’.¹⁸⁶ The present study will expand on Cheney’s caution, and offer a corrective to the general idea that bishops, of the late twelfth century in particular, neglected pastoral care in favour of political and administrative functions.

Pastoral care in theory and practice

Pastoral care was central to the lives of medieval men and women – especially, but not only, to the clergy. Naturally, the experience of pastoral care was not uniform across society, nor was the importance attached to it.¹⁸⁷ But it was certainly of more importance to medieval churchmen than it has generally appeared to be to modern historians, who until recently were inclined to dismiss pastoral care as routine and uninteresting.¹⁸⁸ There was, perhaps, among earlier historians, an assumption that pastoral care needed little explication. And yet, as R. J. Stansbury observed, ‘the meaning of pastoral care or the *cura animarum* is not always easy to define, perhaps because the specifics of pastoral care depend largely on the historical context under consideration and cover a wide range of what might be considered pastoral services’.¹⁸⁹

Giles Constable’s definition of pastoral care is often quoted: ‘the performance of those ceremonies that were central to the salvation of the individual Christian and that were the primary responsibility of ordained priests.’¹⁹⁰ This definition referred mainly to the sacraments.¹⁹¹ Constable identified other activities as ‘para-pastoral’, allowing for a category of activities that enabled or complemented the *cura animarum*.¹⁹² But Stansbury and others have been keen to add preaching as an integral part of pastoral care, arguing that canon ten of Lateran IV (on preaching) must be considered alongside canon twenty-seven (on the sacraments).¹⁹³ William Campbell argued that this definition of *cura pastoralis*, focusing

¹⁸⁶ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 30.

¹⁸⁷ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, pp. 268-71.

¹⁸⁸ S. Hamilton, ‘Rites of passage and pastoral care’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History Of Medieval Christianity 1050–1500* (Abingdon, 2015), p. 290.

¹⁸⁹ R. J. Stansbury, ‘Preaching and pastoral care in the middle ages’, in R. J. Stansbury (ed.), *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2010), p. 24.

¹⁹⁰ G. Constable, ‘Monasteries, rural churches and the *cura animarum* in the early Middle Ages’, *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell’alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (1982), 349-89 (quote at 353). Quoted, for example: Hamilton, ‘Rites of passage’, p. 290; Stansbury, ‘Preaching and pastoral care’, p. 24.

¹⁹¹ Hamilton, ‘Rites of passage’, p. 290.

¹⁹² Constable, ‘The *cura animarum* in the early Middle Ages’, p. 353.

¹⁹³ Stansbury, ‘Preaching and pastoral care’, p. 25. See also: Boyle, ‘The beginning of pastoral manuals’, p. 45.

on preaching and the sacraments, was recognised by common consensus in the thirteenth century.¹⁹⁴ In this thesis, we shall also consider defending the flock as a key aspect of pastoral care.

Pastoral care in the twelfth century has received less scrutiny than in the periods preceding and following. As a whole, research on pastoral care is rapidly multiplying. There are several studies of pastoral care in the Carolingian world and Anglo-Saxon England, a number focusing on Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*.¹⁹⁵ For the thirteenth century and onwards there is a rich literature, especially on preaching and the sacrament of confession.¹⁹⁶ The thirteenth century saw, in one scholar's phrase, a 'pastoral revolution'.¹⁹⁷ As a result, general studies of pastoral care tend to skip over the twelfth century, hastening on to Lateran IV.¹⁹⁸ 1215 was, of course, a pivotal moment for pastoral care. The impact of Lateran IV remains a moot point. But there is a broad consensus that it invigorated pastoral care, even if the ideas that underpinned it and the practices it legislated for were not new.¹⁹⁹

Scholarship dealing with the twelfth century tends to treat pastoral care tangentially, or focuses on the monastic context.²⁰⁰ A perceived lack of sources is responsible for this absence from the literature. In an influential article, Leonard Boyle identified a set of source materials he called *pastoralia*. There was, he observed, a 'great harvest of *pastoralia* after Lateran IV', and these have generally been the sources on which scholars of pastoral care have focused.²⁰¹ But Boyle argued it was the period between the

¹⁹⁴ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁵ D. Anlezark, 'Which books are "most necessary" to know? The Old English Pastoral Care preface and King Alfred's educational reform', *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 98 (2017), pp. 759-80; F. Tinti, 'Benedictine reform and pastoral care in late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 23 (2015), pp. 229-51; M. A. Singer, *Abiding in the Fields: Pastoral Care and Society in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England* (Columbia, 2012); A. T. Thacker, 'Priests and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England', in G. H. Brown and C. F. Briggs (eds.), *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in honor of Richard W. Pfaff* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 187-208; F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005); F. S. Hoyt, 'The Carolingian episcopate: concepts of pastoral care as set forth in the capitularies of Charlemagne and his bishops (789-822)', unpublished PhD thesis (Yale, 1975).

¹⁹⁶ For general surveys and collected essays, see: Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*; Stansbury (ed.), *Companion to Pastoral Care*; L. E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981).

¹⁹⁷ R. N. Swanson, 'Bishoprics and Parishes', in Swanson (ed.), *Medieval Christianity*, p. 24.

¹⁹⁸ G. R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (Trowbridge, 2000); Stansbury (ed.), *Companion to Pastoral Care*; Swanson (ed.), *Medieval Christianity*.

¹⁹⁹ A. P. Bagliani, 'Le concile de Latran IV: un aperçu des recherches récentes', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions und Kulturgeschichte* 109 (2015), 15-26; C. Monagle, 'Theology, practice, and policy at the turn of the thirteenth century: the papacy and Peter Lombard', *Journal of Religious History* 37 (2013), 441-56; A. G. García, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and the canonists', in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX* (Washington DC, 2008), pp. 367-78; L. E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and manuals of popular theology', in T. J. Heffernan (ed.), *Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 30-43.

²⁰⁰ S. J. Adams, 'Monastic preaching and pastoral care as ascetic sanctity in William of Malmesbury's "Vita Wulfstani"', *The American Benedictine review* 63 (2012), 122-40; E. Freeman, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's pastoral care of religious women, with special reference to "De institutione inclusarum"', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46 (2011), 13-26.

²⁰¹ L. E. Boyle, 'The inter-conciliar period 1179-1215 and the beginning of pastoral manuals', in F. Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea, Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), p. 46.

Third and Fourth Lateran Councils that saw new forms of *pastoralia* appearing. He characterised these as ‘very deliberate attempts to communicate to the pastoral clergy at large the current teaching, whether theological or legal, on the pastoral care in relation to the needs of the times, and on the sacraments, particularly penance, matrimony and the eucharist, in respect of the latest in learning’.²⁰² In Boyle’s judgement, there were three reasons why this period in particular saw these ‘fresh forms’ of *pastoralia* appear: the parochial clergy finding a sense of identity and making themselves heard, new ideas in the schools needing to be communicated, and new literary genres facilitating the connection between the two.²⁰³ On Boyle’s analysis the period between Lateran III and IV saw important developments in the provision of resources for pastoral care.

However, late twelfth-century *pastoralia*, let alone other texts that provide evidence of pastoral care, are still given far less attention than their thirteenth-century counterparts. In a recent collection of essays on pastoral manuals, only one essay examined a text of the twelfth century: Gerald of Wales’ *Gemma ecclesiastica*, produced just before 1200.²⁰⁴ Brian Golding suggested that the *Gemma* should not be taken at face value as a manual for the Welsh clergy.²⁰⁵ He argues persuasively that it was written principally in order to boost Gerald’s pastoral credentials, disseminated among the intellectual elite rather than the Welsh clergy.²⁰⁶ The text seems to have been completed shortly after the death of Peter de Leia, bishop of St Davids in 1198, and given to the schools of Hereford and Lincoln cathedral as well as to Innocent III.²⁰⁷ It is significant that Gerald tried to strengthen his case as the next incumbent by writing a pastoral manual, even if his motives were duplicitous. But Gerald’s *Gemma* is not the only evidence that might be used to illuminate pastoral care in late twelfth-century England and Wales.

Bella Millett has pointed out that ‘some of the earliest of the substantial body of preaching aids which began to appear from the late twelfth century originated in England’. She cited, as examples, the works of William de Montibus, Alexander of Ashby, Peter of Cornwall, and Thomas of Chobham.²⁰⁸ But there are sources that fall outside the narrower definition of *pastoralia*, which nonetheless reveal attitudes and practices relating to pastoral care. Boyle himself was explicit that *pastoralia* was a category that could be stretched.²⁰⁹ Scholarship on pastoral care relies on the evidence of theologians’ and pastors’

²⁰² Boyle, ‘The beginning of pastoral manuals’, p. 47.

²⁰³ Boyle, ‘The beginning of pastoral manuals’, pp. 47-55.

²⁰⁴ B. J. Golding, ‘Gerald of Wales, the *Gemma ecclesiastica* and pastoral care’, in C. Gunn and C. Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in honour of Bella Millett* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 47-61.

²⁰⁵ Gerald is, of course, generally to be treated with caution: R. Bartlett, ‘Gerald of Wales [Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald de Barry] (c. 1146–1220x23)’, *ODNB* (2006).

²⁰⁶ Golding, ‘The *Gemma ecclesiastica*’, pp. 58-61.

²⁰⁷ Golding, ‘The *Gemma ecclesiastica*’, pp. 47, 54 & 58.

²⁰⁸ B. Millett, ‘The pastoral context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies’ in W. Scase (ed.), *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2007), p. 46.

²⁰⁹ Boyle, ‘The beginning of pastoral manuals’, p. 46.

writing as much as, if not more than, on administrative records.²¹⁰ This thesis is no exception, drawing primarily on the sermons, manuals and treatises penned by bishops. First and foremost, these texts provide an insight into bishops' ideas about pastoral care. Thus, research on pastoral care is intimately connected to research on intellectual culture. But secondarily, these texts also reveal something of actual practice. The extent to which they do so is a key point of enquiry. How closely do written sermons reflect actual preaching? Were treatises and manuals on the sacraments heeded? The answers to such questions vary text by text.

There have been some assessments of our bishops' pastoral care, as we have seen. Christopher Cheney established the groundwork here, outlining the administrative means by which pastoral care could be delivered. He emphasised the appointment and discipline of clergy, provincial councils, diocesan synods and the promulgation of canons. All of this, he suggested, necessitated episcopal visitations, which were in any case mandated by canon law.²¹¹ Beyond that, scholars working on individual bishops have examined their pastoral work. This is most obviously the case for Hugh of Lincoln, acclaimed as an exemplary pastor of the period.²¹² But Mary Cheney's study of Roger of Worcester, Nicholas Vincent's essays, and to a lesser extent Morey's study of Bartholomew of Exeter have also usefully highlighted the bishops' pastoral labours.²¹³

Intellectual culture and the transmission of ideas

The late twelfth century saw the flourishing of pastoral theology in the schools, which contributed in turn to the concerted efforts of the papacy to reinvigorate pastoral care.²¹⁴ But ideas had to be disseminated, and edicts implemented. What part did bishops play in this? The schools; the papacy; the monastery: all transmitted ideas about pastoral care that bishops might receive. Of course, these influences were not mutually exclusive, but largely complementary; their differences tended to be in emphasis rather than substance. Bishops were not simply of one mould or another. Baldwin of Forde, bishop of Worcester (1180-84) and then archbishop of Canterbury (1184-90), was a scholar, monk, and collector of papal decretals. Moreover, bishops did not need to attend the schools, or enter the

²¹⁰ See generally: Boyle, *Pastoral Care*; T. Sharp, I. Cochelin, G. Dinkova-Bruun, A. Firey and G. Silano (eds.), *From Learning to Love: Schools, Law, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages: Essays in honour of Joseph W. Goering* (Toronto, 2017); J. W. Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Texts and Studies 108 (Toronto, 1992); Evans, *A History of Pastoral Care*; Gunn and Parker (eds.), *Texts and traditions*; Stansbury, *Companion to Pastoral Care*.

²¹¹ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 139-45.

²¹² Cowdrey, 'Hugh of Avalon', pp. 41-57; Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln*; Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 26, 59, 120, 140-1, 153-4 & 166.

²¹³ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 56-69; Vincent, 'Stephen Langton'; Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby'; Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 79-99.

²¹⁴ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*; B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1984), pp. 196-263; J. Leclercq, 'The renewal of theology', in R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), p. 79.

monastery, to come under scholastic or monastic influence. Hugh of Lincoln (1186-1200), for example, established connections with the schools even though he had not attended them himself.

The moral, practical, pastoral theology emanating from the schools shaped those who trained there first and foremost, but through them influenced the Church more widely. Bishops' connections to the schools have already been established. John Baldwin demonstrated that bishops both sponsored scholars in the schools and employed *magistri* in their households.²¹⁵ Beryl Smalley and Julie Barrau have revealed the role of intellectuals among and around the episcopate, with reference to the Becket controversy in particular.²¹⁶ J. W. Goering has studied the pastoral theology of William de Montibus (d.1213), appointed chancellor of Lincoln cathedral school by Hugh of Lincoln in a step towards pastoral reform.²¹⁷ The training of early thirteenth-century bishops in the schools has also been connected to their later office. This has especially been the case for Stephen Langton.²¹⁸ But Nicholas Vincent has done likewise for Alexander of Stainsby and Richard Poore.²¹⁹ With less of a focus on bishops, other studies have connected developments in pastoral theology to political life in England.²²⁰ The bishops' part in the Becket controversy and Magna Carta have, of course, continued to be of interest for scholars, and here too an examination of individual bishops' intellectual formation has been recognised as a useful means of understanding their political actions.²²¹

The influence of the papacy on the bishops of England, and particularly of its efforts towards 'reform', have also been studied. Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang's *Bishops and Reform* was an early assessment of the extent to which bishops in mid-thirteenth-century England broadcast and enacted the programme of Lateran IV. Lang concluded that 'a certain effort was undoubtedly made [by the bishops], but it was in most cases too tentative to bring about a fundamental and spiritual reformation in the English

²¹⁵ J. W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages: 1000-1300* (Lexington, Mass., 1971); J. W. Baldwin, 'Studium et Regnum: the penetration of university personnel into French and English administration at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Revue des études islamiques* 44 (1976), 199-215.

²¹⁶ Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*; J. Barrau, *Bible, lettres et politique: l'écriture au service des hommes à l'époque de Thomas Becket* (Paris, 2013).

²¹⁷ Goering, *William de Montibus*, pp. 13-18.

²¹⁸ D. L. D'Avray, 'Magna Carta: its background in Stephen Langton's academic biblical exegesis and its episcopal reception', *Studi medievali* 38 (1997), 423-38; N. Vincent, 'Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury', in Bataillon, Beriou, Dahan and Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton*, pp. 51-126; J. W. Baldwin, 'Maître Étienne Langton, futur archevêque de Canterbury: les écoles de Paris et la Magna Carta', in Bataillon, Beriou, Dahan and Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton*, pp. 11-50; F. Morenzoni, 'Pastorale et ecclésiologie dans la prédication d'Étienne Langton', in Bataillon, Beriou, Dahan and Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton*, pp. 449-66; R. Quinto, 'Stephen Langton: theology and pastoral care', pp. 301-55.

²¹⁹ Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby', 615-40; Vincent, 'Richard Poer', pp. 5-40.

²²⁰ J. Taliadoros, 'Magna Carta and *ius commune*: a consideration of the scholar-administrators of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Sharp, Cochelin, Dinkova-Bruun, Firey and Silano (eds.), *From Learning to Love*, pp. 362-85; P. Byrne, '"Non est vera misericordia nisi sit ordinata": pastoral theology and the practice of English justice, 1100-1250', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 2014).

²²¹ N. Fryde, 'The roots of Magna Carta', in J. Canning and O. G. Oexle (eds.), *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 147 (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 53-65; J. W. Baldwin, 'Master Stephen Langton, future archbishop of Canterbury: the Paris schools and Magna Carta', *EHR* 123 (2008), 811-846; D. Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Oxford, 1951); Barrau, *Bible, lettres et politique*.

Church'.²²² Although she observed that a number of bishops disseminated diocesan constitutions in the wake of Lateran IV, she judged that 'the selection of decrees of the Lateran Council for republication is very haphazard and in most cases seems quite accidental'.²²³ The final conclusion of *Bishops and Reform* was that the program of Lateran IV failed to be enacted in England precisely because Innocent III relied on bishops.²²⁴ There were problems with this thesis, however, which – to their credit – Gibbs and Lang identified. They focused on pastoral reforms of an administrative kind, deliberately avoiding any consideration of the 'decrees relating to dogma', and they observed that the spiritual writings produced in England during the period had yet to be examined.²²⁵

The impetus for reform did not always originate with the papacy. We have seen that Lateran IV confirmed and codified ideas that were already circulating in the twelfth century. Bishops in England were also active in soliciting papal advice on practical matters. Charles Duggan demonstrated that some English bishops in the twelfth century routinely sought out papal judgements on specific questions, then collected and edited the ensuing decretals. Bartholomew of Exeter, Roger of Worcester, and Richard of Dover were notably active, but Gilbert Foliot, Baldwin of Forde, Hugh du Puiset, Roger de Pont l'Évêque and others also received decretals.²²⁶

Papal influence was also exercised through the legates sent to England.²²⁷ Fred Cazel argued their presence had such an impact that Langton felt supplanted by Pandulf; the archbishop secured a promise from the papacy that no further legates would be sent to England in his lifetime.²²⁸ A number of bishops' appointments were indeed secured by the legates' influence.²²⁹ Nicholas Vincent also observed that various of the canons of Lateran IV were being enacted during Guala's legation.²³⁰ However, Vincent highlighted the fact that Guala did not promulgate any general body of statutes in England, suggesting the legate's priority was to end the civil war.²³¹ Moreover, the candidates for episcopal office Guala supported did not always fit the mould of a 'reforming' bishop of the sort looked for by scholars in Paris. Guala supported the monk Ranulf of Warham, who became bishop of Chichester (1217-22), as well as the more obvious choice of Richard Poore for Salisbury.²³² And, although Cazel emphasised

²²² M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215–1272* (Oxford, 1934), p. 129.

²²³ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 128.

²²⁴ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 174.

²²⁵ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 137 & 174.

²²⁶ Duggan, *Decretals*, pp. 75-7, 102, 110-15 & 150. C. Duggan, 'Decretals of Alexander III to England', in F. Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea, Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), pp. 87-151.

²²⁷ We await the publication of N. C. Vincent, *Les Légats pontificaux en Angleterre 1070-1300*, Les Légats Pontificaux (Turnhout, forthcoming).

²²⁸ F. A. Cazel, 'The legates Guala and Pandulf', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, *Thirteenth Century England, II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 16-19 & 21.

²²⁹ N. C. Vincent (ed.), *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England 1216-1218* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. liii; N. C. Vincent, 'Pandulf [Pandulph, Pandulph Verraccio] (d. 1226)', *ODNB* (2004).

²³⁰ Vincent, *Guala Bicchieri*, pp. liii & lxxx-i.

²³¹ Vincent, *Guala Bicchieri*, p. lxxiv-v & lxxxii-iii.

²³² Vincent, *Guala Bicchieri*, p. liii.

Guala's interests in ecclesiastical affairs, he ultimately concluded that Guala and Pandulf were 'co-opted into the English ruling class'.²³³

The monastic world also had its model of pastoral care, shown by the abbot for his monks. This was most obviously an influence on monk-bishops – those elevated to the episcopate from the monastic life. Naturally, Hugh of Lincoln looms large in the scholarship here. It is striking that the most celebrated pastor of the period was a monk. Both H. E. J. Cowdrey and Gordon Mursell have argued that the Carthusian order produced especially successful bishops precisely because the strictness of their order led them to accept that not everyone could lead the monastic life: salvation had to be possible outside the monastery.²³⁴

Yet Hugh was not the only monk-bishop, as he himself was apparently aware. He supposedly responded to the news of his election to Lincoln: 'The lord archbishop of Canterbury [the Cistercian Baldwin of Forde], who seems to be almost the only monk amongst the bishops of this land, must desire to have assistants and fellow-workers in the pastoral duties committed to him who have experience of and share the traditions of the monastic life.'²³⁵ In fact, Hugh (or perhaps Adam devising the account several years later) overlooked the Cluniac Gilbert Foliot, who was still bishop of London when Hugh was elected to Lincoln. As we shall see, contemporaries who praised monk-bishops considered the monastic life a suitable preparation for episcopal office. Such bishops had often been abbots or priors before their promotion to the episcopacy, and so had some experience of pastoral care in a monastic context. Gerald of Wales applied the same scriptural trope both to Hugh of Lincoln and Baldwin of Forde: 'As one found faithful over a few, he was therefore set over many by the Lord.'²³⁶ Monk-bishops often brought something distinctively monastic to their pastoral care and theology.²³⁷

The bishops of England and Wales, c. 1170-1228

The bishops under consideration here were a remarkable group of men in their own right. What with the works of Knowles, Gibbs, and more especially of Cheney and Crosby, there is no need here for a

²³³ Cazell, 'Guala and Pandulf', p. 21.

²³⁴ Cowdrey, 'Hugh of Avalon', pp. 41-57; G. Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno and Guigo I*, Analecta Cartusiana 127 (Salzburg, 1988), p. 244.

²³⁵ 'domino Cantuariensi, qui religionis habitum iam pene solus inter episcopo terre huius preferre uidetur, quis nesciat esse uotium ut in suscepto cure pastoralis officio coadiutores accipiat et comministros regularis discipline experientia institutos' *MVSH*, I, pp. 95-96.

²³⁶ 'Tanquam scilicet super pauca fidelis inuentus, ideoque a Domino supra multa constitutus.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 93; 'Et quoniam moribus olim plusquam monachus extiterat, infra anni terminum abbas effectus, et infra paucos postmodum annos in episcopum, deinde in archiepiscopum est sublimatus; tanquam super pauca fidelis inuentus, et ob hoc supra multa constitutus.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 71; cf. Matt. 25.23.

²³⁷ Runciman, 'Monk-bishops', pp. 27-73.

full prosopography. But it will be useful to sketch out an overview of the episcopate, and to identify the broader context for this study.

The bishops across this period varied in almost every respect imaginable: in their birth, training, and careers. Scholars have sometimes tried to divide the episcopate into groups, but this has proved neither straightforward nor necessarily helpful. Among the thirteenth-century episcopate, Gibbs distinguished the monks, administrators and magnates, scholars, and cathedral clergy. But she saw that there was ‘some overlapping and uncertainty’ in those categories of her devising.²³⁸ In broadly similar terms, Knowles identified four groups among Becket’s colleagues: ‘the royal officials; clerics who had risen through a regular career of church preferment; distinguished clerics who had risen to celebrity outside England; and, finally, the monks.’²³⁹ But a significant problem with this exercise is that background was not a reliable indicator of bishops’ future behaviour; Thomas Becket is only the most obvious example. The value of such neat divisions is thus reduced.

Rightly, Cheney warned against dividing the episcopate into groups of ‘selfish courtiers’ and ‘pious scholars’.²⁴⁰ He still considered bishops’ antecedents, presenting a rich summary of their varied backgrounds. Roughly half had served the king in some capacity.²⁴¹ Increasingly, they presented ‘a more English look’.²⁴² Cheney acknowledged that many bishops were learned men, but reckoned that ‘bishops were not being appointed for academic attainments’.²⁴³ The importance of a good education was increasingly emphasised, however. At the start of our period, just over a quarter of the bishops seem to have studied at the schools; by the end, roughly half were styled *magister*. How the episcopate changed over the period is an interesting question. David Knowles described those who had been Becket’s contemporaries as ‘the most distinguished bench of bishops’ in English medieval history.²⁴⁴ But he took an opposite view of the subsequent generation, with the exception of Hugh of Lincoln.²⁴⁵

The *cursus honorum* of the episcopate was not always straightforward. The synthesis of ‘free’ elections and royal appointments sometimes worked smoothly. Certainly, the king exerted extraordinary control over episcopal elections.²⁴⁶ But, as Cheney pointed out, more often than not the Angevins chose ‘respectable’ candidates, while cathedral chapters and indeed the papacy also wanted bishops who were politically astute.²⁴⁷ At other times the process was fraught. Elections could be contested and sometimes

²³⁸ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 3.

²³⁹ Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, p. 9.

²⁴⁰ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 29.

²⁴¹ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 27.

²⁴² Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 27.

²⁴³ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 28.

²⁴⁴ Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, pp. 4-5 & 155.

²⁴⁵ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 317.

²⁴⁶ Crosby, *King’s Bishops*, *passim*; R. V. Turner, ‘Richard Lionheart and English episcopal elections’, *Albion* 29 (1997), 1-13.

²⁴⁷ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 20-1.

quashed.²⁴⁸ Throughout the period, accusations of simony or uncanonical procedure were thrown about. In the twelfth century, Walter Map jibed that where all of Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury's writs stated, 'by the grace of God,' they should have read, 'by the grace of the purse'.²⁴⁹ In the early thirteenth century, John de Gray was similarly condemned on the grounds of simony.²⁵⁰

Most of these bishops enjoyed long careers in office.²⁵¹ Worcester was unusual for having a succession of short-lived bishops. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford (from 1148) then London (1163-87), Reiner, bishop of St Asaph (1186-1224), and Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath and Wells (1206-42) had episcopal tenures extending almost to four decades. Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham (1153-95) and Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury (1142-84) each held office for forty-two years. Some of the bishops considered in this thesis, covering the period 1170-1228, actually held their bishoprics either long before or long after that period.

Once in office, the bishop's role was complex and multi-faceted. He had obligations to his family and friends, his parishioners, cathedral chapter, the clergy of his diocese, the metropolitan of the province, the pope, his tenants, the king, and to his own soul. Relations with any third party could turn sour. Bishops were as likely to fall into bitter disputes with their cathedral chapters as with the king.²⁵² It was not inevitable that serving all these parties led to clashes, although it sometimes did. It was inevitable that the bishop had to prioritise.

Cheney advised that 'indiscriminate condemnation by modern historians, who suggest that the whole bench of bishops consisted of pliant clerks, is too sweeping'.²⁵³ But according to Crosby, these bishops lived with 'constant dependence on the deep-seated and widespread system of patronage, both public and private, which was exploited always, everywhere, by everyone', with all the strings of patronage ultimately in the king's hand.²⁵⁴ This is an overstatement. Bishops could not, of course, afford to

²⁴⁸ Simon Langton's election to York, for example, was quashed by Innocent III: F. A. Cazel, 'Simon Langton', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). Katherine Harvey lists a number of contested elections of the thirteenth century, but argues that Stubbs was overstating it when he described a century of litigation over elections: K. Harvey, 'Objections to episcopal elections in England, 1216-72', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 55 (2011), 125-48.

²⁴⁹ 'Jocelinus Saresberiensis episcopus filio suo Reginaldo Batoniensi, per uolenciam electo, sed ad consecracionem a Cantuariense non admisso plangentique, respondit: "Stulte, grandi paca bonam alapam, et uacillabit quocunque uolueris." Iuit ergo; percussit hic, uacillauit ille; cecidit papa, surrexit pontifex; scripsitque statim in Deum menciens in omnium breuium suorum principiis, nam ubi debuisset scribi "burse gratia", "Dei gracia" dixit.' Map, *De nugis curialium*, p. 68.

²⁵⁰ 'Cum presumpta electio / Iusto ruat iudicio, / Empta per dolum Simonis' P. Coss (ed.), *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 10.

²⁵¹ Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, p. 6.

²⁵² See generally: D. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 314-23. Most famous was the Hackington dispute between the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury and successive archbishops of Canterbury: W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, vol. I, Epistolae Cantuarienses*, RS 38 (London, 1865). Apparently most violent was the clash between Hugh of Nonant and the monks of Coventry, whom the bishop sought to replace with secular canons: M. J. Franklin, 'Hugh de Nonant', *ODNB* (2004); Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 322-3. Attempts and rumours of attempts by other bishops to do likewise were reported, as at Rochester: M. N. Blount, 'Waleran' *ODNB* (2004); and M. N. Blount, 'Gilbert de Glanville', *ODNB* (2004).

²⁵³ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 31.

²⁵⁴ Crosby, *King's Bishops*, p. 271.

exasperate the king and ignore the consequences.²⁵⁵ But they were able to pursue their own agendas in office. Yet again, Cheney provided the right view: ‘To what extent he [the bishop] became involved in civil government depended in large measure on the man himself. Contrary to a common impression, many seem to have attended the royal court only at very rare intervals.’²⁵⁶ We are still shaking off Stubbs’ idea that bishops were primarily and automatically preoccupied with political controversies. Political affairs were significant for these bishops, and they to political affairs. But bishops also devoted their energies to administration, and – as we endeavour to show here in more detail – to spiritual and pastoral duties.

This thesis

In essence, this thesis asks what bishops themselves had to say about pastoral care. As we have seen, a variety of sources – many of them unfamiliar to scholars – are available with which to answer this question. What were these texts intended to accomplish? Several, although admittedly not all, were designed to meet a pastoral challenge. What do they reveal about bishops and pastoral care? First and foremost, these texts reveal bishops’ own ideas about pastoral care, but they also provide evidence of episcopal practices. In combination with the evidence of contemporary commentators, bishops’ texts also shed light on the ideas and practices of the episcopate more generally. All this contributes to the scholarship on episcopal office, pastoral care, intellectual culture and religious experience. In this thesis, it will be re-emphasised that episcopal office was fundamentally pastoral. It will be recognised that bishops engaged with ideas about pastoral care, and sought to apply them in their dioceses. And, while it has not been the aim of this research to illuminate the religious experience of bishops’ parishioners, this often ‘hovers just out of sight in our sources, in the “layperson-shaped hole in the middle of the evidence”’,²⁵⁷

Three groups of texts are prominent among the corpus of these bishops’ writing: sermons; penitential manuals; and, finally, Bartholomew of Exeter and Baldwin of Forde’s treatises on threats to orthodoxy. Happily, these groups correspond to three recognisably distinct (although overlapping) pastoral duties. The sermons relate to the pastor feeding his flock; the penitential manuals to tending the flock; and the treatises to protecting the flock against wolves. Therefore, these three groups of texts are the main focus of three parts in this thesis. Part one – ‘Feeding the flock’ – first examines the extant sermon collections of bishops, proceeds to complement this evidence with further references to episcopal preaching in narrative sources, and finally considers other means of pastoral instruction. Introducing the sermon

²⁵⁵ Even Hugh of Lincoln, the ‘hammer of kings’ (*MVSH*, II, p. 232) had to soothe the Angevins’ anger and explain himself to them: *MVSH*, I, p. 118; II, pp. 103–4.

²⁵⁶ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 22.

²⁵⁷ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 266; quoting J. H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005), p. 22.

collections and the canons promulgated at councils and synods in part one enables us to refer back to these sources in later parts of the thesis. Part two – ‘Tending the flock’ – turns to the *cura animarum*, which was the defining aspect of pastoral care. Of all the sacraments, we shall focus, as bishops did, on the Eucharist and on confession. Finally, part three – ‘Protecting the flock’ – surveys the variety of threats to orthodoxy that bishops identified, before looking in more detail at the intellectual errors that concerned Bartholomew and Baldwin. Conclusions made along the way are reserved to the end of each part, rather than each chapter.

PART ONE

FEEDING THE FLOCK

BISHOPS' PREACHING AND PASTORAL INSTRUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

EPISCOPAL PREACHING: THE SERMON COLLECTIONS

‘Oil flows down through this beard, because charity flowed more abundantly in these who are like special branches of the olive tree of Paradise [the apostles]. And from them it dripped down to Aaron’s vestment because charity, fortified by their very preaching, flowed down through the great fullness of the Church.’¹

- Gilbert Foliot

Aaron’s unction

What did Aaron’s consecration as High Priest have to do with medieval preaching? In his homilies, Gilbert Foliot explained that the oil of unction flowing from Aaron’s head, through his beard, and ‘down to the skirt of his garment’, symbolized the growth of the Church throughout history, achieved through apostolic preaching in every generation.² Christ was represented by Aaron’s head; the apostles by his beard, which was ‘close to the mouth’.³ In other words, the apostles adhered to the message of Christ. Through their preaching, the oil of charity spread to Aaron’s vestments: the Church. ‘Without doubt,’ Gilbert concluded, ‘the effusion of oil will finally rest when it touches the hem, that is, when the body of Christ has been filled.’⁴ Preaching was of the utmost importance, as it was the means by which the elect would be saved.

With this view of preaching, Gilbert was very much in accord with those who sought to reinvigorate the spiritual life of the Church. John Baldwin has shown that, in the schools, preaching was considered the ‘final adornment of the theological edifice’.⁵ The papacy espoused the same ideals. In canon four of Lateran III, it was implied that bishops were expected to preach on visitation.⁶ At Lateran IV, bishops were clearly warned that they should devote themselves to preaching, exhortation, correction, and reform.⁷ But, in fact, we have little evidence of Gilbert’s diocesan preaching. As we shall see, his ‘homilies’ are really a commentary, not a record of his routine sermon-making. Much less evidence

¹ ‘In hanc barbam descendit oleum, quia in hos tanquam oliue paradisi ramos precipuos caritas abundantius emanauit, et ab his in uestimentum Aaron descendit, quia ipsis predicantibus in magnam ecclesie plenitudinem caritas propagata defluxit.’ London, British Library, MS Royal 2 D. XXXII, fol. 147v. Hereafter: Gilbert, ‘Homilies’.

² Ps. 132.2.

³ ‘Hoc a capite Domino scilicet Ihesu in barbam descendit.’ ‘Barba itaque huic ori proxima fuit, quia uenienti et manenti in carne Domino chorus ipse apostolorum, quos elegit ex omni carne et comitati adhesit et humilitatis obsequiis summe famulatum deuotionis exhibuit.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 147v.

⁴ ‘Que nimirum effusio olei tunc demum stabit cum horam uestimenti attigerit, id est, cum iam Christi corpus impletum fuerit.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fols. 147v-148r.

⁵ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 107.

⁶ Lateran III, c. 4.

⁷ ‘Porro uisitationis officium exercentes non querant que sua sunt sed que Iesu Christi predicationi et exhortationi correctioni et reformationi uacando ut fructum referant qui non perit.’ Lateran IV, c. 33.

survives for most of his episcopal colleagues. And so there is often a tacit assumption, on the part of modern scholars, that these bishops preached rarely, if at all.

Preaching and pastoral care

Preaching had a long-standing association with pastoral care.⁸ From the Church's infancy, it had been clear that pastors were to be responsible for teaching and preaching. As well as the sermons of Christ and the apostles, which set an example for Church leaders, the New Testament also contained the clear instruction that pastors ought to preach. The Apostle Paul, in his first letter to Timothy, charged him with the public reading of Scripture, regular preaching, and delivering instruction in such a way as to correct, rebuke and encourage his flock.⁹ Gregory the Great built on such passages of scripture in his extremely influential treatment of preaching in the *Regula pastoralis*.¹⁰ Above all, Gregory taught that a preacher's teaching would be undermined if the preacher's deeds were immoral.¹¹ But he also set out at length how preaching ought to be varied according to the audience's needs and circumstance.¹²

In theory, preaching remained the bishop's prerogative until the late twelfth century.¹³ Canon law stipulated that bishops were to be *litteratus*, in order that they themselves might teach.¹⁴ Other preachers were supposed to obtain the bishop's licence to preach in his diocese.¹⁵ Lower clergy, monks, and masters could all be found preaching publicly.¹⁶ The masters of the schools considered it their duty to preach. Peter the Chanter restated Gregory's ideals, contending that the masters' role was *legere*, *disputare*, and *predicare*.¹⁷ Maurice de Sully, Foulques de Neuilly, Jacques de Vitry, Stephen Langton and others were notable for their efforts to reform preaching.¹⁸ They developed sophisticated methods of sermon-making, and simultaneously stressed the importance of sermons accessible to popular audiences.¹⁹ *Artes praedicandi* began to be produced in this period, the first perhaps being Alan of Lille's *Summa de arte praedicatoria* which appeared at the very end of the twelfth century. Some of these

⁸ J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983), pp. 31-3; Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, pp. 97-118; Stansbury, 'Preaching and pastoral care', pp. 23-39.

⁹ 1 Tim. 4.13; 2 Tim. 4.1-2.

¹⁰ *Regula pastoralis*, II, iv, pp. 186-94. Head, 'The ambiguous bishop', p. 257.

¹¹ *Regula pastoralis*, I, ii, vii & viii, pp. 132-6 & 150-6.

¹² *Regula pastoralis*, III, i-xl, pp. 258-532.

¹³ Head, 'The ambiguous bishop', p. 263.

¹⁴ Ott and Jones, 'The bishop reformed', p. 1.

¹⁵ See, for example, the statutes of Stephen Langton and Peter des Roches for Canterbury (1213x14) and Winchester (c.1224) which affirmed the necessity for preachers to receive this licence: C&S, II, i, pp. 33-4 & 128. See also, Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 110.

¹⁶ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 98.

¹⁷ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 39; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, pp. 90-1.

¹⁸ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, pp. 36-43; J. Longère, 'Maurice de Sully: évêque de Paris (1160-1196), le prédicateur', in M. Lemoine and A. Michel (eds.), *Notre-Dame de Paris: un manifeste chrétien (1160 - 1230)* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 27-70

¹⁹ P. B. Roberts, 'The *Ars praedicandi* and the medieval sermon' in C. A. Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2002), p. 41.

preaching manuals dealt with technique and sermon composition. Others focused more on the preacher's moral character.²⁰ The *ars praedicandi* might also describe how to use other preachers' aids, such as the *florilegia* and *distinctiones* that began to multiply in number.²¹

These *artes praedicandi* brought about a formalisation of sermon-making, just as *artes dictandi* similarly brought about a formalisation of letter-writing. This parallel is not surprising, given that letter-writing and preaching were the two chief outlets for skill in rhetoric.²² Where twelfth-century preaching tended to be simpler and more varied, thirteenth-century sermons that followed theorists' stipulations increasingly took on a consistent and recognisable form. However, the influence of the *artes praedicandi* cannot be assumed. Some bishops in England and Wales may have ignored them; others pre-empted the ideas they codified.

The functions of the preacher were instruction and exhortation. According to Phyllis Roberts, instruction took precedence.²³ Certainly, Alan of Lille defined preaching as 'the clear and public instruction of morals and faith, for the information of men according to the path of reasoning and the overflowing fountain of the authorities'.²⁴ But it should be noted that some preachers explicitly prioritised exhortation. In one thirteenth-century sermon, for example, the preacher explained that his audience was sufficiently learned for his sermon to focus on *exhortatio* rather than *doctrina*.²⁵

Sermons preached by bishops at synods furnished the clergy with doctrine and an example of how they ought to preach to their own parishioners. Hugh Thomas suspects that many of the extant sermons from England at this time were of this type, representing the preaching of trained 'elite clergy' to their subordinates, although he concedes that much more work needs to be done on sermon manuscripts.²⁶ Bishops did not only preach to the clergy. *Ad populum* sermons were recognised as a distinct form. But it should be emphasised that these were not the only sermons heard by the laity. There was a range of spiritual knowledge and understanding across society; some of the lay elite would have been able to follow more sophisticated sermons.²⁷

²⁰ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 45.

²¹ M. G. Briscoe and B. H. Jaye, *Artes praedicandi*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 61 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 19.

²² M. Richardson, 'The *Ars dictaminis*, the formulary, and medieval epistolary practice', in C. Poster and L. C. Mitchell (eds.), *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia, South Carolina, 2007), pp. 52-7.

²³ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 47.

²⁴ 'Predicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deseruiens, ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte proueniens' Alan of Lille, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, J.-P. Migne, *PL* 210 (Paris, 1855), col. 111; cited in C. A. Muessig, 'What is medieval monastic preaching? An introduction', in C. A. Muessig (ed.), *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, 1998), p. 4.

²⁵ Oxford, Bodleian library, MS Bodley 449, fol. 112v; Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 81. Morey attributed this sermon to Bartholomew of Exeter, erroneously as argued below.

²⁶ Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, p. 325.

²⁷ M. Aurell, *Le chevalier lettré: savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2011), pp. 47-115, 403-445; N. Orme, 'Lay literacy in England, 1100-1300' in A. Haverkamp and H. Vollrath (eds.), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 35-56.

Written sermons as source material

The challenges presented by evidence for preaching are well-known. Preaching was an oral medium. At best, we have it recorded second hand. The evidence takes two forms: written sermons, and descriptions of preaching in other sources. Written sermons are often presented as if detached from their historical context. Preacher, audience, location, and occasion, all might be unclear. Only sometimes can this information can be deduced. Narrative accounts of preaching often present more of the historical context, but very little of the sermon content. Thus both kinds of evidence have their difficulties. But, in combination, they can mitigate each other's deficiencies.²⁸ Accounts of episcopal preaching from narrative sources are considered in an ensuing chapter. That evidence is easier to interpret after an examination of the extant sermons left by bishops.

Written sermons – even those that were intended only to be read – sometimes mimicked the orality of preaching. But they rarely replicated sermons as they were delivered. Such sermons always pose a number of questions for the historian. Were they written up from notes produced in advance of the sermon by the preacher, or from *reportationes* taken by someone else while the sermon was preached? Were they ever preached at all? What was the audience? In what language was the sermon preached? What was the venue and the occasion? How has the written sermon been transmitted?²⁹ Most common are sermons reconstructed from *reportationes*, whether by the preacher themselves or somebody else. As with all medieval texts, sermons were liable to be re-edited any number of times. Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, is known to have edited versions of his sermons that he came across.³⁰ In short, written sermons require careful treatment, with almost as much attention paid to their compilation and transmission as to their content.

Only a few sermon collections produced by the bishops of our period are extant. Some are known to have been lost. Gilbert Foliot wrote sermons for Haimo, abbot of Bordesley (1138-c.1155), although these were based on the *collationes* Gilbert gave to the monks of Gloucester while he was their abbot.³¹ In medieval booklists, written sermons were attributed to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford (1186-98), and Gilbert de Glanvill, bishop of Rochester (1185-1214).³² Three collections survive, produced by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and Baldwin of Forde, archbishop

²⁸ B. M. Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 168-73 & 965-75; Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, pp. 54-64 & 149-93; Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, 19-57.

²⁹ For discussion of these questions, see: Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, pp. 168-73 and 965-75; J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1983), pp. 54-64 and 149-93; Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 19-57.

³⁰ B. M. Kienzle, 'The typology of the medieval sermon', in J. Hamesse and X. Hermand (eds.), *De l'homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain, 1993), pp. 92-3.

³¹ *LCGF*, pp. 44-5; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 171.

³² Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 145 & 815.

of Canterbury. Baldwin's sermons have received some attention; Gilbert's and Bartholomew's very little. The sermon that may be attributed to Richard Poore, as dean of Salisbury, is considered briefly at the end of this chapter. Stephen Langton's preaching as archbishop of Canterbury is treated in the following chapter, where his extant sermons are used to supplement the narrative accounts of sermons he gave.

Gilbert Foliot's homilies

Gilbert Foliot is probably best known as a leading opponent of Archbishop Becket during the controversy of the 1160s. His career was long and distinguished. Well-born and well educated, he rose to become abbot of Gloucester, bishop of Hereford (1148-63), and finally bishop of London (1163-87). In the course of this long career Gilbert produced a number of works. His letter collection is well known to scholars. The surviving commentaries, on the Song of Songs and the *Pater noster*, have been printed.³³ Gilbert's homilies are his only work that remains in manuscript only.

The homilies survive in just one thirteenth-century manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury, which passed through the ownership of the antiquarian John Theyer (d. 1673) and is now held by the British Library.³⁴ The manuscript begins with Ailred of Rievaulx's treatise on Isaiah, *Homiliae de honeribus prophetis Isaiae*, prefaced with a letter of dedication to Gilbert Foliot. Following Ailred's treatise are nine 'homilies', complete with their own introductory epistle addressed to an unnamed '*frater*', evidently a monk. This part of the manuscript bears the rubric, 'Tractatus gileberti londoniensis episcopi', adjacent to which is a gloss attributed to Theyer, identifying the author as 'Gilbertus Folioth Episcopus Londoniensis obiit 1187'.³⁵ It has been pointed out that Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London (1128-34), might also have a claim to authorship.³⁶ However, there has long been a consensus that the appearance of the homilies alongside Ailred's treatise dedicated to Foliot supports Theyer's identification. J. A. Giles accepted the attribution to Foliot and included the letter of dedication in his edition of Gilbert's letters, along with each homily's incipit.³⁷ Morey and Brooke followed suit in their own edition of the letters.³⁸ Beryl Smalley and David Bell similarly accepted the attribution to Foliot, suggesting moreover that Ailred was likely the recipient of the homilies.³⁹

It is known that Gilbert and Ailred were in communication, and this identification of Ailred as the recipient of Gilbert's homilies fits rather well with the internal evidence.⁴⁰ In his letter of dedication to

³³ Gilbert, *Expositio in cantica canticorum*, cols. 1147-304; Bell (ed.), 'Lord's Prayer', 80-101.

³⁴ London, British Library Royal 2 D. XXXII; Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, I, p. 60.

³⁵ Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 138v; Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, p. 60.

³⁶ Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, p. 60.

³⁷ Gilbert Foliot, *Epistolae*, 2 vols., ed. J. A. Giles (Oxford, 1856), II, ep. 329, pp. 52-3. The list of incipits was reproduced by Migne, see: *PL* 202, cols. 1305-6.

³⁸ *LCGF*, pp. 333-4.

³⁹ Bell, 'Lord's Prayer', pp. 85-6; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 174.

⁴⁰ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 41.

Gilbert, Ailred recalled a previous meeting at London, but twice spoke of his desire to attain not only the notice of the bishop, but his friendship also.⁴¹ This would suggest that no relationship yet existed between the two men, and that Ailred's treatise was designed in part to initiate friendship. Gilbert's introductory epistle seems to follow on from Ailred's request. The bishop likened his addressee to the man, described in Luke 11:5-13, who knocks at his friend's door in the middle of the night asking for bread, and gains what he sought through importunity rather than friendship.⁴² Indeed, the tone of the letter as a whole is rather grudging. But the abbot's persistence had eventually paid off. Gilbert wrote the homilies for him, and so began what has been described as 'a somewhat surprising friendship'.⁴³

The homilies must have been composed after Gilbert became bishop of London in March 1163 and before Ailred died in January 1167.⁴⁴ They cannot have been produced early in that period, if we are correct that Ailred first sent his treatise to Gilbert, although Ailred's treatise was complete by April 1164 at the latest.⁴⁵ As Smalley observed, this means Gilbert produced his homilies at the height of the Becket conflict, in which Gilbert was a notable participant.⁴⁶ It was, perhaps, a welcome diversion.

If any doubts remained about the question of authorship, the style of the homilies settles the question. Apart from a few select passages discussed by Beryl Smalley, these homilies have received no analysis.⁴⁷ But scholars are already acquainted with Gilbert's style of sermon-making, thanks to a well-known passage from Peter of Cornwall, who heard Gilbert preaching at a London synod held at some point between 1170 and 1187.⁴⁸ Peter's comments are worth repeating here:

The whole sermon was varied by certain *distinctiones*, adorned with flowers of words and sentences and supported by a copious array of authorities. It ran backwards and forwards on its path from its starting-point back to the same starting-point – like plots of fields ploughed with multiple flows of streams with uniform dissimilitude and made fruitful with multiple fruit of spring growth among the courses of channels – with the effect that you might think he was not a man but a superman who was able to call on such a great superabundance of authorities in each *distinctio* of his sermon. For when, among other things, he spoke of Christ as a stone, he brought forward the stone which the

⁴¹ Ailred of Rievaulx, *Homiliae de oneribus propheticis Isaiae*, ed. G. Raciti, CCCM 2D (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 3-5.

⁴² 'Habes frater quod optasti, quid pulsanti iam diutius caritas ultra negare non potuit. Intus enim positus auocatos ab his que foris sunt sensus meos, ne quibusdam forte distraherentur illecebris, cum intra mentis cubile clauso quidem hostio quiete placida confouerem, te subito pulsanter foris et aliquid postulantem aduerti. Petebas autem aliquem de scriptura sancta comodari tibi panem, quem amico qui de uia uenerat ad te, auocato scilicet ab exterioribus animo tuo, hospitali gratia in refectorem condigne apponeres.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 138v. Also printed: *LCGF*, pp. 333-4.

⁴³ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 41.

⁴⁴ Bell, 'Lord's Prayer', 85-6; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 174.

⁴⁵ Ailred discussed the ongoing papal schism, which ended in April 1164 when Victor IV died: *Homiliae de oneribus*, ed. Raciti, pp. v-vi.

⁴⁶ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 174.

⁴⁷ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 168-86.

⁴⁸ Peter was at the synod with Stephen, prior of Aldgate, who held that office from 1170: R. W. Hunt, 'English learning in the later twelfth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 19 (1936), 33. Gilbert Foliot died in 1187.

builders rejected but which became the cornerstone, he brought forward the stone which Jacob anointed with oil and raised up as a marker, he brought forward the stone in Daniel cut from the mountain with hands.⁴⁹

In short, Gilbert's sermon style in later years was characterised by an exemplary use of '*distinctiones*'. When fully developed as an exegetical tool, *distinctiones* were used to distinguish between the different meanings of a given word, according to the different senses of Scripture, ideally taken from verses across the Bible making use of that word.⁵⁰ However, what Peter described is an earlier form of the *distinctio* – a form identified by Gilbert Dahan – in which the exegete interprets a word from his text with other verses of Scripture using that same word.⁵¹ This is precisely what we find in the homilies. Gilbert explored the various uses of key terms from the text he expounded, found in various passages of Scripture, using one to interpret another. To take a small example, Gilbert interpreted the sword (*gladius*) of Genesis 3:24 thus:

Truly, what is understood by this sword except the word of God? Of which it is written: 'The word of God is living and effectual, more penetrating than any two-edged sword.' This is the sword of Solomon the Great discerning between the true and the false mother.⁵²

Another passage proves that this was Gilbert's principal method of exegesis. Introducing a section on heaven (*celum*), Gilbert complained that 'this clause is more difficult, as many things are described by the name '*celum*' [in the Bible].'⁵³

From Gilbert's letter of commendation, it emerges that Ailred had provided Gilbert with the pericope to be expounded. This was the passage chanted on the Octave of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, namely,

⁴⁹ 'Totus enim sermo ille quibusdam distinctionibus uariatus et flosculis uerborum et sententiarum depictus et copiosa auctoritatum subiectione roboratus, a principio per tramites suos ad idem principium decurrebat et recurrebat ut areolas agrorum multiplicibus riuiulorum tractibus uniformi dissimilitudine exaratas et multiplices uernantis germinis fructu inter canalium decursus fecundatas cogitares nec hominem sed superhominem esse, qui tanta auctoritatum copia per singulas sermonis distinctiones superhabundare potuisset affirmare. Cum enim inter cetera Christum lapidem diceret, protulit in medium illum lapidem angularem ab edificantibus reprobaturum, protulit et in medium lapidem illum quem Iacob unxit oleo et erexit in titulum, protulit in medium nichilominus lapidem illum in Daniele de monte sine manibus abscisum.' R. Easting and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Peter of Cornwall's Book of Revelations* (Toronto, 2013), p. 6.

⁵⁰ For a summary of *distinctiones* based on the work of Philip S. Moore, Richard and Mary Rouse, and Beryl Smalley, see: R. J. Karris, 'St Bonaventure's use of *distinctiones*: his independence of and dependence on Hugh of St Cher', *Franciscan Studies* 60 (2002), 209-10. Cf. R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'Biblical distinctions in the thirteenth century', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire de Moyen Âge* 41 (1974), 27-37; Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 246-7.

⁵¹ 'Un élément a présent dans un verset appelle plusieurs versets contenant la même élément, l'ensemble des versets contribuant à l'explication du verset initial.' G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1999), pp. 135-6.

⁵² 'Eiecit Dominus Adam, et collocavit ante paradisum uoluptatis cherubin et flammeum gladium atque uersatilem ad custodiendam uiam ligni Domini. ... Quid uero per hunc gladium nisi uerbum Dei intelligitur? De ipso scriptum est: "Sermo Dei uiuus et efficax penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti." Hic gladius est magni illius Salomonis inter ueram matrem et non ueram discernens.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 162r; cf. Heb. 4.12; 1 Kings 3.16-28.

⁵³ 'Que tamen clausula eo difficilior est, quo in scripturis sanctis plura "celi" nomine designantur.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 162v.

Revelation 11:4: ‘These are the two olive trees and shining lampstands before the Lord.’⁵⁴ Gilbert therefore extols the two apostles in his homilies, holding them up as examples to follow. Homilies one to four interpret the olive trees; sermons five to seven the lampstands. This image of the olive trees and lampstands was originally from Zechariah, which Gilbert seems to have known. He alluded to nearby passages in Zechariah, and drew the connection – only explicit in Zechariah – between the trees and lampstand, namely, that oil was produced by the one and burned on the other.⁵⁵ Gilbert explained that the olive trees and the lampstands represented outside and inside, respectively, which in turn represented multiple things: the example and doctrine of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the body and the soul, the love of one’s neighbour and the love of God, action and contemplation.⁵⁶ Interestingly, Gilbert then proceeded to explain, in the final two homilies, the non-scriptural part of the liturgical text that followed: ‘They have the power to close heaven with clouds and to open its gates, because their tongues were made keys to heaven.’⁵⁷ This section is, in fact, quite extensive, and treats the pastoral prerogatives of excommunication and preaching.⁵⁸

It is not impossible that Gilbert actually preached these homilies. But as they are found in the manuscript, they are neither a record of sermons delivered, nor designed to be read aloud for the edification of a congregation. Repeatedly, Gilbert alluded to the written nature of the homilies. Introducing the theme of the last homily, he reminded the reader that, ‘we treated this above’.⁵⁹ The fourth homily ends with Gilbert explaining that it has gone on long enough, that he will therefore pick up the same theme in the next sermon, and praying, ‘May the pen be directed by the Lord Jesus’.⁶⁰ On this point, the fact that the homilies are so different in length also suggests no consideration for delivery as a series of sermons. Clearly, Gilbert was conscious of the need to balance out his material. And yet homily nine runs to four-thousand words, while homily seven is barely nine-hundred. In short, Gilbert’s ‘homilies’ are what Beverley Kienzle describes as a ‘literary fiction’: a commentary cast in the form of sermons.⁶¹

⁵⁴ ‘Nunc uero non que sunt uires mee considerans, tuo potius arbitrio quid tibi dari uolueris elegisti. In illud enim quod in beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli decantatur octauis: “Isti sunt due oliue et candelabra lucentia ante Dominum, tractatum tibi aliquem ad gratiam” beatis uero apostolis ad laudem, explicari postulasti, pro libito assignans materiam et explicans dicendi formam.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 138v.

⁵⁵ For Gilbert’s allusions to Zechariah chapters 3 and 5, see: Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fols. 149r & 151r. On the connection between the olive trees and the lampstands: Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 152r.

⁵⁶ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fols. 151v-152r.

⁵⁷ ‘Habent potestatem claudere celum nubibus et aperire portas eius, quia lingue eorum clauces celi facte sunt.’ C. Waddell (ed.), *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary: (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. oct. 402) with variants from the “Bernardine” Cistercian breviary*, Spicilegium Friburgense, Texts concerning the history of Christian life 44 (Freiburg, 2007), p. 484.

⁵⁸ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fols. 160r-168v.

⁵⁹ ‘pagina superiore tractauimus’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 162v.

⁶⁰ ‘Et quia circa istud in longum sermo pertractatus est, ad id quod consequenter adiunctum est, et candelabra lucentia ante Dominum, stilus illuminante et sensum nobis aperiente Domino Ihesu Christo dirigatur.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 151v.

⁶¹ Kienzle, ‘The typology of the medieval sermon’, p. 86.

We do, of course, have Peter of Cornwall's witness that Gilbert preached sermons rooted in the same exegetical methods, and apparently with impressive power. We might recall Walter Map's comment that Gilbert was 'a man thoroughly at home in three tongues, Latin, French and English, in each of which he speaks with the greatest clearness and eloquence'.⁶² And we have further evidence of Gilbert's preaching, considered in the following chapter. These homilies likely reflect, if not his diocesan preaching, then the kind of thing Gilbert would produce at clerical gatherings, in order to impress and inspire his colleagues and subordinates with exegetical brilliance.

There are indications that Gilbert wrote these homilies with the act of preaching in mind. Some of the language is reminiscent of spoken delivery: 'Hear the apostle speaking!'⁶³ But that is not so unusual. More interesting are the numerous descriptions of preaching. We have already seen Gilbert's interpretation of Psalm 132. We shall see, in due course, how he emphasised that preachers must teach by example as well as by word.⁶⁴ Gilbert also revealed what he thought of as model preaching, when he praised the apostles for theirs.

Following Ambrose (unattributed), Gilbert used Genesis 49:27 – 'Benjamin is a ravenous wolf; in the morning he will still be eating and for the evening he will distribute food among the chiefs' – to identify Benjamin as a type for the Apostle Paul, who was transformed from being the Church's persecutor to its provider.⁶⁵ This Gilbert followed with an elaborate interpretation of Genesis 44, which narrates how Joseph gave each of his brothers a sack of grain, with their money, and, in a bid to apprehend his younger brother as a thief, hid his silver cup in Benjamin's sack. The sacks, Gilbert explained, represented bodies. This was clear to him from Psalm 29:12 – 'you have torn my sack(cloth), and surrounded me with joy' – which he thought must refer to Christ's crucifixion.⁶⁶ From Augustine (also unattributed), Gilbert found that the grain was 'not now the barley of the law but the grain of evangelical doctrine'.⁶⁷ The money was the *minas* committed to the king's servants. It will be remembered that the wicked servant hid away his one *mina* in a handkerchief or shroud (*sudarium*).⁶⁸ Gilbert warned, 'Let us not conceal it in a shroud for a covering, which is of death, that is, that we spend time with dead works.'⁶⁹

⁶² 'uir trium peritissimus linguarum latine gallice anglice, et lucidissime disertus in singulis' Map, *De nugis curialium*, pp. 36-37.

⁶³ 'Audi apostolum dicentem' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 150v.

⁶⁴ See chapter three of this thesis, pp. 101-2.

⁶⁵ 'Hic est ille Beniamin, primo lupus rapax mane comedens predam.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 155r. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi cxviii*, ed. M. Petschenig, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 62 (Vienna, 1913), p. 117.

⁶⁶ 'In saccis corpora figurari potenter ostendit propheta in persona Domini dicens, "Concidisti saccum meum, et circumdedisti me leticia."'" Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 155v.

⁶⁷ 'In saccis igitur frumentum et pecunia reponuntur, quia iuxta apostolum habemus in uasis corporum nostrorum fictilibus thesaurum hunc, non iam legis ordeum sed doctrine euangelice frumentum.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 155v. Cf. 'Lex uetus hordeum est ad euangelicum triticum' Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, J.-P. Migne, *PL* 38 (Paris, 1865), col. 725. Gilbert also alludes here to 2 Cor. 4.7.

⁶⁸ Luke 19.20.

⁶⁹ 'et eandem doctrinam uelut Domini pecuniam, non sudario quod mortuorum est operimentum, id est, operibus mortuis occupemus.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 155v.

Gilbert probably had in mind John 20:7, and the *sudarium* that had been about Jesus' head in his tomb.⁷⁰ And what of the silver cup? According to Genesis 44:5, Joseph had used this cup for divination. What was the meaning of all this? Joseph typologically represented Christ, Benjamin represented Paul, and the other brothers represented the apostles.⁷¹ All the apostles had the grain of the gospel and had been given money to invest for God. But the Apostle Paul had received the extra gift of foresight beyond the others, figured by the cup of divination. There was an obligation for all inheritors of this apostolic duty to preach. Gilbert exhorted his reader: 'We also feed the family of the Lord ... let us multiply by edification and exhortation.'⁷²

Gilbert analysed preaching in more detail when he explained what it meant for Peter and Paul to shine before the Lord like the lampstands described in Revelation 11:4. He drew on the well-established association of light with truth in Christian theology.⁷³ Relating the creation account, Gilbert reminded his reader that there was light before the creation of the sun on the fourth day, and so the light had grown until full clarity was given by the sun.⁷⁴ So too, he explained, the illumination resulting from preaching grows until the point of clarity. Preaching has a cumulative effect, and the recipient of preaching experiences distinct phases in sequence: compunction, surrender, faith, joy, baptism and remission of sins, and finally Spirit-enabled virtue. The end of that process is equivalent to the fullness of light - the creation of the sun.⁷⁵

But the necessary steps preceding that moment depended on preaching. Gilbert continued: 'Therefore, just as daybreak precedes the sun, the law grace, the letter the Spirit, the herald the judge ... so preaching

⁷⁰ Gilbert had already mentioned *sudarium* in his homilies, referencing Acts 19.22, where handkerchiefs that Paul had touched were used to heal the sick: Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 150r.

⁷¹ 'Ioseph ille magnus est, Dominus uidelicet Ihesus, cui in augurandi scientia nemo similis inuenitur. Augurio reuelantur abscondita, unde in augurandi scientia ille peritissimus est qui iuxta quod alibi dicitur, "dispositionem nouit orbis terrarum, et uirtutes elementorum, initium et consummationem, et medietatem temporum, uicissitudinum permutationes, commutationes earundem, anni cursus, dispositiones stellarum, naturas et iras bestiarum, uim uentorum, et cogitationes hominum", et nuda est illi abyssi profunditas, et manifesta sunt omnium misteria scripturarum. Hic itaque ciphis ultra fratres alios in sacco Benjamin reponitur, qua Paulo datum est nosse altius, rimari profundius, absconditum a seculo misterium in illuminationem gentium, ipsum seculis omnibus quot uerbis quasi tot tonitruis inculcare.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 156r. The quotation is Wisd. 7.17-20.

⁷² 'Nos inde et familiam Domini pascamus ... edificatione et exhortatione multiplicemus.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 155v.

⁷³ The association of light and truth is seen especially in the Johannine texts of the Bible. E.g. 1 John 1.5-7.

⁷⁴ 'Nam ut in Genesi legitur primus facta est lux et dies unus, secundus et tercius postmodum creatus est sol, ut lux plenior dies que clarior illuscisceret.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 159v.

⁷⁵ 'Agitur et istud in nobis. Nam cum ad predicantis uocem primo compungimur, cum detestando mala que fecimus, bonam que audimus iam sancto afflati desiderio appetere incipimus, primam sed obscuram adhuc diem in nobis ipsis experimur, et lucem a tenebris in nobis iam quodam modo sequestrari per pendimus. Cumque predicatione instante iam fide plenius edocti, fidei ueritatem agnoscimus, amotis iam infidelitatis tenebris: in secunda die congaudemus. Accepta uero in baptismate omnium peccatorum remissione: dies nobis iam tertia ceteris clarior illusciscit. Adueniente deinceps Sancto Spiritu, et maiori gratia incumbente, ut uel linguis loquantur qui renati sunt, aut in nomine Domini Ihesu iam uirtutes potenter operentur. Iam sol ipsis iusticie ad plenum exortum est et plena dies luminis infulget, ut penitus amotis tenebris superne iam in se uirtutis aduentum, uirtutis plenitudine recognoscant.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 159v.

precedes.⁷⁶ That is, the preacher prepares his listeners to receive divine illumination. Not only the apostles, therefore, but all preachers can be said to shine, in the sense that ‘they scatter the darkness with the light of preaching, and prepare a place for the arriving light’.⁷⁷ The implication of Gilbert’s description of the cumulative effect of preaching was that it would only be effective when delivered regularly.

In yet another treatment of the apostles’ preaching, Gilbert gave his own presentation of the idea that the Old Testament was to be interpreted by the New. The non-scriptural text of the liturgy for the Octave of St Peter and St Paul asserted that the apostles could open the heavens with their tongues. Gilbert imagined this as a parting of dark clouds, to allow the light of truth and knowledge to shine more brightly. Psalm 17:12 – ‘God set darkness as his hiding-place, His tabernacle around Him: dark water in the clouds of the air’ – provided the scriptural basis for Gilbert’s argument. ‘The foggy clouds,’ he explained, ‘signify the fathers of the Old Testament, whose doctrine is obscure and whose preaching is wrapped in mysteries and enigmas.’⁷⁸ From within the tabernacle, which represented the Law, God was heard but not seen.⁷⁹ There was a way to interpret the Law, drawing out the spiritual senses of the scriptures in the Old Testament: ‘Without doubt this Law is understood rightly through the tabernacle, because in the manner of a tabernacle it is moved from place to place when it is raised up from the fleshly sense to spiritual understanding.’⁸⁰ But, on its own terms, ‘whatever is preached in the Law is not understood clearly’.⁸¹

Then came the apostles and the preaching of the Gospel.

Truly, the bright clouds are understood to be the Doctors of the Gospel whom He calls to be sons of light and grace. For thence the Truth says: ‘Whilst you have the light, believe in the light, so that you may be the children of light.’⁸² The Gospel does not know darkness, it does not know enigmas. It speaks openly to the world, it speaks nothing in secret. It does not preach faith through sacrifices, not charity through burnt offerings, not the exodus from Egypt in cloud and sea, [but?] the regeneration of baptism. This Spirit works rather than promises, and comforts with fulfilled promises rather than promises. The shadows disappear. The darkness is scattered. And because the light shines in the darkness,⁸³ let us rather rejoice in the light than offend in the night. Therefore the

⁷⁶ ‘Sicut igitur aurora solem, lex gratiam, littera spiritum, preco iudicem ... predicatio precurrit’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 159v.

⁷⁷ ‘predicationis luce tenebras dissipant et superuenturo lumini locum parant.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 159v.

⁷⁸ ‘Nubes itaque caliginose patres ueteris testamenti significant, quorum obscura doctrina est et predicatio misteriis et enigmatibus inuoluta.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 164r.

⁷⁹ ‘Aliquo enim intus tabernaculum commorante apparet quidem tabernaculum, sed qui intus est non compareret. Sed sic et lege et prophetia incarnationem uerbi et eius sacramenta intus claudente, lex quidem foris audiebatur, sed qui predicabatur intrinsecus a carnalibus nequaquam intelligebatur.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fols. 164r-v.

⁸⁰ ‘Que nimirum lex recte per tabernaculum intelligitur, quia more tabernaculi de loco in locum mouetur cum a carnali sensu in spirituale intellectum sursum erigitur.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 164v.

⁸¹ ‘Qui predicatur in lege manifeste non intelligatur.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 164v.

⁸² John 12.36.

⁸³ John 1.5.

bright clouds are the apostles. They are the preachers of the gospel. They are each of them Christ's helpers and co-workers.⁸⁴

Here was Gilbert's manifesto for preaching; it should bring the gospel into clear focus. Gilbert was an innovative and able exegete, and he had much to say about preaching. From Peter of Cornwall's witness, we know that Gilbert deployed his exegetical abilities in the sermons he delivered before synods. It is easy to imagine him teaching the clergy lessons about preaching like those found in his homilies.

Bartholomew of Exeter's sermon collection⁸⁵

Bartholomew of Exeter was universally viewed with admiration, if not affection. He attracted the praise of friends and commentators alike, apparently including Pope Alexander III.⁸⁶ But he was also remembered for his austere temperament and acerbic comments.⁸⁷ As with Gilbert's homilies, Bartholomew's collection of sermons has received the least attention of all his works. Adrian Morey found the sermons 'more interesting' than Bartholomew's theological treatises.⁸⁸ But Morey's two pages on the collection represents virtually everything written to date on this theme.⁸⁹ Much more deserves to be written of Bartholomew's sermons. They offer a unique insight into the diocesan preaching of a bishop on visitation in twelfth-century England – an insight that other sources fail to provide.

⁸⁴ 'Nubes uero lucide doctores euuangelii intelliguntur, quos filios esse connominat lucis et gratie. Inde enim Veritas ait, "Dum lucem habetis credite in lucem ut filii lucis sitis". Nescit euangelium tenebras, nescit enigmata. Palam loquitur mundo, in occulto loquitur nichil. Non predicat sacrificiis fidem, non holocaustomatae [sic] caritatem, non in nube et in mari exitum de Egypto, et baptismi regenerationem. Spiritus hic potius operatur quam spondeat, consolatur potius complendo promissa quam promittat. Euanuit umbra, tenebre dissipate sunt. Et quia lux lucet in tenebris, potius exultamus in lumine quam offendamus in nocte. Nubes itaque lucide sunt apostoli, sunt predicatores euangelii, sunt quique coadiutores et cooperatores Christi.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 164v.

⁸⁵ This section on Bartholomew's sermon collection is expanded on in my forthcoming article: D. Runciman, 'The sermons of Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter (1161-84)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* (2019).

⁸⁶ 'Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi' in T. Wright (ed.), *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841), p. 29; Map, *De nugis curialium*, p. 37. 'Fuerunt etiam eisdem temporibus duo in Anglia magni nominis episcopi, Bartholomeus Exoniensis et Rogerus Wigorniensis. Erant enim quasi gemina candelabra, Britanniam totam fulgore sue claritatis irradiantia. Vnde et papa Alexander tertius duo magna luminaria Anglicane ecclesie dicebat hos esse.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 57. If the tract *Ad laudem Bartholomaei Exoniensis episcopi de coloribus rhetoricis* was written by Bartholomew's protégé Baldwin of Forde, then this was his assessment of Bartholomew: 'Deo exhibeas religionem et proximis dilectum; maioribus obsequium et minoribus inpendas officium.' Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.40, p. 360a. (This MS has been numbered with pages, rather than folios.)

⁸⁷ F. Barlow, 'Bartholomew (d. 1184)', *ODNB* (2004); Morey, *Bartholomew*, p. 37. For example: *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 57.

⁸⁸ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 109-12.

⁸⁹ Frank Barlow's account of the sermons in the *ODNB* article on Bartholomew is derived from Morey. Barlow, 'Bartholomew', *ODNB*; cf. Morey, *Bartholomew*, pp. 111-12.

Two extant copies of the sermons have been identified, held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the Bibliothèque municipale in Rouen.⁹⁰ The Rouen manuscript is a later copy and does not have the ‘complete’ collection of sermons as represented by the Oxford manuscript.⁹¹ MS Bodley 449 is a manuscript of two parts. The first contains sermons of the late twelfth century, the second of the early thirteenth.⁹² Gifted to Oxford by the dean and chapter of Exeter in 1602, the twelfth-century part is taken to have been the *Liber Bartholomei episcopi* attested in the Exeter Catalogue of 1327.⁹³ It has been identified as a manuscript of the cathedral church at Exeter from the violet-coloured mould on the flyleaves.⁹⁴ Richard Pfaff speculates that Bartholomew’s own sermon collection may have been one of the three he bequeathed to Exeter on his death.⁹⁵ This suggestion can be confirmed: the incipit for one of these volumes of sermons, ‘*Quoniam aduentum Christi*’, is how MS Bodley 449 begins.⁹⁶ At the very least, it is evident that Bartholomew left to Exeter a copy of the same sermon collection now found in MS Bodley 449. Most likely, it is one and the same manuscript.

No contemporary commentator or medieval booklist clearly attributed written sermons to Bartholomew. The first folio of the Oxford manuscript has ‘Bartholomei Episcopi’, half cut off at the top of the page, but not in the same hand as the sermons.⁹⁷ The Rouen collection is anonymous. John Bale seems to have been the first to attribute written sermons to Bartholomew, adding them to the penitential and treatises listed by John Leland.⁹⁸ Bale cited Matthew Paris as an earlier witness to Bartholomew’s sermons, but his quotation from the *Chronica maiora* is a variant from the Rolls Series edition, which

⁹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian library, MS Bodley 449, fols. 1r–90v; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 626, fols. 3r–190v.

⁹¹ The *explicit* of the Rouen sermons, given by Henri Omont, suggests at least the last two sermons of the Oxford collection are missing. H. Omont (ed.), *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements I, Rouen* (Paris, 1886), p. 159.

⁹² F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been described in the Quarto Series, with references to the Oriental and other Manuscripts*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1895–1953), II, i, p. 347.

⁹³ *Summary Catalogue*, II, i, 347; R. R. Sharpe and J. Willoughby, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* <<http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>> (Hereafter: Sharpe and Willoughby, *MLGB*); Morey, *Bartholomew*, p. 164.

⁹⁴ Sharpe and Willoughby, *MLGB*. According to Rod Thomson, MS Bodley 449 is one of a few manuscripts from Exeter and Hereford in which the hand appears French, even though they are believed to have been produced locally: R. M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of Alter Orbis* (Walkern, 2006), p. 254.

⁹⁵ R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 390.

⁹⁶ I am very grateful to Dr Willoughby for providing an image of this entry in the 1327 inventory, from Exeter Cathedral, MS 3671. In George Oliver’s edition of the inventory, the abbreviated incipit is expanded incorrectly to ‘*Quum adventum Christi*’: G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and a History of the Cathedral, with an Illustrative Appendix* (Exeter, 1861), p. 305. A new edition of the inventory will appear in *Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals*, ed. Ramsay and Willoughby. As Dr Willoughby points out, this sermon collection is immediately followed in the inventory by Bartholomew’s *Dialogus contra Iudeos*, which might be a further clue for authorship.

⁹⁷ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 1r. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 164.

⁹⁸ R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (eds.), *John Bale’s Index of British and Other Writers* (Oxford, 1902), p. 39; J. Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709), p. 225.

does not include Bale's key sentence: '*Hic plura scripsit, precipue sermones et epistolas.*'⁹⁹ In short, the bibliographical evidence for authorship is not strong. But it does point towards Bartholomew, and other evidence broadly supports the attribution. We have seen that Walter Map identified Bartholomew as a writing bishop. We shall see that the internal evidence fits the attribution, and, in the following chapter, that contemporaries identified Bartholomew as a notable preacher.

The sermons have been listed with their incipits and liturgical occasion in Schneyer's *Repertorium*, albeit with errors.¹⁰⁰ There has been some confusion over where the collection ends in the manuscripts, and how many sermons it comprises. It is often said to contain 'about a hundred sermons'.¹⁰¹ Morey treated the entire contents of the manuscript as Bartholomew's sermon collection, that is, both the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century parts of the manuscript.¹⁰² Schneyer also listed all of the sermons in the manuscript, amounting to far more than one-hundred sermons.¹⁰³ Richard Sharpe rightly excluded the thirteenth-century sermons from the attribution to Bartholomew.¹⁰⁴ The cycle through the liturgical year is complete at the end of the first part of the manuscript. Moreover, the sermons of the second part differ stylistically from those of the first.¹⁰⁵ By my judgement, Bartholomew's collection is comprised of 125 sermons and runs to fol. 90v in the manuscript.¹⁰⁶

While the collection is presented as a cycle of sermons through the liturgical calendar from Advent to All Souls – the most common format for medieval sermon collections¹⁰⁷ – it is not a series of 'sermons for all the Sundays and feast days of the year'.¹⁰⁸ The collection does not contain sermons for all the Sundays of the year (although there are no large gaps between sermons in the calendar). Some sermons

⁹⁹ Bale took from Matthew Paris only the description of Bartholomew as 'uir religiosus, et in theologicis disciplinis ad sufficientiam eruditus.' Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 7 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872-83), II, p. 216.

¹⁰⁰ J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 43 (Münster, 1969-1990), I, pp. 424-35. There are some errors in the transcription and assignment of liturgical event, and one missing sermon. A new list of the sermons is given as an appendix to my forthcoming article: Runciman, 'The sermons of Bartholomew of Exeter'.

¹⁰¹ First suggested in the *Summary Catalogue*, II, i, p. 347, this was taken up by Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 81, 110 and 163-4; and in turn by Barlow, 'Bartholomew', *ODNB*; cf. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 110. *Exeter 1046-1184*, ed. F. Barlow, EEA 11 (Oxford, 1996), p. xli.

¹⁰² Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 164.

¹⁰³ Schneyer, *Repertorium*, I, pp. 424-35.

¹⁰⁴ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 69-70.

¹⁰⁵ In contrast with Bartholomew's less consistent form of composition, almost all of the thirteenth-century sermons are expositions of a pericope from Scripture, quoted at the beginning of the sermon: Schneyer, *Repertorium*, I, 433-5.

¹⁰⁶ This deviates slightly from Richard Sharpe's assessment. Sharpe excludes not only the thirteenth-century part of the collection, but also a final sermon in the twelfth-century material. Admittedly, this sermon on the nativity is out of place in the calendric scheme of the collection. It is also longer and more sophisticated than most of the other sermons. But it is not unique among the collection in either of those features, as will become clear.

¹⁰⁷ C. Muessig, 'Audience and preacher: *Ad status* sermons and social classification', in Muessig (ed.) in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, p. 255; citing N. Bériou, 'Les sermons Latins après 1200' in Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, p. 391.

¹⁰⁸ Barlow, 'Bartholomew', *ODNB*.

are out of order, in terms of calendric arrangement. For instance, a number of sermons on the nativity come after Holy Innocents (29th Dec), while yet another comes after the Circumcision of Christ (1st Jan).¹⁰⁹ Moreover, a small number of sermons are not attached to any particular event in the liturgical calendar.¹¹⁰ These features of the manuscript demonstrate that the collection is a record of sermons Bartholomew preached. Had the collection only been a theoretical program for a year's preaching, it would not contain such anomalies. And indeed the sermons still bear some of the marks of spoken delivery:

Pay attention, beloved brothers! I say these things not for the sound of words, but for the effect of things.¹¹¹

Beloved ... you ought to listen diligently.¹¹²

For many feast days the collection contains multiple sermons, although the number varies. Since the collection is arranged calendrically, sermons for the same occasion appear consecutively, but this does not reflect the order in which the sermons were preached. Sermons for the same feast days must have been preached in different years, because they resemble each other closely. They were not the same sermons, but Bartholomew clearly returned to his sermons from previous years as inspiration for each new composition. For instance, the three sermons for All Saints that expound three successive beatitudes from the gospel of Matthew, (on first glance, the sermons most likely to comprise a series of some sort,) each made exactly the same four points.¹¹³

Bartholomew's dependence on his earlier sermons reveals the gradual process by which the collection was developed, sermons being added each year and kept for future reference. Records of sermons already delivered could serve as a model or preaching manual, as well as for the reader's edification.¹¹⁴ Bartholomew may have compiled the collection for this purpose. Certainly, this is how he himself treated his own sermons. Often, Bartholomew's most important source was his own sermon collection.¹¹⁵ It became his personal handbook for sermon preparation. Eventually, the collection was compiled, producing the 'complete' form found in the Oxford manuscript. Whether Bartholomew or someone else was responsible for finalising this process is unclear, although one final Christmas sermon appended at the end of collection appears to have been a late attachment, suggesting Bartholomew's ongoing work on the collection.

¹⁰⁹ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 12r-15v & 17r-18r.

¹¹⁰ In all there are ten such sermons: Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 54v-55r, 61r-61v, 70r-70v & 73r-78r.

¹¹¹ 'Que dico, fratres karissimi, non ut uerborum sonus, sed ut rerum effectus attendite.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 3ra.

¹¹² 'Dilectissimi ... diligenter audire debetis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 58vb.

¹¹³ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 86r-87r.

¹¹⁴ Kienzle, 'The typology of the medieval sermon', p. 86; Stansbury, 'Preaching and pastoral care in the middle ages', pp. 26-8.

¹¹⁵ For several clear examples, see chapter five of this thesis, pp. 139-41.

Most of the collection was probably compiled over the course of about eight years, as there are no more than eight sermons for any one feast day.¹¹⁶ The number of sermons for each feast day reveals – no doubt imperfectly – the frequency of Bartholomew’s preaching for each feast day during that period. As might be expected, Bartholomew rarely failed to preach on the major feasts, with eight sermons for both Christmas and Easter, and six for Pentecost. Several of the saints’ days, in contrast, have only one sermon.¹¹⁷

Morey suggested that some of the sermons might have been preached while Bartholomew was on episcopal visitation.¹¹⁸ This seems very plausible, because the sermons were delivered to a variety of audiences. Most frequently, Bartholomew addressed his audience as *fratres karissimi* or *dilectissimi*. These were generic forms of address, used in sermons to both laity and clergy.¹¹⁹ But the simplicity and brevity of most of Bartholomew’s sermons does suggest that his congregations regularly included the laity. With a few exceptions, the sermons are consistently short, typically about a thousand words. Many provide basic instruction: ‘Beloved brothers, this day is called the day of the Lord’s ascension because on it our Lord Jesus Christ is read to have ascended.’¹²⁰ When Bartholomew discussed prayer (*petitio*), he first clarified that, ‘the petition is when we say, “*Sanctificetur nomen tuum*.”’¹²¹ That such things were deemed necessary to explain, even if only to introduce a sermon or a particular point, suggests a lay or mixed audience.

This suggestion is reinforced by passages in which Bartholomew seems specifically to address the laity. In a sermon on the Feast of the Chair of St Peter (22nd Feb), which might have been expected to focus on pastoral virtues and so be aimed at the clergy, Bartholomew exhorted his congregation thus:

Beloved, *every* order, *every* condition, *every* sex, and *every* person is able to sit in this chair of justice. Therefore, *you* also, sit in it! That is, have cleanness in thinking, discretion in speech, usefulness in action, and zeal for justice, so that from this seat of virtue you might deserve to ascend to the seat of eternal blessing.¹²²

This ‘*omnis*’ formulation was a trope.¹²³ But it had real meaning, as Bartholomew’s imperative demonstrates. He used the same formulation in the preceding sermon on the Purification of St Mary

¹¹⁶ This excludes the final sermon appended to the end of the collection, which brings the total number of Christmas sermons to nine.

¹¹⁷ Runciman, ‘The sermons of Bartholomew of Exeter’.

¹¹⁸ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 81.

¹¹⁹ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 51.

¹²⁰ ‘Dies iste, fratres karissimi, dies ascensionis dominice iccirco uocatur quia in eo Christus Ihesus Dominus noster ascendisse legitur.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 50r.

¹²¹ ‘Petitio est quando dicimus, “Sanctificetur nomen tuum.”’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 86rb.

¹²² ‘Karissimi, in hoc sedili iusticie sedere potest omnis ordo, omnis conditio, omnis sexus, et omnis homo. In hoc ergo sedete et uos. Id est, habete mundiciam in cogitatione, discretionem in sermone, utilitatem in actione, et zelum iusticie. Vt de sede uirtutum mereamini conscendere ad sedem beatitudinis eterne.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 24vb. Emphasis added.

¹²³ Versions of it were used, for example, in: Hugh of St Victor, *De archa Noe*, ed. P. Sicard, CCCM 176 (Turnhout, 2001), p. 44. Andrew of St Victor, *Super duodecim prophetas in Iolem*, ed. F. A. van Liere and M. A. Zier, CCCM 53G (Turnhout, 2007), p. 99. Ailred of Rievaulx, *Sermones I*, ed. G. Raciti, CCCM 2C

(2nd Feb): ‘My brothers, every order, every condition, each sex and every age equally contributed to the Holy Nativity of the Lord’.¹²⁴ There were angels and men, kings and shepherds, men and women, infants, adolescents and old men.¹²⁵ Bartholomew’s purpose was to encourage his congregation to recognise themselves in his sermon, and so respond to his exhortations. From these examples, it seems clear that clergy and laity, high status and low, men and women, young and old were present for at least some of Bartholomew’s sermons.

The clergy would have been present for most of Bartholomew’s sermons and there are passages in which the bishop addressed them directly, the Palm Sunday sermon quoted at the start of this thesis being a notable example. It is possible that the longer, more complex sermons in the collection were delivered to predominantly clerical audiences at synods or councils.¹²⁶ None of these sermons correspond to the sermons Bartholomew is elsewhere reported to have preached at such occasions.¹²⁷

Other sermons were addressed to monastic audiences. In an address delivered on the Feast of St Andrew (30th Nov), Bartholomew exhorted his audience to follow Christ into hardship, adopting the example of St Andrew and the other disciples. He emphasised that Andrew and Peter had left all their possessions to follow Christ, and proceeded to deliver the following admonition:

Therefore, beloved brothers, cease and let lie all contention between you concerning the renunciation or oblation of money or estates, because anyone in the monastery who has the better intention offers the greater gift to God.¹²⁸

Clearly there had been dissension between the monks because some had accused others of failing to renounce their property on entry to the community. Bartholomew advised each monk to look to his own conduct. Several sermons contained themes appropriate to a monastic audience, such as another St Andrew’s sermon in which Bartholomew extolled the virtues of silence, peace, patience and quiet.¹²⁹

The monastic audience of a sermon preached at the dedication of a church is identified when Bartholomew encouraged them thus: ‘Beloved, however much the universal Holy Church might be the house of God, monks’ monasteries are specially and particularly like the house of God.’¹³⁰ Finally, there is also Bartholomew’s *Sermo de uirginibus*. As the rubric suggests, virginity was a key theme, and the

(Turnhout, 2012), sermo 147, p. 404. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols., ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1963), III, p. 86.

¹²⁴ ‘Sanctam Domini natiuitatem fratres mei, omnis ordo, omnis conditio, uterque sexus, et omnis etas, pariter astruunt.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 23r.

¹²⁵ For example: ‘Vterque sexus. Quia uir et mulier. Vir: ut Zacharias. Mulier: ut Elisabeth.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 23r.

¹²⁶ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fols. 34v-37r & 89r-90v.

¹²⁷ For analysis of these other occasions, see chapter two of this thesis, pp. 76-8.

¹²⁸ ‘Itaque, fratres karissimi, omnis contentio inter uos de abrenuntiatione uel oblatione pecuniarum aut prediorum cesset et sopiatur, quia qui meliorem in monasterio uoluntatem habet, Deo maius munus offert.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 2ra.

¹²⁹ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 2r.

¹³⁰ ‘Dilectissimi, quamuis uniuersalis sancta ecclesia domus Dei sit, monachorum tamen cenobia specialiter et quasi singulariter domus Dei sunt.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 74ra.

sermon evoked the imagery of sheep in their pen or cloister (*claustrum*).¹³¹ Bartholomew addressed a female audience, and so this sermon must have been addressed to a community of nuns.¹³²

In short, the collection contains sermons addressed to a variety of audiences, as Morey observed.¹³³ The majority are of the simpler sort that appear to have been preached to mixed congregations of clergy and laity. On some occasions, the laity included more than just the local elite. At other times, the exhortation was more obviously intended for Bartholomew's clerical audience. Some sermons – a definite minority in the collection – were addressed to religious communities. This variety in Bartholomew's audience, and in these ratios, is what we might expect of a bishop's diocesan preaching, including visitations of monastic houses.¹³⁴

The language in which Bartholomew's sermons might have been preached is difficult to discern. Sermons preached in the vernacular were often taken down in Latin, and prepared sermons might be written in Latin but preached in the vernacular.¹³⁵ The kinds of evidence historians look for to determine the language of sermons, such as translations of Latin terms into the vernacular, have not been found in Bartholomew's collection.¹³⁶ Most likely, the sermons preached to lay congregations were delivered in the vernacular, and sermons to monastic and clerical audiences in Latin. The famous sermons of Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris (1160-96), are a clear and comparable example of a bishop preaching *ad populum* in the vernacular.¹³⁷ Morey pointed out that in the fourteenth century, when the bishop of Exeter preached during his episcopal visitations, an interpreter translated the sermons into Cornish.¹³⁸ Perhaps Morey was right that a similar arrangement may have existed in Bartholomew's day. But it should not be forgotten that some of the laity knew Latin, while sometimes monks and priests did not.¹³⁹

Given the variation in audience, it follows that there must have been some variation in the venue for these sermons. Bishops could discharge their duty to preach *ad populum* 'either by involving the laity in the preaching which took place in and around the cathedral, or through visitations by the bishop

¹³¹ 'Detineatur animus in custodia, edificetur intra ipsius pectoris ambitum quoddam Deo deuotissimi claustrum habitaculum ubi agnus laudet pascatur, cubet in meridie septus uirginum choreis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 54vb.

¹³² 'Audi filia', 'Vos estis sorores patriarcharum', 'Vos estis filie Lie filie magni patriarche Iacob id est Christi' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 55ra.

¹³³ Morey's observation was correct, but not his evidence for it. He used extracts from one and the same sermon to argue that Bartholomew preached to monks, and later to the laity: Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 111.

¹³⁴ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 139-41.

¹³⁵ Kienzle, 'The typology of the medieval sermon', p. 87.

¹³⁶ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 52; Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, pp. 161-4.

¹³⁷ Longère, 'Maurice de Sully: le prédicateur', pp. 27-70; C. A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily, With the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 4-5.

¹³⁸ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 81.

¹³⁹ G. Constable, 'The Language of Preaching', *Viator* 25 (1994), pp. 131-152; Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 52-5; J. Barrau, 'Did medieval monks actually speak Latin?', in S. Vanderputten (ed.), *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 293-317.

and his assistants to other parts of the diocese'.¹⁴⁰ It appears Bartholomew did both. He sometimes referred to the venue at the outset of a sermon, but always in a generic way:

Beloved, who today have come together from diverse parts of the world to this place, to this holy church...¹⁴¹

If the collection was compiled in order to provide a set of model sermons, then references to the specific locations in which Bartholomew preached may have been removed to make the sermons more generic, and thus more useful for other preachers.

No doubt some sermons were preached in Exeter cathedral. It is tempting to imagine Bartholomew using his own *cathedra* as a prop in one of his sermons on the Feast of the Chair of St Peter, where he explained the virtues represented by each leg of the chair:

Pay attention! For I want to give you a description of these, if I am able, and to demonstrate through them how the parts are constructed. The *cathedra* is justice; the connection between the four virtues, indissoluble.¹⁴²

Bartholomew used the same formula in other sermons on the same feast day, but with different virtues.¹⁴³ It should be noted that these same sermons on the Feast of the Chair of St Peter are those for which it is most clear the laity were present. Thus, the image of Bartholomew preaching to the people of Exeter in his cathedral church emerges.

Sermons addressed to monastic communities would have been preached in their monasteries. The cathedral chapter at Exeter was staffed by secular canons, not monks, so they were not the recipients of these sermons. Perhaps Bartholomew preached at places like Plympton Priory, a monastic foundation closely connected to the cathedral chapter and, as his *acta* reveal, favoured by the bishop.¹⁴⁴ His sermon to nuns might have been delivered to the community at Polsloe Priory, a recently established foundation that Bartholomew seems to have promoted. His grant to the priory of an annual pension is the only known example of Bartholomew bestowing alms on a nunnery.¹⁴⁵

Alternatively, it might have been addressed to the nuns of Amesbury Abbey in Wiltshire, outside the diocese of Exeter. Bartholomew was sent there with Roger of Worcester on 20th January 1177, to investigate claims that the abbess had produced three illegitimate children after taking the habit.¹⁴⁶ In

¹⁴⁰ Millet, 'Pastoral context', p. 59.

¹⁴¹ 'Karissimi, qui de diuersis huius seculi partibus ad hunc locum ad hanc sanctam ecclesiam hodie conuenistis...' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 31v.

¹⁴² 'Intendite. Volo enim, si possum, et descriptionem huius dare, et membra quibus componitur demonstrare. Cathedra igitur iusticie est; quatuor uirtutum indissolubilis conexio.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 25ra.

¹⁴³ In this sermon the virtues are *mundicia*, *discretio*, *utilitas* and *zelus*: Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 24va. In the next sermon they are *prudencia*, *fortitudo*, *iusticia*, and *temperantia*: Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 25ra.

¹⁴⁴ On the connection between Plympton and the cathedral chapter, see: *Exeter*, ed. Barlow, p. xxxi. Bartholomew granted a number of charters to Plympton, all favourable. See *Exeter*, ed. Barlow, no. 104, p. 92; 110b, p. 101; & nos. 118-120 pp. 107-10.

¹⁴⁵ *Exeter*, ed. Barlow, no. 121, p. 110.

¹⁴⁶ *GRHS*, I, pp. 135-6.

the context of a nunnery that had fallen into disrepute, Bartholomew's sermon on the parable of the ten virgins, in which he urged the audience of nuns to remain within the cloister and await the Lord with virtue, would have been pertinent. He even likened the nuns to Dina, the daughter of Jacob and Leah, warning that they should remember this virgin who, according to Bartholomew, had been overwhelmed by the devil and raped because she went out seeking foreign people.¹⁴⁷

We can only speculate about which other venues Bartholomew preached in. At the very least, his sermons for dedication ceremonies must have taken him to various churches. Around thirty churches in the diocese of Exeter are first recorded during Bartholomew's tenure as bishop.¹⁴⁸ A number of these would have been established earlier, but Bartholomew likely presided on occasions such as the dedication of the church at Kingswear to St Thomas Becket.¹⁴⁹

Generally, Bartholomew's sermons were simple and moralising in their content. But preaching necessarily involved instruction, and there are some obviously didactic passages, such as those that take a question and answer format.¹⁵⁰ Typically, Bartholomew expounded the feast day on which he preached. So, for example, his *Sermo de cruce*, delivered on the Exaltation of the Cross (14th Sept), recounts how Emperor Heraclius had recovered the True Cross from the Persians and restored it to Jerusalem.¹⁵¹ Bartholomew did not, as might have been expected, mention crusading in this sermon. The application was straightforwardly about exalting Christ by being dead to vices and alive to virtues.¹⁵²

It has been suggested that there could be a certain predictability about sermons that were preached year in, year out, for the same feast days, using the same liturgical lections.¹⁵³ This suggestion is borne out in Bartholomew's sermons, in which he returned to the same themes and formulas year on year. The significance of these sermons is not diminished as a consequence. Rather, they reveal Bartholomew's approach to his preaching ministry, which David D'Avray would describe as 'the drip-drip method of inculcating beliefs'.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ 'Sic enim legitur in Genesi: Egressa est Dina filia Lie ut uideret mulieres regionis illius, quam cum uidesset Sichem filius Emmor adamauit et rapuit dormiuitque cum ea ui opprimens uirginem et conglutinata anima eius cum ea, tristemque blandiciis deliniuit. Mementote igitur et uirginem et tamen a diabolo oppressam. Egressa est enim ait Dina filia Lie ut uideret alienigenas. Vos estis filie Lie, filie magni patriarche: Iacob, id est, Christi. Sic enim de uobis dicitur.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 55ra; cf. Gen. 34.1-3.

¹⁴⁸ N. Orme, *English Church Dedications: with a survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter, 1996), pp. 65-220.

¹⁴⁹ Orme, *Church Dedications*, p. 176.

¹⁵⁰ For example: Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 2vb, 17ra & 86rb.

¹⁵¹ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 78r-v.

¹⁵² 'Similiter et nos isto die, karissimi, crucifixum Dei Filium uenerando exaltantes, per timorem iudiciorum uiciis moriamur, sed uirtutibus uiuamus.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 78va.

¹⁵³ J. Hanska, 'Reconstructing the mental calendar of medieval preaching: a method and its limits: an analysis of Sunday sermons', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, p. 296; citing D. D'Avray, 'Method in the study of medieval sermons', in N. Bériou, D. D'Avray, J. Riley-Smith, and M. Tausche (eds.), *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, Medioevo Latino: Biblioteca 11 (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 4-9.

¹⁵⁴ D'Avray, 'Method in the study of medieval sermons', p. 9.

Some sermons in the collection are exceptional. Most obviously, there are the sermons not preached in connection with a particular feast day. Schneyer identified eleven such (within the twelfth-century part of the manuscript). Seven of these are for the dedication of a church. One is the sermon preached to nuns, already discussed. Another, the *Sermo de euuangelistis*, was likely preached on the Feast of St Luke (18th Oct). It is closely based on Hrabanus Maurus' (d. 856) commentary on Ezekiel in which the four beasts were said to represent not only the four gospel writers, but also Christ, as well as each of the elect.¹⁵⁵ This commentary is known to have been read on St Luke's feast day.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the sermon is in the right place within Bartholomew's collection, between sermons for the feasts of St Denis (9th Oct) and All Saints (1st Nov).

This leaves just two further sermons. *De quolibet episcopo confesso* is pertinent to a later chapter and treated there.¹⁵⁷ The other is relevant to our present purpose. *De sanctis doctoribus* was a sermon in which Bartholomew commended the teaching of the Church Fathers to his congregation: 'Beloved Brothers, Christ the Eternal Wisdom of God calls the Doctors of the Holy Church the salt of the earth.'¹⁵⁸ Salt, he explained, has three properties: it makes soil infertile, it binds up flesh, and it preserves food. Similarly, the doctrine of the Fathers, especially when proclaimed in preaching, destroys vice, heals the sinner, and conserves virtue in the receptive hearer.¹⁵⁹ Bartholomew then proceeded to distinguish between two 'schools': the school of virtue and the school of wisdom. Both were profitable, but Bartholomew issued the standard warning to clerical members of his audience: 'No preaching of his prevails, who is despised by men.'¹⁶⁰ His point was that the virtuous lives of the Church Fathers guaranteed that their teaching was dependable:

Beloved, the Holy Doctors of the Holy Church, namely Augustine, Gregory, Ambrose and Jerome, illuminate us with wisdom's word, and by the example of holy life shape [us] for living well. Therefore, we should embrace their teaching.¹⁶¹

Bartholomew frequently quoted from the Church Fathers, even in his simplest sermons. Gregory was a favourite, followed by Augustine and Ambrose, with some sporadic references to Bede and Jerome.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 83v-84r; cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, J.-P. Migne, PL 110 (Paris, 1852), I, col. 515.

¹⁵⁶ E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, 3rd edition, trans. D. Nussey (New York, 1958), pp. 35-7.

¹⁵⁷ See chapter five, p. 138.

¹⁵⁸ 'Eterna Dei sapientia Christus, fratres karissimi, sancte ecclesie doctores sal terre nominat.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 70rb; cf. Matt. 5.13.

¹⁵⁹ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', 70rb-va.

¹⁶⁰ 'Nichil enim ualet eius predicatio, qui ab hominibus contempnitur.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 70vb.

¹⁶¹ 'Karissimi, sancte ecclesie sancti doctores, Augustinus scilicet Gregorius, Ambrosius, Ieronimus et uerbo sapientie nos illuminant, et exemplo sancte uite ad bene uiuendum informant. Amplectamur ergo eorum doctrinam.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 70vb.

¹⁶² For example: Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 1r, 2r, 3v-4r; 15v-16r, 17r etc.

There are sermons for several saints' days in the collection.¹⁶³ St Denis, St Wandrille and St Leodegarius stood out to Morey, but all of the saints included in the collection had cults that were well established in England by Bartholomew's day.¹⁶⁴ The absences are just as interesting as the inclusions. Saints local to the diocese of Exeter are not represented. And the fact that there is no sermon for the feast day of St Thomas of Canterbury could well suggest that the sermon collection predates the flourishing of his cult. If so, the collection would be a product of the 1160s or possibly the early 1170s. As did many other twelfth-century preachers, Bartholomew told edifying stories about the particular saint on whose feast day he preached.¹⁶⁵ The only exception is the *Sermo de sancta Margarita*, in which Margaret is not mentioned at all.¹⁶⁶ Quite why this should be the case remains unclear, but perhaps Bartholomew felt he lacked the sources to give a satisfactory account of her. The production of *legenda* designed to assist preachers in their preparations for sermons on saints increased in our period, especially in the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Bartholomew apparently bequeathed multiple volumes of *legenda sanctorum* to Exeter on his death. These were likely used for his sermon preparations, although this cannot be confirmed as the manuscripts are not known to have survived.¹⁶⁸

Bartholomew approached the construction of his sermons with some consistency. Occasionally, his points were subdivided, but as a rule the sermons' structure was simple. There was, however, no one form or pattern that Bartholomew followed. Sometimes he gave an exegetical exposition of the liturgical reading; sometimes he did not. If the sermon was based on the reading, he might begin by quoting it in part or in full. Alternatively, he might simply refer to the reading in the course of the sermon.¹⁶⁹ The conclusions of the sermons were similarly inconsistent. Bartholomew often drew his points together and made a direct appeal for a specific response.¹⁷⁰ But some sermons ended more

¹⁶³ Sermons for the feast days of the following saints are found in the collection: St Andrew, St Nicholas, Stephen the Protomartyr, St John the Evangelist, St Vincent, St Benedict, St John the Baptist, St Peter and St Paul, St Wandrille/Wandregisel, St Margaret of Antioch, St Mary Magdalene, St Laurence, St Matthew, St Michael the Archangel, St Leger/Leodegar, St 'Dionysius' (a conflation of St Denis and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite), St Luke, and St Martin of Tours.

¹⁶⁴ Morey argued that the inclusion of sermons for the feast days of St Denis, St Wandrille and St Leodegarius supported the attribution to Bartholomew, for these were 'Breton saints to whom the bishop would have had a personal devotion': Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 110. None of these saints were Bretons, so presumably Morey was suggesting that they were more popular in Brittany than England. At any rate, their cults had been established in England by the twelfth century: D. Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 105-6, 398-9, and 241.

¹⁶⁵ D. D'Avray, 'Popular and elite religion: feastdays and preaching', in K. M. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds.), *Elite and popular religion: Papers read at the 2004 Summer meeting and the 2005 Winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 167.

¹⁶⁶ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 63v-64r.

¹⁶⁷ G. Ferzoco, 'The context of medieval sermon collections on saints', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 282-3.

¹⁶⁸ Oliver, *The Bishops of Exeter*, p. 305.

¹⁶⁹ 'Audistis, fratres karissimi, ex lectione euuangelica...' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 1v. 'In lectione euuangelii que modo lecta est, fratres karissimi mei, audiuius...' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 10v.

¹⁷⁰ These exhortations can usually be recognised by the address '*karissimi*' (or similar) appearing towards the end of a sermon, with a first person plural subjunctive ('amemus' fol. 2a; 'preparemus' fol. 5ra; 'deprecemur' fol. 7ra) or an imperative ('mementote' fol. 11ra; 'uide' 14va).

abruptly, and seven lack the usual concluding formula: ‘...secula seculorum amen’.¹⁷¹ Bartholomew was composing these sermons in the period before the production of the *Artes praedicandi*. For his period, he was methodical, but compared to thirteenth-century collections, such as that found in the second part of the same manuscript, his sermons were irregular.¹⁷²

In Morey’s judgement, the sermons were characterised by a ‘definite sincerity of religious feeling and by a real simplicity of style, free from the more tiresome methods of medieval allegorising’.¹⁷³ This is a fair summary. Bartholomew’s tone was often urgent. He spent more time discussing the perils of vice than the blessings of virtue.¹⁷⁴ His personal and direct style was probably an important part of what made his sermons so effective:

Perhaps someone among you, thinking silently, says: “I am in the house of God. I shall be saved.” Brothers, not all those who are in this house of God shall be saved. For certainly you are all in this house of God through creation, because God created you. [But] the pagans are also with you; the Jews are with you; the Devil is with you. Therefore, it is not a sign of election or salvation to be in this house.¹⁷⁵

Bartholomew’s sermon collection does not provide a comprehensive view of his preaching; it generally reveals only his diocesan preaching. As we shall see, chroniclers recorded some of Bartholomew’s preaching on other more notable occasions. These sermons are not found in the collection. Near the end of his life, Bartholomew also attested to his own preaching of another kind. Attached to *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, (his treatise upholding the orthodox position on human free will and divine providence against the threat of astrology,) was a letter of dedication addressed to Baldwin of Forde. In it, Bartholomew recalled how he undertook, from the beginning of his episcopate, ‘to preach insistently and publicly against the aforesaid error,’ with Baldwin’s encouragement.¹⁷⁶ Virtually no trace of this preaching is to be found in the sermon collection. There were obvious opportunities to condemn astrology in sermons preached for liturgical occasions, but Bartholomew did not take them. In a sermon on the nativity, Bartholomew was content to teach that ‘it [the nativity] was revealed to kings through

¹⁷¹ For example: Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fols. 28va, 29ra, 30ra, 46ra, 48va, 53va & 55rb.

¹⁷² P. B. Roberts, ‘The Ars praedicandi and the medieval sermon’ in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 41-7; F. Morenzoni, ‘La littérature des *artes praedicandi* de la fin du XII^e au début du XV^e siècle’, in *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. S. Ebbesen (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 339-44.

¹⁷³ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 110.

¹⁷⁴ For example: Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 77v.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Forsitan aliquis uestrum tacitis cogitationibus, dicit: “In domo Dei sum, saluus ero.” Fratres, non omnes qui in hac domo Dei sunt saluanda sunt. In hac namque domo Dei omnes quidem uos estis per creationem, quia creauit uos Deus. Sunt et uobis cum pagani; sunt Iudei; est et Diabolus. Non est ergo signum electionis uel salutis esse in hac domo.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fols. 73rb-va.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Quod tunc plenius aduertere cepi cum regimen animarum, quamuis indignus, Dei tamen miseratione et ordinatione suscepi. Cum que in lumen et consolationem suscepta que sollicitudinis partem, te michi Deus comitem indiuiduum ad tempus comodasset, te pre ceteris specialiter exhortante, cepi contra predictum errorem instanter et publice predicare, et que potius predicanda forent, te cum frequenter deliberando conferre.’ Bartholomew, *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, ed. Bell, epistola commendativa, ii, p. 11.

a star'.¹⁷⁷ Of course, this simply followed the account presented in Matthew's gospel, but it is interesting that Bartholomew did not make a point of specifying here that astrology was not efficacious or permissible. Instead, Bartholomew reasoned that it was appropriate for the nativity to be announced to kings by a star, for Christ himself was a king and a star.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, Bartholomew did not go out of his way to condemn astrology in his Epiphany sermons, even though he used much of the language frequently associated with astrologers, referring to the magi as 'philosophers of the gentiles' from the 'Chaldean region'.¹⁷⁹

There are resonances between some of Bartholomew's sermons and his other later work, the *Dialogus contra Iudeos*. An interest in disputation between Christians and Jews is evident in the sermon on St Stephen. Rather than focus on the saint's martyrdom, Bartholomew drew attention to an earlier episode recounted in the book of Acts in which Stephen had argued with Jews. Bartholomew emphasised the public nature of this disputation, adding that it was conducted *in medio populorum*. Moreover, while in the biblical account Stephen's adversaries accused him of speaking against the temple and of wanting to change the Mosaic Law, Bartholomew supplied specifics. He claimed that Stephen had spoken 'against the law, against circumcision, and against their Sabbath': all topics Bartholomew would address in his *Dialogus*.¹⁸⁰

Bartholomew was an exemplary preacher. He might be compared to Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris. Both were active preachers in the 1160s, addressing clergy and laity alike, and producing sermon collections for the liturgical year.¹⁸¹ But how far do Bartholomew's sermons reflect wider practice among his episcopal colleagues? There are no comparable collections of sermons from the bishops of England in this period. Neither Gilbert's homilies nor Baldwin's sermons reveal their diocesan preaching. But the evidence of Bartholomew's sermon collection enables better analysis of the evidence for other bishops' preaching in England and Wales, serving as a point of reference to which other data can be compared.

¹⁷⁷ 'Reuelata est per stellam regibus.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 14ra-b.

¹⁷⁸ 'Per stellam apparuit regibus quia ortus erat rex et stella. Rex unde scriptum est: "Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo, syon montem super sanctum eius." Stella unde scriptum est: "Orietur stella ex Iacob."' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 14rb; cf. Ps. 2.6 and Num. 24.17.

¹⁷⁹ 'Principalis et prima huius diei causa, fratres mei, sicut euuangelium testatur, contigit quando stella noue claritatis in oriente apparuit que tres magos, id est, gentium phylosophos a Deo excitatum ut Chaldeam regionem suam desererent, et Iherosolimam uenirent dicentes: "ubi est qui natus est rex Iudeorum?"' [etc.] Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 18va-b.

¹⁸⁰ 'Stephanus plenus gratia et fortitudine faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo. Viri iniqui de synagoga libertinorum et Cyrenensium et Alexandrinorum uidebant Stephanum Iudei Iudeum disputantem in medio populorum contra legem, contra circumcisionem, et contra sabbata eorum, et disputantes cum eo non poterant resistere sapientie et spiritui qui loquebatur.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 9ra. cf. Acts 6.8-15. On Bartholomew's *Dialogus*, see chapter seven of this thesis, pp. 208-16.

¹⁸¹ Robson, *Maurice of Sully*, pp. 4-5; Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 42-5.

Baldwin of Forde's sermons

Baldwin of Forde was Bartholomew of Exeter's protégé who ultimately went on to higher office. After a period spent in Forde Abbey, Baldwin was made bishop of Worcester (1180-84), and then archbishop of Canterbury (1184-90). Among other texts, Baldwin produced a number of sermons. Unlike the collections of Gilbert and Bartholomew, these have been printed, most recently in an edition by David Bell.¹⁸² There are multiple extant manuscripts, but no 'original' version compiled by Baldwin. Consequently, the transmission of Baldwin's sermon collection is the most complex of all those surveyed in this chapter. The sermons as they survive are fairly far removed from the sermons as Baldwin composed them. At least ten have been lost since John Pitts reported seeing thirty-three sermons.¹⁸³

There are twelve manuscripts containing Baldwin's sermons, but only five are significant collections. Bell used the most reliable of these, '*P*', as his base manuscript.¹⁸⁴ However, he stresses that 'although *P* is such an admirable manuscript, it is itself an edition. It does not represent the sermons as they were originally preached, and it is easy to see the work of an editorial hand.'¹⁸⁵ Bell cites sermon fifteen as an example, which 'undoubtedly consists of three separate sermons which have been combined'.¹⁸⁶ This editing process makes it hard to judge how many original sermons are represented in the extant collections. Of the other 'major' manuscript collections besides *P*, three represent a family of manuscripts, labelled '*a*' by Bell, that derive from a later re-edition of the sermons.¹⁸⁷ There are significant differences between *P* and these later versions, including omissions, amalgamations and reordering of the sermons. Historically it has been the later version of Baldwin's sermons, as found in these *a* manuscripts, that has been used by editors of the sermons, as is the case with Bertrand Tissier's mid-seventeenth-century edition, later reprinted in the *Patrologia Latina*.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, prior to his CCCM edition of the sermons based on *P*, David Bell produced a translation from the *a* manuscripts as *Spiritual Tractates*.¹⁸⁹ Thus we may speak of the 'sermons' as they are found in *P* and Bell's CCCM edition, and we may also speak of the 'tractates', by which we mean the re-edited versions found in the *a* manuscripts and Bell's earlier translation.

Given the alterations made to Baldwin's sermons, it is more difficult to assess the form they originally took. Nevertheless, it is possible to establish some details of the original sermons, and thus about Baldwin's preaching, from internal evidence. The questions of date and audience are intimately connected. Sermons addressed to a clerical audience should probably be dated to Baldwin's time as

¹⁸² *BFO*, sermones, pp. 1-340.

¹⁸³ Baldwin of Forde, *Spiritual Tractates*, ed. D. N. Bell (Kalamazoo, 1986), I, p. 20.

¹⁸⁴ Paris, Bib. Nat. lat. 2601; *BFO*, pp. ix-x.

¹⁸⁵ *BFO*, p. xv.

¹⁸⁶ *BFO*, p. xv.

¹⁸⁷ London, Lambeth Palace 210; Troyes, Bib. Mun. 433; Troyes, Bib. Mun. 876; *BFO*, pp. xiv, xvii.

¹⁸⁸ 'Balduini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi tractatus diuersi', J.-P. Migne, PL 204 (Paris, 1855), cols. 403-572.

¹⁸⁹ Baldwin, *Spiritual Tractates*, 2 vols., trans. D. N. Bell, Cistercian Fathers 38-39 (Kalamazoo, 1986).

bishop or archbishop. This is the case for at least two sermons. Sermon six (tractate twelve) bears the rubric ‘*Ad sacerdotes*’, and is an admonition to the clergy.¹⁹⁰ Their corrupt way of life, Baldwin explained, had led to the iniquity of their age. He interpreted Joel 2:31: ‘The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood before the great and terrible day of the Lord shall come’. The sun represented the ecclesiastical prelates, while the moon represented secular rulers. When the sun failed to illuminate the moon, it turns to blood, that is, to violence.¹⁹¹ Baldwin explicitly connected this to Becket’s murder,¹⁹² an event that followed a scriptural typology: Doeg the Idumean’s slaughter of eighty-five priests, and Zachariah’s murder between the temple and the altar.¹⁹³ Beryl Smalley and David Bell both thought this sermon likely dated from Baldwin’s years as archbishop.¹⁹⁴

The rubric attached to sermon five (tractate two), ‘*Ad prelatos*’, also indicates the original audience.¹⁹⁵ In the first part of the sermon, Baldwin set out the authority and high station enjoyed by priests. Their role was that of shepherd, father, judge, angel, even of gods, over their parishioners.¹⁹⁶ But, should they fail to live up to their office, they were but ‘likenesses of priests’ (*simulacra sacerdotum*).¹⁹⁷ In order to fulfil the requirements of their office, these prelates should seek to be humble servants of their flock, despite their inherent dignity.¹⁹⁸ Christ, the *magister humilitatis*, had set this example for priests to follow.¹⁹⁹ There are points in the sermon where Baldwin addresses and admonishes bishops specifically. He warned those with ‘names of honour’, such as ‘archdeacon, bishop, archbishop’, that their title should serve as a reminder of the care committed to them.²⁰⁰ It seems very likely, then, that this was another sermon delivered while Baldwin was archbishop, presumably at a council.

¹⁹⁰ *BFO*, sermo 6, p. 95.

¹⁹¹ ‘Scriptum est: Sol conuertetur in tenebras, et luna in sanguinem, antequam ueniat dies Domini magnus et terribilis. Quod in firmamento celi sunt sol et luna, hoc in ecclesia Dei sunt ordo rectorum et uita subditorum; ecclesiastica quoque auctoritas et secularis potestas. Luna sole inferior est, et a se non lucet, sed a sole: sic et uita subditorum inferior est quam uita prelatorum, per quos accendi debent et illuminari.’ *BFO*, sermo VI, xv, p. 99. I am grateful to Mr William Tink for pointing out that this same interpretation of Joel 2:31 is found in the work of Baldwin’s fellow Cistercian, Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx: *Homiliae de oneribus prophetis Isaiae*, ed. Raciti, X, xi-xv, pp. 89-92.

¹⁹² ‘Nuper enim furor persequentium nos in capite uulnerauit, qui Christum Domini beatissimum Thomam, archipresulem nostrum, ob insignem defensionem ecclesiastice libertatis, usque ad mortem persecuti sunt.’ *BFO*, Sermo 6, xviii, p. 99.

¹⁹³ *BFO*, sermo 6, xx, p. 100. Cf. 1 Sam. 22.18 and Matt. 23.35.

¹⁹⁴ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 219; Baldwin, *Spiritual Tractates*, ed. Bell, II, p. 130.

¹⁹⁵ *BFO*, sermo 5, p. 85.

¹⁹⁶ *BFO*, sermo 5, i-x, pp. 85-7.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Videant ergo qui in honore sunt, ut se in omnibus humiles exhibeant exemplo Christi, qui sicut magister humilitatis, cum esset precessor, factus est sicut ministrator, inclinans se usque ad pedes discipulorum.’ *BFO*, sermo 5, xi, p. 87.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Attendistis dignitatem, et quid supra alios estis. Attendite nunc, et iterum dico, attendite humilitatem uestram, et seruitutis necessitatem, et quid infra alios estis.’ *BFO*, sermo 5, xiv, p. 88.

¹⁹⁹ *BFO*, sermo 5, xv, p. 89.

²⁰⁰ ‘Que sunt illa? Nomina forte honorum, nomina dignitatum. Archidiaconus, episcopus, archiepiscopus, et similia: magna nomina sunt. ... Nomen uestrum et causa nominis uos admonent officii uestri, ut nichil negligenter agatis in cura uobis commissa; sed satis super que attenti et intenti sitis regere ecclesiam Dei.’ *BFO*, sermo 5, p. 100.

David Bell considered the remaining sermons to ‘derive from a monastic milieu’, based on their style and content.²⁰¹ It is certainly true that many of the sermons contain ideas associated with monasticism. In John Morson’s view, all of Baldwin’s writing was united by the theme of progress towards God, from ‘rudimentary self-knowledge’ to ‘wisdom or charity’ which is near to ‘face-to-face vision’.²⁰² Bell characterised Baldwin’s preaching as firmly Cistercian, but austere and ascetic in tone when compared with Ailred of Rievaulx’s ‘warm humanity’ and Bernard of Clairvaux’s charisma.²⁰³ Baldwin’s contribution, in Bell’s view, was original thinking about the origins and nature of the common life.²⁰⁴

Gerald of Wales tells us that Baldwin’s *Sermo de sancta cruce*, (sermon eight) was produced for the canons of Waltham Priory.²⁰⁵ Bell has suggested that this was written for the occasion of Waltham becoming a house of regular canons, that is, in the summer of 1177 when Baldwin was still abbot of Forde.²⁰⁶ But we should not be too hasty in assigning others of the sermons to the 1170s, when Baldwin was at Forde Abbey. It is worth noting that the ‘monastic’ ideas appear in sermons that post-date Baldwin’s elevation to the episcopate. Baldwin’s theology of the mass, for example, most fully expressed in his treatise produced while at Forde Abbey, *De sacramento altaris*, shaped his preaching on the subject as bishop. Baldwin’s approach in *De sacramento altaris* has been characterised as a *théologie admirative* by the treatise’s modern editors.²⁰⁷ This same approach can be seen in his sermon to priests, where Baldwin appealed to the clergy: ‘Attend the dignity of the sacrament, for to you has been committed [its] preparation and distribution.’²⁰⁸ But it is sermon four, also titled *De sacramento altaris*, that is most obviously comparable to Baldwin’s treatise of the same name. Again, this was not a sermon addressed to monks. Rather, in a section setting out what the response to the mass should be, Baldwin emphasised that this should be heeded by all:

No one is exempt from the necessity of Christian discipline; no one is excused. No condition, no sex, no older age, no rank, no dignity, no power.²⁰⁹

²⁰¹ Baldwin, *Spiritual Tractates*, ed. Bell, I, p. 20.

²⁰² J. Morson, ‘Baldwin of Ford: a contemplative’, *Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorem* 27 (1965), p. 160; cited Baldwin, *Spiritual Tractates*, ed. Bell, I, p. 21.

²⁰³ Baldwin, *Spiritual Tractates*, ed. Bell, I, pp. 21-2.

²⁰⁴ D. N. Bell, ‘Heaven on Earth: celestial and cenobitic unity in the thought of Baldwin of Ford’ in E. R. Elder (ed.), *Heaven on Earth*, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History IX CS 68 (1983), pp. 1-21.

²⁰⁵ *GCO*, IV, *Speculum ecclesie*, pp. 104-5.

²⁰⁶ D. N. Bell and J. P. Freeland, ‘The sermons on obedience and the cross’, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994), pp. 241-90.

²⁰⁷ Baldwin of Forde, *Le Sacrement de l’Autel*, 2 vols., ed. J. Morson and E. de Solms, Sources Chrétiennes 93 (Paris, 1963), p. 47.

²⁰⁸ ‘Attendite dignitatem sacramenti, quod uobis contraditum est conficiendum et dispensandum.’ *BFO*, sermo 6, iii, p. 95.

²⁰⁹ ‘A necessitate christiane discipline nemo excipitur, nemo excusatur: nulla conditio, nullus sexus, nulla prouectior etas, nullus ordo, nulla dignitas, nulla potestas.’ *BFO*, sermo 4, xlv, p. 78.

This was an inversion of the ‘*omnis*’ trope used by Bartholomew of Exeter, which suggested a mixed audience of laity and clergy.²¹⁰

It should also be noted that some of the ‘monastic’ virtues Baldwin extolled, such as celibacy, applied equally to the clergy.²¹¹ In fact, there are just four sermons that were certainly addressed to monks. In one sermon Baldwin described the *renuntiatio* made by his audience.²¹² The other three all detailed the benefits of the common life.²¹³ It is possible that even these sermons were preached while Baldwin was bishop, for bishops would preach to monastic congregations. We have seen that Bartholomew did so, and of course the cathedral chapter of Canterbury, unlike that of Exeter, were monks. We shall see that Gervase of Canterbury recalled Baldwin’s preaching to the community early in his time as archbishop.²¹⁴

The format of Baldwin’s sermons varied, presumably as the setting and audience also varied. In most, but not all, Baldwin – or perhaps a later editor – stated at the outset the scriptural text that was to be expounded.²¹⁵ The sermons vary in length, although some of this variation results from the work of medieval editors. Some sermons seem likely to have been preached in the context of a liturgical service. Sermons thirteen and fourteen, for instance, are sermons on the Assumption. Perhaps, like Bartholomew, Baldwin delivered his three sermons on the Beatitudes for All Saints’ Day, on which they were the gospel reading.²¹⁶

The editing process has obscured something of Baldwin’s original preaching. But, the sermons reveal that he preached to monks and clergy throughout his career, in a variety of settings. Some laity may have been present for his sermonised version of *De sacramento altaris*. Baldwin’s long-running dispute with the monks of Christ Church Canterbury presumably made preaching from his cathedral a challenge, and this might account for the rather fewer sermons from Baldwin than Bartholomew. On the basis of this collection alone, Baldwin does not appear as diligent a preacher as his mentor Bartholomew. But his preaching campaign through Wales, recorded by Gerald of Wales and considered in the following chapter, suggests otherwise.

²¹⁰ See above, p. 57. The negative version of this trope was used less frequently, but appears in Sigebert of Gembloux: ‘Que autem ad hec deflenda perturbatio sit nullus sexus nulla conditio nulla fortuna nulla potest ignorare religio.’ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Epistula cuiusdam aduersus laicorum in presbyteros coniugatos contumeliam*, ed. E. Sackur, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 2 (Berlin, 1891), p. 438.

²¹¹ *BFO*, sermo 13, pp. 193-207.

²¹² ‘Nos igitur qui mundo renuntiauius, qui non spiritum huius mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est, ut caritas Dei in cordibus nostris diffusa permaneat, sicut decet religionem nostram, diligamus Deum toto corde, tota anima, tota mente, eodem Spiritu intus operante, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula.’ *BFO*, sermo 21, xx, p. 327.

²¹³ *BFO*, sermones 2, 14 & 15, pp. 25-43 & 211-52.

²¹⁴ See chapter two, p. 79.

²¹⁵ The exceptions: *BFO*, sermones 4, 6, 8, & 20, pp. 67, 95, 127 & 317.

²¹⁶ *BFO*, sermones 10, 16, & 17, pp. 157, 255 & 269; Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fols. 86r-87r.

A sermon of Richard Poore?

There is a disappointing paucity of sermons composed by bishops of early thirteenth-century England and Wales. Stephen Langton's preaching as archbishop of Canterbury is considered in the following chapter. But most of Langton's sermons predate his archiepiscopal tenure, and so leaving those aside is perhaps justified by our present focus on episcopal preaching. That said, it seems worthwhile to consider briefly one sermon that would have predated the author's episcopal tenure.

There is a thirteenth-century manuscript of Christ Church, Canterbury, containing numerous sermons. Thomas Kaeppli identified that most of these had been preached in Paris by masters of the schools in the early thirteenth century.²¹⁷ One of the sermons is attributed to the dean of Salisbury, and Kaeppli thought this must refer to Richard Poore, dean of Salisbury between 1197 and 1217, and known to have been in Paris in 1208 and 1213 at the very least.²¹⁸ Poore ultimately came to hold the sees of Chichester (1215-17), Salisbury (1217-28) and then Durham (1228-37). A student of Stephen Langton, he would certainly have been able to produce this sermon which, like the others in the collection, was typical of sermons given by Paris masters.²¹⁹ However, Franco Morenzoni dismissed the attribution to Poore, believing instead that Thomas of Chobham was the true author. Chobham was, of course, a master of Paris; he was also sub-dean of Salisbury between 1206 and 1217.²²⁰ Moreover, several sermons in the collection are attributed to him, three as 'Mag. Thomas de Chabbeham' and many others as 'subdecanus Salesberiensis'.²²¹ Morenzoni thus published the sermon in question with those more confidently attributed to Chobham: twenty-five in all.²²²

In the end, it is not possible to be certain about the authorship. There is, however, one small piece of internal evidence in favour of Richard Poore. One of the sermon illustrations describes a justice confiscating plunder from a robber.²²³ Whereas Chobham had little involvement with secular government, Richard was more politically inclined and would later serve as a justice himself. Either way, the sermon reflects something of the intellectual culture of Salisbury under Richard, even though it was not preached in Salisbury itself.

The rubric for the sermon indicates that it was delivered in the week before Passion Sunday at Saint-Jacques, Paris. The text was from the liturgical reading.²²⁴ The sermon is comprised of three sections, each beginning with a restatement of the *thema* – Hebrews 9:11. The central narrative is about God's

²¹⁷ Christ Church, Canterbury, MS D 7; T. Kaeppli, 'Un recueil de sermons prêchés à Paris et en Angleterre', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 26 (1956), 161-91.

²¹⁸ Kaeppli, 'Un recueil de sermons', p. 183; cited in Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 498.

²¹⁹ P. Hoskin, 'Richard Poor [Poore], d. 1237', *ODNB* (2009),

²²⁰ J. Goering, 'Thomas of Chobham', *ODNB* (2005).

²²¹ Kaeppli, 'Un recueil de sermons', pp. 183-4.

²²² Thomas de Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. F. Morenzoni, CCCM 82A (Turnhout, 1993).

²²³ 'Istud lignum fuit lignum crucis in quo Dominus sicut iusticiarius abstulit a predone quidquid iniuste depredatus est, et diripuit spolia domus eius, ut in Luca XI^o.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 6.

²²⁴ 'Ad Hebreos IX: Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum introiuit semel in sancta eterna redempcione inuenta.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 3; cf. Heb. 9.11.

act of salvation, and this comprises the didactic aspect of the sermon. But equally dominant as a theme is the exhortation to do penance.²²⁵ The tone is moralistic in the main, but some passages are more cerebral and betray a scholastic mind at work. This is most evident when the preacher breaks off from exhortations to ask a fundamental question: is salvation really possible after the fall? The format is recognisably scholastic: ‘Question: Whether we are able to have redemption after perpetual damnation. For the pact between God and man was a syllogism: in whatever day you eat, you shall die.’²²⁶ Later in the same discussion, Adam’s attempts to blame Eve for the Fall are identified with categories taken, not from Scripture, but from scholastic study:

The use of this kind of defence is called ‘*relatio criminis*’ in rhetoric, because he wishes to pass on the crime to another. Nevertheless, the law of natural justice states that nobody ought to consent to the atrocious acts of another.²²⁷

These features of the sermon reflect the scholarly context of Paris. But, actually, most of the sermon would have been accessible to those with even a basic level of education, and similar sermons could have benefited both clergy and laity at Salisbury. The value of noticing this sermon is that it demonstrates an increased formalisation of preaching, adhering closely to the precepts set out in the *Artes praedicandi*. If Bartholomew’s sermons were typical of diocesan preaching in the late twelfth century, and Poore’s of the early thirteenth, then preaching changed rapidly within the space of a few decades.

Summary

Written sermons, although never a perfect record of preaching, are nevertheless the best evidence for bishops’ preaching. The collections examined demonstrate the rich variety of preaching. Bishops’ styles varied one from another. But more significantly the occasion and the audience affected how the bishop prepared and delivered his sermon or homily. Bishops were preaching regularly throughout the liturgical year in their dioceses, as well as at councils and synods. Clergy, monks, and laity would have had the opportunity to hear their bishop preach. Sermons to the laity tended to be heavy on exhortation; sermons to the clergy focused more on doctrine and instruction in pastoral care; sermons given at councils and synods were designed to show off more impressive exegesis.

Bartholomew’s collection is the best evidence for routine diocesan preaching. His preaching was usually short, simple, and moralising. It was also instructive, for example with regard to the sacraments.

²²⁵ On Poore’s treatment of confession in this sermon, see chapter five of this thesis, pp. 144-6.

²²⁶ ‘Questio: si post dampnationem perpetuam habere possemus redempcionem. Pactum enim fuit inter Deum et hominem sillogisticum: quacumque die commederitis, moriemini.’ Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 11. Cf. Gen. 2.17.

²²⁷ ‘Et usus illo genere defensionis quod dicitur in rethorica relatio criminis, quia uoluit referre crimen in aliud. Cum tamen dicat lex iuris naturalis quod in atrocioribus nemo debet alii consentire.’ Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 12.

The other collections contain more sophisticated sermons and homilies. Those from Gilbert and Baldwin were tailored for clerical and monastic audiences. The sophistication of Poore's sermon, by contrast, demonstrates how preaching methods developed across the period. What these collections do not reveal, however, is the extent to which the episcopate more generally engaged in preaching.

CHAPTER TWO

EPISCOPAL PREACHING: THE NARRATIVE SOURCES

‘We read that He said to Peter: “If you love me, feed my sheep.” You are an heir and vicar of Peter. Feed my sheep by evangelizing. Do the work of an evangelist and pastor. Do not be ashamed of the Gospel. If you are ashamed, you do not believe in the office of pastor.’¹

- Peter of Blois

Quality and quantity

Peter of Blois presented this advice to the newly appointed bishop of Worcester, John of Coutances (1196-98), in his guide to episcopal office, known as the *Canon episcopalis*. Peter’s exhortation was a clear statement of the established ideal: teaching was an essential part of episcopal office; the pastor was to feed his flock. Indeed, Peter assumed that John would be teaching. His concern was that the bishop should be fit for the task. Peter acknowledged that John had learned holy letters from infancy.² But he warned the new bishop that he had now become a fountain from which others would draw spiritual instruction.³ Thus, he must ensure that his own well did not run dry: ‘First, teach yourself, that you might teach others: he is not wise who is not wise to himself.’⁴ In other words, John must devote himself to the study of the Bible, an exhortation Peter returned to several times: ‘Still I repeat: you should always be in the training of the Scriptures, and let no time find you idle.’⁵ Peter’s advice illustrates the perception of pastoral teaching in this period. The principle that pastors were teachers was not in doubt. But concerns remained about both the quantity and quality of that teaching.

How often and how well were bishops preaching?

In principle, bishops were expected to teach and preach.⁶ In practice, there was an acknowledgement that not all bishops did so. At Lateran IV a variety of reasons why bishops might not be preaching were identified:

It often happens that bishops, on account of their manifold duties or bodily infirmities, or because of hostile invasions or other reasons, to say nothing of lack of knowledge, which must be absolutely

¹ ‘Legimus eum dixisse ad Petrum: Si amas me, pasce oues meas. Heres es et uicarius Petri, pasce oues meas euangelizando, fac opus euangeliste et pastor; non erubescas Euangelium, si erubescendum non credis pastoris officium.’ *PBO*, col. 1107.

² ‘Ab infantia sacras litteras didicisti.’ *PBO*, col. 1102.

³ ‘Cumque alii de pectore tuo, quasi de fonte, hauriant, tu prius bibe de fonte putei tui: sic deriuentur fontes tui foras, ut tui tamen immemor non existas.’ *PBO*, col. 1100.

⁴ ‘Prius teipsum doce, quam alios doceas: non est sapiens, qui non est sapiens sibi.’ *PBO*, col. 1100.

⁵ ‘Adhuc replico: Semper sis in exercitio Scripturarum, nullumque tempus te inueniat otiosum.’ *PBO*, col. 1102. Peter is alluding here to Prov. 9.12.

⁶ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 98.

condemned in them and is not to be tolerated in the future, are themselves unable to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and widespread dioceses.⁷

The ‘lack of knowledge’, held in such contempt, did not necessarily mean the guilty bishop was *illiteratus*. In this period, the standards by which prelates’ education was judged were ever more stringent.⁸ Other practical obstacles to preaching were viewed more sympathetically. Infirmary and large dioceses were problems that might face any bishop; ‘hostile invasions’ were for the most part more applicable in other parts of Christendom than England and Wales.

Of course, this canon purported to describe the situation across the Roman Church, not just the provinces of Canterbury and York. To form an assessment of episcopal preaching in England and Wales, we must look to local evidence. Brief references to bishops’ preaching can be found scattered across the sources. No doubt, more examples can be found than those presented here. After a survey of such passing references, we shall examine in more detail the richer accounts of preaching afforded by narrative sources, which are sometimes complemented by extant sermons.

Although preaching was strongly associated with pastoral office, references to bishops’ preaching in narrative sources are rare. But this does not imply that it was rare for a bishop to preach.⁹ Preaching, like the issuing of charters, the writing of letters, or the lectures of the schools, was one of those features of medieval life that we know from other sources to have been common, but that were hardly mentioned by chroniclers. We have no way of knowing with certainty how much activity passed without record. But, if we consider the instances when episcopal preaching *was* mentioned, it is clear that it was not the rarity of the sermon that excited the commentator’s interest. Almost every sermon mentioned by chroniclers was given on a special occasion. Sometimes the sermon contributed to some political point. Sometimes the sermon was mentioned simply to show things were being done properly at Church councils. Whatever the case, the sermon was mentioned because it contributed to whatever narrative the chronicler was presenting. As a consequence, we hear of the details – including the sermon content itself – only if they were salient to the writer’s agenda.

On 21 December 1171, Canterbury cathedral was reconsecrated, having been condemned since the murder of Archbishop Becket. The occasion was marked with a sermon preached by Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. According to Ralph de Diceto, an angry crowd had gathered, crying out: “Avenge, O Lord, the blood that was shed!”¹⁰ These words were rich with meaning, in ways not previously

⁷ ‘Vnde cum sepe contingat quod episcopi propter occupationes multiplices uel inualetudines corporales aut hostiles incursus seu occasiones alias ne dicamus defectum scientie quod in eis est reprobandum omnino nec de cetero tolerandum per se ipsos non sufficiunt ministrare populo uerbum Dei maxime per amplas dioceses et diffusas.’ Lateran IV, c. 10.

⁸ Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, pp. 109-13 & 239-47.

⁹ D. W. Robertson Jr., ‘Frequency of preaching in thirteenth-century England’, *Speculum* 24 (1949), 376-88; cited in Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 99.

¹⁰ ‘E diuerso etiam factus est populorum concursus clamantium, et dicentium, “Vindica, Domine, sanguinem qui effusus est.”’ *RDO*, I, p. 349.

recognised. An adaptation of Revelation 19:2, ‘*Vindica, Domine, sanguinem qui effusus est*’ was a responsory from the liturgy for Holy Innocents.¹¹ The date of the reopening marked Becket’s birthday, but Holy Innocents would be celebrated exactly one week later on 28 December. In addition to the liturgical association with martyrdom, some of Ralph’s readers might have known that Thomas Becket himself had used this very imprecation in a letter to Henry II.¹²

Responding to the clamour, Bartholomew celebrated the mass and preached a sermon *ad populum* on the psalm, ‘After the multitude of sorrows in my heart thy comforts have delighted my soul.’¹³ John Bale reported seeing a copy of this sermon in Oxford, but it has since been lost.¹⁴ Ralph did not explain why Bartholomew, of all those present, was the one to preach. There was, of course, no archbishop of Canterbury at this date. Bartholomew was probably considered one of the most able preachers among the episcopate. His role in the Becket controversy also made him an appropriate choice. Bartholomew had attempted to remain on good terms with both sides, not always with complete success, but enough to remain well-respected on all sides at the end of the conflict.¹⁵ He had also been a prominent figure in the aftermath of the archbishop’s murder. It was to Bartholomew that one of the murderers, William de Tracy, fled and confessed his guilt. And it was Bartholomew whom Pope Alexander III then charged with absolving the guilty men.¹⁶

Bartholomew’s sermon apparently echoed the mood of the crowd. The psalm from which he preached was an invocation to divine vengeance.¹⁷ Ralph structured his narrative in such a way as to suggest that God heard and answered Bartholomew and the people of Canterbury. Immediately following his record of Bartholomew’s sermon, Ralph described a great thunder that was heard across Ireland, England and France at Christmas 1172 (over a year later), portending the rebellion of Henry II’s sons in early 1173.¹⁸

From Gerald of Wales we learn that Bartholomew was again called upon to preach at Richard of Dover’s Council of Westminster in 1175. Gerald devoted a section of his *Vita Sancti Remigii* to the praise of Bartholomew of Exeter and Roger of Worcester. As evidence of Bartholomew’s abilities, Gerald described his preaching at the council of 1175, along with that of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London. It

¹¹ R.-J. Hesbert (ed.), *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, 6 vols., *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, series maior fontes 7-12 (Rome, 1963-79), I, pp. 52-3; II, pp. 84-5; IV, p. 160.

¹² A. Duggan (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170*, vol. I (Oxford, 2000), ep. 82, p. 340.

¹³ ‘Bartholomeus Exoniensis episcopus iuxta petitionem Cantuariorum Missam sollemnem celebraturus, et sermonem habiturus ad populum; ut diebus exactis in doloribus letitie celebris solamen opponeret, sic exorsus est, “Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum consolationes letificauerunt animam meam.”’ *RDO*, I, p. 349. Cf. Ps. 93.19.

¹⁴ Poole and Bateson (eds.), *John Bale’s Index*, p. 39. Neither of Bartholomew’s two sermons discussed here are found in his sermon collection.

¹⁵ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 15-35.

¹⁶ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 30.

¹⁷ Ps. 93.1-23.

¹⁸ ‘MCLXXII. In nocte Natalis Domini tonitruum in Ybernia, tonitruum in Anglia, tonitruum in omni regno Francorum auditum est generale subitum et horribile, portendens aliquid magnum, nouum et inusitatum.’ *RDO*, I, p. 350.

should not escape our attention that Gilbert and Bartholomew were the only two bishops present at the council from whom we have written sermon collections. In this instance, the survival of written sermons accurately reflects which bishops were the most respected preachers.

Details of the sermons are slim, and obscured by Gerald's own interpretations. He considered Richard of Dover, (and Baldwin of Forde after him,) to have been a weak archbishop whose ineptitude saw all of Becket's achievements undone.¹⁹ We should be sceptical of Gerald's claim that Bartholomew and Gilbert undermined Richard of Dover by their preaching.²⁰ Nevertheless, it is striking that Richard, as metropolitan and convenor of the council, did not preach. This would normally have been his privilege, and much attention was given to the ranking order of bishops on such occasions.²¹ Gervase of Canterbury, who provides an account more favourable to Richard, tactfully omitted to mention who had preached.²²

Bartholomew apparently preached forcefully on the subject of 'statues made by the hands of men' – presumably against idolatry.²³ Gerald echoed this with his own lament about the moral decline of the time, for which he blamed the archbishop's weakness.²⁴ Gilbert Foliot then spoke on the 'mountains' of vice and virtue. From what we have seen of Gilbert's sermon-making, it seems likely that this sermon would have involved a *distinctio* on the word '*mons*'. In Gerald's mind, Gilbert picked up a familiar theme: that those who rise may also fall, that those who rise higher naturally have further to fall, and that this fall is particularly likely where the *ascensor* is unqualified for the heights they attain.²⁵ Whether Gerald's account accurately reflects the sermons as they were preached or the preachers' intentions is doubtful. Gerald had set out to praise Bartholomew and was eager to criticise Richard of Dover. He proceeded to complain that candidates for high office in the Church used to be assessed carefully before their election, but were now chosen hastily, and their qualities – or lack of them – discovered only once it was too late.²⁶ His implication was that Bartholomew or Gilbert would have made better leaders of the English church.

¹⁹ *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 72.

²⁰ 'Quoniam enim uero Ricardus ille, tantis in regno personis et tam ualidis longe non literatura solum, sed industrie pariter et nature dotibus, ut uidebatur, inferior, regia potestate prefectus fuerat, tactus utroque sermone subtiliter erat atque notatus.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 58.

²¹ I am grateful to Professor Nicholas Vincent for providing early sight of his forthcoming article, 'Shall the first be last? Order and disorder amongst Henry II's bishops'.

²² *HWGC*, I, p. 251; II, p. 398.

²³ 'Item, in concilio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Ricardi apud Westmonasterium, idem sermonem faciens, totum de statu manu hominum factis, sepius id ipsum inculcando thema produxit.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 58.

²⁴ 'O quot hodie tales in ecclesia statuas erectas uidemus, manibus hominum factas, et uiolentia quadam principum arte fabricatas!' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 58.

²⁵ 'Similiter et Lundoniensis Gillebertus Foliot, de montibus uirtutum ibidem loquens et montibus uitiorum, in illis dicebat, quia quo plus ascenditur et plus merito scandens sublimatur, in his uero quo plus proficit quis eo plus deficit, quo plus ascenditur plus descenditur, et longe deorsum ascensor in deteriora deiicitur.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 58.

²⁶ *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 58.

Richard of Dover, it seems, was not a preacher. Gerald's remark that the archbishop was more at home in a barn than a church is an extreme but not an isolated comment on his lack of learning.²⁷ William of Newburgh also wrote that the archbishop's learning was only moderate.²⁸ Richard fits the mould of those bishops condemned at Lateran IV for failing to preach on account of a lack of learning. He was not illiterate, but seems to have made way for more educated bishops. Gervase of Canterbury, full of praise for Richard in his *Actus pontificum*, could even so not cite an occasion on which Richard had preached. In contrast, Gervase lauded Thomas Becket's preaching ability, and related some of the preaching of the next two archbishops, Baldwin and Hubert.

Baldwin had started his archiepiscopate well, Gervase explained, even though ultimately he fell into a bitter dispute with the monks of Canterbury. It was to allege a change in the archbishop's conduct that Gervase recalled Baldwin telling the monks, in a sermon delivered soon after his translation to Canterbury: 'This is the first and highest of my desires, brothers: that we be one in the Lord, for I owe to you whatever I succeed in. But I am bound to devote my body and soul to you.'²⁹ Hubert, in Gervase's view, stood in contrast with his predecessor, beginning badly but ending well by relenting in the Hackington dispute. So it was that Gervase recollected with fondness Hubert's parting sermon to the community. His claim, that Hubert had asked for forgiveness from any remaining offence, and absolved the monks of any hurt on their part, seems an exaggeration, if not a complete fabrication.³⁰ Nevertheless, Gervase is a witness to Baldwin and Hubert's preaching to the monks of Christ Church.

Gervase was also a witness to the Council of Westminster held in 1200, reporting that the main business of the council was prosecuted only 'after a sermon was appropriately completed'.³¹ Gervase was ever at pains to record and commend whatever he considered to be ideal praxis in the English Church, especially as it pertained to Canterbury.³² At this stage in his text, Gervase was casting Hubert in a

²⁷ Gerald of Wales compared Richard unfavourably to his predecessor and successor: 'Thomas de equitatu ad uillam ueniens statim aulam petebat, Ricardus grangiam, Baldwinus ecclesiam.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, p. 68.

²⁸ 'Homo quidem mediocriter literatus.' William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum: Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82 (London, 1884), I, p. 235.

²⁹ 'Dicebat enim fratribus inter cetera in sermone facundo, "Hoc est primum, fratres, et summum in desideriis meis, ut unum simus in Domino, uobis enim debeo quicquid ualeo. Sed et corpus et animam meam uobis teneor impendere."' *HWGC*, II, p. 401.

³⁰ 'Porro, cum archiepiscopus Hubertus bonorum operum multo ferueret desiderio ut inchoata compleret, et maiora horum faceret, uenit Cantuariam ut ibi sua uideret opera et conuentum, et in die apostolorum Petri et Pauli maiorem in conuentu honorifice et deuote missam celebravit, et post dies octo capitulum ingressus affectuose conuentum allocutus est, et preter alia dulcia pastoris uerba dixit; "Videte, carissimi, diligenter, que sint emendanda inter uos, et condignam adhibete correctionem, ego enim cum Deo placuerit moriturus sum, uos autem, qui mori non potestis, honori et utilitati ecclesie uestre diligentem curam impendite. Si quem uestrum in aliquo offendi, ueniam peto, et his qui me offenderunt penitus remitto. Et scitote carissimi quod pro uestris magis quam pro meis propriis constringor aduersis." Cum autem de beneficiis sibi impensis fratres ecclesie gratias agerent, et de recessu ipsius dolerent; "In proximo," inquit, "redibo ad uos, et diutius solito uobiscum manebo."' *HWGC*, II, p. 412.

³¹ 'Archiepiscopus interea concilium apud Westmonasterium celebravit, ubi post sermonem decenter completum, post uarias discussiones causarum, capitula promulgauit.' *HWGC*, II, p. 410.

³² M.-P. Gelin, 'Gervase of Canterbury, Christ Church and the archbishops', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009), 449-63.

favourable light: the archbishop had recently given in to the monks of Christ Church at the end of the protracted dispute over the foundation of a collegiate church. Hubert gathering his bishops for a solemn and – as the sermon demonstrated – a properly conducted council was just one part of Gervase’s presentation of the archbishop’s achievements. He proceeded to detail not only the bishops consecrated by Hubert at that particular council, but all the bishops Hubert ever consecrated; and the history continues with this favourable portrait.³³ Precisely for that reason, it seems unlikely that Hubert preached at the council in 1200. If he had, Gervase would surely have made this explicit. Just as he omitted to mention that the archbishop of Canterbury had *not* preached in 1175, so too with regard to 1200.

Other sermons seem to have been similarly documented, in order to emphasise the solemnity of particular occasions. On Sunday 5 October 1191, several bishops gathered in the Great Church at Reading, to depose and excommunicate William Longchamp, bishop of Ely.³⁴ Gerald of Wales described the ceremony in his *Vita Galfridi archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, emphasising its solemnity. Bartholomew of Exeter celebrated the mass, the archbishops and bishops pronounced the anathema, and then finally ‘the word was brought forth by the bishop of Coventry and publicly expounded to the people’.³⁵ The sermon was an integral part of this highly ritualised moment. On this occasion it was addressed *ad populum*, demonstrating the public nature of the excommunication ceremony. It can have been no coincidence that the bishop of Coventry, Hugh of Nonant, was chosen to speak for the bishops. In the previous months, Hugh had been a leading participant in the propaganda war against Longchamp.³⁶ The connection was surely not lost on Gerald. Hugh later became famous for an open letter in which he alleged Longchamp had attempted to flee England disguised as a woman, and had been mistaken for a prostitute by a fisherman on Dover beach.³⁷ Doubtless his sermon at Reading was no less sensational.

On Tuesday 28 April 1220, Bishop Richard Poore presided over the refoundation of Salisbury Cathedral. He processed from Old Sarum to the site of the new cathedral with his clergy. There, before laying the ‘first’ stone,³⁸ Richard Poore preached a sermon *ad populum* at the Foundation of New Sarum.³⁹ No further details are given. But again it seems that the reason for mentioning the sermon was to emphasise the solemnity and significance of the occasion.

³³ *HWGC*, II, pp. 410-14.

³⁴ For an overview of Longchamp’s fall from grace, and references to the most recent literature, see: M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 292-301.

³⁵ ‘Couetrensi episcopo uerbum proferente et palam ad populum exponente.’ *GCO*, IV, De vita Galfridi archiepiscopi Eboracensis, p. 402.

³⁶ D. E. Desborough, ‘Politics and prelacy in the late twelfth century: the career of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry, 1188-98’, *Historical Research* 64 (1991), 4-6.

³⁷ *GRHS*, II, pp. 215-20.

³⁸ Vincent, ‘Richard Poer’, pp. 5-40.

³⁹ W. H. R. Jones (ed.), *Vetus registrum Sarisberiense alias dictum registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi*, RS 80 (London, 1884), II, pp. 12-13; Vincent, ‘Richard Poer’, p. 6.

Chroniclers almost never recorded the ‘routine’ preaching of a bishop in his diocese, of the sort revealed in Bartholomew of Exeter’s sermon collection. One exception is Roger of Wendover’s description of a sermon given in 1232 by Henry of Sandford, bishop of Rochester (1226-35). It was what the bishop said on this occasion that warranted the chronicler’s report. Henry described how he had thrice seen a vision of Richard I and Stephen Langton crossing together from purgatory to heaven.⁴⁰ This was a claim that evidently captured Roger’s imagination, for he used it to introduce a section of the *Flores historiarum* in which he gathered a number of other legends and testimonies concerning Richard I’s piety.⁴¹

Happily, Roger included details about the audience, location and occasion of the sermon. It was addressed to a congregation of clergy and laity at Sittingbourne, in the diocese of Canterbury. Roger specified the occasion as the day ‘when “*Sitientes venite ad aquas*” is sung’, that is, on the fourth Saturday of Lent; in 1232, 27 March.⁴² Although it was part of the Lenten season, this was not a particularly notable occasion in the liturgical calendar. And yet laymen were in attendance. These may just have been some of the local elite, although ‘*populus*’ connotes a gathering of the general population. Sittingbourne lies along the route between Rochester and Canterbury, and so it was not an out-of-the-way place to find the bishop preaching. Probably, he was *en route* to, or returning from Canterbury. By this time, it is likely that Sittingbourne had already become a stopping-off point for pilgrims to Becket’s shrine. It would later be mentioned in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.⁴³ Perhaps, then, the *populus* who gathered to hear Henry’s sermon included pilgrims to Becket’s shrine. If so, it may have been they who spread their account of the bishop’s sermon, so that it came to Roger of Wendover’s ears.

Did only learned bishops preach? Bartholomew of Exeter, Gilbert Foliot, Baldwin of Forde, Richard Poore, and Henry of Sandford were all men whose education had prepared them for preaching. What evidence is there for the preaching of bishops whose training was of a different kind? Ironically, Gerald of Wales’ attempts to discredit various bishops preserves evidence of their preaching, when it might otherwise have been forgotten. In both the *Gemma ecclesiastica* and *De invectionibus*, Gerald reported anecdotes about an anonymous archbishop, whom he accused of repeated errors in grammar and doctrine. This was clearly Hubert Walter. One anecdote was said to have taken place at an Oxford

⁴⁰ ‘Sub eisdem diebus Henricus, Roffensis episcopus, cum in sabbato, quo cantatur “*Sitientes uenite ad aquas*,” apud Sidingeburniam, presente electo Cantuariensi, ordines celebrasset solennes, adstante clero et populo, fiducialiter protestatus est dicens, “*Gaudete omnes in Domino fratres, qui hic presentes estis, scientes indubitanter, quod nuper uno et eodem die exierunt de purgatorio rex quondam Anglorum Richardus et Stephanus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, cum uno capellano eiusdem archiepiscopi, ad conspectum diuine maiestatis, et eo die non nisi tres illi de locis penalibus exierunt; et ut his dictis meis fidem adhibeatis plenissimam et certam, quia uel mihi uel alii tertia iam uice hoc per uisionem reuelatum est ita manifeste, quod ab animo meo omnis dubitationis ambiguitas remouetur.*” Et quoniam hic mentio facta est de magnifico rege Richardo, unum de actibus eius ad edificationem audientium referre curabo.’ *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica*, 5 vols., ed. H. O. Coxe (London, 1841-44), IV, p. 234.

⁴¹ *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica*, IV, pp. 234-40.

⁴² Vincent, ‘Stephen Langton’, p. 67.

⁴³ L. D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2008), p. 116.

tribunal, confirming that Gerald referred to an archbishop of Canterbury.⁴⁴ Hubert chaired multiple convocations at Oxford.⁴⁵ The anecdotes are also datable because they mention contemporaries, such as Hugh of Coventry, bishop of Lichfield (1188-98).⁴⁶ A further anecdote, found only in *De invectionibus* related to a sermon Hubert had given:

On the Palm Sunday after the death of King Richard, with the procession completed, standing mitred and robed in the pulpit of the cathedral Church of Rouen between two lettered and distinguished archbishops, namely Walter of Rouen and John of Dublin, and presuming in such an audience to make the sermon to the people, he said: ‘This ass which Jesus rode on this day, what did she carry? Only the man? By no means! Certainly, [she carried] the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.’⁴⁷

There followed another anecdote where Hubert again revealed this same ignorance of the orthodox definition of the Trinity. On that occasion, Peter of Blois had preached. To everyone’s horror, the archbishop asked afterwards whether Jesus was Father, Son and Spirit.⁴⁸ Gerald intended to bring Hubert into disrepute. Unwittingly, he revealed an instance of Hubert’s preaching. The date would have been 11 April 1199, and the sermon was delivered *ad populum*, with at least an attempt to preach on a theme appropriate to the liturgical occasion.

The *Gemma ecclesiastica* also provides evidence for the preaching of William Longchamp, bishop of Ely (1189-97). Again, Gerald did not name his target. But, comparing him to the many-headed hydra on account of his many offices – justiciar, chancellor, legate and bishop – made it obvious to whom Gerald referred. This bishop, Gerald asserted, had visited the cathedral churches and monasteries of England while he held the office of legate with fifteen-hundred horses. Lateran III had legislated that bishops should take no more than thirty.⁴⁹ During this ‘visitation’, Longchamp allegedly gave a sermon *ad populum* in which he observed that the English had once been praised for both their military prowess and their letters, but were praised no longer on account of their extravagance and drunkenness. Gerald found this condescending, coming from a Norman. He thus delighted in pointing out that Longchamp had blunted his own point, using ‘*ubi*’ where he should have used ‘*quo*’.⁵⁰ But, again, his attack of the

⁴⁴ *GCO*, II, *Gemma ecclesiastica*, p. 345.

⁴⁵ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 71-2, 75 & 94-5.

⁴⁶ *GCO*, III, *De invectionibus*, p. 30.

⁴⁷ ‘Dominica palmarum post obitum Ricardi regis proxima sequente, processione completa, stans in pulpito cathedralis ecclesie Rotomagensis, mitratus et redimitus, inter duos archiepiscopos literatos et discretos, Rothomagensem Gualterum scilicet et Dublinensem Iohannem, et sermonem ad populum in tanta audientia facere presumens, ait: “Asina illa quam equitabat Iesus hodierna die, quid portabat? Hominem illum tantum? absit! immo Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.”’ *GCO*, III, *De invectionibus*, pp. 30-1.

⁴⁸ *GCO*, III, *De invectionibus*, p. 31.

⁴⁹ Lateran III, c. 4.

⁵⁰ ‘Ad hec etiam exemplum de episcopo qui nostris diebus belua multorum capitura effectus, iusticiarius scilicet, cancellarius, et legatus, quia episcopum quoque se nominari uix sinebat, qui cum legationis officio per Angliam fungens in mille et quingentis equis ecclesias cathedrales et monasteria uisitabat, sermonem ad populum faciens, quod pre arrogantia pariter et Normannice uerbositatis iactantia frequentius facere consueuerat, in Anglos ad quos loquebatur ex innato Normannorum inuectus odio, pluries hec uerba dicebat: “Angli olim tam militia quam literatura laudabiles fuere, nunc uero propter luxuriam et ebriositatem in neutra prestantes inueniuntur.” Subiecit

bishop leaves evidence of Longchamp's preaching *ad populum*. Moreover, Gerald credited Longchamp with undertaking a visitation of the province. Presumably, Longchamp was travelling on other business – hence the large entourage (although fifteen-hundred horses was plainly a mendacious exaggeration). By describing the bishop's itinerary as a visitation, Gerald could make Longchamp appear guilty of flouting canon law. But the combination of pastoral visitation with other business was probably normal practice.⁵¹

How did a man like Longchamp manage to prepare sermons? As his colleagues and other commentators liked to point out, Longchamp was low-born, and had worked his way up to high office through royal service.⁵² Richard Sharpe has suggested that Richard Barre, archdeacon of Ely, provided a resource to aid the bishop in his sermon-making.⁵³ Barre's *Compendium veteris et novi testamenti* was composed for William Longchamp in the 1190s. Sharpe points out that the text was to be a secret between Longchamp and his archdeacon. Barre emphasised in the prologue that it was for private use, as the bishop ought 'barely to show in public what has been prepared with private instruction'.⁵⁴ The text provided a 'short-cut to the study of the Bible', as well as several 'diagrams of the kind used to sketch out the structure of a sermon'.⁵⁵ Thus, the compendium would undoubtedly have been a valuable resource for sermon-making, and perhaps also for letter-writing.

Gerald was also a hostile witness to the preaching of yet another bishop, Cadwgan of Llandyfai, bishop of Bangor (1215-36). The animosity between the two men dated back to an earlier incident when Cadwgan was a simple monk of Strata Florida and had supposedly persuaded his abbot that Gerald should not be allowed to pawn his library to the monastery.⁵⁶ In his *Speculum ecclesie*, Gerald painted Cadwgan as an ambitious and unscrupulous figure. In support of this characterisation, he raised the subject of Cadwgan's preaching once he had risen to become abbot of Strata Florida. It seems reasonable to assume Cadwgan continued preaching in a similar fashion as bishop.

Despite his hostility towards Cadwgan, Gerald could not deny the facts: Cadwgan preached powerfully and travelled about doing so. The best Gerald could do was present an unfavourable interpretation of these facts. He claimed that Cadwgan's gift for oratory was inherited from his father, an Irish priest; that is, not the result of training. He also accused Cadwgan of plagiarising every sermon he preached,

etiam quod et auribus aliquoties audiui et uix me continui: "Sed ubi euanuit, ubi migrauit utraque gloria?" ubi "quo" ponere deberet, "ubi" aduerbium ponens, et inter aduerbia loci motum et statum designantia male distinguens, et optimos grammaticos literatosque uiros non minus impudenter quam imprudenter male grammatizando condemnans, atque damnable ipse latrando quidem, sed non mordendo, molestans. Et tamen a superficialibus et minus eruditibus, quia linguosus erat et audax in loquendo more gentis sue, sine literatura tamen et artium fundamento, pro magno reputabatur.' *GCO*, II, Gemma ecclesiastica, p. 348.

⁵¹ See below, p. 82.

⁵² R. V. Turner, 'William de Longchamp (d. 1197)', *ODNB* (2007).

⁵³ Sharpe, 'Richard Barre's *Compendium*', 128-46.

⁵⁴ 'Vix enim debent in publicum exhiberi que priuate preparata sint instructioni.' R. Sharpe, 'Richard Barre's *Compendium*', 144.

⁵⁵ Sharpe, 'Richard Barre's *Compendium*', 136.

⁵⁶ Goering and Pryce, 'De modo confitendi', 140.

and preaching for show rather than the edification of his hearers. If there was any truth to the point about plagiarism, it provides an insight into both the practice and perceptions of preaching. Gerald says that Cadwgan memorised his sermons ‘word for word’ (*uerbum ad uerbum*). Perhaps Cadwgan really did learn sermons composed by others and deliver them as his own; it would match the method seen in his writing.⁵⁷ And using the sermons of others was not necessarily disapproved of. Some preachers still simply read out the homilies of the Church Fathers.⁵⁸ Gerald’s reaction suggests that he, and perhaps other intellectuals, looked down on this practice – especially when employed by a senior ecclesiastic. But, if Cadwgan repeated the same few memorised sermons in different places, he would have been doing nothing very different from Hugh of Lincoln, as we shall see.

As for Cadwgan’s tireless preaching schedule, Gerald explained that the bishop frequently crossed between monasteries in Wales and England, and ‘on account of this, often went about in the manner of a vagrant’.⁵⁹ Put another way, the future bishop used his travels necessitated by other business to preach in various places. Cadwgan could have continued in this as bishop of Bangor. It made sense for bishops to combine their various duties, conducting pastoral visitations on their way to deal with political and administrative matters. In the *Magna vita Sancti Hugonis*, Hugh is often depicted stopping along his journey for spiritual duties. Burials, in particular, attracted his attention, and he would apparently join in with any he happened upon, ‘whenever he was on his travels’ (*dum iter ageret*).⁶⁰ In his *Vita sancti Hugonis*, Gerald emphasised that Hugh, unlike other bishops, dismounted his horse to make confirmations.⁶¹ Evidently, many bishops were eager to reach their *real* destination while discharging their spiritual duties along the way. Hugh also attended to pastoral duties *en route* for the royal curia; what made him exceptional was his willingness to be delayed by these duties, even when that meant being late for the king.⁶²

Gerald of Wales’ *Itinerarium Kambriae* and episcopal preaching in Wales

One narrative source that provides a richer account of episcopal preaching is Gerald of Wales’ *Itinerarium Kambriae*. It recounts Baldwin of Forde’s crusade-preaching campaign of 1188, in which Gerald himself participated. The tour was about more than just preaching the cross. Robert Bartlett has

⁵⁷ See this thesis, chapters three and five, pp. 108-11 & 159-61.

⁵⁸ S. Wenzel, ‘The use of the Bible in preaching’, in J. C. Paget and J. Schaper (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, II: From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 684.

⁵⁹ ‘Haud aliter et dictus abbas, nunc episcopus, filius eius eadem dote precellens, in abbatiis tam Anglie quam Wallie per quas transibat, et quas ob hoc precipue more trutinico circuibat, fabricatos ab aliis sermones, sed bene firmatos ab ipso memoriterque retentos, uerbum ad uerbum reminiscens, nimirum in filio facundi lingua parentis, predicando iugiter et exhortando, magis quidem ad ostentationem quam ad auditorum edificationem, recitare consuevit.’ *GCO*, IV, *Speculum ecclesie*, p. 165.

⁶⁰ *MVSH*, II, p. 77.

⁶¹ *GCO*, VII, *Vita sancti Hugonis*, pp. 94-6.

⁶² *MVSH*, II, pp. 77-8. On Hugh’s diligent administration of the sacraments, see chapter four of this thesis, pp. 116-7.

pointed out that it was a rare visitation of Wales by an archbishop of Canterbury, and one that symbolically asserted Canterbury's claim over the region.⁶³ P. E. Edbury has downplayed this aspect of the itinerary, though, pointing out that Baldwin was following the orders of Henry II. Edbury suggests that the king did not expect to collect the Saladin Tithe from Wales, and so sought to recruit soldiers instead, especially archers.⁶⁴

Gerald narrated the itinerary taken by Baldwin and his entourage. Naturally, he mentions much preaching. But he did not detail any of the sermons. Baldwin's extant *Sermo de sancta cruce* likely gives the closest impression.⁶⁵ Christoph Maier identified two main strategies used for preaching the cross. One was to emphasise the penitential aspect of crusading, dwelling on the audience's sin and holding out the spiritual rewards offered to crusaders. The other was to focus on the sufferings of Christ, the occupation of his patrimony, and the mistreatment of Christians at the hand of the enemy, thereby rousing the anger of the audience.⁶⁶ Baldwin's preaching incorporated elements of both, but tended towards the former style.

Baldwin opened his sermon on the cross with sixteen consecutive sentences beginning '*cruce*', a relentless repetition designed to strengthen his emphasis on the shame of the cross.⁶⁷ 'What is more just,' Baldwin asked, 'than that the man for whom Christ suffered should suffer for Christ?'⁶⁸ He made use of Matthew 16:24, that verse so strongly associated with crusading, to recommend the *imitatio Christi*: 'Whence the cross is put upon us for carrying by Christ, who said, "If anyone will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me."'⁶⁹ Obedience to this call brought rewards.⁷⁰ The cross was a place of indulgence.⁷¹ It was the ladder to heaven, and the key to paradise.⁷² Disobedience was fatal. In another sermon, Baldwin warned that 'Christ's death does not effect

⁶³ R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), p. 47.

⁶⁴ P. E. Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade in Wales' in A. Haverkamp and H. Vollrath (eds.), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 228-9.

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Dr James Kane for this observation.

⁶⁶ C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 116-117.

⁶⁷ *BFO*, sermo 8, iii-viii, pp. 127-129. On the use of theatricals in crusade preaching see: C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), p. 78; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 62; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), p. 101.

⁶⁸ 'Quid enim iustius, quam ut homo patiatur pro Christo, pro quo passus est Christus?' *BFO*, sermo 4, xlix, p. 80.

⁶⁹ 'Vnde et nobis crux portanda imponitur a Christo, qui ait: "Qui vult uenire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me."' *BFO*, sermo 3, i, p. 47. On Matt. 16:24: Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 31, 70, 388 & 477. On *Imitatio Christi*: W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), *passim* but especially pp. 86-119.

⁷⁰ 'Nos etenim pati oportet, ut digna factis recipiamus.' *BFO*, sermo 3, i, p. 47.

⁷¹ 'Hic est locus indulgentie' *BFO*, sermo 8, vi, p. 128.

⁷² 'Cruce est ... scala celi, clauis paradisi ... terminus peregrinationis' *BFO*, sermo 8, vii-viii, p. 128.

salvation to him, nor the saviour's cross bring [salvation] to him, who, not carrying the cross, destroys himself'.⁷³

Baldwin employed militaristic language. The cross was 'the symbol of Christian soldiers'.⁷⁴ In other sermons, he described how 'we still dwell in the world, as on a battlefield where Christ our Lord has been killed for us. Anyone who leaves this field, not having in himself either a wound or a swelling or a bruise, will be considered inglorious'.⁷⁵ Baldwin exhorted his congregation that they should be 'carrying the marks of Jesus in your body, and the character of his knights'.⁷⁶ He roused the listener to the defence of Christ, declaring, 'If, therefore, anyone is of Christ, let him arm himself with vengeful zeal against Christ's persecutors'.⁷⁷ In this sermon, the enemy was primarily identified as the 'old man' within the Christian, who still rejects Christ.⁷⁸ But, with very little adjustment, it is clear that Baldwin's sermons would have made for compelling crusade propaganda.

Working from Gerald's account, Edbury made various observations about the practicalities of the preaching campaign, and speculated about the kind of sermons that may have been preached. In the main, Baldwin's preaching was public. It seems likely that messengers went ahead to gather audiences.⁷⁹ Local rulers were expected to attend, or face excommunication, as Owain Cyfeiliog, a ruler in Powys, discovered.⁸⁰ The sermons were given in Latin or French. Alexander, archdeacon of Bangor was sometimes present to interpret for the Welsh, but on other occasions no translation was provided.⁸¹ Baldwin did not do all of the preaching. William, bishop of Llandaff (1186-91), the Cistercian abbots of Strata Florida and Whitland, and Gerald himself all preached at least once.⁸² There is no indication as to whether Bishop William was in the habit of preaching regularly, although his willingness to preach before Baldwin suggests he had some ability.⁸³ While we may not have the exact content of these sermons, Edbury suggested that Gerald's anecdotes in the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, concerning what befell those who did or did not take the Cross, would have been the kind of *exempla* used in his and

⁷³ 'Mors enim Christi illi salutem non operatur, nec crux saluatoris illi proficit, qui crucem non baiulans, ipse se perdit.' *BFO*, sermo 4, lii, p. 81.

⁷⁴ 'Crux mortificatio carnis, castigatio corporis, caracter christiane militie' *BFO*, sermo 8, viii, p. 128.

⁷⁵ 'Adhuc in mundo uersamur, quasi in campo certaminis, ubi Christus Dominus noster pro nobis occisus est. Quisquis de hoc campo exierit, non habens in se nec plagam nec tumorem nec liuorem, inglorius reputabitur.' *BFO*, sermo 4, lii, p. 80.

⁷⁶ 'portantes stigmata Iesu in corpore uestro et caracterem militie eius' *BFO*, sermo 6, i, p. 95.

⁷⁷ 'Si quis ergo Christi est, armet se zelo uindictae contra persecutores Christi.' *BFO*, sermo 3, xxv, p. 54.

⁷⁸ 'Vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruat corpus peccati, ut ultra non seruiamus peccato.' *BFO*, sermo 3, p. 48; cf. Rom. 6.6.

⁷⁹ *GCO*, I, De rebus a se gestis, p. 74; Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade', p. 223.

⁸⁰ Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade', p. 223.

⁸¹ *GCO*, VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, pp. 55, 67, 83 & 126; Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade', p. 224.

⁸² Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade', p. 224.

⁸³ 'Igitur apud Osche castrum, tam ad archiepiscopi sermonem, quam ad uiri boni et honesti Guillelmi Landauensis episcopi, qui per suam diocesim nobis fideliter astitit, persuasionem, Alexandro quoque Bangorensis ecclesie archidiacono ubique ad Gualenses interprete existente, multitudo uirorum cruce signatur.' *GCO*, VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, p. 55.

others' preaching.⁸⁴ Baldwin, however, never employed *exempla* in his written sermons. It would have been a departure from his usual style to do so on this campaign.

The *Itinerarium Kambriae* also reveals that Reiner, bishop of St Asaph (1186-1224), about whom very little else is known, seems to have been a diligent and powerful preacher. When Baldwin and his entourage passed through Powys towards Whitchurch and Oswestry, they found a great number had already been signed with the cross by Bishop Reiner.⁸⁵ The power of this bishop's preaching, Gerald claimed, had been aided by a miracle. Not long before, 'while Bishop Reiner was preaching the cross,' a young man had refused to go on crusade until his recently murdered master, Owain ap Madog, had been avenged.⁸⁶ He brandished his spear to emphasise his point, but it shattered in his hands and the young man accepted the cross without delay.⁸⁷

Hugh of Lincoln's *vitae* on his teaching and preaching

Hugh of Lincoln (1186-1200) was the most celebrated pastor of the period. Sometimes known as Hugh of Avalon after the place of his birth, he came to England first as prior of the Carthusian charterhouse at Witham, being elected to the see of Lincoln some years later. Three hagiographical accounts of the bishop's life were produced. Gerald of Wales' *vita* was the first; Adam of Eynsham's longer *Magna vita Sancti Hugonis* followed. Both men knew Hugh personally. Adam was an eyewitness to much that he described, having served as the bishop's chaplain in the last years of his life. The metrical life penned by Henry of Avranches is largely derived from the other two *vitae*, Gerald's especially.

Both Gerald and Adam recalled Hugh's teaching. As hagiographers, they were presenting what they considered saintly behaviour. So the episodes describing Hugh's teaching and preaching can be taken as presentations of ideal episcopal preaching. Adam and Gerald described a kind of teaching that was less formal than the sermon. Not necessarily recognised as *predicatio*, it nevertheless involved instruction and exhortation. Alan of Lille distinguished between preaching, teaching, prophesying, and

⁸⁴ Edbury, 'Preaching the crusade', pp. 224-5.

⁸⁵ 'Vbi nonnullis ad crucem allectis,—ab episcopo namque loci illius Reynerio multitudo fuerat ante signata' *GCO*, VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, p. 142.

⁸⁶ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1978), p. 201, fn 415: 'Owain Fychan ap Madog ap Maredudd, a younger brother of Gruffydd and Elise, had been murdered at Gwern y Figyn in 1187, not by Owain Cyfeiliog, but by this last's two sons Gwenwynwyn and Cadwallon.' The original source of this information is not cited.

⁸⁷ 'Acciderat autem his in partibus paulo ante, Reinerio episcopo crucem predicante, iuuenem quemdam perualidum, cum a sociis cruce signatis ad eiusdem signi susceptionem cum instantia magna uerbis suasoriis inuitaretur, demum respondisse; "Priusquam," inquit, "domini mei mortem hac lancea quam manu gesto uindicauero, monitis non acquiescam;" Oeneum significans Madoci filium, uirum egregium, ab Oeneo de Keueiliauc consobрино suo dolose nuper et scelerose peremptum. Et inter loquendum, cum ira uindice deferuens lanceam fortiter excuteret, ipsa forte, ex utraque manus excutientis parte confracta, statim in terram decedit; tantum trunculo quem manu clauderat ei remanente. Quo prognostico perterritus plurimum et consternatus, tanquam certissimo crucis suscipiende signo prouocatus, crucem illico sponte suscepit.' *GCO*, VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, pp. 142-3.

speech-making, according to the different audience and subject.⁸⁸ As remembered by his hagiographers, Hugh of Lincoln could teach effectively across that range. Adam of Eynsham marvelled that the bishop was able to teach the unlearned in simple terms, and yet amaze even the most erudite with his depth of understanding.⁸⁹ The *vitae* show Hugh teaching kings, laymen, clerics, monks, lepers, women, scholars, and more. He tailored his teaching to each audience: ‘He, being inspired by the love of God, gave to each the draught of sound doctrine according to his state and profession, spicing the cup with the honey of heavenly prudence and discrimination.’⁹⁰

A bishop’s advice to his king fulfilled two functions. He was a magnate of the realm giving counsel to his lord; he was also God’s representative giving spiritual monition. Thomas Becket had appealed to Henry II: ‘Therefore, if it please my lord, let him listen to the counsel of his loyal servant, the warning of his bishop, and the rebuke of his father.’⁹¹ The advice of a bishop to his king could thus be seen as part of the bishop’s duty to instruct his flock.⁹² A saintly bishop preferred to use his influence with the king for spiritual rather than political ends.

The ability of Hugh, the ‘hammer of kings’, to placate the Angevins with disarming humour is well known.⁹³ The idea that spiritual magnates should control and temper the excesses of royal power was well established in clerical circles.⁹⁴ It was hoped that bishops could bring royal policy in line with the Church’s own agenda. But Hugh was concerned too for the spiritual welfare of the kings themselves. ‘You are our parishioner’, he reminded Richard I, who had been born in Oxford – within the see of Lincoln.⁹⁵ Hugh invited the king to make confession, and was initially resisted, but proceeded anyway to castigate the king for hatred of his enemies, faithlessness to his marriage bed, and lay investiture.⁹⁶ Whether this exchange ever really happened is not certain: Adam of Eynsham was not actually present. But he was making a point about Hugh’s courage to assert spiritual authority over the king. Following the king’s confession, Adam has Richard remarking to his attendants: ‘If the other bishops were such as he, no king or ruler would dare raise up his head against them.’⁹⁷

⁸⁸ Briscoe and Jaye, *Artes praedicandi*, p. 21.

⁸⁹ ‘Eius namque ad homines indoctos, ut Scriptura de prudentibus dicit, erat doctria facilis; nam inter perfectos loquebatur sapientiam quibusque exercitatissimis in studio sapientie admirandam.’ *MVSH*, II, p. 47.

⁹⁰ ‘Qui iuxta ordinatum in eo diuinitus caritatem, omnibus propinabat pro status sui et ordinis exigentia, doctrine salutaris poculum, melle quidem celestis sapientie conditum set discretionis libramine temperatum.’ *MVSH*, II, p. 46.

⁹¹ ‘Audiat itaque Dominus meus, si placet, consilium fidelis sui, commonitionem episcopi sui, et castigationem patris sui.’ Duggan (ed.), *Becket Correspondence*, I, pp. 296-7 and see also pp. 266 & 330.

⁹² See, with reference to an earlier period: Suchan, ‘Monition and advice’, pp. 39-50.

⁹³ *MVSH*, II, p. 232; K. J. Leyser, ‘The Angevin kings and the holy man’, in Mayr-Harting (ed.), *St. Hugh of Lincoln*, pp. 49-73.

⁹⁴ N. C. Vincent, ‘The court of Henry II’, in C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (eds.), *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 312.

⁹⁵ “‘Noster,” inquit, “parochianus es, domine rex”” *MVSH*, II, p. 103.

⁹⁶ *MVSH*, II, pp. 102-105.

⁹⁷ “‘Vere,” inquit, “si tales quails iste est, essent passim et ceteri episcopi, nullus contra eos regum aut principum attollere presumeret ceruicem.”” *MVSH*, II, p. 105.

Adam was present for some of Hugh's interactions with King John. These similarly demonstrated Hugh's concern for his king's spiritual welfare, although Adam interpreted these episodes retrospectively, lamenting that John had not paid heed to Hugh's admonitions. The king wore a precious stone set in gold, supposedly as a charm to guarantee he would not lose any part of his kingdom.⁹⁸ This detail may have been added for ironic effect, since Adam wrote after John had lost control of much of his continental dominion. Hugh condemned this superstition, warning the king: 'Do not put your trust in an inanimate stone, but in the living true and heavenly stone, our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁹⁹ Hugh had also drawn John's attention to the sculpted depiction of the Last Judgement in the porch at Fontevrault Abbey. On one wall were the damned; on the opposite side were the saved. Pointing out the royal figures among the damned, Hugh advised John, 'Fix your mind always on their howls and perpetual torment ... This fate ought always to be dreaded whilst there is time to avoid it.'¹⁰⁰ Later, Hugh preached a sermon of admonition for John's benefit, on the subject of good and bad rulers. Adam claimed that John tried repeatedly to bring the sermon to an early conclusion.¹⁰¹

Hugh's lay audiences ranged from kings to '*rustici*' and '*simplices*'.¹⁰² According to Adam, Hugh began preaching with vigour as soon as he was made bishop, and the characteristic feature of this preaching was that 'he rebuked sinners sternly, with no undue consideration for persons of importance'.¹⁰³ This probably refers to Hugh's routine preaching in the cathedral church of Lincoln, or perhaps in churches around the diocese. No written sermons from Hugh survive. He bequeathed to Lincoln Cathedral library, among other items, two large volumes of sermons of the Church Fathers, and a collection of homilies.¹⁰⁴ Hugh had the Fathers' sermons read to him at mealtimes, and perhaps these were resources that he drew upon when composing his own sermons.¹⁰⁵ The *vitae* largely focus on Hugh's less formal teaching. But there are two passages in the *Magna vita* that seem to be Adam's reports of the bishop's sermons.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ Nicholas Vincent has identified contemporary evidence corroborating the fact that John wore such an item around his neck: N. C. Vincent, 'An inventory of gifts', in D. Crook and L. J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 133-4.

⁹⁹ "Non," inquit, "in lapide insensibili fiduciam ponatis set tantum in lapide uiuo et uere celesti, Domino Ihesu Christo." *MVSH*, II, pp. 139-41. There was a tension between attributing meaning and even power to objects such as precious stones on the one hand and superstition on the other. Relics, of course, were 'safe' to attribute power to, and Hugh himself collected many: *MVSH*, II, pp. 153-72.

¹⁰⁰ 'Tunc ait episcopus, "Horum eiulatus et interminabiles cruciatus uobis indesinenter animus representet; hec perpetua supplicia uobis ante cordis oculos assidue uersentur: horum malorum sedula recordatio doceat uos quanto sui dispendio aliis ad tempus modicum preficiuntur regendis hominibus, qui seipsos male regendo sine fine cruciandi demoniacis subiciuntur spiritibus.'" *MVSH*, II, p. 140.

¹⁰¹ *MVSH*, II, p. 143.

¹⁰² These terms are those used by Gerald and Adam: *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 95; *MVSH*, II, p. 47.

¹⁰³ 'peccantes libere increpabat, nullis contra iustitiam potestatibus deferebat.' *MVSH*, I, p. 114.

¹⁰⁴ *MVSH*, I, p. 126.

¹⁰⁵ *MVSH*, I, p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ *MVSH*, II, pp. 75-76; II, pp. 46-7.

Adam claimed that these passages were a faithful record of Hugh's speech, 'in almost each word' (*per singula pene uerba*).¹⁰⁷ However, a number of ideas are squashed together, giving the impression that they are heavily abbreviated versions of whole sermons. More correctly, they are syntheses of several sermons Hugh had preached on a similar theme. After one of these passages, Adam wrote that 'the man of God *often* developed this further'.¹⁰⁸ With reference to the other, Adam recalled that Hugh 'was wont *frequently* to urge this and similar considerations with great fervour upon his hearers.'¹⁰⁹ One of these sermons was a sort of exposition of the sacraments.¹¹⁰ The other would have been addressed to the laity, for it contained Hugh's teaching that they too could attain the kingdom of heaven and be considered chaste in their marriages. Contemporaries and modern scholars alike have been attracted to Hugh's message to lay people:

The kingdom of God is not confined only to monks, hermits and anchorites. When at the last, the Lord shall judge every individual, he will not hold it against him that he has not been a hermit or a monk, but will reject each of the damned because he had not been a real Christian. A Christian is expected to have three virtues, and if, on the Day of Judgement he lacks any of them, the name of Christian will be useless to him. The name without the reality is in itself a condemnation, for falsehood is the more horrible in a professor of truth. That blessed name must really represent the virtues it implies, and all sincere Christians must have loving hearts, truthful tongues and chaste bodies.¹¹¹

Adam of Eynsham remembered two particular conclusions that Hugh drew from this lesson. Firstly, 'even married people, who never rose above the natural obligations of their state, should not be considered to be devoid of the virtue of chastity but equally with virgins and celibates would be admitted to the glory of the heavenly kingdom'.¹¹² Secondly, Hugh impressed on the 'minds of the simple' (*animos simplicium*) that they should be able to explain what it means to be a Christian to their friends.¹¹³

Hugh's clerical entourage also received impromptu lessons. Gerald tells the story of Hugh returning the ox an old widow had brought to him as heriot. The bishop's steward warned him that to concede such claims would undermine his ability to hold land. Hugh dismounted his horse and, picking up a clod of

¹⁰⁷ *MVSH*, II, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ 'Disserebat de hiis *sepe* uir Dei diffusius' *MVSH*, II, p. 46. Emphasis added.

¹⁰⁹ 'Memoriam habundantie suauitatis diuine erga humanum genus suauiter eructans intimus a secretis Deique amicus Hugo, hec et hiis similia que subinferimus suis sepiissime in odorem suauitatis ingerebat auditoribus.' *MVSH*, II, p. 75.

¹¹⁰ *MVSH*, II, pp. 75-6.

¹¹¹ "'Haut solum," inquit, "monachi set nec heremite tantummodo atque solitarii consequentur regnum Dei. Denique cum unumcumque iudicabit Dominus, nequequam id expostulabit quod heremita quisque non fuerat aut monachus, set hoc potius reprobo cuique exprobrabitur quod minime extiterit ueraciter Christianus. Nam tria quedam a quolibet sunt exigenda Christiano, ex quibus si uel unum illi cum iudicabitur defuerit, nomen illi Christianum prodesse non ualebit. Nocebit potius nomen sine re, quia dampnabilior est falsitas in ueritas habeatur beati nominis huius, quatinus indesinenter teneatur caritas in corde, ueritas in ore, castitas quoque in corpore non fallaciter Christiani.'" *MVSH*, II, p. 46.

¹¹² 'docens etiam coniugatos, mensure sue limites minime transcendentis, castitatis decore nequaquam priuandos, set cum uirginibus pariter et continentibus superne beatitudinis gloria donandos.' *MVSH*, II, pp. 46-7.

¹¹³ *MVSH*, II, p. 47.

earth, replied, 'I am holding land now, but I concede to the woman her poor little ox.' To this he added a theological explanation: 'For I am seeking not to hold land below, but rather heaven above.' And, as if to emphasise his point, he threw the clay from his hands.¹¹⁴ This was not just a pun on 'holding land'. Hugh was alluding to Colossians 3:2 – 'Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth.'

Adam emphasised that words of encouragement were an important part of Hugh's regular visits to leper houses, writing that the bishop 'would comfort their souls by his kindly words, relieving their sorrow by his motherly tenderness, and encouraging those who were so desolate and afflicted in this life to hope for an eternal reward, combining with amazing gentleness words of consolation and exhortations to good conduct'.¹¹⁵ Hugh had an apposite lesson for lepers. Drawing from Philippians 3:21, he taught that they 'could confidently await the coming of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, who would transform their vile bodies into the glory of His risen body'.¹¹⁶

The subject of Hugh's interactions with women features in all of the *vitae*. Saints conquering lust was a trope in hagiographical literature. The metrical life made a real feature of this, claiming that Hugh cut off the flesh where a would-be suitor had touched him.¹¹⁷ According to Adam, Hugh experienced a vision in which St Basil, the recently deceased prior of Chartreuse, cut open his bowels and extracted hot cinders. From then on, his temptations were milder.¹¹⁸ This, Adam explained, enabled Hugh to minister to devout matrons and widows, 'instructing them abundantly' (*ubertim instructas*).¹¹⁹ Adam remembered a teaching that Hugh 'was accustomed to say' (*dicere consueuerat*):

Almighty God certainly deserves to be loved by women, for he did not disdain to be born of a woman, and thus conferred a special honour on the whole sex. To no man was it granted to be called the father of God, but to a woman alone was it accorded to be God's mother.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ 'Quod uidens senescallus loci eiusdem, ait illi: "Domine, si hec et similia uobis de iure competentia sic remiseritis, terram nequaquam tenere poteritis." Episcopus autem, hoc audito, statim ab equo dilapsus in terram, ualde tunc ibidem et profunde lutosam, ambabus manibus plenis lutum tenens, "Nunc," inquit, "terram teneo, et tamen mulieri paupercule bouem suum remitto." Et sic manibus luto projecto, et in altum suspiciendo, subiunxit; "Nec enim terram tenere deorsum, sed celum potius desuper quero." GCO, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, pp. 96-7.

¹¹⁵ 'uerbis optimis releuabat animos eorum, dolentibus quodammodo materna lenitate blandiens, et ad spem retributionis eterne desolatos temporaliter afflictosque sustollens, morum quoque bonorum documenta suauitate mira interserens uerbis consolatoriis.' *MVSH*, II, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ 'Hos fiducialiter et secure expectare Saluatorem memorabat Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, qui reformet corpus humilitatis eorum, configuratum corpori claritatis sue' *MVSH*, II, p. 14; cf. Phil. 3.21.

¹¹⁷ Garton (ed.), *Metrical Life of St Hugh*, pp. 18-23.

¹¹⁸ *MVSH*, I, pp. 49-52. This tale was copied in the metrical life – a rare case of copying material from Adam rather than Gerald: Garton (ed.), *Metrical Life of St Hugh*, pp. 28-9.

¹¹⁹ *MVSH*, II, p. 48.

¹²⁰ "Satis," aiebat, "a sexu femineo Deus omnipotens diligi promeruit, qui nasci de femina non refugit. Magnificum quoque ac uere dignum ex hoc omnibus feminis priuilegium contulit. Nam cum uiro concessum non sit quod sit uel dicatur pater Dei, hoc tamen prestitum est mulieri ut sit parens Dei." *MVSH*, II, p. 48. I have not been able to find a similar point to that made by Hugh here in other medieval writing.

Hugh also instructed even learned men. Master Adam of Dryburgh, a Premonstratensian abbot, enjoyed many learned conversations with the bishop.¹²¹ Gerald, who studied at Lincoln for a time,¹²² remembered the kind of repartee that was a feature of Hugh's relationship with the chancellor of the cathedral school, William de Montibus, whom Gerald described – with a hint of jealousy – as 'very much his friend and favourite'.¹²³ In Newark, Hugh had kissed a leper (as was his habit).¹²⁴ William thought to inform the bishop that St Martin had cleansed a leper with his kiss, 'lest the bishop think he had done something great'.¹²⁵ Hugh retorted: 'Martin, by kissing the leper cured him in body, but the leper with a kiss has healed me in soul.'¹²⁶

The *vitae* show that teaching and preaching were an integral part of what made Hugh the model bishop, and a routine part of his episcopal duties. All commentators agreed that Hugh possessed a ready wit and deep spiritual insight. In the eyes of his hagiographers, spiritual exhortation, instruction, encouragement, and admonition flowed from all his conversation. Even allowing for the inevitable exaggerations and fabrications of hagiography, Hugh seems to have turned many a situation into a didactic opportunity. For the saintly bishop, preaching was not limited to sermons.

Stephen Langton's preaching as archbishop of Canterbury

If Hugh was the most celebrated pastor of these bishops, Stephen Langton, nicknamed 'thunder tongue' ('*lingua-tonante*'), was the most prolific preacher.¹²⁷ More than three-hundred extant sermons are attributed to the archbishop; more than for any other bishop of his generation.¹²⁸ But, importantly, in her seminal study of the sermons, Phyllis Roberts concluded that the vast majority had been preached before Langton was promoted to Canterbury, while he was a master of Paris.¹²⁹ Roberts identified six apparent references to Langton preaching as archbishop in the sources, and conjectured a seventh occasion on which he might have preached.¹³⁰

¹²¹ *MVSH*, II, pp. 52-4.

¹²² Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 242.

¹²³ 'familiaris eius admodum et dilectus' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 107; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 242.

¹²⁴ *MVSH*, II, pp. 13-14.

¹²⁵ 'ne magnum quid se in hoc egisse reputaret episcopus, immo potius defectum suum in hoc attenderet, quod leprosum deosculando non curaret, dixit ei predictus Willelmus, familiaris eius admodum et dilectus, "Martinus osculo leprosum mundavit."' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 107.

¹²⁶ 'Et respondit episcopus, dicti causam intelligens, "Martinus osculando leprosum curavit eum in corpore. Leprosus autem osculo sanavit me in anima."' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 108.

¹²⁷ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 21; N. Bériou 'La prédication d'Etienne Langton: Un état de la question quarante ans après la thèse de Phyllis Roberts', in Bataillon, Bériou, Dahan and Quinto (eds.), *Étienne Langton*, pp. 397-426.

¹²⁸ Roberts found 317 sermons attributed to Langton, and dismissed twenty: Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 31. John Baldwin preferred to say that there were 'over a hundred' sermons: Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 30.

¹²⁹ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 21.

¹³⁰ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 19-20.

The annalist of Waverley recorded two sermons from 1213, the year Langton returned to England from exile. The first has become famous because the archbishop was heckled from the congregation.¹³¹ On 25 August, 1213, Langton preached *ad populum* in St Paul's on Psalm 27:7 – 'My heart trusted in God, and I am helped, and he restored my flesh, and from my will I shall confess to Him' – when suddenly a voice called out 'By the death of God, you lie, for your heart never trusted in God, nor does He restore your flesh!'¹³² Preacher and congregation alike were astounded, and for a moment there was silence. Then the troublemaker was seized, scourged, and delivered into custody, while Langton continued with his sermon.¹³³ The following day, explained the annalist, Langton's temerity was vindicated when he successfully managed the Council of Westminster, and John did homage to the papal legate, Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum.¹³⁴

As George Lacombe discovered, a written version of this sermon survives.¹³⁵ This record explains what the annalist referred to as Langton's *temeritas*. Nicholas Vincent encapsulates the sermon as 'a diatribe against the particular sins of the English, here identified as a nation notoriously prone to gluttony and drunkenness, against which sins, Langton argues, a new regime of abstinence should be instituted if the English are truly to find penance and redemption'.¹³⁶ As Vincent points out, this sermon was not the first time Langton had condemned the drunkenness of the English.¹³⁷ Lacombe judged that the sermon 'shows us the Langton pictured by Professor Powicke: the statesman who rules by principle, whose public actions square with the political theory he taught at Paris'.¹³⁸ In short, this was a sermon after the fashion of the Paris masters, delivered by Langton as archbishop to the people of his province.¹³⁹

Later in 1213, on 19 November, Langton visited Bury St Edmunds and gave a sermon to the monks of the abbey. They had appealed to the archbishop for help. King John had reacted angrily to their election of Hugh of Northwold; he had wanted the monks to nominate several candidates from whom he could make the final choice.¹⁴⁰ Langton, apparently delighted by the monks' display of independence,¹⁴¹ offered advice and encouragement to them in his sermon: 'If you are divided, you will be made subject,

¹³¹ G. R. Evans, *The Church in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2007), p. 79.

¹³² 'sed in primis apud Sanctum Paulum sermonem fecit ad populum; quo sic incepto, "In Deo speravit cor meum, et adiutus sum, et refluuit caro mea," etc., surgens quidam uerbis huiuscemodi alta uoce respondit, "Per mortem Dei," inquit, "mentiris, nunquam cor tuum speravit in Deo, nec refluuit caro tua." AM, II, Waverley, p. 277.

¹³³ 'Hoc audito tacuit archipresul, obstupescitibus omnibus; nec mora, irruente in eum populo, flagellatus est, custodieque traditus' AM, II, Waverley, p. 277.

¹³⁴ 'ut in die sequenti, qua temeritate huiuscemodi proferret sermonem, innotesceret. Archipresul uero persecutus est sermonem. ...' AM, II, Waverley, p. 277.

¹³⁵ G. Lacombe, 'An unpublished document on the Great Interdict (1207-12130)', *The Catholic Historical Review* 15 (1930), 408-20.

¹³⁶ Vincent, 'Stephen Langton', p. 76.

¹³⁷ Vincent, 'Stephen Langton', p. 77.

¹³⁸ Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', p. 410.

¹³⁹ For further discussion of this sermon, see chapter five, pp. 146-8.

¹⁴⁰ R. M. Thomson (ed.), *The Chronicle of the Election of Hugh Abbot of Bury St Edmunds and Later Bishop of Ely* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 2-20.

¹⁴¹ Thomson (ed.), *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 12-14.

but if united, then you will never be placed in subjection.¹⁴² The author of the *Chronica de electione Hugonis abbatis postea episcopo Eliensis*, from whom we learn of these events, seems to have attached particular significance to the sermon's conclusion: 'His sermon ended on this note: "Whatever the character of a city's ruler, so will be the character of its inhabitants."' ¹⁴³ Nicholas Vincent points out that this comment, a quotation from Ecclesiasticus 10:2, was an indictment of King John, given the archbishop's characterisation of the English in his St Paul's sermon.¹⁴⁴ In the more immediate context of the abbey itself, it was also a charge to the abbot-elect that he should stand resolute and thus command the support of his monks.

The other five sermons Langton is thought to have preached as archbishop were all delivered on grand occasions.¹⁴⁵ It is assumed that Langton preached at William Marshal's funeral, in 1219, based on the account given in the *History of William Marshal*.¹⁴⁶ The Dunstable annalist recorded that Langton preached at Henry III's second coronation, 17 May 1220. Pandulf, papal legate, was present along with many bishops, counts, barons, abbots, priors and 'others beyond number'.¹⁴⁷ Walter of Coventry failed to mention this sermon, suggesting others were likewise unrecorded.¹⁴⁸ Langton preached at least twice on the subject of Thomas Becket. In Rome in 1220, he was invited to preach on the anniversary of Becket's martyrdom (29 December). As Roberts pointed out, this was probably the occasion Walter of Coventry did mention.¹⁴⁹ A record of this address is extant.¹⁵⁰ From her analysis of this sermon,

¹⁴² 'In crastino quidem post diem passionis uenit in capitulum, et ibi, refocillans uerbo Dei gregem beati martiris, exhortabatur ut unanimes in domo Dei permansissent, dicens: 'Si separabiles et superabiles, et si inseparabiles insuperabiles usque reperiemini.' Thomson (ed.), *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 20-1.

¹⁴³ Finito tandem sermone super hoc, 'qualis est rector ciuitatis, tales et inhabitantes in ea', flexis genibus corruit dominus H(erebertus) prior coram eo, rogans humiliter et supplicans pro electo.' Thomson (ed.), *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 20-1.

¹⁴⁴ Vincent, 'Stephen Langton', pp. 91-2.

¹⁴⁵ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴⁶ 'Quant li cors dut estre enterrez / Li archevesques dist: "Veez, / Seignor, comme li secles vêt : / Quant chascuns est a sa fin trait, / Ne puet l'en en lui nul sens querre, / N'est puis fors atretant de terre. / Veez ici a la roonde / Le meillor chevalier del monde / Qui a nostre tens i fust unques / & por Deu ! que direz vos donques? / A cest point covient toz venir ; / Ne puet autrement avenir / Que chascuns muire a son jor. / Vez ici nostre mireor, / Autresi nostre comme vostre. / Die chascuns sa paternostre, / Que Deus icesui crestien / En son reigne celestien / Receive en sa glorie [o] le[s] suens, / Si cum no creons qu'il fu buens.'" P. Meyer (ed.), *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, régent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1891-1901), II, pp. 325-6.

¹⁴⁷ 'Eodem anno, die Pentecostes, Henricus tertius rex Hugh of Anglie apud Westmostre solemniter coronatus est, presentibus P[andulfo] legato, et S[tephano] Cantuariensi archiepiscopo missam celebrante, et sermonem ad populum faciente; presentibus etiam multis episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, abbatibus, et prioribus, et aliis, quorum non erat numerus.' *AM*, III, Dunstable, p. 57.

¹⁴⁸ Walter of Coventry, *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, 2 vols, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 58 (London, 1872-73), II, p. 244; Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁹ 'Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus propter quedam negotia Anglicanas ecclesie Romam profectus est; et quia reliquias beati Thome martyris secum detulit, a domino papa Honorio et cardinalibus honorifice susceptus est, et antequam in ecclesiam ingrederetur, de beato Thoma eiusque corpore, iubente eodem papa, sermonem fecit ad populum.' *Walter of Coventry*, II, p. 246; R. B. Roberts, 'Archbishop Stephen Langton and his preaching on Thomas Becket in 1220', in T. L. Amos, E. A. Green, and B. M. Kienzle (eds.), *De ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, Studies in Medieval Culture 27 (Kalamazoo, 1989), p. 83.

¹⁵⁰ Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 222, fols. 13r-15r.

Roberts thought it likely the audience was a monastic congregation.¹⁵¹ She suggested, though no chronicler records it, that Langton gave a sermon at Becket's translation, preaching something like his treatise on the translation.¹⁵²

The last known sermon from Langton's time as archbishop was preached at Salisbury on the feast of St Michael, 29 September 1225.¹⁵³ The previous day, Bishop Richard Poore had dedicated three altars in the new cathedral. A number of other archbishops and bishops had gathered for the occasion: Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin; Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham; Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath; Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester; Benedict of Sawston, bishop of Rochester; and Richard de Bellevue bishop of Évreux.¹⁵⁴

Most of these sermons were delivered *ad populum*. This was the format that Langton was used to, having preached often to the laity in Paris.¹⁵⁵ The archbishop had a clear sense that the language and style of sermons should be tailored to his audience, just as Gregory the Great had taught in the *Regula pastoralis*.¹⁵⁶ Beryl Smalley highlighted the following passage from Langton's commentaries:

This makes clear that a preacher should not always use polished, subtle preaching, like Aod's sword, but sometimes a ploughshare, that is, rude, rustic exhortation. Very often a popular story (*exemplum vulgare*) is more effective than a polished subtle phrase. Aod killed one man only with a two-edged sword, Samagar six hundred with a ploughshare; so, whereas the laity are easily converted by rude, unpolished preaching, a sermon to clerks will draw scarcely one of them from his error.¹⁵⁷

It would be a mistake to interpret the absence of more evidence for Langton's preaching as archbishop as an indication that he ceased to preach regularly once he had assumed pastoral office. Langton did not cease to preach, but to write up his sermons as often as before. We do not know that he was able to preach as often as he had done earlier in his career. Clearly, he could not preach to his flock while he was in exile. But, when in England, he preached *ad populum* across the province. Langton's few extant sermons from this period show how newer forms of preaching, developed in Paris, became the norm in England.

¹⁵¹ Roberts, 'Langton and his preaching on Thomas Becket', p. 77.

¹⁵² Vatican, MS lat. 1220, fols. 257r-262v; Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 20; Roberts, 'Langton and his preaching on Thomas Becket', pp. 79-82.

¹⁵³ 'Die Sancti Michelis sequenti, fecit dominus Cantuar. sermonem ad populum, qui quidem multus erat ualde; quo finito, intrauit nouam basilicam, et in ea diuina sollempniter celebravit.' Jones (ed.), *Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi*, II, p. 39.

¹⁵⁴ Jones (ed.), *Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi*, II, p. 40.

¹⁵⁵ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, *passim* e.g. p. 52.

¹⁵⁶ *Regula pastoralis*, III, i-xl, pp. 258-532

¹⁵⁷ 'Ecce hic manifestum est quod non semper debet predicator uti predicatione polita et subtili, sed uomere quandoque, id est exhortacione rudi et egesti. Multociens enim efficacius est exemplum uulgare quam uerbum politum et subtile, et hoc bene patet in hoc loco. Aioth enim non nisi unum, scil. Eglon, gladio ancipiti transegit. Samgar autem VI centos uiros uomere prostravit. Hoc est quod ubi per predicationem rudem et impolitam laici conuertuntur de facili, uix unus litteratus ab errore suo potest euelli.' Smalley and Lacome, 'Studies on the commentaries of Stephen Langton', 173; translation from Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 253-4; also quoted by Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 47.

Summary

Descriptions of episcopal preaching in narrative sources complement bishops' extant sermons. Chroniclers and commentators often failed to mention what was preached, or if they did, the details were often manipulated to fit their narrative. However, these sources reveal more details of the practicalities of preaching. They show that sermons often carried implications for their social or political context. They confirm that those bishops who produced written sermons – Gilbert, Bartholomew, Baldwin, Poore, and Langton – were indeed the foremost episcopal preachers in their generation. But, importantly, these sources also reveal that no bishop could avoid preaching altogether. Men like Hubert Walter and William Longchamp were to be found preaching, even if not to Gerald of Wales' satisfaction. Clearly, individual bishops' commitment to preaching was variable. But the expectation that bishops should preach was irresistible. Commentators never registered surprise that a bishop had preached. But the reverse is true: Gerald of Wales was eager to point out Richard of Dover's failure to preach at the Council of Westminster in 1175.

CHAPTER THREE

PASTORAL INSTRUCTION BEYOND PREACHING

*'Many false prophets shall be spread abroad,
Eager on many hearts to work their fraud.
And though as innocent sheep they're clad, yet know
Like ravening wolves they wander to and fro.
Those men the name of shepherd rightly keep,
Who feed, not feed upon, their helpless sheep.'*¹

- Nigel Whiteacre

False prophets

Jesus' warning in Matthew 7:15 about false prophets was versified thus, in the late twelfth century, by the satirist Nigel Whiteacre. In his *Speculum stultorum*, which was principally a critique of the religious and clerical elite, Nigel imagined the career of Burnel the Ass. Although woefully unqualified for office, Burnel briefly considers becoming a bishop.² More wonderful things happen every day, mused the ass: a gibe at the apparently unsuitable appointments made to the episcopate.³ Nigel identified a section of the episcopate as the false prophets of his day. And so he inverted the pastoral motif. The very men who ought to defend the flock were in fact ravenous wolves.⁴

Not only were they rapacious toward their parishioners, these false bishops were incapable of feeding their sheep for two reasons. Firstly, such men had not the appropriate education to be able to teach well. Burnel had tried his time in the schools of Paris, but – being an ass – made little progress.⁵ Secondly, such men lived in a way that scandalised their flock, where they should have been setting an example. As Nigel put it,

A bishop's life's a book, which all who can,
Should read and mould their life upon the man.
A bishop's life should be a pattern true,

¹ 'Aduenient multi pseudo falsique prophete, / Et satagent multos fallere fraude sua. / Qui, quamquis ueniant ouium sub ueste, rapaces / Sanguinis hos audios noueris esse lupos. / A pascendo grege, non depascendo merentur / Pastores ouium nomen habere suum.' *Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960), p. 90. Translation from *A Mirror for Fools or The Book of Burnel the Ass*, trans. J. H. Mozley (Oxford, 1961), p. 75; cf. Matt. 7.15.

² 'Pontificem forsan me constituere futurum, / Inque mea patria sedis honore frui.' *Speculum stultorum*, ed. Mozley and Raymo, p. 68.

³ 'Nam miranda solent magis his contingere mundo, / Quam mihi contingat pontificale decus.' *Speculum stultorum*, ed. Mozley and Raymo, p. 68.

⁴ This idea had a long history, extending back to the Bible: Mic. 3.1-3; Ezek. 22.27-9.

⁵ *Speculum stultorum*, ed. Mozley and Raymo, pp. 64-73.

To clergy and to faithful people too.⁶

All bishops were expected to preach, as we have seen. But there were other ways pastoral instruction could be delivered, especially to the clergy. Only a minority of bishops were able to teach in ways that contemporaries considered especially impressive: by example, and in writing. Many bishops were thought to lack the virtue, the education, or the inclination to do so. Convening synods and patronising scholars were possible for more bishops, although in practice we hear most often of learned bishops doing so.

Teaching by example⁷

It would be a misrepresentation of medieval ideas about pastoral teaching to omit some discussion of teaching by example. It was universally held that pastors were to teach by word and deed.⁸ Most writers agreed that teaching by example was the more important of the two. Words without deeds seemed insincere, or even hypocritical. Deeds without words at least provided an example of virtuous behaviour to the flock. Ideally, of course, pastors would be educated *and* virtuous, and so able to teach by word *and* deed. Expressions of this ideal became a trope, but tropes reflect the prevalent ideas and attitudes within a culture. Their application was not completely random. Contemporaries were quick to identify when a bishop exemplified this ideal.

Ultimately, the idea of teaching by example came from scripture, especially 1 Peter: ‘Be shepherds of God’s flock that is under your care ... not lording it over those entrusted to you, but being examples to the flock.’⁹ But Gregory the Great’s formulation was the most influential statement of the ideal: ‘The ruler should be foremost in action, that by his living he may demonstrate the way of life to those placed under him, and that the flock, which follows the shepherd’s voice and character, may progress better through example than through words.’¹⁰ In the twelfth century, teaching by word and deed was discussed in the schools and in the monastery.¹¹ Commentators applied the ideal to bishops directly.

⁶ ‘Pontificis uita liber est, quem iure legendum / Sumere quisque sibi debet, eamque sequi. / Pontificis mores clerus populusque fidelis / Debet in exemplum semper habere sibi.’ *Speculum stultorum*, ed. Mozley and Raymo, p. 69; translation from *Mirror for Fools*, trans. Mozley, p. 52.

⁷ This section on teaching by example is developed from material found in my MPhil dissertation: Runciman, ‘Monk-bishops and their theological ideas’, pp. 31-5.

⁸ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 107; Campbell, *Pastoral Landscape*, p. 104.

⁹ 1 Pet. 5.2-3; See also Tit. 1.6-9 & 1 Tim. 3.1-5.

¹⁰ ‘Sit rector operatione precipuus, ut uite uiam subditis uiuendo denuntiet, et grex qui pastoris uocem mores que sequitur, per exempla melius quam per uerba gradiatur.’ *Regula pastoralis*, II, iii, p. 180.

¹¹ John Cotts points generally to the writing of the Victorines, the Cistercians, and specifically to Caroline Bynum’s work on the spirituality of regular canons: C. Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 13 (Missoula, 1978); Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, p. 207.

Peter of Blois' *Canon episcopalis* explained that the bishop should 'edify others not only by word, but by deed and example'.¹²

Bishops who served the king at court were natural targets for the criticism that they presented a poor example to their flock. Nigel Whiteacre condemned those bishops who, he claimed, preferred hunting to church services, and cared more for money than the Bible.¹³ In the thirteenth century, Walter de Chatillon, another satirist, characterised such bishops as leeches who attached themselves to the *curia regis*.¹⁴ But the perceived lack of bishops fit to serve as examples for their flock was not just the result of promoting *curiales* to the episcopal bench. Stephen Jaeger argues that in eleventh-century cathedral schools, students learned *mores* as well as letters, but that the twelfth century saw a decline of this 'old learning'.¹⁵ Even those who had studied the sacred page were not necessarily men of virtue. What solution could be found? The abbot of St Geneviève, Stephen of Tournai (d. 1203), contrasted other Parisian schools with those under the jurisdiction of his abbey, where students of theology could learn truth in the lecture hall and moral virtue in the cloister.¹⁶ Stephen's comments demonstrate that an association with monasticism was seen as one way of ensuring that moral virtue was cultivated alongside learning. If there was a group of bishops who were considered most able to teach by word and deed, it was the monk-bishops.

Monk-bishops comprised a small minority of the episcopate in England and Wales during this period. But they included some of the most high-profile bishops. Commentators were inclined to attribute the pastoral success of such bishops to their monastic background. The clearest case, of course, was the Carthusian Hugh of Lincoln. Teaching by example was an important part of what made him the model bishop. Roger of Howden observed that Hugh 'edified the people committed to him by his way of life and by the word of paternal exhortation'.¹⁷ And Adam of Eynsham felt that Hugh had fulfilled the words of Job: 'I will proclaim Him [God] with every step I take.'¹⁸ His achievement was to live as a monk in the world. Or in Adam's biblical typology, Hugh was wed both to Rachel and Leah, that is, he pursued both the contemplative (Rachel) and the active life (Leah).¹⁹ This was to the benefit of all those who

¹² 'Edificat alios non solum uerbo, sed opere et exemplo' *PBO*, *Canon episcopalis*, col. 1102; Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, pp. 2-7.

¹³ Nigel, *Speculum stultorum*, ed. Mozley and Raymo, pp. 90-3.

¹⁴ 'Tu qui tenes hunc tenorem, / Frustra dicis te pastorem, / Nec te regis ut rectorem, / Rerum mersus in ardorem: / Hec est alia / sanguisuga filia, / quam uenalis curia / Duxit in uxorem.' *Wright's Political Songs*, p. 46.

¹⁵ C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994) especially pp. 2-7, 76-117 & 217-236. On student behaviour in the schools, see: Baldwin, *Scholastic Culture*, pp. 46-51.

¹⁶ H. Denifle and E. Chatelain (eds.), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-97), I, no. 41, p. 42; cited in Goering, *William de Montibus*, p. 38.

¹⁷ 'Interim Hugo Lincolnensis episcopus, in episcopatu suo commorans, populum sibi commissum conuersatione sua et paterne exhortationis uerbo edificabat.' *GRHS*, I, p. 357.

¹⁸ 'Hugo bene uiuendo suumque auctorem benedicendo, impleuit illud propheticum: "Per singulos gradus meos pronuntiabo eum."' *MVSH*, II, p. 12; cf. Job 31.37.

¹⁹ *MVSH*, II, p. 44.

encountered the bishop, and learned from his example. ‘He knew,’ Adam claimed, ‘that he was made a spectacle to this world.’²⁰ The hagiographer demonstrated the effect of Hugh’s monastic example by recounting that his wardrobe keeper, and a stranger who sought spiritual advice from the bishop, both took the habit on account of his example.²¹ Adam also explained how Hugh’s example was connected to his teaching by word. The bishop’s holy life was the outward manifestation of sound doctrine within.²² And so Adam recalled that ‘the things Hugh said to simple folk not merely taught his audience, but also inspired us who had an intimate knowledge of his way of life to examine his character more carefully in the light of his admirable teaching’.²³

Although Hugh was a special case, this connection between a bishop’s monastic life and his ability to teach by example was made with reference to some other monk-bishops. John Cotts has demonstrated that Peter of Blois drew on this connection when he wrote to Cardinal Albert of Morra to support the reputation of Archbishop Richard of Dover at the papal *curia*. Richard had formerly been prior of the Benedictine house at Dover, a cell of Christ Church, Canterbury. Peter argued that Richard made an ideal archbishop, precisely because he was an ideal monk. Making use of 1 Peter 5:3, Peter explained that Richard ‘had not cast off the monk ... He was not a dominator among the clergy but a model for his flock among the people.’²⁴

The archbishop of Canterbury had generally been a monk-bishop. The appointment of Richard of Dover’s successor, Baldwin of Forde, continued in that tradition (although, problematically Baldwin was a Cistercian, placed over a Benedictine chapter). Baldwin was also praised for his ability to teach by example. Gerald of Wales wrote that, ‘by his character and his life he was a shining light to the people’.²⁵ Specifically, Baldwin was possessed of those virtues associated with the monastic life: modesty, sobriety, abstinence, self-control, quietness, and temperance in emotions, all of which Gerald attributed to the fact that Baldwin, ‘despising the high pomp of the world, received the holy habit of the Cistercian Order with devotion’.²⁶ Gerald of Wales is often presented, alongside Stephen Langton, as an opponent of monk-bishops.²⁷ But it should not be forgotten that Gerald composed a *vita* of Hugh of

²⁰ ‘Sciebat namque iuxta apostolum se factum spectaculum huic mundo’ *MVSH*, II, p. 45; Cf. 1 Cor. 4.9.

²¹ *MVSH*, II, pp. 1-4 & 7-9.

²² ‘Iste et semetipsum a uulneribus indempnem conseruare et aliena uulnera curare tam perfecte edoctus, pabulo quoque doctrine salutaris adeo copiosus’ *MVSH*, I, p. 100.

²³ ‘Illa uero eius ad simpliciores predicatio, quemadmodum erudiebat auditores, ita interdum nos prouocabat qui uite illius eramus inspectores, doctrine illius formulam adeo efficacem ad subtiliorem morum eius considerationem referre.’ *MVSH*, II, p. 47.

²⁴ ‘non exuit monachum ... nec fuit dominator in clero, sed forma gregis in populo’ *PBO*, ep. 38, col. 117; quoted in Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, p. 196. Cotts renders *in clero* as ‘of the clergy’, but Peter seems to have been making a point about who the archbishop spent his time with and I have adjusted Cotts’ translation to bring this out.

²⁵ ‘moribus et uita eminens in populo lucerna fuit’ *GCO*, VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, p. 148.

²⁶ ‘mundique pompas alta mente despiciens, Cisterciensis ordinis habitum sancta cum deuotione suscepit.’ *GCO*, VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, p. 148.

²⁷ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 19 & 54; Vincent (ed.), *Letters and Charters of Guala Bicchieri*, p. liii. Brewer and Dimock summarised cap. xxv of Gerald’s *Speculum ecclesie* thus: ‘Prelates taken from the seculars far superior to those taken from the religious orders.’ *GCO*, IV, *Speculum ecclesie*, pp. 75-81.

Lincoln and dedicated it to Langton. Gerald saw Baldwin and Hugh's holiness as a good example for other bishops.²⁸ Moreover, while he criticised the monk-archbishops Richard of Dover and Baldwin of Forde for losing all that Becket had gained, he argued that it was Becket who had been the true religious compared to his successors: 'They in speech, he in works; they in their cowl, he in his marrow.'²⁹

Baldwin's monastic identity was noticed by Hugh of Lincoln. When Hugh was informed of his election to the see of Lincoln, he is reported to have responded: 'The lord archbishop of Canterbury, who seems to be almost the only monk amongst the bishops of this land, must desire to have assistants and fellow-workers in the pastoral duties committed to him who have experience of and share the traditions of the monastic life.'³⁰ Once in office, Hugh requested that Baldwin send him men to help administer his diocese, specifying that they should have been with Baldwin for a long period, so as to have been influenced by the archbishop's example.³¹ Baldwin died in the Holy Land, where, according to Gerald, he had been ministering to the crusaders by the merits of his words and his life.³²

The ideal of teaching by word and deed was expressed by bishops themselves, and often – although not exclusively – by monk-bishops. Since they discussed the ideal in their pastoral teaching, they mostly applied it to their subordinates. But they would have recognised that it applied to themselves. In one of his homilies, the Cluniac Gilbert Foliot quoted Gregory the Great: 'Whose life is despised, it remains that his preaching should be despised.'³³ Gilbert expanded on this principle:

Therefore two things are required from the one preaching, namely doctrine and life, so that they advise those to whom they preach no less by the example they affect than by the word they bring forth.³⁴

This homily was one of those that expounded the liturgical text from the Octave of St Peter and St Paul, 'They have power to close heaven with clouds and to open its gates, because their tongues

²⁸ 'Henricus secundus duorum ordinum uiris predictorum [Balduinus et Hugo], ad redimendum uel sic famam suam, quia multos ante indignos episcopauerat, plus opinionis amore et ostentationis sicut uidebatur quam deuotionis sedes dare cathedrales disposuerat.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, pp. 67-8.

²⁹ 'Duo namque sequentes habitu religionem preferebant quanquam diuerso, Thomas actu: illi in ore, hic in opere: illi in cucullis, hic in medullis.' *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Remigii, pp. 68-9.

³⁰ 'domino Cantuarensi, qui religionis habitum iam pene solus inter episcopo terre huius preferre uidetur, quis nesciat esse uotium ut in suscepto cure pastoralis officio coadiutores accipiat et comministros regularis discipline experientia institutos' *MVSH*, I, pp. 95-6.

³¹ 'tales michi ex hiis qui uestro diutius lateri adherendo probabiles se in omnibus, uestro adprime informati exemplo demonstrarunt, committite adiutores' *MVSH*, I, p. 111.

³² 'diem feliciter in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse uinculo caritatis amplectens, sumptibus et impensis, uerbis et uite meritis, confirmauit.' *GCO*, VI, Itinerarium Kambriae, p. 151.

³³ 'Cuius uita despicitur, restat ut eius predicatio contempnatur.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 160v; Cf. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, ed. R. Etaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), p. 82.

³⁴ 'A predicante igitur utrumque requiratur, doctrina scilicet et uita, ut quos monent quibus predicant non minus exemplo moueant quam uerbo trahant.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 160v.

were made the keys of heaven.³⁵ Gilbert argued that the plurality of tongues applied to each apostle individually, concluding:

Therefore, preaching has a tongue and works also has a tongue so that it is often said: we speak less perfectly through preaching, unless we speak well, soberly, justly, and piously with our way of life in this world.³⁶

Explaining the keys of heaven, Gilbert spoke of the palace of eternal life, guarded by a door. The key of knowledge alone was not enough. Knowledge was part of preaching, but by itself knowledge only puffs up its possessor. 'Therefore,' Gilbert continued, 'these are the keys of heaven: doctrine, truth, and holiness of life.'³⁷ The apostles and all holy preachers have these keys, he explained.³⁸

Baldwin of Forde, in a sermon addressed to the clergy, emphasised that their lives were to be 'a mirror of holiness, an example of honesty, and a sign of righteousness'.³⁹ He continued:

The eyes of all gaze upon your righteousness and your judgement. People of all kinds who are in the Church see there what they ought to imitate and that to which they long to be conformed. There, the life of your subordinates is sealed like softer wax, so that it receives the express image of the seal of your holiness.⁴⁰

The flock were susceptible to their pastor's example. This provided an opportunity to shape their moral character. But it also brought great responsibility. True to character, Bartholomew of Exeter was the one to issue this warning, adapting Gregory the Great:

No one causes more harm than the one acting perversely who has the name or order of holiness. For by wicked living he kills himself, and also others by showing an example of wicked living. For no one dares to refute him, no one to instruct, no one to admonish, because he believes himself more prudent and better than everyone. Concerning such things it is rightly said: 'wicked priests are the cause of the people's ruin.'⁴¹

³⁵ 'Habent potestatem claudere celum nubibus et aperire portas eius, quia lingue eorum claves celi facte sunt' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 160r.

³⁶ 'Habet itaque linguam predicatio habet et linguam operatio et ut sepe iam dictum est: minus perfecte loquimur predicando, nisi loquamur et bene sobrie et iuste et pie in hoc seculo conuersando.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', 161r-v.

³⁷ 'Hec scientia est que inflat, que licet predicando in parte aperiat, quia clauem alteram quam uite sanctitas subministrat non tenet, in illud eterne uite palacium introducere nequamquam ualet. Igitur claves celi hee sunt doctrine, ueritas, et sanctitas uite.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 161r; cf. 1 Cor. 8.1.

³⁸ 'Beato Petro claves iste donate sunt. ... Habet et has claves Paulus. ... Habent omnes apostoli. Habent omnes predicatorum sancti.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 161r. Gilbert and Thomas Becket disagreed about what kind of example should be set. See for example: Duggan (ed.), *Becket Correspondence*, I, pp. 252-3.

³⁹ 'Vita enim uestra speculum est sanctitatis, honestatis exemplum, et iusticie signaculum.' *BFO*, sermo 5, xxii, p. 91.

⁴⁰ 'Ad uestram iusticiam uestrumque iudicium oculi omnium respiciunt. Persone multarum facierum que sunt in ecclesia ibi uident quod imitari debeant, et cui conformari cupiant. Ibi signatur uita subditorum sicut cera mollior, ut imaginem accipiat signo sanctitatis expressam.' *BFO*, sermo 5, xxii, p. 91.

⁴¹ 'Nemo amplius in ecclesia nocet quam qui peruerse agens, nomen uel ordinem sanctitatis habet. Nam et se occidet male uiuendi, et alios exemplum prauae uiuendi prebendo. Nemo hunc redarguere, nemo instruere, uel ammonere presumit, quia omnibus se prudentiorem et meliorem credit. De talibus recte dicitur: Cause ruine

There was some movement away from these ideals in the early thirteenth century. This can be seen from an apparent change of opinion on the part of Stephen Langton. In his *inceptio* sermon (pre-1187), Langton had taught that four things were required of the preacher: knowledge, life, humility, and gentleness.⁴² But later, he argued that preachers should never cease preaching, even if they were causing scandal by their sin.⁴³ This was not a rejection of the ideal he had stated earlier, but a relaxation of the insistence on the necessity of a holy life. Nevertheless, throughout the period, commentators and bishops alike were clear that the model pastor should teach by word and deed. It was considered an integral part of teaching the flock, demonstrating virtuous behaviour and validating the moralising sermons that bishops gave. This was no easy task, with regard to which bishops were condemned for their failures as often as they were praised for their successes.

Councils and synods

Church councils and diocesan synods were designed, in part, for the instruction of the clergy.⁴⁴ They were also instruments of Church government. The canons promulgated at these councils and synods, and then, in the thirteenth century, the diocesan statutes and constitutions disseminated there, increasingly addressed matters of pastoral care.

Cheney was confident that ‘in twelfth-century England the synod was a regular institution in most, if not all, dioceses’.⁴⁵ How frequently these synods were convened is hard to say, for lack of evidence.⁴⁶ Morey identified four synods convened by Bartholomew of Exeter, and suggested they were a frequent occurrence in the diocese of Exeter.⁴⁷ From Peter of Cornwall’s witness, we know that Gilbert Foliot convened a synod as bishop of London. No other record of it exists.⁴⁸ Similarly, it is only because Gerald of Wales mentioned it that we know William of Northolt, bishop of Worcester (1186-90) held a synod at which he issued a decree about singing.⁴⁹ Gerald claimed a particular English love song was banned, because the bishop overheard a priest singing it in church.⁵⁰ But Mary Cheney suggested that William more likely made a general prohibition rather like those found in later diocesan statutes.⁵¹ The

populi sacerdotes mali.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 25ra. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum, Libri viii-xiv*, ed. D. Norberg, CCSL 140A (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 786-7 & 943. Elsewhere, Bartholomew presented the positive version of the ideal, praising St Nicholas for demonstrating with his life what he taught by preaching: ‘Rector itaque animarum factus itaque Beatus Nicholaus, sicut ordo exigit, quod predicandi docuit, bene uiuendo melius demonstraui.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 4rb.

⁴² Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, pp. 112-3.

⁴³ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, pp. 107-8.

⁴⁴ C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941), p. 7.

⁴⁵ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 142.

⁴⁶ See: M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 90.

⁴⁷ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 89.

⁴⁸ *LCGF*, p. 220.

⁴⁹ Noticed by Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 143-4.

⁵⁰ *GCO*, II, *Gemma ecclesiastica*, p. 120.

⁵¹ M. G. Cheney, ‘William of Northolt’, *ODNB* (2004).

canons promulgated at Hugh of Lincoln's diocesan synod of 1186 survive only because Roger of Howden inserted them in his *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi*. Introducing the canons, Roger painted a picture of the model bishop at work:

Meanwhile, Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, remaining in his diocese, edified the people committed to him by his way of life and word of paternal exhortation, and instructed in his synods all the clergy subordinate to him, as well as all the people, to observe these decrees inviolably in the strength of obedience.⁵²

As Roger saw it, the synod was intimately connected to the pastoral duty of spiritual instruction. Hugh promulgated just eight canons. Four prohibited the sale of justice, services, and sacraments. Premature suspensions or excommunications were forbidden. There was a reminder that priests must be canonically constituted. The clergy must be tonsured, and not pursue each other in the secular courts over ecclesiastical matters.⁵³ Mostly, then, this synod made stipulations about clerical behaviour, the majority of which had some connection to pastoral care, even if they did not state positively how pastoral care should be conducted.

Roger of Howden also recorded the canons of Richard of Dover's Council of Westminster, 1175, for the province of Canterbury. In Roger's account, Richard introduced the canons with a short speech, in which he sought both to justify the introduction of new canons and to emphasise the preference for the ancient rules of the Church Fathers. The archbishop explained that such councils were convened, 'so that they who are constituted in more eminent positions of pastoral care might shape the life of their subordinates with regular decrees by common counsel, and might restrain with considered censure the enormous things which incessantly spring forth'.⁵⁴

The council of 1175 promulgated nineteen canons. As Mary Cheney has demonstrated, these reflected concerns raised by bishops from across the province.⁵⁵ A letter surviving among the collection of Gilbert Foliot invited him to investigate the ills of his diocese in anticipation of the council. Cheney suggested this letter was sent to every bishop, and that the result was a list of thirty-seven propositions.⁵⁶ Some of these propositions were developed into the canons promulgated at the council, while others were referred to papal judgement.⁵⁷

⁵² 'Interim Hugo Lincolnensis episcopus, in episcopatu suo commorans, populum sibi commissum conversatione sua et paterne exhortationis uerbo edificabat, et in synodis suis precepit, in ui obentie, uniuerso tam clero quam populo sibi subditis, hec decreta inuiolabiliter obseruare.' *GRHS*, I, p. 357.

⁵³ *GRHS*, I, p. 357.

⁵⁴ 'Ideo in ecclesia Dei, secundum antiquam patrum consuetudinem concilia congregantur, ut ii qui constituti sunt in eminentiori cura pastoralis, uitam subditorum de communi consilio regularibus institutis informant, et enormitates que pullulant incessanter, consultiore censura compescant.' *GRHS*, I, p. 84

⁵⁵ M. G. Cheney, 'The Council of Westminster, 1175: new light on an old source', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Materials, Sources, and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*, Studies in Church History 11 (Oxford, 1975), p. 62.

⁵⁶ *LCGF*, p. 306. The propositions were printed in D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiensi* (London, 1737), I, pp. 474-5.

⁵⁷ Cheney, 'The Council of Westminster, 1175', pp. 61-8.

Many of the reported ills had, by 1175, long been recognised as abuses that the Church was keen to eliminate. One wonders whether some bishops viewed the exercise as an opportunity to demonstrate their awareness of unacceptable practices. ‘That clerics should not have concubines’ was an easy answer to give in reply to the archbishop’s instruction.⁵⁸ But other reported ills were much more specific. One or more of the bishops from Wales raised concerns that the Welsh sold churches or gave them as dower, contracted consanguineous marriages, and bartered their wives.⁵⁹ Although Richard had stated that the council was designed to improve pastoral care, there was, in fact, much more in the canons about the rights of the secular clergy over the monastic orders and the laity (with respect to the appointment of clergy, for example) than there was about the *cura animarum* (such as the administration of the sacraments).

There were other occasions when bishops convened, effectively in council. The main issue debated was sometimes reported: the privileges of St Augustine’s, Canterbury, discussed at London in 1181; the ‘Saladin Tithe’, in 1184; and alleged plots against monastic chapters, at the legatine council of 1190.⁶⁰ We next see canons promulgated at the legatine council of York, 1195.⁶¹ Whitelock, Brett and Brooke suggested that, ‘with these canons we meet a class of conciliar legislation which differs from that of Westminster, 1175, setting a new model for some English Church law (especially the diocesan statutes) of the next hundred years’.⁶² This change can be characterised as a shift in emphasis from concerns about the rights of the Church, to concerns about the behaviour of the clergy.

The Council of Westminster, convened by Hubert Walter in 1200, was similar to the legatine council of 1195, both for its emphasis on clerical behaviour and for the fact that an independent copy suggests an active program of dissemination.⁶³ The canons drew on Lateran III, more recent decretals from Rome, and the provincial council of Rouen held in 1190.⁶⁴ Copying from authoritative sources had always been a feature of such canons. But, in the thirteenth century, bishops began to copy from previous legislation of the English Church. Stephen Langton’s statutes for Canterbury (1213x14), for example, explicitly referred back to Hubert Walter’s Council of Westminster.⁶⁵

At Lateran IV, bishops were instructed to hold councils and synods annually for the purposes of Church reform.⁶⁶ Some of the most notable canons of Lateran IV were also to be published.⁶⁷ A number of

⁵⁸ ‘Clerici focarias non habeant’ Wilkins, *Concilia*, p. 474.

⁵⁹ ‘Wallenses non uendant ecclesias, uel dent in dotem, uel consanguineis adhereant, uel commutent uxores.’ Wilkins, *Concilia*, p. 475.

⁶⁰ *HWGC*, I, p. 296; *C&S*, I, ii, pp. 1022-30.

⁶¹ It is clear that the fifteen canons were disseminated, for one copy from Crowland Abbey survives in isolation: *C&S*, I, ii, pp. 1048-52.

⁶² *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1043.

⁶³ BL MS Royal 7.C.vii, fos. 53v-55; *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1056.

⁶⁴ *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1056.

⁶⁵ *C&S*, II, i, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Lateran IV, c. 6.

⁶⁷ Lateran IV, c. 21 & c. 64.

English bishops were present at the council, and it became commonplace in the years that followed for bishops in England to publish diocesan statutes and constitutions containing ideas that derived from the canons of Lateran IV.⁶⁸ Of the bishops who had attended Lateran IV in person, Stephen Langton, Richard Poore, and Walter Gray disseminated statutes.⁶⁹ Others followed suit.

But, as Lang pointed out long ago, surprisingly few manuscripts containing the canons of Lateran IV survive from England, and bishops did not systematically adopt the canons of Lateran IV in their statutes.⁷⁰ They were more likely to work from the constitutions of other bishops. This was even the case for Richard Poore, whom Lang identified as the one bishop who *did* systematically publish the ideas codified by Lateran IV.⁷¹ Richard borrowed from Stephen Langton's statutes, as well as the synodal statutes of Odo of Sully, bishop of Paris (1197-1208).⁷² Christopher Cheney demonstrated that later diocesan statutes were largely derived from Richard Poore and Odo of Sully.⁷³ Peter des Roches' statutes for Winchester (1222x28) were more original than most, though still derivative.⁷⁴

The rhetoric of pastoral care remained present in these statutes and constitutions. Langton explained, in his first set of Canterbury statutes, that the things discussed 'specially pertained to our care'.⁷⁵ Richard Poore copied this phrase into his own synodal statutes for Salisbury (1217x19), adding that their purpose was to please God and edify the flock.⁷⁶ Richard also, as William Campbell points out, sought not only to instruct the clergy, but to specify how the clergy should instruct their own parishioners:

Therefore, we command that you hold the right faith in good living, very often instructing your parishioners in the articles of faith, without which no-one is saved. So that you may do this more effectively and well, we strictly enjoin the archdeacons that in their chapters they shall expound, soundly and with simple words, the exposition of the Catholic faith promulgated in the General

⁶⁸ Present were Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury; Benedict of Sawston, bishop of Rochester; Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln; William of Cornhill, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Simon of Apulia, bishop of Exeter; Richard Poore, then bishop of Chichester; Walter Gray, bishop of Worcester; Robert of York, bishop-elect of Ely; and Pandulf, bishop-elect of Norwich. Also in attendance was Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu, who within a few years would become bishop of Carlisle. See C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 388-96; *C&S*, II, i, p. 48.

⁶⁹ Walter Gray's statutes for York do not survive: *C&S*, II, i, pp. 164-5.

⁷⁰ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 105 & 128.

⁷¹ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 128.

⁷² *C&S*, II, i, p. 57.

⁷³ Cheney, *English Synodalia*, pp. 51-89.

⁷⁴ Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 74; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 243.

⁷⁵ 'Quia non potest ecclesiis dei melius consuli uel consultius prouideri quam si circa rectores et ministros earum ut ydonei sint cura diligens habeatur, necessarium duximus hiis qui *ad curam nostram specialiter pertinet* formam certam statuendo prescribere quam et in se recte uiuendo, si recte fuerint ordinati, et in ecclesia sacramenta diuina rite tractando, et etiam erga populum laudabiliter se gerendo debeant obseruare.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 24.

⁷⁶ 'A quibus cum precipue exigatur sanctitas (uite), utpote de quorum conuersatione mors et uita subditorum dependere dinoscuntur, primo ministris ecclesie quid *ad nostrum curam specialiter pertinent* certa forma prescribatur, per quam ecclesiastica sacramenta sic per eorum ministerium rite tractentur et recte dispensentur ut et Deus placetur et grex eis commissus edificetur.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 59.

Council. And let the priests, as God may inspire them, instruct their parishioners and soundly impress upon them that exposition, frequently and in their local dialect.⁷⁷

The following canon provided the text of the Trinitarian creed promulgated at Lateran IV.⁷⁸ Richard's statutes also contain many further reminders to the clergy that they should pass on its contents to their parishioners.⁷⁹

Further provisions along the lines set by these early statutes were given at the Council of Oxford (1222) and in later diocesan statutes. At the end of our period, Alexander of Stainsby attached to his statutes for Coventry and Lichfield a tract on the seven sins and a confessional formulary, with the instruction that they should be preached regularly.⁸⁰ In the statutes themselves, he decreed that scholars should visit rural villages, 'to instruct them with doctrine and to inform [them] by the example of a good life'.⁸¹ But Alexander perceived a danger. In appointing scholars to take on the instruction of the diocese as Lateran IV had commanded, there was a risk that instruction might become separated from pastoral care. Therefore, Alexander also decreed that such scholars should carry chrism with them to rural villages. The bishop insisted, citing Ephesians 4:11, that 'it is right to be pastors *and* teachers in God's Church, because, while the apostle divides others, there is no division between the [office of] pastor and teacher'.⁸²

Patronage of schools and scholars

The papacy envisioned bishops providing for the instruction of their diocesan clergy through the patronage of schools. At Lateran III, it was decreed that every cathedral church should have a school. Bishops were instructed to support a *magister* with a benefice, so that he might be able to afford to teach the poor at no cost.⁸³ By Lateran IV, this ambition had not been realised to the papacy's satisfaction. The same canon was reiterated, with two significant extensions: other churches with sufficient means should also institute such schools; and the metropolitan church should have, as well as a *magister*, a

⁷⁷ 'Propterea uobis precipimus quod bene uiuendo fidem rectam teneatis, parochianos uestros in articulis fidei, sine qua non est salus, sepius instruente. Quod ut melius et expeditius fiat a uobis, districte archidiaconis iniungimus quod in capitulis suis expositionem fidei catholice in generali concilio promulgatam sane et simplicibus uerbis exponant. Et sacerdotes, prout eis Deus inspirauerit, parochianos suos instruant et eis illam expositionem frequenter domestico ydiomate sane inculcent.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 61; translation from Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 100.

⁷⁸ *C&S*, II, i, p. 61; Lateran IV, c. 1.

⁷⁹ For example, at the end of cl. 38: 'Et hoc eis frequenter dicatur' *C&S*, II, i, p. 73. And at the end of cl. 86: 'Et ista comminatio in singulis parochiis frequenter recitetur' *C&S*, II, i, p. 88.

⁸⁰ On these tracts, see chapter five, pp. 158-61.

⁸¹ 'Precipimus igitur ut illi quorum interest uideant ut in singulis locis ubi est regimen scholarum sint tales qui sciant alios doctrina instruere et uelint eos exemplo bone uite informare.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 211.

⁸² 'Ad hec quia oportet in ecclesia Dei esse pastores et doctores, non est diuisio inter pastorem et doctorem cum alias diuidat apostolus.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 211.

⁸³ Lateran III, c. 18.

theologian to instruct priests in the study of the Bible and ‘especially in those things that pertain to the care of souls’.⁸⁴ How responsive were the bishops of England and Wales to this charge?

Jane Lang listed several schools established by the late thirteenth century, attached to monastic foundations.⁸⁵ Working out which schools flourished in the twelfth century is not so easy, but scholars have identified the most notable examples. We know something of the cathedral schools of Hereford and St Pauls under Gilbert Foliot, the former led by William de Vere.⁸⁶ Beryl Smalley suggested that when Osbern of Gloucester praised Gilbert’s teaching in the present tense, it was probably to indicate his teaching as bishop of Hereford.⁸⁷ Smalley pointed out that there was no reference to a master of the school under Foliot, and speculated that he may have fulfilled those duties: ‘A bishop of his day would normally delegate his traditional duty of presiding over the schools of his diocese. Foliot may perhaps have found time to give some instruction himself in default of a *scholasticus*.’⁸⁸ The cathedral school at Exeter provided an early education to some notable figures. Gilbert himself may have been taught there under Robert Pullen, while John of Salisbury, Bartholomew of Exeter and Baldwin of Forde are also identified as Exeter alumni.⁸⁹

Under Hugh of Lincoln, the Lincoln cathedral school flourished,⁹⁰ as did the law school at Northampton.⁹¹ Gerald of Wales headed to Lincoln when prevented from reaching Paris because ‘he knew the science of theology to flourish there more soundly and wholesomely’.⁹² Joseph Goering has explored the contribution of this school to the literature of pastoral care, particularly that of William de Montibus himself.⁹³ While Hugh was a generous patron of the school, it had been established before his time. It is thought that Stephen Langton was taught at Lincoln, in his early years.⁹⁴

⁸⁴ ‘Verum quoniam in multis ecclesiis id minime observatur nos predictum roborantes statutum adicimus ut non solum in qualibet cathedrali ecclesia sed etiam in aliis quarum sufficere poterunt facultates constituatur magister idoneus a prelato cum capitulo seu maiori ac saniori parte capituli eligendus qui clericos ecclesiarum ipsarum et aliarum gratis in grammaticae facultate ac aliis instruat iuxta posse. Sane metropolitana ecclesia theologum nihilominus habeat qui sacerdotes et alios in sacra pagina doceat et in his presertim informet que ad curam animarum spectare noscuntur.’ Lateran IV, c. 11.

⁸⁵ ‘Bury St. Edmunds, Waltham, Warwick, Pontefract, Hastings, Christchurch (Hants), Beverley, St. Albans, Thetford, Huntingdon, Dunstable, Reading, Bristol, Derby, Bedford, Northampton, Marlborough, Kimbolton, Barton, Partney, Grimsby, Horncastle, Boston and Grantham, Howden, Rudham by Coxford, Colchester, Leicester, Cirencester, Lewes, Battle, Arundel, Lancaster, Chesterfield, Plynton, Leath, Taunton, Wakefield, Helmesley, Newark, and Glasney, as well as the famous schools of St. Martin’s-le-Grand and ‘The Arches’ in London, and probably many others.’ Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 155-6.

⁸⁶ J. C. Russell, ‘Hereford and Arabic science in England about 1175-1200’, *Isis* 18 (1932), 14-25; J. Barrow, ‘A twelfth-century bishop and literary patron: William de Vere’, *Viator* 18 (1987), 185. That Ralph de Diceto was at London has been seen as evidence that St Paul’s was a centre of learning: J. Hudson, ‘Richard fitz Nigel (c.1130–1198)’, *ODNB*. See also Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, pp. 197-8 & 275-6.

⁸⁷ London, BL, MS Royal 6.D.ix, fols. 73ra-75ra; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 172.

⁸⁸ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 171-2.

⁸⁹ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 39-40; Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 105.

⁹⁰ Goering, *William de Montibus*, pp. 13-18.

⁹¹ H. G. Richardson, ‘The schools of Northampton in the twelfth century’, *EHR* 56 (1941), 595-605.

⁹² *GCO*, I, De rebus a se gestis, p. 93.

⁹³ Goering, *William de Montibus*, pp. 13-48.

⁹⁴ Vincent, ‘Stephen Langton’, pp. 71-2.

The universities of Oxford and Cambridge also emerged in this period. Oxford lay within the see of Lincoln, and some of the early masters were canons of the cathedral.⁹⁵ The chancellor of the university was granted spiritual jurisdiction by the bishop of Lincoln, although Michael Hacket argued that ‘it is difficult to think of any Oxford chancellor as a ‘bishop’s man’’.⁹⁶ The first known chancellor of Cambridge, Richard of Wetheringsett, author of the *Summa qui bene presunt*, probably had the living of Wetheringsett, which was in the bishop of Ely’s gift.⁹⁷ The full details are not easy to establish, but as Nicholas Vincent commented, ‘what is beyond question is that Cambridge university grew up under a peculiarly close association with the bishops of Ely’.⁹⁸

As well as patronising schools, bishops could also sponsor individual scholars. Master David of London enjoyed the support of Gilbert Foliot at the start of his career, even if the relationship ultimately soured.⁹⁹ Adam of Eynsham claimed that Hugh of Lincoln was lauded as a patron of scholars in Paris.¹⁰⁰ It is not clear that Hugh had sponsored students in the schools. But he was known for appointing ‘a company of illustrious men’,¹⁰¹ including *magistri* such as Master Robert of Bedford and Master Roger de Rolleston.¹⁰² John Baldwin pointed out some decades ago the large numbers of *magistri* employed in bishops’ households – something now manifestly clear from the witness lists to bishops’ *acta*, edited in the EEA series.¹⁰³ There are occasional references also to less formal connections between bishops and scholars. Nicholas Vincent pointed out that Peter des Roches entertained Master Robert of Bingham and Master John of Garland in 1211 or 1212, ‘which suggests a possible connection between des Roches and the schools of Oxford, supposedly dispersed in 1209’.¹⁰⁴

Bella Millet has highlighted Alexander of Ashby’s comments on the creation of schools in late twelfth-century England. Alexander recalled that, when he was young, teachers who did not charge were hard to come by. But, writing around 1200, he claimed that such teachers were now available in most cities, citing Northampton, Oxford, and Exeter as examples.¹⁰⁵ Thus Millet concluded that ‘the English bishops

⁹⁵ R. W. Southern, ‘From schools to university’, in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. I: The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), p. 19.

⁹⁶ M. B. Hacket, ‘The university as a corporate body’, in Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, p. 70.

⁹⁷ Vincent, ‘The thirteenth century’, in P. Meadows (ed.), *Ely: Bishops and Diocese 1109-2009* (Woodbridge 2010), pp. 62-5.

⁹⁸ Vincent, ‘The thirteenth century’, p. 65.

⁹⁹ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, pp. 205-7.

¹⁰⁰ *MVSH*, II, p. 154.

¹⁰¹ ‘Lincolniam ... dealbavit et niveis uirorum illustrium cateruis.’ *MVSH*, I, p. 102. ‘Dealbare’ here means both ‘to cleanse’ and ‘to whiten’. Adam says that Hugh cleansed the church of Lincoln, making the ‘mountain’ of Lincoln snow-white with his white Carthusian habit and this ‘snowy’ (*nivus*) group of magistri.

¹⁰² *MVSH*, I, pp. 110-12.

¹⁰³ Baldwin, ‘*Studium et Regnum*’, 199-215.

¹⁰⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Tempore quo puer eram scholaris, pauci erant in terra ista fontes tales. Vix aliqui inueniebantur magistri quorum non esset intentio ambitiosa, lectio institoria, lingua uenalis. Set multi sunt modo, Dei gratia, qui gratis docent, multi sunt fontes saluatoris qui omnibus haurire uolentibus semper patent. Fere unaqueque ciuitas huiusmodi fontem habet. Norhamtonia magistrum ---, Oxonia magistrum Philippum, Exonia magistrum Iohannem, et sic alie alios.’ F. Morenzoni (ed.), ‘De artificioso modo predicandi’, in F. Morenzoni and T. H.

seem to have implemented Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council without the need for further prompting'.¹⁰⁶

Bishops' writing: escapism or pastoral instruction?

In the subsequent parts of this thesis, we shall examine the texts produced and commissioned by bishops, additional to their sermons. Many of these texts are, at present, unfamiliar to scholars. What were they designed to accomplish? Hugh Thomas, having surveyed a wider corpus of material produced by the secular clergy, recently suggested that 'there were clearly escapist elements to some of the literature written or translated by clerics'.¹⁰⁷ To what extent does this apply to the writing of these bishops? It is, of course, the contention of this thesis that most of the material they produced is best understood with reference to their pastoral office. But some bishops' literary outputs might be said to represent a kind of escapism. It is instructive to consider the case of a Welsh bishop, and one manuscript containing his work in particular.

We know more of Cadwgan of Llandyfai than of many other Welsh bishops of the period. He rose through the Cistercian order to hold the abbacy first of Strata Florida and then Whitland, became bishop of Bangor in 1215, and later retired to Abbey Dore, near Hereford, in 1236.¹⁰⁸ Of the bishop's literary contribution, David Walker made this assessment: 'Cadwgan was responsible for a number of books, written for a practical purpose, and combining a European scholastic tradition with a Welsh cultural tradition'.¹⁰⁹ Aside from his penitential manual, *De modo confitendi*, which was indeed a practical text, all of Cadwgan's 'books' can be found in MS Hereford Cathedral O.6.viii. This manuscript has been misunderstood, and Cadwgan's reputation as a scholastic theologian requires substantial revision. What the manuscript really contains is the bishop's notes, which a scribe has arranged in such a way as to suggest that the copyist did not understand what they were working with. It is not necessary to set out in detail all the missteps of medieval scribes and modern scholars with respect to this manuscript. For our present purposes, it will suffice to state the facts.

The latter part of the manuscript, excluding a short exposition of the mass sewn in at the back, contains a number of short pieces.¹¹⁰ Broadly, these can be divided into two kinds. Firstly, there are a number of litanies. These are mostly stand-alone pieces; the one exception, which is identified as a *tractatus* in the manuscript, is introduced with a series of scriptural passages and followed with some brief theological

Bestul (eds.), *Alexandri Essebiensis Opera omnia, Pars 1: Opera theologica*, CCCM 188 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 52-3.

¹⁰⁶ Millett, 'Pastoral context', p. 46.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, p. 294.

¹⁰⁸ The best biography of Cadwgan can be found in 'The *De modo confitendi* of Cadwgan, bishop of Bangor', *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000), 1-15. Shaun McGuinness of Bangor University is currently editing the *acta* of the bishops of Bangor towards his doctoral thesis.

¹⁰⁹ D. Walker, 'Cadwgan of Llandyfai', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

¹¹⁰ MS Hereford Cathedral O.6.viii, fols. 59r-90v.

clarifications. Secondly, there are three sections – two coming in the middle of the prayers, and one longer section at the end – that are theological discussions in a scholastic style. It is on the basis of this latter kind of material that Cadwgan has acquired his reputation as a scholastic theologian.¹¹¹

What has not previously been recognised, however, is that none of these sections containing scholastic theological discussion are original to Cadwgan. They are, in fact, abbreviated extracts copied from Gilbert de la Porrée, Alexander Neckam and Alan of Lille.¹¹² The two sections of scholastic theology that fall between Cadwgan's own litanies turn out to be closely related. The first is comprised mostly of notes from a chapter of Gilbert de la Porrée's commentary on Boethius,¹¹³ but ends with a section taken from Alexander Neckam.¹¹⁴ The second continues in the very same chapter of Neckam's work.¹¹⁵ The final section in the manuscript, which is an abbreviation of Alan of Lille's *Regulae caelestis iuris*, represents the earliest known copy of that work in Britain.¹¹⁶ Cadwgan was evidently expert at acquiring and copying texts. As we shall see, *De modo confitendi* is also comprised mostly of copied material.¹¹⁷ But Cadwgan was not a scholastic theologian in his own right.

The disorganisation of the material demonstrates that it was not compiled by Cadwgan. What we have are Cadwgan's notes – his work in progress. All scholars have concluded that these texts were produced by Cadwgan as bishop, following the attributions in the manuscript to Bishop Cadwgan.¹¹⁸ But, given that the works are incomplete, it is worth considering whether Cadwgan was working on them in his retirement at Abbey Dore, and had not completed them by the end of his life. The evidence is not conclusive, but it seems to suggest that Cadwgan's retirement was due to the onset of debility. This was one of a only a few canonical grounds for resignation, and we learn that the elderly bishop later caused disturbance at the abbey, struggling to maintain silence.¹¹⁹ It seems probable that the aging bishop was not in a fit state to write. Perhaps these prayers and abbreviations of scholastic works were among the

¹¹¹ Goering and Pryce, 'De modo confitendi', 10.

¹¹² Talbot recognised the work of Alan of Lille at the end of this section of the manuscript, and so excised it from his edition of the text despite the fact that there is no marking in the manuscript to suggest a break. Talbot speculated that the last section of this part of the manuscript may have been Cadwgan's notes on Alan of Lille, which a later scribe had copied out unaware of the authorship: C. H. Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 9 (1958), 25.

¹¹³ Cf. Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 33-5; N. M. Häring (ed.), 'The commentary of Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers, on Boethius, Contra Eutychen et Nestorium', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 21 (1954), IV, pp. 296-316.

¹¹⁴ Further work is required to establish where Cadwgan found this material. He closely follows the 'Sol Meldunensis', a florilegium of Neckam's work: MS Cambridge University Library, Gg.6.42. Cf. Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 35-6; MS Cambridge UL, Gg.6.42, fol. 18r. But this manuscript was likely produced 1246x60, and so could not have been Cadwgan's source: R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Neckam (1157-1217)*, revised M. Gibson (Oxford, 1984), pp. 118-19.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 36-9; MS Cambridge UL, Gg.6.42, fols. 21r-27r.

¹¹⁶ N. M. Häring (ed.), 'Alanus de Insulis: Regulae caelestis iuris', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 48 (1981), 124-153; R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson (eds.), *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 43. On other copies of the *Regulae caelestis iuris*: R. Sharpe, *List of Identifications*, p. 16.

¹¹⁷ See chapter five, pp. 161-3.

¹¹⁸ Goering and Pryce, 'De modo confitendi', 8; Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 23.

¹¹⁹ Goering and Pryce, 'De modo confitendi', 7-8.

books Cadwgan surrendered to the abbot, Stephen of Worcester, on his arrival at the abbey.¹²⁰ Probably, it was a monk of Abbey Dore who compiled the bishop's writings, and at some point the manuscript found its way to nearby Hereford cathedral, where it has remained since. Most likely, then, Cadwgan was working on these texts at the end of his episcopal life.

So what was he working towards? There are interesting features to the way Cadwgan copied Gilbert de la Porrée. He reordered material, and made changes. So, for example, where Gilbert had used Cicero and Plato as an example of two persons of the same *genus* and *species* being different in *proprietas*, Cadwgan changed this to Jacob and Esau.¹²¹ He also changed some verbs to the first person, injecting a sense of personal delivery. '*Diligenter attende quod ait*,' for example, became '*Diligenter attende quod dico*.'¹²² Cadwgan's rearrangement and alteration of the text suggests he had an audience in mind, who would necessarily be possessed of some education, but who would appreciate biblical over classical examples.

Cadwgan's 'tractate' also included didactic elements. It is formed of three parts. The first is an encouragement to contemplation, beginning with Psalm 79:4: 'Show unto us, O Lord, your face, and we shall be saved'. This he interpreted with *distinctiones*, stringing together a series of verses from the psalms, working through every reference first to *facies*, and then to *vultus*. From there, he broadened out to other uses of *facies* in the Bible, before concluding with verses that addressed the concepts of seeing and showing. The second part of the treatise is a litany petitioning God to show his face, allowing the reader immediately to respond in prayer to the scripture of the first part. Concluding the treatise are Cadwgan's only original theological comments in the entire manuscript. He explained the simplicity of God: while the face of Caesar is not Caesar, the face of God is God.¹²³ He argued from scripture that 'emptiness precedes the vision of God, and occupation precedes blindness'.¹²⁴ And so, in order to enjoy the embraces of divinity to the full, Cadwgan appealed, 'let labour be held in contempt, sleep despised, fear thrown off, all occupation banished, the conversation of man avoided, silence sought after, only quiet desired'.¹²⁵ This was a decidedly monastic conclusion. There was a tension in the tractate: it was prepared for a didactic purpose; but it revealed something of Cadwgan's longing for a return to the quiet of the monastery.

¹²⁰ Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 23; Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 8.

¹²¹ 'Item sunt quedam que proprietatibus etiam personalibus differunt, et tamen omni genere suo et specie conformata sunt, ut Iacob et Esau.' Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 34; cf. Häring (ed.), 'The commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers', 314

¹²² Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 34

¹²³ 'Facies autem Dei Deus est, sed facies Cesaris non est Cesar' Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 28.

¹²⁴ 'Vacatio precedit uisionem Dei, et occupatio precedit excecationem.' Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 28.

¹²⁵ 'Contempnitur labor, despicitur sompnus, metus abicitur, omnis occupatio relegatur, hominum confabulatio cauetur, silentium appetitur, sola quies desideratur, ut possit frui dulcissimis amplexibus superspeciosissime diuinitatis, qua sola fruendum est.' Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 29.

Despite Talbot's statement to the contrary, Cadwgan's work frequently belies his ongoing affinity for the monastic life.¹²⁶ One litany, a petition for the intercession of the saints, named St Benedict and St Bernard alongside the apostles. Another of the *orationes* is typical of monastic ideas about progression in virtue.¹²⁷ Under the rubric, '*Vidi speciosam quasi columbam ascendentem desuper rivos*' – the liturgical responsory for Assumption Day that was a blend of Canticles 2:13, 3:6/8:5, and 5:12 – comes a meditation on the 'ascensions' of Mary and how these are an example to the Christian.¹²⁸

The litanies mostly reflect the private diversions of a bishop seeking a return to his earlier monastic contemplations. The abbreviations, by contrast, seem to have had a more practical purpose. The materials he had gathered from Gilbert de la Porrée, Alexander Neckam and Alan of Lille all addressed the doctrine of God, using 'scholastic' categories to set out the orthodox view of the Trinity and the incarnation. This was surely no coincidence, but reflects a project in progress. In fact, Cadwgan's own modest theological contribution in his 'tractate', where he tried to explain the simplicity of God, derived from the readings he had collected.¹²⁹ Perhaps he was preparing to collate these scholastic texts in another work like *De modo confitendi*: a compilation for the clergy of his diocese.¹³⁰ Bishops who, like Cadwgan, found the time to write, sometimes worked on their own projects, motivated in part by escapism. But they also worked on texts that were intended to be of use to their clergy and were thus motivated by pastoral care. In MS Hereford O.6.viii, we see both kinds of material being prepared side by side.

Summary

Pastoral instruction was not limited to preaching. Some bishops, especially those monk-bishops who were perceived to have retained their monastic identity, were able to edify their parishioners by their example of virtue. In all probability, most bishops convened synods, which facilitated clerical instruction. The patronage of schools enabled the bishop to fulfil his duty of instructing the clergy without having to do so in person, although bishops like Gilbert Foliot may have been more directly involved in their cathedral schools. Finally, written works of various genres could be used for pastoral instruction, as we shall now proceed to demonstrate.

¹²⁶ Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 23.

¹²⁷ For example: *Benedicti regula*, cap. vii, *passim*; Guy II, *Scala claustralium - Die Leiter der Mönche zu Gott: eine Hinführung zur lectio divina*, ed. D. Tibi (Nordhausen, 2009).

¹²⁸ Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 32-3.

¹²⁹ Cadwgan had copied from Alan of Lille: 'Cum enim Deus simplex sit, nichil est in eo preter id quod ipsum est.' MS Hereford O.6.viii, fol. 80r.

¹³⁰ See chapter five, pp. 161-63.

PART ONE: CONCLUSION

Every bishop was called upon to feed his flock. How each individual bishop taught, how well, and how often depended on the individual. The evidence does not clearly indicate whether or not bishops preached more frequently after Lateran IV than before. Certainly, there was a greater emphasis on clerical instruction, reflected in the diocesan statutes bishops disseminated. It would not be surprising if preaching became more frequent. But it should not be assumed that episcopal preaching was rare in the twelfth century. Bartholomew of Exeter was exemplary, not exceptional.

The style of bishops' preaching changed considerably over the period, judging by the extant sermons. Gilbert Foliot, Bartholomew of Exeter, and Baldwin of Forde each had a distinctive approach to preaching. Episcopal preaching in the late twelfth century may not have been as accessible as that of the early thirteenth, but it was probably more varied from bishop to bishop. With the rise of the *Artes praedicandi*, and the appointment of Paris masters like Stephen Langton, Richard Poore, and Henry of Sandford to the episcopate, bishops' preaching likely became more uniform in the style of composition, but was no less engaging for that.

Teaching was fundamental to pastoral care. Bishops' other pastoral duties were impossible to perform without it. In the rest of this thesis, it will become clear that bishops' preaching and writing were the means by which they instructed the clergy in matters of pastoral care. An educated clergy could preach to their own parishioners, administer the sacraments properly, and quash false doctrines.

PART TWO

TENDING THE FLOCK

BISHOPS AND THE *CURA ANIMARUM*

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EUCHARIST

‘Truly, once consecrated and enthroned as bishop, he fulfilled everything pertaining to episcopal office with such watchful care, especially in the confirmation of children where the grace of the Spirit is more fully conferred, and in the consecration of churches where the bride is joined to the bridegroom, and in all the other sacraments of the church specially assigned to the bishop’s office.’¹

- Gerald of Wales

The saint and the sacraments

Hugh of Lincoln’s exemplary conduct as a diocesan bishop centred on his diligent exercise of the sacraments. In his description of Hugh’s pastoral ministry, Gerald of Wales did not use *sacramenta* to denote the seven sacraments recognised by this period.² Rather, he referred to those responsibilities that were ‘specially assigned’ to the bishop, such as confirmation and the consecration of churches. Only the bishop had the sacramental authority to carry out these duties. Thus, as Gerald pointed out, the model bishop was one who diligently attended to these ‘sacraments’ with ‘watchful care’. Adam of Eynsham similarly presented Hugh as one who tirelessly and personally administered the sacraments. This was an important part of what made Hugh an exemplary pastor.

Both hagiographers agreed that Hugh paid special attention to confirmation. It has been suggested that confirmation was the least valued sacrament, in whose administration most bishops across Christendom were neglectful.³ Certainly, Adam contrasted the way Hugh would always dismount to confirm children, with the conduct of another young bishop who sprinkled chrism over crowds of children from horseback.⁴ Gerald remembered Hugh giving one peasant an unusually forceful slap during the confirmation rite because the man had left it until old age.⁵

¹ ‘Quanta uero et quam uigili cura, iam in episcopum consecratus et inthronizatus, cuncta que ad episcopum spectabant complebat officia; precipueque in puerorum confirmationibus, ubi Spiritus amplior gratia confertur, et ecclesiarum consecrationibus, ubi sponso sponsa coniungitur, ceterisque sacramentis ecclesiasticis cunctis, ad episcopi officium specialiter assignatis.’ *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 94.

² D. Bornstein, ‘Administering the sacraments’, in Swanson (ed.), *Medieval Christianity*, p. 133.

³ Bornstein, ‘Administering the sacraments’, p. 135.

⁴ *MVSH*, I, p. 128. Parishioners needing to be confirmed would usually be brought to the bishop as he passed through the area: K. A. Taglia, ‘The cultural construction of childhood: baptism, communion, and confirmation’, in C. M. Rousseau and J. T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B.* (Kalamazoo, 1998), pp. 276-83.

⁵ *GCO*, VII, Vita sancti Hugonis, p. 95. As Loomis notes in his translation of the life, part of the rite of confirmation was to receive a slap: *The Life of St. Hugh*, trans. Loomis, p. 115. Confirmation was supposed, of course, to be administered at the beginning of adolescence: M. Rubin, ‘Sacramental life’, in M. Rubin and W. Simon (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, 4: Christianity in Western Europe c.1100—c.1500* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 224.

According to Adam, Hugh was also remarkably zealous with regard to burials. He was like another Tobias, who had been so careful to provide proper burial for the Israelites who had fallen in battle against the Assyrians.⁶ Hugh's concern for burials had a specific theological grounding. He taught that the most obvious proofs of God's love to man were the gifts conferred either 'before his birth or after his death'.⁷ This led him to insist on equal care for the living and the dead.⁸ The bishop's care for the dead is seemingly confirmed by a revenant story told by William of Newburgh, in which Hugh showed as much concern for the peace of the deceased man's soul as for the peace of the haunted neighbourhood.⁹ Burial did not require the bishop's involvement, but Hugh insisted that he should preside whenever possible. He decreed no one but himself should conduct burials on his manors if he was in residence.¹⁰ And he joined any funerals he happened to pass on his travels, attending up to five burials in one day.¹¹ Where Gerald praised Hugh for carrying out the duties incumbent on him as bishop, Adam stressed that Hugh went even beyond those expectations.

Bishops and the *cura animarum*

The bishop's *baculus* represented the shepherd's crozier, used to direct his sheep along the right path, or to strike them when they attempted to deviate.¹² The ultimate end of pastoral care was the salvation of souls. Teaching and resisting heresy formed part of this task. But there was a narrower definition of the *cura animarum*. Salvation was not, in the end, contingent on education or even orthodoxy. Participation in the sacraments was required to counteract sin and remain within the Church. Baptism washed the sinner of original sin, and brought them into a state of grace; the other sacraments provided grace to absolve the Christian's actual sin or to empower them for good works.¹³

Bishops were responsible, in a supervisory capacity, for all the sacraments in their diocese. They also administered sacraments themselves. According to Cheney, by about 1210 most bishops in England had an official who could fulfil many of their episcopal duties, allowing the bishop a degree of freedom from some of his manifold responsibilities.¹⁴ However, it was precisely the sacramental nature of the

⁶ *MVSH*, II, p. 1. Cf. Tobit, *passim*, e.g. 1.21.

⁷ "Cum sint," aiebat, "innumera, que diuine ad hominem dilectionis declarant immensitatem, ea quam maxime inter cetera prerogatiua singularis excellentie noscuntur preferre, que uel ante hominis ortum uel post ipsius occasum, homini non desinit conferre." *MVSH*, II, p. 75.

⁸ 'Satis utique patet quanta in hoc itinere timenda set timidis occurrere possunt. Verum michi multo magis timendum existimo ne domino quondam et regi meo meam ignauiter uidear in tali articulo subtrahere presentiam, nec fidem uel gratiam mortuo reseruem quam uiuo semper deuotus exhibui.' *MVSH*, II, p. 135.

⁹ *MVSH*, II, pp. 79, 81-3; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett, II, pp. 474-5; C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 185-93.

¹⁰ *MVSH*, II, p. 77.

¹¹ *MVSH*, II, p. 77-8 & 80.

¹² 'Hinc David ait: uirga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt. Virga enim percutimur, baculo sustentamur.' *Regula pastoralis*, II, vi, p. 216.

¹³ M. Rubin, 'Sacramental life', pp. 219-37; Bornstein, 'Administering the sacraments', pp. 133-46.

¹⁴ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 147.

bishop's office that prevented him from delegating all pastoral duties. Some were reserved for the bishop alone: hearing the confession of serious crimes, granting indulgences, confirmation, ordination of priests, consecration of churches, and blessing of chrism.¹⁵ All of these required a sacramental authority that only the bishop possessed.

As the *vitae* of Hugh of Lincoln demonstrate, the sacraments were a key test of a bishop's priorities. Were the sacraments an inconvenient but necessary task that obstructed his political and administrative business, or *vice versa*? In his *Canon episcopalis*, Peter of Blois challenged the new bishop of Worcester and former *curialis* John of Coutances to prioritise pastoral care:

Should you postpone the cure of souls, even for a brief moment, for the exchequer or fiscal revenues? Did Christ elect you to the toll booth? Matthew [the apostle] was taken up from there once, and did not return to it again.¹⁶

But the larger task for bishops, with regard to the sacraments, was appointing and instructing priests, as Lateran IV made plain:

Since the direction of souls is the art of arts, we strictly command that bishops, either themselves or through other qualified men, diligently prepare and instruct those to be elevated to the priesthood in the divine offices and in the proper administration of the sacraments of the Church.¹⁷

Our bishops' texts reveal their efforts to instruct their clergy in the right understanding and administration of the sacraments. Conceptions of all the sacraments were being refined in this period, as they were discussed by theologians and legislated by the papacy.¹⁸ It was necessary for bishops to follow these developments, and this is reflected in their writing.

All of the sacraments were addressed in diocesan legislation, Richard Poore's diocesan statutes for Salisbury being an example of a comprehensive treatment.¹⁹ But more generally, across the corpus of bishops' writing, there were two sacraments that received by far the most attention: the Eucharist and confession. It was natural that these should be the most frequently considered. These were the only two sacraments designed to be repeatable, and thus they were a more regular feature of day to day life. They were also the most controversial.

¹⁵ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 148-9.

¹⁶ 'Quid tibi ad scacarium, quid tibi ad fiscales redditus, ut uel horula breui curam posthabeas animarum? Nunquid Christus te ad telonium eligit? Mattheus semel inde assumptus, denuo ad ipsum non rediit.' *PBO*, col. 1107; cf. Matt. 9.9, Mark 2.14, Luke 5.27.

¹⁷ 'Cum sit ars artium regimen animarum districte precipimus ut episcopi promouendos in sacerdotes diligenter instruant et informant uel per se ipsos uel per alios uiros idoneos super diuinis officiis et ecclesiasticis sacramentis qualiter ea rite ualeant celebrare.' Lateran IV, c. 27.

¹⁸ M. L. Colish, 'Early scholastics and the reform of doctrine and practice', in C. M. Bellitto and L. I. Hamilton (eds.), *Reforming the Church before Modernity: Patterns, Problems and Approaches* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 61-8.

¹⁹ For Poore's statutes on all of the sacraments, see: *C&S*, II, i, pp. 67-91.

The real presence in the Eucharist

The Eucharist was a delicate topic.²⁰ It represented Christ's sacrificial death for sinners, and so provoked a devotional response. In the eleventh century, Berengar of Tours sparked a bitter dispute when he denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.²¹ 'Transubstantiation' emerged in the twelfth century as a term to describe what ultimately became the orthodox position.²² Joseph Goering has demonstrated that the term was almost certainly invented in the schools of Paris during the second quarter of the twelfth century, and he found evidence ascribing it to Robert Pullen.²³ The term was not immediately accepted and widely used. But the ideas it represented were not generally in doubt.²⁴ However, as Gary Macy has shown, Berengar's teachings, as well as more extreme ideas falsely attributed to him, filtered down to heretical groups and remained an influence into the twelfth century and beyond.²⁵ So while Berengar's views were almost unanimously condemned in orthodox circles, they were perceived as an ongoing threat. Theological debate thus continued.

Macy has demonstrated the diversity of theological opinion on the Eucharist in the long twelfth century. He identified three models of, or approaches to, the sacrament adopted by theologians. Those who followed the 'Paschian' model (named after the ninth-century monk Paschasius Radbertus) were the most self-consciously anti-Berengarian, placing a strong emphasis on the real presence. Typically, they stressed the salvation of the individual through the natural reception of the Eucharist.²⁶ The 'mystical' approach, developed by theologians like Anselm of Laon and Hugh of St Victor, emphasised instead the spiritual reception of the Eucharist. This approach led some to the conclusion that the Eucharist itself was not actually necessary for salvation. Blessed bread or even grass could suffice, although these would not bring all the other benefits of the Eucharist.²⁷ Finally, theologians pursuing an 'ecclesiastical'

²⁰ We might wonder whether the pastoral motif, 'feeding the flock', was ever associated with the mass. Gregory the Great described Jesus the *pastor bonus* giving his body for food: 'Bonus pastor pro ouibus suis animam suam posuit, ut in sacramento nostro corpus suum et sanguinem uerteret, et oues quas redemerat carnis sue alimento satiaret.' Gregory, *Homiliae in euangelia*, ed. Etaix, p. 97. I have found no reference to priests 'feeding the flock' with the Eucharist.

²¹ H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The papacy and the Berengarian controversy', in H. E. J. Cowdrey (ed.), *Popes and Church Reform in the 11th Century* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 109-38; J. de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérenger: La controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle* (Louvain, 1971); M. Gibson, 'The case of Berengar of Tours', in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), *Councils and Assemblies: Papers Read at the Eighth Summer Meeting and the Ninth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 61-8.

²² J. Goering, 'The invention of transubstantiation', *Traditio* 46 (1991), 147-70.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The exception proves the rule. Herbert of Bosham, for example, was troubled with doubts and nightmares regarding the Eucharist: Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 75-6.

²⁵ G. Macy, 'Berengar's legacy as a heresiarch', in P. Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and F. Niewöhner (eds.), *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 2 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 47-67.

²⁶ G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to Theologians c.1080-c.1220* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 44-72.

²⁷ Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 73-105.

approach to the Eucharist emphasised the corporate nature of salvation, and argued that the Eucharist had salvific power because it was an expression of the Christian's communion with the Church.²⁸

Macy recognised that theologians were more conscious of what they held in common, against the heretics, than what they disagreed over.²⁹ He also acknowledged that every theologian had his own unique approach that rarely fitted any of Macy's three models perfectly.³⁰ Yet his categories are still useful. Macy argued that the 'ecclesiastical' view of the sacrament was in the ascendancy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: precisely our period.³¹ However, our bishops tended towards the 'mystical' approach to the Eucharist in their teaching. Indeed, Macy identified Baldwin of Forde as one such theologian, since Baldwin argued that spiritual reception could take place apart from sacramental reception.³²

Speculative questions about the process of transubstantiation attracted the interest of theologians, especially in the thirteenth century.³³ But some considered these questions to be impious.³⁴ Our bishops tended to concentrate on questions that were more pastorally focused. Why had God instituted the sacrament in the way he had? How should the sacrament be received? Under what conditions did the recipient benefit? And how should the host be kept, prepared and administered by the clergy? The controversies surrounding the sacrament heightened the emphasis on the real presence. Thus, almost every treatment of the Eucharist by bishops connected, in one way or another, to the question of transubstantiation – even though the term was only rarely used.

Bishops' teaching on the sacrament is recorded in various kinds of source material. Sermons provided an opportunity to explain the Eucharist, to clergy and laity alike. It seems some of the laity still did not know what the mass was, and why they should attend.³⁵ Some bishops also produced treatises on the subject, contributing to an emerging genre of *Summae de sacramentis*.³⁶ And finally, in the canons of their synods and their diocesan constitutions, bishops also ruled on practical questions concerning the clergy's administration of the sacrament.

²⁸ Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 106-32.

²⁹ Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 139.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 138

³² Baldwin, *Le sacrement de l'autel*, ed. Morson and de Solms, II, pp. 246 & 274; Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 98-9. Interestingly, Macy identified Robert Pullen – said to have taught Baldwin and Bartholomew at Exeter – as an outspoken critic of the mystical approach: Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 105; Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 101 & 104.

³³ Goering, 'The invention of transubstantiation', 147-8; H. E. Baber, 'The real presence', *Religious Studies* 49 (2013), 19-33; J. F. McCue, 'The doctrine of transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: the point at issue', *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968), 385-430.

³⁴ See below, pp. 123-4.

³⁵ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 83.

³⁶ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 84.

How should the Eucharist be received?

The Eucharist was the central ritual of the Church. But it could be fraught with doubt. Failure to participate in the sacrament, John 6:53 suggested, was to refuse salvation.³⁷ At the same time, 1 Corinthians 11:27 was interpreted by some to mean that the unworthy recipient was damned.³⁸ It was therefore imperative that bishops' parishioners both received the sacrament, and received it in the right way. How one approached the host – with or without faith – revealed how one approached Christ. As convictions about the doctrine of transubstantiation deepened, so too did the sense that the sacrament was a re-enactment, not simply a remembrance. Thus, when bishops taught or wrote concerning the reception of the Eucharist, they almost always emphasised the implications of the real presence of Christ.

Bartholomew of Exeter

In his long Palm Sunday sermon, Bartholomew of Exeter presented a typological exegesis of the Passover lamb.³⁹ His overall point was to emphasise that the sacrament was a test of faith and must be understood spiritually. Bartholomew drew this out from four commands in God's institution of the Passover. The first command was that the blood of the lamb should be daubed on the doors and windows of the Israelites' homes in Egypt, so that the angel of the Lord would pass over. Just as this blood was spread on two pieces of wood, so too the blood of Christ stained the two beams of his cross, thus fulfilling the type established in the Passover. This same blood of Christ, Bartholomew taught, was still daily shed in the church, at the mass. The two wooden posts tinged with blood signified 'the mouth of the body and the mouth of the heart. For with each we ought to receive the body and blood of the Lord, both in the mouth and the heart, and thus to receive in the mouth of the body so that we might believe in the heart'.⁴⁰ Without faith, the sacrament had not truly been received. 'For there are many,' Bartholomew warned, 'who do thus: who receive with the mouth and do not believe with the heart, just as the heretics who receive it many times and do not believe.'⁴¹ By implication, there was no salvific power in the sacrament for those who received it faithlessly.

The second command was that the Passover lamb should be eaten roasted, not raw or boiled.⁴² Bartholomew contrasted the roasting by fire with boiling:

³⁷ S. E. Lahey, 'Late medieval Eucharistic theology', in I. C. Levy, G. Macy and K. van Ausdall (eds.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011), p. 537.

³⁸ T. M. Izbicki, 'Sin and pastoral care', in Swanson (ed.) *Medieval Christianity*, p. 149.

³⁹ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 34v-37r.

⁴⁰ 'Sanguis agni quo fuerunt tincte faciales domorum et luminaria fuit sanguis Domini, quo fuerunt tincta duo ligna crucis, et aspersa et de quo cotidie in sancta ecclesia tinguntur duo postes nostre domus, id est, os corporis et os cordis. Nam ab utroque debemus recipere corpus et sanguinem Domini et de ore et de corde, et sic de ore corporis recipere ut de corde credamus.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35ra.

⁴¹ 'Nam multi sunt qui ita faciunt qui recipiunt ore et non corde credunt, sicut heretici qui multociens communicant et non credunt.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35ra.

⁴² Exod. 12.9.

This signifies that the flesh of the Lord was roasted and cooked with the fire of the Passion. For fire, in many places [of the Bible] is placed after tribulation and difficulty. ... The nature of fire is that whatever it roasts is made hard and durable. Whatever is boiled with water turns softer and more quickly putrefies.⁴³

And so Bartholomew exhorted his congregation: 'Then let us eat the flesh of Christ roasted, when we believe and understand that it was exacted at the cross for us, and that it was resurrected from the grave, always alive and durable.'⁴⁴

Thirdly, God had commanded that the Passover lamb be eaten at night. For Bartholomew, *nox* represented something hidden in the darkness. He first suggested that this might refer to the fact no one could see the heart of another during the mass.⁴⁵ But the more significant concealment related to the doctrine of transubstantiation: 'Or in night we eat, because we receive the body of the Lord in the figure of bread, and we do not see it corporally just as it is. For it appears to be bread, and is truly flesh, and this night clothes the sacrament so that we are unable to see with the bodily eye.'⁴⁶ Again, faith was required to believe what could not be seen.

Finally, the Passover lamb was also to be eaten with unleavened bread and wild lettuce. Leaven had already been interpreted by the Apostle Paul as sin.⁴⁷ Bartholomew clearly had this in mind when he taught that the Christian ought to take the mass 'without admixture of sin, and without the corruption of vainglory'.⁴⁸ Although he was not explicit that sin negated the efficacy of the sacrament, Bartholomew hinted here at the association between the Eucharist and confession. Recipients of the host were supposed to have confessed their sins and received absolution. But, in the years leading up to Lateran IV, even confessed Christians sometimes still refrained from participating in the sacrament for fear of eating unworthily.⁴⁹ Precisely what level of sinfulness was tolerable for the recipient of the sacrament was defined in Bartholomew's penitential, in which he encouraged full and frequent

⁴³ 'Hoc significat quod caro Domini erat assanda et coquenda igne passionis. Nam ignis in pluribus locis ponitur post tribulatione et angustia. Natura ignis est ut quod assat durius et durabilius facit. Quod coquitur aqua mollius deuenit, plus cito putrescit.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35rb. I have not been able to find comparable exegesis elsewhere.

⁴⁴ 'Tunc comedimus hanc carnem Christi assam cum credimus et intelligimus quod illa fuit tribulata in cruce pro nobis, et quod semper uiua et durabilis resurrexit de sepulchro.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35rb.

⁴⁵ 'In nocte iussit carnem agni comedi et nos credimus carnem agni nostri, id est, Christi nocte cum nos in hoc seculo quando nox est recipimus corpus Domini ubi nemo uidet cor alterius.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35rb.

⁴⁶ 'Vel in nocte comedimus, quia corpus Domini in figuram panis recipimus et non uidemus illud corporaliter sicuti est. Nam apparet panis, et est ueraciter caro, et hec nox coopertura sacramentum quod non possumus uidere corporeis oculis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35rb.

⁴⁷ 1 Cor. 5.6-8

⁴⁸ 'Cum carne agni iussit Dominus comedi panes azimos et cum lactucis agrestibus quod tunc agimus spiritualiter cum nos hoc credimus corpus Domini bona opera facimus sine ammixtione peccati, et sine corruptione uaneglorie.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 35rb.

⁴⁹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 69-70 & 98-108.

participation in the sacrament: 'If the sins are not so great that someone is excommunicated, he ought not to separate himself from the medicine of the Lord's Body.'⁵⁰

This Palm Sunday sermon was delivered to a clerical audience. But as we have seen, Bartholomew also preached to the laity, and he covered some of the basics of the sacrament in other sermons.⁵¹ His teaching raised questions that he left unanswered. Was Christ really present in the host consumed by the faithless, the heretic or the unrepentant sinner? As far as we can tell, Bartholomew was not concerned that his clergy should know the answers to those kinds of questions. He simply wanted them to know how they and their parishioners should approach the sacrament: with faith.

Gilbert Foliot

In his commentary on the *Pater noster*, probably composed 1179x81, Gilbert Foliot connected the petition '*panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*' with the Eucharist. The association was commonplace.⁵² But Gilbert wove in an unusual Old Testament typology. To what bread did the *Pater noster* refer? It was figured by the bread given by an angel to Elijah after he fled from Ahab and Jezebel, which, according to the biblical narrative, had been baked in ashes.⁵³ This in turn was an image of the 'bread' of Christ's body. 'For the place in which this bread was cooked,' Gilbert explained, 'proves to be the womb of the Blessed Virgin, in which this baking under ashes was done, that is, placed under the ash of our humanity.'⁵⁴ Alongside this bread, Elijah had been provided with a vessel of water. Gilbert took this water to represent cleansing and purgation, where the bread represented redemption from sins.⁵⁵ This typological exegesis allowed Gilbert to make a point about how the Eucharist was received. As he argued: 'We receive this bread from the altar, where all of us who flee from Ahab and Jezebel participate through believing.'⁵⁶

It is not easy to discern Gilbert's meaning in all of this, until it is recognised that he had taken these ideas from his friend Ailred of Rievaulx. Ailred used these very same typologies, all in one sermon, providing a fuller explanation than Gilbert. Just as the bread was hidden in the ash, as a sun in the clouds, so too was Christ hidden in human flesh.⁵⁷ Where Ailred meant that Christ's divinity was hidden

⁵⁰ 'Si non tanta sunt peccata, ut excommunicetur quis, non se debet a medicina Corporis Domini separare.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 271.

⁵¹ For other sermons on the mass see Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 37ra-43rb, 73va & 76rb-va.

⁵² Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 100.

⁵³ 'Panis uero iste est quem figurat panis ille qui ab angelo Helie, fugienti ab Achab et Iezabel, ad capud allatus est, angelicus et subcinericius.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, p. 97; cf. 1 Kings 19.6. Bonaventure connected Christ's body to the 'meat' cooked on ashes for Elijah: Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 25.

⁵⁴ 'Area namque in qua panis iste coctus est, uterus beate uirginis existat, in quo hic subcinericius effectus est, id est, sub cinere nostre humanitatis positus.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, p. 97.

⁵⁵ 'Cui etiam uas aque appositum est ut per panem, nostra a peccatis redemptio; et per aquam que omnem in munditiam lauat et purgat, nostra a peccatis purgatio designetur.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, p. 97.

⁵⁶ 'Panem quem de altari sumimus, quo omnes qui ab Achab fugimus et Iezabel credendo participamus.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, p. 97.

⁵⁷ 'Ipsa est caro nostra, quam ex nobis et pro nobis assumpsit diuina Sapientia; leuis, id est ab omni peccati pondere immunis; in qua profecto quasi sol in nube latens primo beatissimo Ioanne predicante innotuit: Ecce,

in human flesh, Gilbert seems to add that Christ's human form had also been hidden in Mary's womb. Ailred also specified, where Gilbert did not, that Ahab signified pride, and Jezebel luxury.⁵⁸ Now Gilbert's reasoning becomes clear, as does his admonition on how the Eucharist should be received. The Christian should flee pride and luxury, and come to the mass striving for holiness.

Gilbert's comment about participating in the Eucharist 'through believing' led him into a more practical point about the role of faith in the sacrament. He went on to quote the service of the mass: 'For, while he ate with his disciples, the Truth, who is not able to deceive, says: "Take and eat all of this: this is my body." And thus of the chalice, he says: "Take and drink all of this: this is even my blood which was poured out for you and for many in remission of sins."' ⁵⁹ Gilbert's strong emphasis on Christ's trustworthiness was intended to eliminate doubts about transubstantiation. The host was in the *forma* of bread in order that faith might be exercised. The faithful were not to follow the suggestions of their eyes and accept the host only as bread. They were to confess and adore the true body of Christ Jesus.⁶⁰

That the petition from the *Pater noster* referred to 'daily' bread did not imply anything about the regularity with which the sacrament should be received, in Gilbert's view. He went to some lengths to argue that '*hodie*' need not be interpreted literally. It could instead serve as a temporal expression of something eternal and ongoing. Psalm 2:7, a messianic prophecy in Christian thought, was a useful text for Gilbert's argument: "'The Lord said to me: You are my son, today I have begotten you", that is, from eternity I have begotten you. For he was not born in time who existed before all time.'⁶¹ Lateran IV would, of course, later prescribe that all the faithful should attend mass at least annually.⁶² But the idea that the major feasts of the liturgical calendar were times when Christians should make confession, be absolved, and then participate in the mass was already well-established by the late twelfth century.⁶³ Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential had been clear that Christians were to receive the mass at Easter,

inquit, agnus Dei. Hic est subcinericius ille panis quo pascitur Elias. Panis enim in cinere, sol in nube, Deus in humana carne.' *Aelredus Rieuallensis opera omnia*, vol. III, ed. G. Raciti, CCCM 2B (Turnhout, 2001), p. 206.

⁵⁸ 'Ahab significat superbiam, Iezabel luxuriam.' *Aelredus Rieuallensis opera omnia*, vol. III, p. 201.

⁵⁹ 'Ait enim Veritas, que mentiri non potest, dum cenaret cum discipulis suis: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes: hoc est enim corpus meum. Sic et de calice ait: Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes: hic est enim sanguis meus qui pro uobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, p. 97.

⁶⁰ 'In ea ergo forma que omnibus nota est, qua utuntur omnes, qua pascuntur, qua reficiuntur, qua de puero in senium transformantur, in pane scilicet [et] in uino, seipsum dedit, et dat, ut fidem mysterii huius corroboret, ut se fideles eius non panem sumere et uinum quod oculus uidet et suadet, iam suscipiant, sed ipsum uerum corpus Christi Iesu confiteantur et adorent, qui eos et contra aduersarios omnes saluauit in seculo, et nunc in egressu uite huius in suo conductu admissos proteget et saluabit in secula.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, p. 98.

⁶¹ 'Dominus dixit ad me: filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te, id est, ab eterno genui te. Non enim tempore genitus est qui ante omne tempus exstitit.' Gilbert, 'Lord's Prayer', ed. Bell, pp. 98-9.

⁶² Lateran IV, c. 21.

⁶³ Izbicki, 'Sin and pastoral care', p. 149; citing Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 69-70 & 98-108.

Pentecost and Christmas as a minimum.⁶⁴ Indeed, those who failed to do so ought not to be considered Catholics.⁶⁵ It is striking that this point was of little concern to Gilbert.

Baldwin of Forde

In Baldwin of Forde's treatise, *De sacramento altaris*, written while he was still at Forde Abbey, all questions about *forma*, *materia*, *species*, *substantia*, and the mechanics of transubstantiation were deliberately set aside.⁶⁶ It was impious to pursue such questions.⁶⁷ Baldwin's principal concern here was to consider the effect the sacrament should have on the Christian's life.⁶⁸ Baldwin carried over this same approach to the sacrament in his preaching as bishop. He was not in any doubt about transubstantiation; he even used the term.⁶⁹ But he felt that it was not for man to know how this mysterious change took place. He was willing to prove the real presence only from scripture. He reasoned, for example, that Christ's promise, 'I am with you, even to the end of the world', was fulfilled in the mass.⁷⁰

Baldwin continued to teach in his sermons that transubstantiation confounded reason. It was thus one area where *ratio* should wholly give way to *fides*.⁷¹ To the hands, eyes and tongue the host is bread,⁷² but faith has a 'greater testimony' than reason.⁷³ Baldwin's conclusions about faith and reason, set out most fully in his *De commendatione fidei*,⁷⁴ was applied to the Eucharist. In short, faith provides a more certain knowledge than understanding, for faith is based on divine authority and testimony.⁷⁵ Moreover,

⁶⁴ 'Etsi non frequentius, saltem ter in anno communicetur, nisi forte quis maioribus criminibus impediatur: in Pascha uidelicet, et Pentecosten, et Natale Domini.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 271.

⁶⁵ 'Seculares, qui in Natale Domini, Pascha, Pentecosten non communicauerint, catholici non credantur.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 271.

⁶⁶ 'Quid aliud super huiusmodi affirmare possumus, nisi quod Iesus Deus est, et in omnibus operatur sicut Deus et sicut potestatem habens, cui seruiunt ad nutum omnis forma et materia, omnis species et substantia? Circa hec autem, formam scilicet et materiam, siue speciem et substantiam, preclara philosophorum sudauerunt ingenia; et subtilissima indagatione inuestigare conati sunt singulorum naturam, et unde esset, et quid esset uel non esset, et ubi esset, et quid denique posset; et quod sibi uidebatur, secundum coniecturam humane rationis, quasi diffinitum habebant et certum. Et arbitrati sunt, secundum acumen ingenii sui, legem nature certis terminis concludere et indubitatis diffinitionibus limitare; quasi a ueritate discordaret, quidquid eorum diffinitionibus obuiaret.' Baldwin, *Le sacrement de l'autel*, ed. Morson and de Solms, II, p. 206. See: Bell, 'Baldwin of Ford and the sacrament of the altar', p. 218.

⁶⁷ 'Et quidem secundum sollemnem ordinem et cursum nature multa ab eis tam mirabiliter quam fideliter edissera sunt; sed multa probabiliter elaborata, sed a ueritate tam extranea quam a pietate fidei aliena.' Baldwin, *Le sacrement de l'autel*, ed. Morson and de Solms, II, p. 206.

⁶⁸ Bell, 'Baldwin and the sacrament of the altar', pp. 228-30.

⁶⁹ 'Ante consecrationem quidem est ibi uera substantia panis, sed in consecratione potenti uirtute uerborum transsubstantiatur et mutatur in ueram Christi carnem.' *BFO*, sermo 4, iii, p. 67; Bell, 'Baldwin and the sacrament of the altar', p. 218.

⁷⁰ 'Antequam in celum ascenderet, ne discipuli ceteri ue fideles post futuri de ipsius auxilio, subtracta oculis eorum corporali presentia, diffiderent uel desperarent, consolatus est eos, dicens: Ecce ego uobis cum sum, usque ad consummationem seculi.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xii, p. 69; cf. Matt. 28.20.

⁷¹ 'In hoc autem sacramento tota humana ratio sub pietate fidei humilianda est.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xxxvi, p. 76.

⁷² 'Experientia gustus et oculorum intenta contemplatio, per saporem et colorem, superscriptionem et formam, ceteras que circumstantias, cogitationi suggerunt quia panis est, et non caro.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xxii, p. 72.

⁷³ 'Fides autem nostra maius testimonium habet quam ab humana ratione' *BFO*, sermo 4, xxiv, p. 73.

⁷⁴ *BFO*, pp. 341-458.

⁷⁵ '[Fides] subnixta est enim diuina auctoritate, que quidem summa ratio est, omnem humanam rationem incomparabiliter superans.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xxiv, p. 73; cf. Bell, 'Certitudo fidei', pp. 265-6.

faith is increased as the Christian chooses to rely more on God's word. And in the Eucharist, there is no alternative for the believer than to humble his reason and believe the words of Christ: 'This is my body.'⁷⁶

For Baldwin, Galatians 2:20 – 'Christ lives in me' – meant that, in the Eucharist, the life of Christ enters the recipient. Thus, the Eucharist was an essential part of sanctification, and was linked to the work of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷ Specifically, it was an example for Christian living. The mass evoked all of Christ's suffering, obedience, and humility, and so set the life of Christ before the eyes of the recipient for them to imitate.⁷⁸ In fact, the efficacy of the sacrament was contingent upon a response: 'The sacrament does not benefit those who do not imitate the example.'⁷⁹ This imitation should involve suffering the pain of mortification and discipline, and living in Christ-like poverty.⁸⁰ In other words, Baldwin wanted the Eucharist to inspire all Christians to lead an ascetic and quasi-monastic life.

Hugh of Lincoln

One fascinating account of a bishop's defence of transubstantiation comes from Adam of Eynsham's *Magna vita*. Hugh of Lincoln was an avid collector of relics. At the Norman Benedictine abbey of Fécamp, he attempted to take a part of the arm bone of Mary Magdalen. The monks had never removed the three wrappings covering the relic, and refused to do so. But Hugh surreptitiously cut away the wrappings and sought to take part of the bone. This proved more difficult than the bishop anticipated. As Adam recalled in vivid detail, Hugh 'tried unsuccessfully to break it with his fingers, and then bit it first with his incisors and finally with his molars'.⁸¹ Eventually, two fragments fell away, which the bishop quickly passed to Adam himself for safekeeping.

Unsurprisingly, the abbot and monks were horrified, and accused Hugh of behaving more like a dog than a devotee. Adam attributed an ingenious response to Hugh, which he asserted was successful in calming the monks:

⁷⁶ 'Homo itaque totam rationem suam Deo humilians, de hoc sacramento id credat quod Dominus instituit credendum, dicens: Hoc est corpus meum.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xxxvi, p. 76; Matt. 26.26.

⁷⁷ 'Si autem spiritus eius qui suscitauit Iesum a mortuis habitat in nobis, qui suscitauit Iesum Christum a mortuis uiuificabit et mortalia corpora nostra propter inhabitantem Spiritum eius in nobis. Hinc et ipse Dominus ait: Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet uitam eternam.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xvii, p. 71; cf. Gal. 2.20.

⁷⁸ *BFO*, sermo 4, xli-xlii, pp. 77-8.

⁷⁹ 'Qui non imitantur exemplum, nec illis prodest sacramentum.' *BFO*, sermo 4, xl, p. 77.

⁸⁰ *BFO*, sermo 4, xliii-xlv, pp. 78-9.

⁸¹ 'A quo dum impressione digitorum nil quiuisset excutere, prius incisuios deinde molares dentes apposuit.' *MVSH*, II, p. 169

“If, a little while ago I handled the most sacred body of the Lord of all the saints with my fingers, in spite of my unworthiness, and, when I partook of it, touched it with my lips and teeth, why should I not venture to treat in the same way the bones of the saints for my protection?”⁸²

Somehow, Hugh had managed to recast his misdemeanour as an act of devotion. What the monks considered an act of profanity, the bishop justified by recalling the celebration of the mass. Though it seemed a *reductio ad absurdum*, the logic was surprisingly compelling. If he was willing to chew on the actual body of Christ, why should he not do likewise with the saint’s humerus? Assuming there was some truth to the story, it was clearly a memorable moment that warranted inclusion in Adam’s hagiography, partly because it made an anecdote that revealed Hugh’s quick wit, and partly because of Hugh’s affirmation of transubstantiation.

Adam also recorded miracle stories relating to the mass. An abundance of miracle stories emerged in this period, apparently confirming the real presence of Christ. In many of these stories, the host was seen to bleed, or to take the form of a baby, usually for the benefit of an unbeliever of some kind.⁸³ These stories were clearly designed to stimulate belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, although precisely how they were expected to do so has recently been disputed.⁸⁴ Two such miracle stories came to the ears of Hugh of Lincoln, according to the *Magna vita*. In one case, a gaunt old priest related how, as a young man, he had continued to celebrate the mass, despite knowing that he had not confessed a mortal sin. During one service, just as he began to doubt whether his consecration had any effect, the priest saw the Eucharist turn visibly to flesh and blood in his hands. Hugh’s attendants, probably including Adam of Eynsham, expected that the bishop would wish to go and seek out this miracle. But instead Hugh gave a memorable reply:

It is well in God’s name for him to keep for himself the proofs of his lack of faith. It is not our concern. Why should we gape at a sensory image of this divine gift, when every day we behold by faith this heavenly sacrifice, whole and entire? Let that man look with his bodily eyes on the minute fragment, who cannot by faith internally behold the whole.⁸⁵

Hugh was not so dismissive of the other miraculous experience reported to him. A certain cleric was told by a heavenly voice that many priests handled the sacrament unworthily, and was sent by this voice

⁸² “‘Si,’ inquit, ‘ipsius Sancti sanctorum paulo ante corpus sanctissimum digitis licet indignis contrectauimus, dentibus quoque uel labiis attractatum ad interiora nostra transmisimus, quare non etiam sanctorum eius membra ad nostri munimen.’” *MVSH*, II, p. 170.

⁸³ M. Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (London, 1999); Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 112-14 & 128-9; G. Macy, ‘Theology and the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages’, in Macy and van Ausdell (eds.), *Companion to the Eucharist*, pp. 365 & 395.

⁸⁴ Against the standard view, Steven Justice argues that miracle stories were not expected to be believed, but designed simply to provoke thoughtfulness: S. Justice, ‘Eucharistic miracle and eucharistic doubt’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42.2 (2012), 307-32.

⁸⁵ “‘Bene,’ inquit ‘in nomine Domini habeant sibi signa infidelitatis sue. Quid ad nos de hiis? Num miramur particulares ymagines huius diuini muneris, qui totum et integrum hoc celeste sacrificium cotidie intuemur fidelissimo aspectu mentis? Intueatur illius exiguas portiunculas uisu corporeo, qui totum non intuetur fidei conspectu interno.’” *MVSH*, II, pp. 92-5, quote at p. 95.

to ask Hugh of Lincoln if he would admonish the archbishop of Canterbury for failing to reform the clergy. Arriving in Lincoln just as Hugh was celebrating the mass, the cleric saw the elevated host transform into the likeness of a tiny child in the bishop's hands.⁸⁶ On hearing that account, Hugh forbade him from recounting the miracle to others.⁸⁷ Furthermore, he recommended that the cleric should take the monastic habit, for 'it was not right for one who had heard and seen what he had to remain any longer in the world'.⁸⁸ Hugh's response in both cases reveals that he considered miracle stories unhelpful. There was a sense in which they undermined the point of the sacrament. It was supposed to be received by faith, not sight.⁸⁹ However, Adam of Eynsham was clearly not worried about broadcasting such accounts, since he included them in the *Magna vita*.

Richard Poore

The diocesan statutes compiled by Richard Poore, first for the diocese of Salisbury (published 1217x19) and then Durham (published 1228x36), included a number of canons on the Eucharist, some touching on the reception of the sacrament. Richard stated clearly that the *species* of bread and wine were transubstantiated into body and blood by divine power.⁹⁰ And, like his twelfth-century forebears, he taught that the sacrament was a test of faith: 'For what is accepted with the mouth is believed with faith, and the "Amen" is responded in vain by those for whom the sacrament is accepted and understood otherwise.'⁹¹ Here was another explicit warning that, without faith, the Eucharist was of no benefit to the recipient. It had not been truly received. The priests of the diocese were charged with relaying this teaching to their parishioners. 'In addition,' Richard wrote, 'you ought to instruct the laity as often as they receive the mass that they should in no way doubt, regarding the truth of the body and blood of Christ.'⁹²

Throughout our period, a significant part of bishops' pastoral instruction was devoted to communicating how the sacraments should be received. With regard to the Eucharist, this teaching centred on the role of faith in accepting the real presence of Christ. The importance of purity from sin before coming to the mass seems to have been a secondary emphasis. It was not necessarily secondary in importance, however. Bishops may simply have felt the necessity of faith was less understood, by clergy and laity alike, than the necessity of purity. If Macy was right that the 'ecclesiastical' approach to the Eucharist was in the ascendant at this time, over the 'mystical' approach, then these bishops' treatments of the

⁸⁶ *MVSH*, II, pp. 85-92.

⁸⁷ 'Precepit itaque ei quatinus hec reuerenter celare meminisset.' *MVSH*, II, p. 91.

⁸⁸ 'Asserebat enim non esse conueniens ut qui talia uidisset et audisset in seculi uanitate ulterius spatiari uellet.' *MVSH*, II, p. 91.

⁸⁹ Justice, 'Eucharistic miracle and eucharistic doubt', 312.

⁹⁰ '...corpore et sanguine suo eos ueraciter reficiens sub speciebus panis et uini transubstantiatis, pane in corpus et uino in sanguinem, potestate diuina.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 77.

⁹¹ 'Hoc enim ore sumitur quod fide creditur, et frustra Amen respondetur a quibus de eo quod accipitur aliter sentitur.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 77.

⁹² 'Insuper debetis instruere laicos quotiens communicant quod de ueritate corporis et sanguinis Christi nullo modo dubitent.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 77.

sacrament were becoming old-fashioned. Where they consistently emphasised the personal faith and holiness of the recipient, the fashion was shifting towards a new emphasis on regular attendance at the mass as an expression of communion with the Church.

How should the Eucharist be administered?

Bishops dealt also with how the Eucharist should be prepared and administered. The real presence of Christ in the Eucharist meant that it should be shown due reverence at all times, not just by the recipient at the mass. As Baldwin of Forde put it: ‘The sacrament of the Lord’s body and blood, for his dignity and reverence, is worthy to be treated worthily with worth, worthily to be prepared and worthily to be received, and worthily to be dispensed.’⁹³ Some concerns of the day – particularly about ritual purity and host desecration – have become famous. Priests were to be chaste, so as to be fit to administer the sacrament.⁹⁴ And the host was to be kept secure: the Jews were sometimes suspected of stealing and desecrating it.⁹⁵ But there were myriad other practical considerations.

In his penitential, Bartholomew of Exeter compiled a variety of authoritative judgements pertaining to the Eucharist in a series of chapters. He took them all from Burchard of Worms, Ivo of Chartres and Gratian, adding no original comment of his own. But his selection and arrangement of materials was deliberate. It is significant, for example, that the very first judgement he made use of, apparently from a council of Toledo, emphasised that ‘when priests or deacons are constituted in parishes, they ought to make profession to their bishop’.⁹⁶ Thus, Bartholomew prefaced all he had compiled about the Eucharist with a reminder that he, as bishop, supervised all those who administered the sacrament.

The remainder of this chapter addressed a variety of concerns about due care for the Eucharist. Penance was to be enjoined on any priests who failed to look after the bread and wine adequately. The host should be kept safely, lest it be eaten by mice or worms.⁹⁷ The host should not be dropped.⁹⁸ Nothing should be spilled from the chalice, especially during the mass.⁹⁹ Where the host had been spoiled, it

⁹³ ‘Sacramentum dominici corporis et sanguinis, pro sua dignitate et reuerentia, dignum est a dignis digne tractari, digne confici et digne percipi, digne que dispensari.’ *BFO*, sermo 4, p. 67.

⁹⁴ M. Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York, 1998); C. C. Anderson, ‘Ritual purity and pastoral reform in the thirteenth century’, in Stansbury (ed.), *Companion to Pastoral Care*, pp. 73-94.

⁹⁵ Rubin, *Gentile Tales*.

⁹⁶ ‘Quando presbiteri aut diaconi per parrochias constituuntur, oportet eos professionem episcopo suo facere.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 266-7.

⁹⁷ ‘Qui non bene custodierit sacrificium, et mus uel aliquod aliud animal comederit illud, quadraginta dies peniteat. ... Qui negligentiam erga sacrificium fecerit, ut in eo uermis consumptus sit ...’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 267.

⁹⁸ ‘Si ceciderit sacrificium de manu offerentis terratenus, ...’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 267.

⁹⁹ ‘Perfundens aliquid super altare de calice, quando offertur, sex dies peniteat, aut si abundantius septem dies peniteat.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 267.

should be burned and preserved under the altar.¹⁰⁰ Other abuses were considered even more serious. Priests giving the host to laymen and women, so that it might be carried to the infirm, were strongly condemned.¹⁰¹ So too were those using the sacred vessels for 'human uses'.¹⁰² Since these were all old proscriptions, it cannot be assumed that Bartholomew perceived these abuses to be a particular problem in his diocese.

There is, however, an indication of a particular problem identified by Bartholomew. He devoted an entire chapter to the problem of drunkenness. While the chapter was not wholly about the mass, it was preceded and followed by chapters on the Eucharist, and very much part of the section as a whole.¹⁰³ The concern, as it related to the sacrament, was that the host might be vomited and thereby dishonoured. With higher rank in the Church came a greater expectation of prudence:

If anyone vomits the Eucharist because of drunkenness or voracity, let him do forty days penance. Let clerics, monks or deacons do fifty days penance. Let priests do seventy days penance; bishops ninety.¹⁰⁴

In order to prevent this occurring in the first place, those in the habit of drunkenness were to be disbarred from the sacrament, until they performed penance worthily and promised to mend their ways.¹⁰⁵ Although this chapter contained nothing original to Bartholomew, its prominence in his arrangement of material is suggestive. The English were sometimes thought especially prone to the vice of drunkenness.¹⁰⁶ Vomiting the Eucharist was an offence also included in the penitential produced (or at least used) by Stephen Langton.¹⁰⁷

Bartholomew followed Ivo of Chartres and Gratian in making use of judgements attributed to Pope Alexander II (d. 1073). These stipulated that the mass should be celebrated only once each day, and not

¹⁰⁰ 'Si integer inuentus fuerit in eo uermis, comburatur, et cinis sub altare recondatur.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 267.

¹⁰¹ 'Peruenit ad noticiam nostram, quod quidam presbiteri in tantum paruipendunt diuina misteria, ut laico aut femine sacrum Corpus Domini tradant ad deferendum infirmis, et quibus prohibetur, ne sacrarium ingrediantur, nec ad altare appropinquent, illis sancta sanctorum comittuntur. Quod quam sit horribile omnium religiosorum aduertit prudentia.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 268.

¹⁰² 'Indignum enim ualde est, ut sacra Domini uasa quecunque sunt, humanis usibus seruiant ...' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 269.

¹⁰³ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 269-71.

¹⁰⁴ 'Si quis per ebrietatem uel uoracitatem eucharistiam euomuerit, quadraginta dies peniteat. Clerici, uel monachi, seu diaconi, quinquaginta dies peniteant; presbiteri septuaginta dies peniteant; episcopi nonaginta.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 270.

¹⁰⁵ 'Quod si in consuetudine habuerit, communionem priuetur, donec digne peniteat et emendationem promittat.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 271.

¹⁰⁶ Longchamp and Langton both preached on the drunkenness of English, as we saw in chapter two, pp. 80 & 91. See also: Vincent, 'Stephen Langton', pp. 76-7. In his *Tractatus de confessionibus*, Alexander of Stainsby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1224-38), was tactfully hesitant to define the point at which drunkenness became a mortal sin: 'Istud non audeo diffinire. Et notandum est quod non quilibet excessus circa licita est mortalis, set immoderatus et frequens.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 223.

¹⁰⁷ Quinto, 'Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care', p. 310.

performed ‘for the coin or adulations of secular people’.¹⁰⁸ As we shall see, this proscription was echoed in the canons of subsequent councils and synods. There was a distinction between paying a priest to celebrate the mass, and paying for the upkeep of a priest who said masses. The latter was acceptable, even though it could appear as a *quid pro quo*. Bartholomew himself was not opposed to funding masses for the dead, according to a story told by Roger of Wendover. One night, while Bartholomew was on visitation, he heard the voices of the dead: ‘Woe to us! Who will pray for us, and give alms and celebrate masses for our salvation?’¹⁰⁹ The bishop’s servant discovered that a local man, who had paid for a priest to celebrate daily masses for the souls buried in the local cemetery, had just died. Bartholomew diverted some of the income from the parish church to maintain the priest in this duty.¹¹⁰

Due reverence for the Eucharist was perennially reaffirmed at councils and synods, and so the canons and statutes promulgated always contained references to the mass. Some concerns remained constant and were mentioned repeatedly; other concerns came and went, and presumably reflected the more specific abuses perceived to be an issue in that time and place. The canons promulgated at Richard of Dover’s 1175 Council of Westminster included rulings on the mass. Richard had, in advance of the conference, invited the bishops of the province to report the problems of their dioceses.¹¹¹ So these canons reflected the issues perceived by bishops across England and Wales. The clergy were not to marry or fornicate, for this would make them unfit to administer the sacrament.¹¹² Perhaps surprisingly, this point about ritual purity was not repeated in many subsequent canons and statutes.¹¹³ Another canon from the council of 1175 decreed that the host was not to be dipped in the wine, for in the biblical account of the last supper this act had marked out Judas Iscariot as the traitor.¹¹⁴ Tin chalices were not to be used in the mass, a decree that was to be developed in the following decades with added stipulations that more precious metals were to be used.¹¹⁵ And, finally, the mass was not to be sold.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ ‘Nam qui pro pecuniis aut adulationibus secularium una die presumunt plures facere missas, non existimo euadere condemnationem.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 267.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Interea uero antistes, dum luminis aduentum uigilans exspectaret, audiuit uoces quasi infantum innumerabilium de cemeterio exeuntes plangentium et dicentium manifeste, “Ve nobis, ue nobis! Quis amodo pro nobis orabit et eleemosynas dabit, uel pro nostra salute missas celebrabit?”’ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, I, p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, I, pp. 18-20. Discussed by Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 80-1.

¹¹¹ M. Cheney, ‘The Council of Westminster, 1175’, pp. 61-8.

¹¹² *GRHS*, I, p. 89; *GCO*, II, Gemma ecclesiastica, pp. 176-7; H. Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West, c.1100-1700* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 98-106.

¹¹³ Peter des Roches’ statutes for Winchester contain a rare exception: *C&S*, II, i, p. 132.

¹¹⁴ ‘Inhibemus ne quis quasi pro complemento communionis intinctam alicui Eucharistiam tradat. Nam intinctum panem aliis Christum prebuisse non legimus, excepto illo tantum discipulo, quem intincta buccella Magistri proditorem ostenderit, non que sacramenti huius institutionem signaret.’ *GRHS*, I, p. 89; cf. Matt. 26.23.

¹¹⁵ ‘Precipimus, ne consecratur Eucharistia, nisi in calice aureo uel argenteo; et ne stagneum calicem aliquis episcopus amodo benedicat, interdicimus.’ *GRHS*, I, p. 89.

¹¹⁶ ‘Dictum est solere in quibusdam locis pro perceptione chrismatis nummos dari, similiter pro baptismo et communione.’ *GRHS*, I, p. 86.

At Hugh of Lincoln's synod, held in 1186, the bishop promulgated two decrees regarding the mass. One reiterated that masses should not be celebrated for 'temporal lucre'.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, this was another warning not repeated later on. But Hugh was apparently wary of the corrupting influence of money in general. Adam of Eynsham remembered the bishop often quoting Job 15:34 to his clergy: 'Fire shall devour the tabernacles of those who willingly accept bribes.'¹¹⁸ His other decree from the 1186 synod specified that no one should be enjoined to get masses said as a penance.¹¹⁹ This was picked up in the diocesan statutes of the early thirteenth century.

The legatine council at St Peter's, York, of June 1195 identified further errors that were to be avoided. Priests should not celebrate the mass without speaking the rite. The host was to be kept in a clean and honourable box, refilled each Lord's Day. Masses were not to be said in secret. And priests should not harbour unconfessed sin.¹²⁰ Still more abuses were condemned at Hubert Walter's Council of Westminster, 1200. The ban on priests celebrating the mass with unconfessed sin was reiterated.¹²¹ The mass was not to be performed more than once a day, excepting necessity – a ruling repeated in later diocesan statutes.¹²² The mass was not to be said in haste, nor too slowly.¹²³ In his *Vita sancti Hugonis*, Gerald of Wales described how Hugh of Nonant had once tried to rush a burial service because the king was waiting. He thus began to recite the mass quickly. But Hugh of Lincoln, realising what his colleague was doing, immediately interrupted by loudly and slowly singing the mass. The bishop of Coventry appealed to him to hurry for the king's sake. 'No,' replied Hugh, 'because of the King of kings, to whom most honour should be given.'¹²⁴

Stephen Langton's statutes for Canterbury repeated earlier proscriptions on ritually impure clergy celebrating the mass, masses being enjoined on penitents, and multiple celebrations in each day. As well as the 'honourable box' that was to hold the host, he also recommend a special *pixis* be used for transporting it to the infirm.¹²⁵ How to get the host to the sick and dying safely and reverently was an issue that Bartholomew of Exeter had dealt with in his penitential, but had not been mentioned in the intervening years.¹²⁶ Richard Poore addressed no new abuses in his statutes. He did include, however, more in the way of general instruction than earlier sets of canons. He described how the Eucharist

¹¹⁷ 'Quod annuales uel tricennales, uel aliquae misse ex conuentione, pro lucro temporali non celebrentur.'

GRHS, I, p. 357.

¹¹⁸ *MVSH*, II, p. 38.

¹¹⁹ 'Ne laico uel alicui qui sacerdos non sit, iniungatur a presbytero, loco penitentie, missarum celebratio.'

GRHS, I, p. 357.

¹²⁰ *C&S*, I, ii, pp. 1048-52.

¹²¹ *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1062.

¹²² *C&S*, I, ii, pp. 1060-61.

¹²³ *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1060.

¹²⁴ 'Quinimmo propter Regem regum, cui potissime est obsequendum.' *GCO*, VII, *Vita S. Hugonis*, pp. 99-100.

For a similar account from Adam of Eynsham, see: *MVSH*, II, p. 78.

¹²⁵ *C&S*, II, i, pp. 27-9.

¹²⁶ This was recommended by Stephen Langton in the Canterbury Statutes of 1213x1214: *C&S*, II, i, pp. 28-9. It was then copied, for example, by Richard Poore in his own synodal statutes: *C&S*, II, i, pp. 80-81.

should be received, as we have seen. He also, in the longest canon of his statutes, set out a more theological account of the sacrament, briefly expounding John 6:52 and 1 Corinthians 11:28.¹²⁷ He concluded by addressing his priests: ‘You are dispensers of the most excellent sacrament, you are established as mediators between God and man.’¹²⁸

The Council of Oxford, 1222, added very little on the subject of the Eucharist.¹²⁹ Peter des Roches’ statutes for Winchester also mainly repeated earlier decrees, although some were developed in original ways. Priests were not to wear dirty or worn vestments. Chalices were to be of gold or silver. The receptacle for the host was to be kept closed and secure. And the bishop’s archdeacons and officials would instruct priests in the rite.¹³⁰ The only new detail added by a further set of statutes of the 1220s for an English diocese – which is not known – was that the wine should be pure. Specifically, this meant that it should not contain any vinegar, and, when mixed with water, wine should always be the greater part.¹³¹

The purpose of almost every one of these canons relating to the mass was to ensure that the doctrine of the real presence was demonstrated in the clergy’s treatment of the Eucharist. The introduction of new canons, not copied from earlier statutes, demonstrates a recognition of abuses that were perceived to be a problem at that time. More interesting, though, are the canons that disappear from the statutes after a certain point. These absences may reveal a change in emphasis, or they may demonstrate that the Church had successfully altered clerical administration of the sacrament. Thus, there was no longer a need to remind priests to lift up the host and say the rite in the early thirteenth century because that had become obvious, in a way that it was apparently not in the north of England around 1195.

Bishops’ first priority with regard to the Eucharist was to instruct their clergy in its proper administration. But how often did bishops administer the sacrament themselves? Lateran IV condemned those prelates who celebrated mass barely four times a year, if at all. Such men were to be suspended. Other prelates were commanded, ‘in virtue of obedience, to celebrate the divine office, day and night alike, as far as God allows them, with both zeal and devotion’.¹³² But, like their preaching, bishops’ personal administration of the sacraments was rarely mentioned in narrative sources. We sometimes hear of bishops celebrating the mass on important occasions: Baldwin of Forde at the Great Council at Woodstock in 1186;¹³³ Reginald fitz Jocelin at William Longchamp’s excommunication in 1191;¹³⁴

¹²⁷ *C&S*, II, i, p. 78.

¹²⁸ ‘excellētissimi sacramenti sitis dispensatores, cum inter Deum et homines sitis constitute mediatores.’ *C&S*, II, i, p. 78.

¹²⁹ *C&S*, II, i, p. 109 & 115.

¹³⁰ *C&S*, II, i, pp. 126, 129 & 132.

¹³¹ *C&S*, II, i, pp. 143.

¹³² ‘Hec igitur et similia sub pena suspensionis penitus inhibemus districte precipientes in uirtute obedientie ut diuinum officium diurnum pariter et nocturnum quantum eis Deus dederit studiose celebrent pariter et deuote.’ Lateran IV, c. 17.

¹³³ *GRHS*, I, p. 351

¹³⁴ *GCO*, IV, De vita Galfridi archiepiscopi Eboracensis, pp. 401-2.

Stephen Langton at Henry III's second coronation in 1220.¹³⁵ More detail is offered in Adam of Eynsham's *Magna vita*.

According to Adam, Hugh of Lincoln was devoted to his priestly office and had a 'heartfelt devotion to the Eucharist'.¹³⁶ He therefore 'never missed an opportunity of celebrating mass, first as a monk whenever the rule of his order permitted him and later as a bishop on every possible occasion'.¹³⁷ Whenever Hugh was back at the Charterhouse of Witham, he celebrated the mass daily with the other monks.¹³⁸ This was only worth mentioning if it was in some contrast to his usual routine, suggesting less frequent involvement in the mass for the rest of the time. But Adam had a very personal memory of Hugh's diligence with regard to the mass. Towards the end of Hugh's life, when Adam judged the bishop too frail, he himself would celebrate the mass. But Hugh had reproved him for doing so.¹³⁹ The bishop wanted to celebrate the mass himself. At this stage of his life, at least, the bishop was motivated more by personal devotion than pastoral care.

Summary

All theologians and clerics had reason to be interested in the workings of the Eucharist. But bishops had the most reason to ensure that this sacrament, as all the others, was understood and administered correctly so as to bring about salvation. For bishops, the discussion of sacraments was never just theoretical. They would be held to account for the souls of their parishioners. In the late twelfth century, bishops addressed the Eucharist most especially in their sermons, focusing on its reception. In the thirteenth century, bishops' diocesan statutes represented a concerted effort to instruct the clergy in the proper treatment and administration of the Eucharist. Throughout the period, bishops focused on the spiritual reception of the Eucharist, necessary for the sacrament to have salvific effect. This emphasis was becoming old-fashioned. Some bishops moved towards encouraging regular attendance at the mass. But their main focus remained on the response to the real presence. Priests and parishioners alike were required to believe that the bread and wine truly became the body and blood of Christ, to be approached in holiness, to be treated with due reverence, and to be received with faith.

¹³⁵ *AM*, III, Dunstable, p. 57.

¹³⁶ 'Que certe ex facto satis patuit quanta fuit in eo erga Dominica sacramenta cordis deuotio, quem neque marina iactatio nec cum morbida ualitudine inedia per multos iam dies protracta maceratio a diuinorum celebratione potuerit cohibere.' *MVSH*, II, p. 181.

¹³⁷ 'Vnde sicut pridem monachus, quotiens de permissu ordinis licuit, ita iam episcopus, quotiens possibilitati ratio concurrit, missas celebrare nullo tempore pretermisit.' *MVSH*, II, p. 181.

¹³⁸ *MVSH*, II, pp. 49-50.

¹³⁹ *MVSH*, II, p. 182.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFESSION

*“I believed that all the disgraceful things of my life had been washed away through the remedy of confession. But, alas! For sorrow! Neither the preceding fervour of contrition nor the fruits of satisfaction worthily delivered what was required for the washing of so great and so many foul sins.”*¹

- Adam of Eynsham

Unsatisfactory penance

In this extract, Adam of Eynsham quoted an unfortunate woman who was surprised to discover, on arrival to purgatory, that her confession had been deficient. As the woman was being carried towards Hell, St Margaret intervened and kindly deposited her in a boiling dyke to do the penance she should have done in life.² Adam related this account in his *Visio monachi de Eynsham*, recording the vision of purgatory that a monk of Eynsham – perhaps Adam’s brother Edmund – claimed to have experienced.³ Much of the *Visio*’s content reflects a typical concern of the period that confession was not made often enough or authentically enough to wash away sin. It was frequently stressed that confession needed to be accompanied by contrition of heart and the satisfaction of works. Like Adam, many were concerned that contrition and satisfaction were not felt and done sufficiently, if at all.

Adam explained in the prologue to his *Visio* that he wrote at the behest of ‘*magni viri*’ to whom he owed deference on account of their sanctity.⁴ As Herbert Thurston pointed out, one of these great men was certainly Hugh of Lincoln. Adam later commented in his *Magna vita* that visions from a cleric-turned-monk – surely the protagonist of the *Visio* – ‘were written down by the order of our holy bishop’.⁵ Carl Watkins considered the work to be broadly in line with Hugh’s pastoral ethos. Just as Hugh insisted that salvation was possible for all ranks of society, so too the *Visio* depicted souls being purified not condemned.⁶

The *Visio* taught that purgatory waited for all, but one’s conduct in this life would directly affect that purgation. The monk saw poisoners being forced to drink molten metals and usurers in piles of burning

¹ ‘Confessionis remedio tocius uite mee flagicia diluisse me credidi, sed hanc, heu pro dolor, nec precedens contricionis feruor, nec condigne satisfaccionis fructus congruam reddiderunt ad tot et tantas tamque inueteratas sordes diluendas.’ Adam of Eynsham, *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. R. Easting (Oxford, 2002), p. 54.

² *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. Easting, pp. 52-6.

³ On the identity of the monk, see *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. Easting, pp. xxxiv-xliii.

⁴ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. Easting, p. xlii.

⁵ *MVSH*, II, p. 91; H. Thurston, *The Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1898), pp. 617-8; cited Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, pp. 188-9.

⁶ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p. 189.

money.⁷ This reflected the idea, gaining traction in this period, that works of satisfaction ought to match the sin committed. The monk also observed that those with higher responsibility in this life were punished more severely in purgatory. The clergy received double punishment.⁸ Indeed, the monk recognised a number of bishops whom it is possible to identify, though he did not name them. The archbishop who had been a monk and later went to the Holy Land was clearly Baldwin of Forde. According to the *Visio*, Baldwin's monastic life did him no good in purgatory, cancelled by his later negligence of priests and archdeacons.⁹ The *Visio* strongly emphasised the value of monastic life for salvation. As the monk came closer to paradise, he saw increasing numbers of monks.¹⁰ He saw an anchoress speeding through purgatory.¹¹ And a bishop who had taken the habit late in life – Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury (1142-84) – was benefitting from the prayers of his monastic brethren.¹² Naturally, fugitives from monastic orders were in worse torments than the monk could describe.¹³

Why was confession so important to bishops?

Twelfth-century canonists and theologians gave a great deal of attention to all of the sacraments. However, confession was particularly complicated both to define and to explain, because a significant divergence of ideas was found in both the authorities and contemporary practice.¹⁴ Essentially, there were two coexisting traditions of confessional thought. The more ancient tradition was designed to restore an excommunicate who had fallen away from the Church, or had been expelled on account of grievous sin. The penitent was required to confess their crimes to the bishop, who would then enjoin an act of penance that should demonstrate publicly the sinner's contrition.¹⁵ At least in theory, this kind of confession was to be allowed only once in a lifetime – an injunction that led to confusion for twelfth-century readers.¹⁶ By the twelfth century, another tradition was also well established, in which all sins were regularly confessed. This practice seems to have originated in early medieval Irish and Anglo-Saxon monasticism.¹⁷ Gradually, a system of quantifying the penance due for particular sins evolved, reflected in the emergence of penitentials.¹⁸ Both traditions influenced penitential thought in our period.

⁷ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. Easting, pp. 118 & 120.

⁸ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. Easting, p. 44.

⁹ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp. 112-16. The fifteenth-century translator of the *Visio* clearly recognised who was referred to, rendering the rubric 'De quodam archiepiscopo' as 'Of an archebysshope of Canturbery'.

¹⁰ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp. 126-36.

¹¹ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp. 96-8.

¹² *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp. 112.

¹³ *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, p. 120.

¹⁴ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 50; Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 171.

¹⁵ A. A. Larson, *Master of Penance: Gratian and the Development of Penitential Thought and Law in the Twelfth Century*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 11 (Washington DC, 2014), p. 4; T. O'Loughlin, 'Penitentials and pastoral care', in Evans (ed.), *History of Pastoral Care*, pp. 93-107.

¹⁶ Larson, *Master of Penance*, p. 6.

¹⁷ Larson, *Master of Penance*, p. 4.

¹⁸ J. Goering and P. J. Payer, 'The "Summa penitentie Fratrum Predicatorum": a thirteenth-century confessional formulary,' *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), 3; Izbicki, 'Sin and pastoral care', p. 153.

Famously, the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus* was promulgated at Lateran IV, stipulating that every Christian was to make confession at least once a year. 1215 is always viewed as a key date in any history of penitential thought; indeed, it is not uncommon for histories of the sacrament to begin with Lateran IV.¹⁹ Scholars are divided about how far *Omnis utriusque sexus* changed or invigorated existing practice.²⁰ But it is safe to say that Lateran IV ‘certified an already existing concern with the sacrament of penance’.²¹ Ideas about confession were developing rapidly in the schools during the late twelfth century.²²

As with all the sacraments, it was incumbent on bishops to ensure the clergy approached confession correctly. They themselves would also hear confessions. Graver crimes were to be referred to the bishop only, as the highest authority in the diocese – an idea retained from the older tradition of confession.²³ We have mentioned already one of Becket’s murderers, William de Tracy, who made his confession to Bartholomew of Exeter.²⁴ Hugh of Lincoln famously coaxed a confession out of Richard I.²⁵

There is some evidence that bishops were starting to appoint penitentiaries in the late twelfth century. They can be identified by their function rather than the title ‘*penitentiarius*’, which was used later. Christopher Cheney noticed two examples.²⁶ The canons promulgated at the legatine council of York (1195) referred to a ‘*generalis diocesis confessor*’.²⁷ And Hugh of Lincoln sent a soothsayer of Buckden to the prior of Huntingdon, whom Adam of Eynsham described as the penitentiary of the region.²⁸ Further examples can be found. Adam elsewhere identified the penitentiary in Lincoln as the sub-dean William de Bramfeld.²⁹ Adam’s use of the term ‘*penitentiarius*’ was probably applied retrospectively. Senatus of Worcester, of whom more in due course, seems also to have been tasked with taking confessions in Worcester, as Mary Cheney pointed out.³⁰

Since ideas about confession were developing rapidly, and it pertained so directly to pastoral and episcopal office, it is not surprising that confession was *the* topic most frequently addressed by bishops. They preached on confession in their sermons more often than on the Eucharist. Significantly, bishops also produced and commissioned texts specifically addressing confession. Apart from Baldwin of

¹⁹ See generally the essays in P. Biller (ed.), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, York studies in medieval theology 2 (York 2013), for example p. 7.

²⁰ Larson, *Master of Penance*, p. 7; A. Murray, ‘Confession before 1215’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 3 (1993), 64–6.

²¹ Goering and Payer, ‘The ‘Summa Penitentie Fratrum Predicatorum’’, 1.

²² Murray, ‘Confession before 1215’, 63–4; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 50.

²³ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 80.

²⁴ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 31.

²⁵ *MVSH*, II, pp. 103–4.

²⁶ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 148.

²⁷ *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1051.

²⁸ *MVSH*, II, p. 118.

²⁹ *MSVH*, II, p. 25. William de Bramfeld was apparently sub-dean from 1198 until his murder on 25 September 1205. He testified three charters as sub-dean for Hugh’s successor at Lincoln, William of Blois, always styled *magister*: *Lincoln 1186–1206*, ed. D. M. Smith, *EEA IV* (Oxford, 1986), nos 252–254, pp. 164–5.

³⁰ Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 58.

Forde's *De sacramento altaris*, written before he assumed episcopal office, there are no other known works by bishops specifically addressing just one of the sacraments.

Penitence and confession in bishops' sermons

Penitence and confession featured regularly in the sermons of Bartholomew of Exeter, Baldwin of Forde, Stephen Langton, and Richard Poore.³¹ Adrian Morey suggested that penitence was one of Bartholomew's 'favourite topics for instruction'.³² One sermon in Bartholomew's collection bears a promising rubric: *De quolibet episcopo confesso*. Strangely enough, this was one of very few sermons in the collection to mention neither confession nor penitence directly. In fact, the same sermon was identified by another rubricator – equally mistaken – as a *Sermo de sancto Nicholao*.³³ Both rubricators had tried to work out what the sermon was, and one thought it appeared to be about confession, probably because Bartholomew's four points – *affectus*, *cogitatio*, *intentio*, and *opera* – loosely resembled penitential categories.³⁴

Despite that misidentification, it is true that Bartholomew frequently preached on penitence. Sermons for Christmas Eve, Palm Sunday, Easter, the Feast of St Peter, the Feast of St Matthew, and a sermon for the dedication of a church all deal with confession specifically. Some of these were times of year when Christians were especially encouraged to make confession, so as to prepare for receiving the Eucharist at the major feasts.³⁵ Lent was a season associated with penitence, and Bartholomew preached often during the Lenten season on sin and penitence, although not actually on confession itself.³⁶

One Christmas Eve sermon contained most of the ideas about confession that Bartholomew repeated in other sermons. Bartholomew expounded 2 Chronicles 20:17 – 'O Juda and Jerusalem, do not fear. You shall go out tomorrow, and the Lord shall be with you.'³⁷ Bartholomew identified three things in the reading: 'Confession, peace, and the presence of God. For Judah is interpreted as confession, and Jerusalem as the vision of peace. The presence of God is promised when it is said, "And the Lord shall

³¹ Gilbert Foliot used *confessio* in his homilies to denote a confession of faith, rather than the confession of sin: Gilbert, 'Homilies', fols. 142v & 161v-162r. He did treat the sacrament of confession in his later commentary on the Paternoster, under the clause '*et ne nos inducas in temptationem*': 'Fragilis enim humanitas est: cito delinquit, et per confessionem et satisfactionem, cito humiliata resurgit. Que cum sic humiliata surrexit et sibi honus peccati quo premebatur alleuiatum attenderit.' Bell (ed.), 'Lord's prayer', VII, i, p. 100.

³² Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 111. Morey also suggested that some of Bartholomew's sermons bear 'a natural and strong likeness to the teaching of the Penitential.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 111-12. It is true that the sermons and penitential agree on all points, but then they make no claims outside of mainstream penitential thought.

³³ Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 283, fol. 103v.

³⁴ 'Quatuor dixi in hominibus ab eodem lumine illuminari, a quo illuminantur et angeli. Primo affectus; secundo cogitationes; deinde intentiones; postremo opera.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 61ra.

³⁵ Izbicki, 'Sin and pastoral care', p. 149.

³⁶ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 26v-30r. Other sermons in the collection contain similar ideas, such as the sermon on the Chair of St Peter: Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 25r-26v.

³⁷ 'O Iuda et Ierusalem nolite timere cras egrediemini, et Dominus erit uobiscum.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 5ra.

be with you.”³⁸ His exhortation, therefore, was: ‘Let us cross from confession to peace, from peace to the presence of God.’³⁹ Bartholomew’s interpretation of the text enabled him to explain confession. He began with the basics:

And indeed, confession washes, whence it is said: ‘All are washed in confession.’ ... Therefore, confession is the consolation of the wretched.⁴⁰

But not all confession was efficacious. As Bartholomew explained, ‘There are three kinds of confession: the first deceives, the second pollutes, the third washes and cleanses.’⁴¹ Most of the sermon was spent distinguishing the features of each.

The problem with deceptive confession was obvious: confession had to be truthful to be of any value. But, evidently, Bartholomew felt this point needed to be emphasised. The refrain, ‘Some confession is true, some false,’ echoes through the sermon collection.⁴² And in a Palm Sunday sermon, Bartholomew cautioned that penitents would reveal their lighter sins, while concealing the greater, or provide such a confused and general confession as to prevent the priest being certain of their sins and hence able to grant remission.⁴³

The polluting confession was that which did not produce a change in behaviour. There were some who confessed their evil ways with groanings and tears.⁴⁴ But then, ‘like a blind man returning to a precipice, as if he had mourned too little’, they carried themselves back to temptation and sin.⁴⁵ This man was

³⁸ ‘Tria enim proponuntur: Confessio, pax, et Dei presentia. Iudas et enim confessio, Iherusalem uisio pacis interpretatur. Presentia Dei promittitur cum dicitur, “Et Dominus erit uobiscum.”’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5rb. The interpretation of Judah as confession was from Jerome, *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*, J.-P. Migne, PL 23 (Paris, 1845), col. 781. The etymological interpretation of Jerusalem as ‘vision of peace’ came from Augustine, in several of his works, but especially in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* where it appears fourteen times.

³⁹ ‘De confessione ad pacem, de pace ad presentiam Dei, sit transitus.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5rb.

⁴⁰ ‘Et quidem confessio lauat, unde dicitur, “Omnia in confessione lauantur.” ... Confessio itaque est consolatio miserorum.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5rb. This same quotation is used in another sermon, with a tentative attribution: ‘Vnde quidam martyr ait, “Omnia in confessione lauantur.”’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 6vb. I have not been able to discover its origin, but it was cited at least three times by Bernard of Clairvaux, for example: ‘Audiuit enim et credidit de fructu confessionis, quomodo scilicet omnia in confessione lauantur.’ *Sancti Bernardi opera*, 8 vols., ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1957-77), VI, ii, p. 156.

⁴¹ ‘Tria autem sunt genera confessionis. Prima decipit. Secunda polluit. Tercia lauat et tergit.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5rb.

⁴² ‘Confessio namque alia est uera, alia dolosa.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 33rb; ‘Confessio autem duos modo habet, unum dolosum, alterum uero.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 79va.

⁴³ ‘Quia autem confessionem dolosam faciunt, alii minima ac leuia peccata in confessione detegunt, magna est et criminalia perniciose abscondunt, alii uero deum iridentes qui tamen non irridetur in cuncta peccandi genera se lapsos esse cum quadam confusione ita proclamant, ut et sacerdoti nullam alicuius peccati certitudinem faciant et sibi ipsis nullam remissionis salutem adquirent.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 33vb.

⁴⁴ ‘Est namque aliquis qui secundum prophetam corsuum super omnes uias malas suas cum magna amaritudine ponit et eas sacerdoti cui commissus est, cum gemitu et lacrimis reuelat et dicit.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb.

⁴⁵ ‘Sed cum hora confessionis et conpunctionis transit et peccati causa uel leuis se ingerit, ad eadem mala que perpetravit, acsi minime planxisset, uelut cecus preceps redit.’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb.

like a dog returning to his vomit, a biblical trope that Bartholomew used in yet another sermon.⁴⁶ What was it that made this penitent so unreliable? The bishop answered:

He wishes to be humble, without disdain and rejection; chaste without fasting or vigils and affliction of the flesh. He wishes to be patient, without insult, without loss, and adversity; generous and merciful, without poverty and need.⁴⁷

In other words, confession had to be accompanied by works, with more of an emphasis here on purification than satisfaction.

The third kind of confession, which Bartholomew labelled ‘beautiful’ (*decoris*), was itself divided into two kinds: one praiseworthy, the other sinful.⁴⁸ This same distinction was made in another sermon.⁴⁹ The point was to acknowledge the use of ‘*confessio*’ to denote a confession of faith: ‘We hold the confession of praise when we preach the Lord with hymns, psalms and songs.’⁵⁰ But confession of sin was always Bartholomew’s focus. He described how the true penitent should be characterised by real grief and a hatred of sin: ‘Who truly embraces the confession of sin works three things: he grieves about sin, he hates sin, and therefore he hates sin and grieves about sin.’⁵¹ This is perplexing. What exactly are the three works? Bartholomew deployed this tripartite formula in another Christmas Eve sermon and in a sermon for St Matthew’s, which helps to clarify his meaning: ‘Three things pertain to penitence of the heart. What? Grief about sin, hatred of sin, and the separation of each, namely, of grief and of hatred.’⁵² Bartholomew wanted to emphasise that grief and hatred of sin should be felt both in combination and discretely. One should hate sin because it causes grief, but not only because it causes grief. And one should grieve over sin because it is hated, but not only because it is hated. As far as I can see, this was a unique idea in penitential thought. Given his repetition of it, Bartholomew evidently thought it profound. Moving back to much more conventional ground, Bartholomew continued to

⁴⁶ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb; cf. 2 Pet. 2.22. ‘*Confessio autem et turpitudine est? cum post confessionem reimus ad uomitum, itemque confessi ad idem item reuolumur, sicque semper ad uicia recurrentes, confessionem sequitur turpitudine.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 77ra.

⁴⁷ ‘*Vult enim esse humilis, sine despectu et abiectioe; castus sine ieuniis, uigiliis et corporis afflictione. Vult esse paciens, sine contumelia, sine dampnis et aduersitate; largus et misericors, sine inopia et necessitate.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb.

⁴⁸ ‘*Tercia confessio decoris est. Hec autem duplex est. Alia est laudis; alia est peccati.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb.

⁴⁹ ‘*Confessio uero que inter penitentia cordis et penitentiam actionis media ponitur, duplex est. Alia enim est criminis, alia laudis.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 7vb.

⁵⁰ ‘*Confessionem laudis tenemus, cum Deum ymnis, psalmis et canticis predicamus.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb.

⁵¹ ‘*Qui uero confessionem peccati amplectitur, tria operatur: dolet de peccato odit peccatum et iccirco odit peccatum et dolet de peccato.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 5vb.

⁵² ‘*Ad penitentiam cordis pertinent tria. Que? Dolor de peccato, odium peccati, et discretio utriusque doloris, scilicet et odii.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 7va. ‘*Penitentia cordis tria comprehendit, dolorem de peccato, odium peccati, et discretionem doloris et odii, quia peccatum et homo pro peccato Deo displicuit.*’ Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 79va.

explain that the penitent should judge himself, lest he be judged by God.⁵³ And in this way, confession (Judah) led the sinner to peace (Jerusalem).⁵⁴

Bartholomew concluded this Christmas Eve sermon by setting out the sequence that transferred the sinner from death to life, from penalty to glory, from corruption to incorruption: admonition led on to supplication, then victory, and finally to remission or commutation (Bartholomew used the terms interchangeably).⁵⁵ The end of admonition was the pacification of discord; the end of supplication was forgiveness; of victory, the subservience of flesh to spirit; of commutation, the exchange of death for life.⁵⁶ Whilst most descriptions of the stages of confession focused on the penitent, here Bartholomew presented the sacrament from the confessor's perspective. Instead of contrition, confession and satisfaction, he advocated admonition and remission.

The Feast of St Peter provided another opportune moment in the liturgical calendar to speak of confession, for two reasons. As Bartholomew pointed out in one sermon, Peter was himself a penitent who wept over his sin of denying Christ and was then fully restored.⁵⁷ But Peter was also the apostle given the authority to loose and bind, from whom all pastors claimed ultimately to inherit the same authority.⁵⁸ In his third sermon on St Peter, Bartholomew turned to confession in detail.⁵⁹ He first identified three ways in which men die, spiritually speaking (*in anima*).⁶⁰ Really, these were grades of sinning. First there was secret sin, then open sin, then outright contempt for God and the embrace of sinful habits.⁶¹ There was, Bartholomew taught, a reverse sequence, that took the sinner instead towards absolution: 'Beloved, because men die in the soul by three [kinds] of death, now briefly attend by what order and how mercifully they are revived by the Lord. First, then, the sinner is visited internally in the soul by the Lord, then he confesses, then he is absolved by the priest.'⁶²

⁵³ 'Et ne a Domino iudicetur ipse de se facit iudicium in quo non deest omne ministrarium, quo reatus suos punire plenius debeat.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 6ra.

⁵⁴ 'Qui itaque hanc confessionem tenet, in Ierusalem, id est, in uisione pacis manet.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 6ra.

⁵⁵ 'Quarta erit quando transibimus de morte ad uitam, de pena ad gloriam, de corruptione ad incorruptionem. Prima fit per admonitionem, secunda per supplicationem, tercia per uictoriam, quarta per remissionem.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 6ra.

⁵⁶ 'Ammonendi sunt discordes ut pacificentur. Supplicandum est ei quem offendimus, ut indulgeat. Vincenda est caro ut spiritui seruiat. Commutanda est mors nostra pro uita.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 6ra.

⁵⁷ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 58rb-va. cf. Luke 22.62, Matt. 26.75.

⁵⁸ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 60ra-b.

⁵⁹ 'Dilectissimi qui in hunc locum ad laudem domini conuenistis, quam bonus Deus, et quam facilis est relaxare peccata peccatoribus ex corde penitentibus, diligenter audire debetis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 58vb.

⁶⁰ 'Tria itaque sunt genera hominum spiritualiter, id est, in anima morientium. Primus moritur in occulto, secundus in aperto, tercius autem in fetore pessimo.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 58vb.

⁶¹ Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fols. 58vb-59ra.

⁶² 'Karissimi quia tribus mortis homines \in anima/ moriuntur, nunc breuiter attendite quo ordine et quam misericorditer a domino resuscitentur. Prius itaque peccator intus in anima a domino uisitatur, post ea confitetur, deinde ab sacerdote absoluitur.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 59rb.

Confession appeared in many of Bartholomew's other sermons. It often came up in the context of salvation and usually alongside baptism and good works.⁶³ Even when confession was not the central focus of his sermon, Bartholomew was wont to include tangential reminders that it was necessary for salvation.⁶⁴ Bartholomew did identify the three stages of penance that became a common formula in penitential literature: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. But his language varied. '*Penitentia*' was much more often used than '*contritio*'.⁶⁵ '*Accusatio*' sometimes replaced '*confessio*' and '*satisfactio*' was not always used.⁶⁶ More often Bartholomew simply referred to specific works,⁶⁷ or decried the '*actiones*' of penitence.⁶⁸ The '*correctio*' of sins was often emphasised over works of satisfaction for sin.⁶⁹ In other words, Bartholomew's default was to see things from the point of view of the confessor, rather than the confessed. Bartholomew's sermons demonstrate how confession could be connected to a variety of topics, and preached on throughout the liturgical year. He preferred to use scriptural allegory and typology than *exempla*, which probably meant his preaching resonated with his clerical audiences more than with the laity. But no one hearing the bishop preach could have missed the emphasis placed on confession.

Baldwin of Forde discussed penitence frequently in all of his works, and especially in his sermons. Most often, penitence was not his central theme, but it was regularly woven into his treatments of other subjects. As a result, Baldwin came at penitence from a variety of angles. In a devotional sermon, he encouraged his audience thus: 'We love God with the heart, if, recalling the good that we receive from God and the evil that we do against God, giving thanks for the good and doing penance for the evil, we are reconciled to God and after discord return to concord.'⁷⁰ But then, in a more sombre address, he

⁶³ 'Tribus modis saluum facit populum suum a peccatis eorum. Primum per aquam baptismatis, secundo per penitentiam cordis atque confessionem oris, tercio per uirtutem caritatis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 6vb. 'Diabolus princeps mundi, id est, omnium malorum qui habitant in mundo, de cordibus electorum abundantius post passionem Christi eicitur foras, primo per aquam baptismatis, post ea per penitentiam cordis, deinde per opera caritatis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 32rb. For similar passages, see also fols. 36ra and 42ra.

⁶⁴ 'Per cordis contritionem, et oris confessionem, populum suum saluum facit a peccato cogita tuum, a peccato sermonum, atque ab omni peccato actionum.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 6vb. 'Qui uero ex malicia peccant, eorum delictum nullam habet excusationem, et ideo pena eorum remissionem habere non debet, quia siue penituerint in hoc seculo, plena satisfactione multandi sunt, siue non penituerunt, plena dampnatione in futuro puniendi.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 7ra.

⁶⁵ 'Si enim ab omni peccato, per hec tria sed per penitentiam, per confessionem, atque per satisfactionem, circumcisi fuerimus.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 17ra. 'Penitentia alia est cordis, alia actionis, media autem ponitur confessio oris.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 79va.

⁶⁶ 'Sit igitur confessio in corde per compunctionem, in ore per accusationem, in opere per satisfactionem.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 88rb.

⁶⁷ 'Karissimi peccata uestra per penitentiam, per confessionem, et lacrimas abluite, per elemosina terгите, per orationem et missarum celebrationem expiate.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 32vb.

⁶⁸ 'Ad penitentiam, quoque actionis pertinent et tria. Ieiunia scilicet oratio, et elemosina.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 7va-b; cf. 'Penitentia quoque actionibus in tribus consistit, in ieiuniis, uigiliis corporisque exter(t)iciis.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 79va.

⁶⁹ 'Confessio namque et pulcritudo in conspectu eius. Est etenim quedam confessio et pulcritudo, est alia confessio et turpitud. Confessio et pulcritudo est uel cum honestate uite laudamus Deum, uel \cum/ confessionem peccatorum sequitur penitentia, et correctio eorum.' Bartholomew, 'Sermons', fol. 77ra.

⁷⁰ 'Corde Deum diligimus, si recordantes bona que a Deo accepimus et mala que contra Deum fecimus, pro bonis gratiam referentes et de malis penitentiam agentes, Deo reconciliamur, et post discordiam ad concordiam redimus.' *BFO*, sermo 9, p. 144.

wrote: 'As the penitent pricked with anguish, I shall speak to my soul in bitterness. I shall say to God: "Be not willing to condemn me! For I shall judge myself, I shall condemn myself."' ⁷¹

In his *De commendatione fidei*, written while at Forde Abbey, Baldwin had warned that without confession no one could truly be considered faithful. Faith alone was not sufficient for salvation. It must produce obedience. And in view of the inevitable failings in the Christian life, one must necessarily be restored to this state of inviolate faith. For Baldwin, this could only be achieved through penance. ⁷² But, like many others of his generation, he worried that many confessions were insincere, and thus did no good for the would-be penitent. In his sermons, Baldwin observed from the Old Testament that only some sacrifices were acceptable to God. Sacrifice *per se* was of no value. It must be a 'sacrifice of justice', something Baldwin equated with sacrifices of well-fattened animals. ⁷³ Relating this to penitence, he taught: 'Of course, without this fat, whatever is taken up in penitence for sin, whatever is poured out in groanings and tears, is lean and dry. It has no flavour to God.' ⁷⁴

What, then, comprised authentic confession? The answer for Baldwin, as for others in this period, was that it must entail genuine contrition and works of satisfaction, as well as confession itself. This is clear from one of Baldwin's more sustained treatments of penitence, found in his sermon 'On the purpose of mourning' (*De causa lugendi*), preached on the beatitude of Matthew 5:5. Throughout, the tone is very personal, with Baldwin speaking of his own experience. He set out five reasons for mourning and tears. The first reason was actual and original sin, of both commission and omission. This was followed by temptations, present suffering, and future torments for the damned. Fifthly and finally, there were tears that produced good. ⁷⁵ The earlier sections of the sermon allowed Baldwin to give some account of his own contrition, which led him to seek after the restoration afforded by penitence: 'When mourning, I mourn sins and I seek comfort from the medicine of penitence.' ⁷⁶

Baldwin then returned to the theme of penitence in the final section of the sermon, on the tears that lead to good. 'Because it is not enough,' he warned, 'to lament evil and to hope or desire good, unless one also relinquishes sin, corrects errors, and attends to the good which produces good.' ⁷⁷ Such contrition without works of satisfaction was of no value: many believe themselves to have true penitence and

⁷¹ 'Sicut penitens dolore compunctus, loquar in amaritudine anime mee: dicam Deo: Noli me condempnare! Ipse me iudicabo, ipse me condempnabo.' *BFO*, sermo 3, p. 50.

⁷² 'Fides qua Deo creditur ad salutem obtinendam, ante omnia est necessaria; sed per se non sufficit, absque fide promissi obsequii, que illesa seruetur, uel per penitentiam lesa redintegretur.' *BFO*, *De comm. fid.*, pp. 349-50.

⁷³ 'De hoc sacrificio dictum est in psalmo: Sacrificate sacrificium iusticie. Hoc sacrificium per adipem designatur cum dicitur: et auscultare magis quam offerre adipem arietum.' *BFO*, sermo 7, p. 110; cf. Ps. 4.6; 1 Sam. 15.22.

⁷⁴ 'Quippe sine hoc adipe, quicquid penitentie pro peccatis assumitur, quicquid gemituum et lacrimarum effunditur, macrum et aridum est, Deo non sapit.' *BFO*, sermo 7, p. 110.

⁷⁵ *BFO*, sermo 17, pp. 269-81.

⁷⁶ 'Cum peccata lugens lugeo, et de remedio penitentie consolationem quero, adest et alia lugendi causa de temptationibus immissis, licet non admissis, que undique circumuallant et circumcingunt, ut non appareat ubi exitus pateat.' *BFO*, sermo 17, p. 273.

⁷⁷ 'Quia nulli sufficit mala lugere, et bona sperare uel desiderare, nisi adiciat peccata relinquere, et errata corrigere, et bona quibus bonus fiat apprehendere.' *BFO*, sermo 17, p. 278.

forgiveness of sins, 'but their hope is vain'.⁷⁸ Concluding this sermon, Baldwin presented an allegorical interpretation of Jesus' first miracle. Just as Christ had required that the jars first be filled with water, before he turned this to wine, so too did he require penitents to fill jars completely with the water of tears, that in due time he might transform it into the wine of joy.⁷⁹ By implication, the more sorrow experienced in this life over sin, the more joy would be known in the next.

It is an interesting feature of Bartholomew and Baldwin's sermons that they spend more time dealing with contrition and satisfaction (or 'penitence' and 'action') than the act of confession itself. This was perhaps because these aspects of the sacrament fell outside the immediate control of confessors. Preaching could be used to remind penitents of the need for contrition and works of satisfaction. The act of confession itself was simply assumed. But this would change by the thirteenth century.

Penitence was a central theme in the sermon possibly given by Richard Poore in Paris. The second section of the sermon was entirely devoted to an allegory of water. All people were in some kind of water or another, Poore explained. The bitter waters of Marah, representing sin, could be transformed to sweetness by the wood of the cross.⁸⁰ But to reach this sweetness, it was necessary to cross through salt water, that is, through the water of tears. Indeed, it was good to be in the salt water: 'For the salty waters of tears also conserve penitents and save the soul from putrefaction, just as salt conserves fresh meat lest it putrefy. And just as meat in sweet waters putrefies, so also good putrefies in the sweetness of pleasure.'⁸¹

There were three 'remedies' to sin, represented by three crossings of water in the Bible: the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea, then of the Jordan, and finally Jesus' traversing the sea of Galilee. The Red Sea was especially adaptable to Poore's teaching on penance. Just as the Egyptian army was submerged in the Red Sea, so too sins were submerged by tears. Poore explained that these tears were 'red' because

⁷⁸ 'Multi enim penitentiam et peccatorum ueniam, quibus mali esse desinant, uel habere se putant, uel habere posse cum uoluerint, sperant; sic caritatem et humilitatem, cetera que bona quibus boni fiant. Sed uana est spes eorum, desiderium quoque et opinio eorum, et cor eorum uanum est.' *BFO*, sermo 17, p. 279.

⁷⁹ 'Et suggerente matre Iesu et dicente: Vinum non habent, aqua meroris in unum leticie conuertetur; sed cum impletum fuerit quod Iesus precipit, dicens: Implete ydrias aqua. Prius enim oportet ydrias aqua implere: hoc est, corda nostra largis lacrimarum profusionibus plenius satiare, et pro commissis digne satisfacere, et lugenda sufficienter lugere; et sic consolationem intime deuotionis et gaudium in Spiritu sancto intra nos recipere, et tristitiam cordis nostri leticia commutare.' *BFO*, sermo 17, p. 281.

⁸⁰ cf. Exod. 16. This exegesis was not original to Richard. It had, for example, been presented earlier by Baldwin of Ford in one of his sermons: 'Virtus crucis multitudine signorum pulcrius elucescit. Post transitum maris rubri, uenitur in Marath; nec poterant bibere aquas de Marath, eo quod essent amare. Ostendit Dominus Moysi lignum, quod cum misisset in aquas, in dulcedinem uerse sunt. Intelligite et hic mysterium crucis. Aque amare, lacrimae sunt penitentiae. Quidam penitens et confitens dicit: Dimittam aduersum me eloquium meum; loquar in amaritudine anime mee. Hec est amaritudo in aquis Marath. Quomodo autem dulcorantur aque iste nisi per lignum crucis, unde nobis arridet spes uenie et securitas indulgentie?' *BFO*, sermo 8, p. 131.

⁸¹ 'Salse enim aque lacrimarum et penitentiales conseruant et saluant animam a putredine, sicut sal conseruat carnes recentes ne putrescant. Et sicut carnes in aquis dulcibus putrescunt, ita bona in dulcedine uoluptatis computrescunt.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 7.

they were of the heart: 'This is not possible without great compunction and great contrition. Whence in Ecclesiasticus 22: "Prick the heart and it shall produce tears."' ⁸²

Significantly, Richard also warned against neglecting to confess:

But in the Red Sea, that is, in the penitential waters, the waters were standing like walls to the right and to the left, because the penitential waters ought to be stable and not inconstant. Whence in Lamentations: 'Let tears run down like a torrent day and night. Give yourself not rest, and let not the pupil of your eye cease.' ⁸³ For your contrition [is] as a great sea, because just as there is no limit of the sea, because the sea is circular, so also your penitence ought not to have a limit, but ought to be circular as if without end. ⁸⁴

Poore had one focus that was less common: the agency of Christ in penitence. Reflecting on Jesus' crossings by boat brought Richard tentatively to add a fourth 'crossing' to the three he had initially identified. 'The fourth way (which can yet be called the third) is crossing water by bridge. Christ made this crossing by bridge to us.' ⁸⁵ Penitence was not to be accomplished by human willpower alone, but with divine assistance. The Father worked through power, the Son through knowledge, the Spirit through grace, so that the Christian 'might cross from our sins through the power of courage, which is irascible, rising up against sin and manfully fighting it'. ⁸⁶ Richard considered it a risk that penitents might think they had achieved something. So he laboured the point: 'And yet the Lord himself liberates penitents.' ⁸⁷ And, at the close of the sermon he returned to this focus:

Just as it says in Isaiah 43: 'I am He that blots out your iniquities for my own sake,' that is, not because of your merits, but because of my mercy. And also in Lamentations chapter 3: 'It is the mercy of God that we are not consumed.' ⁸⁸

Richard offered more by way of encouragement than Bartholomew and Baldwin. His sermon contains a sustained allegorical reading of Proverbs 27:26: 'Lambs are for your garments and kids for the price

⁸² 'Quod fieri non potest sine magna pungtura et magna contricione. Vnde in Ecclesiastico <XXII-o>: punge cor et producet lacrimas.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 8.

⁸³ Lam. 2.18.

⁸⁴ 'Set in mari Rubro, id est in aquis penitentialibus, stabant aque quasi muri a dextris et a sinistris, quia aque penitenciales stabiles esse debent et non permutabiles. Vnde in Trenis: deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas per diem et noctem, non des requiem tibi nec taceat pupilla oculi tui. Magna enim uelud mare tua contricio, quia sicut non est terminus maris, quia circulare est mare, ita non debet penitentia tua terminum habere, set circularis debet <esse> quasi sine fine.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 8.

⁸⁵ 'Quartus modus, qui tamen tercius potest dici, transeundi aquas est per pontes. Hunc transitum per pontem fecit nobis Christus.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 7.

⁸⁶ 'Primum in hoc transitu operatur Pater per potentiam, Filius per scienciam, Spiritus Sanctus per gratiam, ut nos, hoc attendentes, in transeundo aquas huius mundi, transeamus a peccatis nostris per potentiam fortitudinis, que est in irascibili, insurgentes contra peccata et uiriliter debellantes ea.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 7.

⁸⁷ 'Et tamen inde liberat Dominus penitentes.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 8.

⁸⁸ 'Sicut ipse ait <in Ysaya> XLIII^o: ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas propter me, id est non propter merita tua, set propter misericordiam meam. Et iterum in Trenis III^o capitulo: misericordia Dei est quod non sumus consumpti.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 15. Cf. Isa. 43.25; Lam. 3.22.

of field.’ Poore explained that ‘through sheep is understood the innocent, and through kids the penitent sinners’.⁸⁹ Using an array of scriptural verses, he taught that God clothed himself with the wool of the righteous. But God also fed on the goats:

The Lord also desires food from us, just as the Father promised him, namely, the milk of she-goats, that is, the milk of penitence. This the Lord exceedingly desires, because he finds more joy in one sinner driven to penance, than in ninety-nine neglected ones who do not need to do penance.⁹⁰ Therefore anyone can see how the lamb might clothe Him and the kid might feed Him. And rightly is it said that kids feed him, because kid meat is much better than lamb, and thus the food of penance is sweeter than the food of innocence.⁹¹

This was a striking encouragement to penitents: that God was in some sense more pleased with the penitence of sinners than the righteousness of the innocent.

Stephen Langton’s preaching as archbishop of Canterbury reflected the growing emphasis on the regularity of confession. Langton detailed the contrast between the kind of confession that was efficacious, and the kinds that were not:

The good man confesses of his own will, unlike the confession of the robber, and he avoids what he reproaches in the confession of the lecher, every day improving on himself. He thinks always of his own death, and thus comes first to the hour of confession, safe and sound, confessing honestly and devotedly.⁹²

Langton would have delivered these words shortly after he was heckled by a member of the congregation in St Paul’s, on 25th August, 1213.⁹³ The interruption came in the midst of Langton’s third point.⁹⁴ The fourth and final section of his address treated the phrase from his text – ‘and out of my will I shall confess to him’.⁹⁵ Langton connected this to the sacrament of confession, discussing three kinds

⁸⁹ ‘Per agnos intelliguntur innocentes, per edos peccatores penitentes.’ Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 4. This interpretation of ‘hedus’ seems strangely generous, in view of Matt. 25.31-46, where goats represent the damned. A similar identification of kids with penitents can be found in Bede: ‘Hedis agrum comparabis dum peccatores ad penitentiam uocando sublimiorem tibi in terra uiuentium locum adquiris.’ Bede, *In proueria Salomonis libri iii*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983), III, xxvii, p. 136.

⁹⁰ Matt. 18.12-14; Luke 15.3-7.

⁹¹ ‘Petit etiam Dominus cibum a nobis, sicut ei promisit Pater, scilicet lac caprarum, id est lac penitentie; quod admodum desiderat Dominus, quia magis gaudium est ei super uno peccatore penitentiam agente quam super nonaginta nouem non agentibus qui non indigent penitentiam. Videat ergo quilibet quomodo eum uestiat ut agnus et pascat ut hedus. Et bene dictum est quod edi pascunt eum, quia caro edulina multo melior est agnina, ita cibus penitentie dulcior est quam cibus innocentie.’ Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, pp. 5-6.

⁹² ‘Vir enim bonus ex uoluntate confitetur, contra latronis confessionem, et deuocat quod uituperat contra lecatoris confessionem, omnem diem supremum sibi constituens; semper de se ipso cogitat morituro, et ideo horam confessionis preuenit; sanus et incolumis integre et deuote confitens.’ Lacombe, ‘An unpublished document’, 420.

⁹³ On this interruption, see chapter two, pp. 92-3.

⁹⁴ Lacombe, ‘An unpublished document’, 409.

⁹⁵ ‘Quarta clausula restat exponenda qua dicitur: Et ex uoluntate mea confitebor illi.’ Lacombe, ‘An unpublished document’, 419. Langton used the liturgical version of Ps. 27.7; the Vulgate version does not mention the will.

of confession: the confession of the robber, the lecher, and the good man.⁹⁶ The robber's confession had to be extracted from him with the torturer's torments.⁹⁷ This kind of confession came too late.⁹⁸ Langton thus emphasised the urgency of making confession. But his following exhortation was not directly about making confession regularly: 'Let us therefore confess to Him out of the will, because voluntary confession is pleasing to God.'⁹⁹

The confession of the lecher or 'ribaud' was worldly, reproaching vanity and yet subjecting itself to vanity.¹⁰⁰ It was vain because it was insincere: the *ribaud* did not abhor in his mind what he professed to condemn.¹⁰¹ 'Let this confession be far from us,' Langton urged, 'through which many have descended to Hell.'¹⁰² Here Langton was very much following the lines of his episcopal predecessors. Thirdly, Langton turned to the good man's confession, which he defined in opposition to the former kinds – in other words, voluntary and genuine.¹⁰³

Nicholas Vincent has described the 'positive encouragement' to make confession bishops held out in the form of indulgences.¹⁰⁴ Their sermons were a complement to this encouragement. The primary objective of bishops' preaching on confession was to warn their congregants that salvation was contingent on true contrition and earnest penitence. Bartholomew, Baldwin, Poore, and Langton all relied on scriptural allegory and typology to teach about confession and penitence in their sermons. They did not seek to explain how the sacrament was supposed to work, in practical terms. Such explanations were given in other texts, which – in contrast to the sermons – focused very much on the act of confession itself.

⁹⁶ 'Est enim triplex confessio: confessio latronis, confessio leclatoris, confessio boni hominis.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

⁹⁷ 'Confessio latronis potius est extorta quam uoluntaria, tortor enim latronem afficit tot tormentis quod ui, non uoluntate confitetur.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

⁹⁸ 'Confessionem ergo hominis tarde sibi prouidentis et sero penitentis confessionem latronis appellamus.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

⁹⁹ 'Confiteamur ergo illi ex uoluntate quia Deo placet confessio uoluntaria.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

¹⁰⁰ 'Confessio leclatoris uel ribaudi est mundanam uituperare uanitatem et nichilominus se subicit uanitati.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419. The terms '*leclator*' and '*ribaud*' or '*ribald*', both of French derivation, occur only rarely in the sources. But one suspects they were more common in the sermons of Paris masters. Peter the Chanter used each term once in his *Verbum adbreuiatum*: '*leclator*' - *Verbum adbreuiatum (textus prior)*, ed. M. Boutry, CCCM 196A (Turnhout, 2012), p. 288; '*ribald*' - *Verbum adbreuiatum (textus alter)*, ed. M. Boutry, 196B (Turnhout, 2012), p. 200. William of Auvergne, master of the schools and then bishop of Paris (1228-49), used both terms frequently. '*Lecator*' appears seventy-eight times and '*ribald*' fifty-one times in the editions of his sermons: *Sermones de tempore*, *Sermones de sanctibus*, *Sermones de communi sanctorum et de occasionibus*, ed. F. Morenzoni, CCCM 230-230C (Turnhout, 2010-13).

¹⁰¹ 'Hec fuit confessio ribaudi, qui mente non abhoruit quod ore dampnauit.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

¹⁰² 'Procul sit a nobis ista confessio, per quam plures in infernum descenderunt.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

¹⁰³ 'Tercia confessio longe dissimilis est et duabus premissis contraria.' Lacombe, 'An unpublished document', 419.

¹⁰⁴ N. C. Vincent, 'Some pardoners' tales: the earliest English indulgences', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 12 (2002), 50.

Penitentials, manuals and treatises

How did the sacrament of confession work? This was a question with two kinds of answer: theological and practical. Theologically, the central question was how priests were able to absolve the penitent of their sins. Practically, there were a whole range of questions about how to proceed when administering the sacrament. In our period, bishops produced or commissioned a number of texts that addressed these questions. We shall examine them in chronological order: Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential;¹⁰⁵ a treatise on certain questions about confession by Senatus of Worcester, commissioned by Roger of Worcester;¹⁰⁶ Guy of Southwick's *opusculum* on confession written for William de Vere, bishop of Hereford;¹⁰⁷ a penitential composed or borrowed by Stephen Langton and a text sometimes attributed to him – *De penitentia sub persona Magdalene*;¹⁰⁸ Alexander of Stainsby's *De confessionibus*;¹⁰⁹ and, finally, Cadwgan of Llandyfai's *De modo confitendi*.¹¹⁰ Not all of these texts have been printed, and some of those that have been are still not well-known.

It is worth noting, although we shall not consider them here in detail, that better known penitential manuals were also associated with bishops, albeit less directly. Thomas of Chobham wrote his *Summa de penitentia et officiis ecclesiae* while he was acting as official for Herbert Poore, bishop of Salisbury (1194-1217).¹¹¹ Richard Poore, probably before he became bishop of various sees, apparently encouraged Robert of Flamborough to write his penitential.¹¹² Outside England and Wales, Alan of Lille dedicated his *Liber poenitentialis* to Henry de Sully, archbishop of Bourges (1193-95).¹¹³ And William d'Auvergne, bishop of Paris (1228-49), produced his own *De penitentia nouus tractatus*.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, English bishops were among the first to grapple for themselves with new ideas in penitential thought.

¹⁰⁵ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 163-300.

¹⁰⁶ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 633, fols. 197r-199v. Parts of the treatise are printed in E. Rathbone 'Roman Law in the Anglo-Norman Realm', *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967), 270-2; and P. Delhay, 'Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur la Pénitence', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 19 (1952), 203-24.

¹⁰⁷ A. Wilmart, 'Un opuscul sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XIIe Siècle', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 7 (1935), 337-52.

¹⁰⁸ Quinto, 'Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care', pp. 306-12; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 226; Oxford, Balliol College, MS 152.

¹⁰⁹ C&S, II, i, pp. 220-6. On the authorship of *De confessionibus* see: Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby', 624-5.

¹¹⁰ Goering and Pryce, 'De modo confitendi', 16-28. Cadwgan seems to have also used the English name Martin, as the Tewkesbury and Worcester annals refer to him: Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', 20.

¹¹¹ Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Bloomfield (Louvain, 1968), pp. xxxiv-xxxvi. Chobham served as official 1214-c.1217 and composed the *Summa* in 1215: Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, pp. 34-5.

¹¹² Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, ed. J. J. F. Firth (Toronto, 1971), pp. 54-5.

¹¹³ Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis: Introduction doctrinale et littéraire*, ed. J. Longère (Louvain, 1965), pp. 206-13.

¹¹⁴ L. Smith, 'William of Auvergne and confession', in Biller (ed.), *Handling Sin*, pp. 95-108.

Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential

Bartholomew's penitential offered a comprehensive guide to confession, addressing a variety of related subjects. Ultimately, much of the text derived from Burchard of Worms' *Decretum*, as received via Ivo of Chartres. Gratian and the Lombard also mediated the pseudo-Augustinian *De uera et falsa penitentia*, which became an influential contribution to discussions on the topic.¹¹⁵ Bartholomew's use of Gratian, which is not known to have circulated in England before the 1160s, suggests that the penitential was completed during Bartholomew's time as bishop but not before.¹¹⁶ When Adrian Morey edited the text, he described it as a 'mosaic of quotations' and judged it to be unoriginal.¹¹⁷ But, as Jason Taliadoros has shown, the penitential does contain Bartholomew's original *dicta*.¹¹⁸ The bishop's priorities are also revealed by his arrangement of material and the amount of space he gave to certain topics.

Taliadoros rightly described the penitential as 'pedagogic and pastoral'.¹¹⁹ It would not have been particularly accessible to the average priest, but it was not just an academic textbook. Bartholomew began the text with a general invitation to all priests to learn the things necessary for salvation.¹²⁰ It is not clear how Bartholomew imagined his work might be disseminated, but with more than twenty extant manuscript copies, it seems to have circulated widely.¹²¹ In those manuscripts, the penitential is often found alongside other practical pastoral texts, suggesting that it was used as intended.¹²²

Bishops' texts on confession all provided guidance for each stage of the sacrament: contrition, confession and satisfaction. Naturally, Bartholomew's penitential addressed satisfaction most of all, setting out the penitential tariffs for various sins. When he wrote of contrition, in an original *dicta*, he included it among a list of purifying works of satisfaction: 'It is sufficient to purge them [lighter sins] with almsgiving, *contrition of heart*, general confession and dominical prayer.'¹²³

One chapter of the penitential, borrowed from Burchard of Worms, was a guide to taking confession that included very practical advice:

¹¹⁵ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 170-1.

¹¹⁶ On Bartholomew's use of Gratian, see: Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 174. On the circulation of Gratian, see: P. Landau, 'Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*', in Hartmann and Pennington (eds.), *History of Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 22-54.

¹¹⁷ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 172.

¹¹⁸ J. Taliadoros, 'Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential: some original observations on his personal dicta', *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Esztergom, 2010), 457-76.

¹¹⁹ Taliadoros, 'Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential', 460.

¹²⁰ 'Studeant itaque sacerdotes omnibus innotescere et mala cum quibus et bona sine quibus nemo saluari potest.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 175.

¹²¹ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 164-6.

¹²² The penitential is found alongside a calendar of sermons in London, British Library, MS Royal 5 E VII, and with the writings of William de Montibus, model sermons, and an exposition of the Apostles' Creed in Cambridge, St John's College, MS 141.

¹²³ 'Sufficit enim ea elemosinis cum cordis contricione et generali confessione et dominica oratione purgare.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 196. Emphasis added.

But when anyone comes to confession, let the priest receive him with all humility and devotion, so that he who is confessed might be provoked by the priest's example to true contrition of heart, and let the priest pray for him that God would give to him a spirit of compunction.¹²⁴

This same chapter also included suggestions of the language that might be used by confessors:

'Brother, be not ashamed to confess your sin, for I too am a sinner.'¹²⁵

'Brother, examine yourself if you have at any time committed any kind of sin which was against nature or otherwise greatly abominable.'¹²⁶

Once confession had been coaxed from the penitent, the confessor then had the challenging task of assigning penance. Penitential manuals provided assistance at such moments. Larger penitentials like Bartholomew's provided a catalogue of penances that ought to be enjoined. In one sense this made them a rigid guide, although Bartholomew often allowed for the bishop's discretion in adjusting penances as they saw fit, and distinctions were made between sins involving different victims and perpetrators.¹²⁷ Morey characterised Bartholomew's approach to confession as one of moderation. 'Bartholomew follows the general tendency of the age,' he wrote, 'in favour of mitigating the severity of the penalties for sin.'¹²⁸

Senatus' treatise for Roger of Worcester

Two works relating to confession were patronised by English bishops in the late twelfth century. Usefully, in both cases the authors described how they came to write, providing an insight into the way bishops of the late twelfth century tried to stay informed about the latest ideas. Roger of Worcester had questions about indulgences and confession. He was a man of education. Indeed, Mary Cheney suggested that Roger may have picked up his scepticism towards indulgences during his own time studying in Paris.¹²⁹ And yet he found it necessary to consult Senatus, a monk of his cathedral described in the Worcester annals as '*magister et theologus*'.¹³⁰ Roger first discussed his questions with Senatus, and then asked that his answers be recorded in writing. Senatus recalled these events, writing in the treatise that Roger 'ordered that I should record what was poured out with speech – that I write for posterity a kind of memorial that should be kept'.¹³¹

¹²⁴ 'Cum autem ad confessionem quis uenerit, sacerdos eum cum tanta humilitate et deuotione suscipiat ut et ipse qui confessus est ad ueram cordis contricionem sacerdotis prouocetur exemplo, oretque sacerdos pro illo ut Deus det illi spiritum compunctionis.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 204.

¹²⁵ 'Frater, noli erubescere peccata tua confiteri nam et ego peccator sum.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 204.

¹²⁶ 'Frater, recogita tecum si aliquando aliquid peccatum commisisti, quod fuerit contra naturam uel aliter multum abhominabile.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, 205.

¹²⁷ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 210, 223, 224 & 237.

¹²⁸ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 173.

¹²⁹ M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 61.

¹³⁰ P. Damian-Grint, 'Senatus of Worcester [*called* Senatus Bravonius]', *ODNB* (2004)

¹³¹ 'Et, quod magis terret, iubes quod profusum est eloquio, apponam ut posteris quasi memoriale reponatur scripto.' Rathbone, 'Roman law in the Anglo-Norman realm', 270; M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 59.

There were two particular questions Roger asked Senatus to address.¹³² The first was about the efficacy of indulgences. Nicholas Vincent has demonstrated that, by the end of the twelfth century, virtually all bishops were granting indulgences.¹³³ But Roger wanted Senatus to explain the theological basis for the practice. Senatus distinguished between the punishment set by God, and that set by men: 'For penalty is twofold: God inspires the first through compunction; the priest inflicts the second in alms, vigils, fasting, in ash and hair shirts, for a specified number of years or days, which are called penitential.'¹³⁴ Indulgences, Senatus explained, were simply a relaxation of the penance enjoined by men.¹³⁵ Priests could remit neither the blame (*culpa*) nor the penalty (*pena*) due to God.¹³⁶ This was a principle that had been argued by Peter Lombard.¹³⁷

Roger's second question was whether or not priests ought to take confession and give absolution to those about to fight in a duel. Senatus reported that he had discovered different opinions, but he argued confession should be taken from both parties as it was not a mortal sin to use trial by ordeal.¹³⁸ Whether this confession was of any merit, Senatus was doubtful. It was possible for true confession to be made at the point of death, as with as the good thief on the cross who was taken to paradise.¹³⁹ But contrition was necessary, and Senatus feared that those about to fight a duel were not in a contrite state of mind.¹⁴⁰

Following his presentation of these two *dicta*, Senatus gave a more general defence of confession. In fact, this was the longest section of the treatise. The theologian perceived that Roger had doubts about the granting of absolution: 'For you say this remission is harmful and leads souls astray because bishops remit neither the blame, which is God's remit, nor the penalty, something that the contritions of hearts [and] the purity of confessions hide from them.'¹⁴¹ Roger's doubts apparently extended as far as scepticism about Christ's promise, that 'Whatever you shall have bound or loosed on earth, shall be

¹³² Senatus' treatise has been analysed by Mary Cheney: *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 58-64. See also: Vincent, 'Some pardoners' tales', 34.

¹³³ Vincent, 'Some pardoners' tales', 23-58.

¹³⁴ 'Est quippe duplex pena: primam inspirit Deus per compunctionem; secundam infligit sacerdos in elemosinis, uigiliis, ieiuniis, in cinere et cilicio, sub certo annorum numero uel dierum qui penitenciales dicuntur...' MS Bodley 633, fol. 198r.

¹³⁵ '...quos cum relaxant penitentiam, id est, dies penitenciales remittere dicuntur.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 198r; M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 60.

¹³⁶ 'Sed si acutius rem indagemus, pontifices in casibus istis nec culpam remittent nec penam.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 197v.

¹³⁷ Peter Lombard, *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis episcopi sententiae in IV libris distinctae, vol. II*, ed. I. Brady, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 5 (Grottaferrata, 1981), lib. IV, dist. xviii, iv, cap. ii-iv, pp. 356-8.

¹³⁸ 'Ad hec non mortaliter peccat qui experiment utitur purgationis.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 198r.

¹³⁹ 'Item Iulius papa: Vera confessio in ultimo tempore esse potest, sicut latro unius memento penitentia meruit paradisum.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 198r.

¹⁴⁰ 'Non enim cordis contritionem non uirtutis amore sed formidine pene penitentiam suscipiunt, quam tamen non agunt sed ad monomachiam pergunt, mens inflammatur ira, ardet nocendi desiderio.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 198r; M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 62. On the growth of clerical opposition to duels in this period see: R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 118-22.

¹⁴¹ 'Inquis enim: captiosa est hec remissio et seducens animas quia nec culpam remittunt pontifices, quod Dei est, nec penam, cum eos lateant contritiones cordium, puritas confessionum.' Delhay, 'Deux textes de Senatus', 206; M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 60.

bound or loosed in heaven'.¹⁴² 'This order seems the wrong way round to you,' Senatus wrote, recalling his earlier conversation with Roger.¹⁴³ Senatus' solution was to distinguish between the *manifesta*, which the church could judge, and the *occulta*, which God alone could judge.¹⁴⁴ It was the judge's role to establish the truth of a case, and the confessors of the Church could only work with the evidence presented to them. Senatus pointed out that Jesus himself had said: 'As I hear, so I judge.'¹⁴⁵

Senatus' treatise was not a confessional manual. Roger had posed specific questions; Senatus had provided responses. Just as Roger collected papal decretals – which were, in effect, the pope's *dicta* – he wanted Senatus' responses preserved for posterity.¹⁴⁶ So in one sense the text was a very practical document that could be referred to by Roger, or indeed any confessor. But, from his last section of the treatise, it is clear Senatus recognised that a more comprehensive, theological explanation of the sacrament was needed.

Guy of Southwick's *opusculum* for William de Vere

That kind of introduction to the sacrament was provided in Guy of Southwick's *opusculum* on confession, given to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford in the 1190s.¹⁴⁷ Guy described how he came to gift the work to William in his letter of dedication:

When at London, as we were having one of the cheerful and salubrious conversations that are your sweet habit, we conferred together over certain aspects of confession. It pleased Your Serenity, if I rightly recall, insistently to enjoin my humble person, for the love of Christ, to complete, if grace supported me, and to send to you this little work concerning the efficacy of confession which you had heard I had recently begun.¹⁴⁸

A similar kind of discussion to the one between Roger and Senatus seems to have been the background to Guy's work. William was, according to Guy, apparently unable to write himself because of the pressures of episcopal office: 'Truly, I know your Prudence not to live a retired life, not easily to agree with the quiet of contemplation or of study and the stretching of the mind, through worldly occupations

¹⁴² Matt. 16.19.

¹⁴³ 'Ex eo quod dictum est Petro: quodcumque ligaueris super terram uel solueris erit ligatum uel solutum in celis. Videtur uobis ordo preposterus, quasi rectius dixisset quod ego ligauero uel soluero in celis, erit a uobis ligatum uel solutum in terris.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 198v; M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 63.

¹⁴⁴ 'Occultorum Deus iudex est. Manifestorum ecclesia.' MS Bodley 633, fol. 199r; M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, p. 64.

¹⁴⁵ 'Hinc Dominus ait: "Sicut audio, iudico."' MS Bodley 633, fol. 199v. Cf. John 5.30.

¹⁴⁶ On Roger's activity as a collector of papal decretals: M. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, pp. 166-227.

¹⁴⁷ Wilmart, 'Un opuscule sur la confession,' 338.

¹⁴⁸ 'Cum enim apud Londonias, inter iocunda et salubria consuete dulcedinis uestre colloquia, super quibusdam articulis confessionis inuicem conferramus, placuit, si bene recolo, serenitati uestre humilitati mee instanter iniungere, ut in caritate Christi opusculum quoddam de confessionis efficacia, quod a me nuper audieratis inceptum, cooperante gratia consummarem, uobisque transmitterem.' Wilmart, 'Un opuscule sur la confession,' 340.

both various and continuous.’¹⁴⁹ There was no doubt some truth in this, but it may have been a tactful way to avoid saying explicitly that the bishop needed help to understand the sacrament. Guy related that, as well as using authoritative literature, he had been able to converse with ‘venerable and discrete fathers of our times’.¹⁵⁰ The text’s editor, André Wilmart, suggested that this might refer to Oxford masters.¹⁵¹

The treatise has two sections. In the first, Guy felt it necessary to present a theological justification for confession. He highlighted various scriptural passages on confession, introduced by the declaration, ‘How great is the virtue of confession, how efficacious, how salubrious, as is testified in many places in Holy Scripture!’¹⁵² He also set out the three necessary elements of the sacrament:

Therefore the security of the Christian faith and the virtue of human salvation consists in true confession. But, in order that this be true, it is necessary that contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction of works is present.¹⁵³

Contrition and satisfaction were mostly dealt with in this first part of the *opusculum*, although only briefly. Guy described three kinds of penitential tears: tears of compunction, of compassion, and of devotion.¹⁵⁴ These could serve as both contrition and satisfaction. Tears of compunction were necessary for the sinner himself, but tears of compassion were for his neighbour, and tears of devotion for God.¹⁵⁵ Other works of satisfaction were also listed: fasting, prayer, temperance, self-discipline, vigils and labours, almsgiving, tears, relief for the poor and consolation for the afflicted.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ ‘Sane uestram scio non latere prudentiam, non facile concurrere quietam contemplationis aut studii et distensionem mentis per occupationes seculi et uarias et continuas.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 340.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Testis enim michi est Deus quod in uoto et proposito habeo, comitante gratia, nichil contra fidem et edificacionem fidelium huic opusculo inserere, sed nunc ex scriptis autenticis, nunc ex dictis uenerabilium et discretorum patrum nostri temporis, quo super hac materia uiua uoce disserentes audiui, sentencias et consuetudines colligere, et tanquam flores ex locis uariis collectos in unum fauam mellis instar apicule compilare.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 341.

¹⁵¹ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 339.

¹⁵² ‘Quanta sit uirtus confessionis, quam efficax, quam salubris, multis in locis scriptura sacra testatur.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 342.

¹⁵³ ‘Fortitudo igitur fidei christiane et uirtus salutis humane in uera confessione consistit. Ad hoc autem ut uera sit, necesse est ut assit cordis contritio, oris confessio, operis satisfactio.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 342.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Lacrimas quoque penitentium triplices sunt. Nam sunt lacrimae compunctionis, lacrimae compassionis, lacrimae deuotionis.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 342.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Lacrimae compunctionis nobis ipsis sunt necessarie. Lacrimae of compassionis debemus proximis, lacrimae deuotionis Deo.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 342.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Operis quoque satisfactio multiformis est. Tum enim in ieiunii castigatione, tum in orationis deuotione, tum in alimentorum parsimonia, tum in assiduitate discipline, tum in uigiliis et laboribus, tum in elemosinarum erogatione, tum in lacrimarum effusione, tum in pauperum recreatione, tum in afflictorum consolatione.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 342.

In the second section of the work, Guy answered a series of basic questions about confession itself.¹⁵⁷ Who ought to confess? Guy felt it necessary to clarify that everyone needed to confess, even the most holy of men.¹⁵⁸ What should be confessed? All sin; but only serious sins needed to be confessed individually while ‘general confession’ of lighter sins was sufficient.¹⁵⁹ To whom should confession be made? First to God in the heart, then confession must be made to the priest by one’s own mouth, ‘certainly not through messengers, signs, or writing.’¹⁶⁰ Evidently, Guy deemed it necessary to specify that the penitent should not confess to someone at a distance. Instead, as Augustine had judged, if no priest was available in a moment of necessity, confession could be made to one’s neighbour.¹⁶¹ What help is it right for the confessing person to lean on? Firstly, divine propitiation; secondly the example of the saints.¹⁶² Why ought one to confess? The standard answer was given: ‘Without doubt, who offends God shall be punished at some time, either by themselves or by God.’¹⁶³ In what way should confession be made? Guy did not explain the form for taking confession, but the necessary condition of the penitent’s heart: confession should be made truthfully, fully, plainly and with humility.¹⁶⁴ How often should confession be made? In Guy’s judgement, confession should be made when the opportunity arose and the sinner felt they needed absolution.¹⁶⁵ Soon after the time of writing, this answer would have been considered unsatisfactory. Indeed, a marginal note in a later hand next to this section of the *opusculum* read, ‘These things seem to be redundant’.¹⁶⁶ Guy did warn, however, that it was dangerous to delay confession, in case of sudden illness or death.¹⁶⁷ He added that each sin need

¹⁵⁷ ‘Considerandum est ergo attentius, quis debeat confiteri, quid et cui, quibus etiam auxiliis oporteat confitentem inniti; deinde cur debeat confiteri, et quomodo et quando.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 347.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Omnis sine dubio tenetur confiteri ... Omnes enim peccauerunt et egent gratia dei. Vnde non solum quilibet peccatores, sed ipsi etiam sanctissimi uiri dicunt: Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nosipsos seducimus et ueritas in nobis non est.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 347. Cf. 1 John 1.8.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Prorsus omne peccatum confiteri tenetur qui uere penitere desiderat. De leuioribus tamen, sine quibus etiam iustorum uita non ducitur, satisfacit oratio dominica, et confessio generalis. Alia uero oportet singillatim singula confiteri. Non enim sufficit graui in genere confiteri: sed necesse est singula ex corde specialiter reuelari.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 348.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Deo quidem prius in corde, deinde sacerdoti proprio ore facienda est confessio, non equidem per nuncium uel per signa uel per scripta.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 348.

¹⁶¹ ‘Tanta uis confessionis est ut, si deest sacerdos, confiteatur proximo.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 349.

¹⁶² ‘Primo ac principaliter diuine propiciationis auxilio, a quo est omnis bone actionis initium, deinde suffragiis exemplisque sanctorum.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 349.

¹⁶³ ‘Qui Deum offendit sine dubio aut a se aut a deo aliquando punietur.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 350.

¹⁶⁴ ‘In simplici quidem humilitate, ueraciter, nude, plene et integer expedit fieri confessionem.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 350-1.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Ex quo quis senserit se deliquisse, necesse est, ut arbitror, ut ad remedium confessionis accedat, quam cito oportunitatem habuerit et copiam sacerdotis.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 351.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Que uidentur superuacanea esse.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 352.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Sepe etiam morbus superueniens uocem egrotantis intercipit, aut mors subitanea eripit uitam. Propter hec et his similia nimis est periculosum diu celare peccata et confessionem quantulumcumque differre.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 352.

only be confessed once.¹⁶⁸ If Guy felt all this was needful, it implies a general ignorance with regard to confession, even in the 1190s, and perhaps even among the episcopate.

Guy also addressed more unusual questions. Should sinful thoughts be confessed? Guy argued that they should.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, he suggested that dreams might also need to be confessed, reasoning that ‘when we sleep, the remnants of the mind’s thinking are represented in the phantasms of our dreams, so that they rouse the spirit to carnal pleasure, and defile the body with actual pollution’.¹⁷⁰ The text was not without sophistication, but it set out absolute basics not seen in later manuals. While the work could have benefited any confessor, it was tailored to its episcopal recipient. This is suggested by Guy’s use of episcopal office as an analogy. Just as bishops do not have the authority to ordain priests and dedicate churches in each other’s dioceses, he explained, priests do not have the authority to absolve another priest’s penitent without dispensation.¹⁷¹ Guy’s *opusculum* was not designed to instruct priests how to take confession, but to explain the sacrament to William de Vere.

Stephen Langton’s penitential and *De penitentia sub persona Magdalene*

Stephen Langton may have been responsible for a penitential, known from just one manuscript and edited by Riccardo Quinto.¹⁷² Some versions of Langton’s *De diuersis* begin with the first part of this penitential, which was a simple formulary that preceded the penitential proper. The confessor was instructed how to proceed when taking confession. Having established that the sinner sought penitence, the priest should offer the assurance that God could grant true penitence and remission of sins. He was then to ask two questions:

‘Do you believe in almighty God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit?’¹⁷³

‘Do you believe that you are to rise again in this same body you now have, and to receive good or evil just as you bore it?’¹⁷⁴

The first question reflected a growing tendency for using confession to test parishioners’ orthodoxy.¹⁷⁵ The second was designed to remind the penitent that their sins would either be punished in this world

¹⁶⁸ ‘Sufficit autem semel confiteri unumquodque peccatum.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 352.

¹⁶⁹ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 343-5.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Insuper etiam cum dormimus, tanta sompniorum fantasmata reliquie cogitationum anime representant, ut et spiritum carnali delectatione concutiant et carnem actuali pollutione coinquant.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 345.

¹⁷¹ ‘Non tamen quemlibet ligare potest aut soluere, sed tantum oues sibi commissas. Sicut omnis episcopus in consecratione sua potestatem accipit clericos ordinandi et ecclesias dedicandi; aliene tamen dyocesis clericos ordinare uel ecclesias dedicare, nisi mandante episcopo illius dyocesis, iure non potest.’ Wilmart, ‘Un opusculum sur la confession’, 348.

¹⁷² Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, MS 21, fols. 241va-243rv; Quinto, ‘Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care’, pp. 306-12.

¹⁷³ ‘Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem et filium et spiritum sanctum?’ Quinto, ‘Langton: Theology and literature of the pastoral care’, p. 306.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Credis quod in eadem carne qua nunc es resurgere habes et recipere bonum siue malum prout gessisti?’ Quinto, ‘Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care’, p. 306.

¹⁷⁵ For a confessional manual that stipulated questions about orthodoxy, see chapter six, pp. 185-6.

or the next – a point made more explicit later in the text.¹⁷⁶ The confessor was advised to discern what kind of person the penitent was and take this into account.¹⁷⁷ It became increasingly fashionable to advise confessors to heed the ‘circumstances’ of sin.¹⁷⁸ Hubert Walter had decreed in 1200 that priests should ‘diligently attend the circumstances: namely, the character of the person and the magnitude of the fault, the time, place, cause, the obstacle to the sin committed, the devotion of the penitent’s soul.’¹⁷⁹ Langton finally instructed the confessor to discover whether the penitent was willing to renounce their sin. If not, they were to be sent away.¹⁸⁰

Such practical penitential manuals, designed to instruct the clergy how to take confession were being produced in increasing number. But a rather different kind of text on penitence may have been produced by Langton as archbishop. *De penitentia sub persona Magdalene* is sometimes attributed to Stephen Langton and sometimes to his brother Simon. Philippa Byrne has studied this text, summarising her findings in a paper given at the Leeds International Medieval Congress, 2015.¹⁸¹ The title of the work leads the reader to expect a treatment of penitence with reference to Mary Magdalene, typical of the period. Mary was an exemplar for penitents because of her penitential tears, personal devotion to Christ, and her restoration.¹⁸² But as Byrne has pointed out, *De penitentia* contains much more discussion of Old Testament figures, Job especially, than of Mary. She also remarked that there is next to nothing in the text on the pastor’s role in confession.

Byrne tentatively supported the attribution to the archbishop, pointing out that the Old Testament typology seen in the work was typical of his interests. But she admitted that it is a meandering and repetitious treatment of penitence. George Lacombe considered the text unworthy of Langton and suggested ‘it would be quite a relief to pass over to the truculent brother this tiresome treatise’.¹⁸³ But in fact, the evidence in support of Simon’s claim is very weak indeed. Lacombe cited Pits and Bale, who both attributed the work to Simon. But he seems to have overlooked the fact that Bale attributed

¹⁷⁶ ‘qui non confessus fuerit in hoc seculo a sacerdotibus, sancte matris ecclesie filiis, confitebitur in die iudicii coram angelis dei.’ Quinto, ‘Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care’, p. 307.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Debet etiam sacerdos considerare discretionem, uitam et mores uniuscuiusque personae (diuites, mediocres, pauperes, milites, rusticos, suburbanos, negotiatores, clericos, sanctimoniales)’ Quinto, ‘Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care’, p. 307.

¹⁷⁸ Goering, ‘The summa of Master Serlo and thirteenth-century penitential literature’, *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978), 290-311; cited in Quinto, ‘Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care’, p. 312.

¹⁷⁹ ‘De penitencia. Cum in penitencia, que est secunda tabula post naufragium, tanto maior adhibenda sit circumspectio quanto magis est necessaria post lapsum reparatio, nos sacrorum canonum statuta sequentes, precipimus ut sacerdotes in penitencia diligenter attendant circumstantias: qualitatem scilicet persone et quantitatem delicti, tempus, locum, causam, moram in peccato factam, deuocionem animi penitentis.’ C&S, I, ii, p. 1062.

¹⁸⁰ Quinto, ‘Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care’, pp. 306-7.

¹⁸¹ I am very grateful to Dr Byrne for providing a copy of her Leeds paper.

¹⁸² T. J. Renna, ‘Mary Magdalen in the thirteenth century’, *Michigan Academician: Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 30.1 (1998), 59-68; K. L. Jansen, ‘Mary Magdalen and the mendicants: the preaching of penance in the late Middle Ages’, *Journal of Medieval History* 21.1 (1995), 1-25.

¹⁸³ Lacombe and Smalley, ‘Studies on the commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton’, p. 9. Referred to by Byrne in her Leeds paper.

the work to Stephen also.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, a much earlier and apparently unnoticed witness can be found to support the attribution to Stephen Langton. In the fragment from Matthew Paris's *Life* of the archbishop, the chronicler attributed a certain '*De penitentia Magdalene*' to Stephen.¹⁸⁵

The uncertainty about authorship ultimately stems from the English manuscripts of the work.¹⁸⁶ A manuscript now at Dole apparently attributes the work to Stephen.¹⁸⁷ But neither of the two English copies of the work settles the question of authorship. The Corpus Christi copy bears no attribution.¹⁸⁸ The Balliol manuscript, originally from St Osyth's, Essex, attributes the work ambiguously to *magister S. de Langetuna*.¹⁸⁹ Above this attribution, the rubricator recorded *Dominus Cantuariensis*, presumably to be identified as the author.¹⁹⁰ Lacombe thought this could refer to Simon, archdeacon of Canterbury,¹⁹¹ and indeed, in a fifteenth-century list of the manuscripts contents, *De penitentia* has become *Summa magistri Simonis Langton*.¹⁹² But it is more natural to take *Dominus Cantuariensis* as a reference to the archbishop, that is, to Stephen.¹⁹³

What of the complaint that the text does not match the usual standard of Langton's work? The rubricator's comment in the Balliol manuscript is significant. The original rubric labelled the work a *tractatus*.¹⁹⁴ The insertion reads: 'Here begins the *Meditatio penitentis*. The Lord of Canterbury wished that this *libellus* had been called thus'.¹⁹⁵ It seems, therefore, that Stephen Langton, having produced the text, was anxious that it be received as a meditation, and not as a treatise. This matches Byrne's observation that, in the text itself, the author refers to the work as a '*speculum penitentiae*'.

¹⁸⁴ Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, pp. 413 & 417.

¹⁸⁵ 'Ad eius etiam meritum et memoriam spectat immortalem, quod quosdam tractatus laudabiles Super Ecclesiasticum et De Penitentia Magdalene et alias scripturas cum sermonibus specialibus theologicis magistrales tam magistraliter composuit, ut Augustino, Gregorio et Ambrosio equiparari uideretur, et eisdem precellentium theologorum corda instaurentur erudita, et infinitorum turbe fidelium ad melioris frugem uite reuocarentur.' Matthew Paris, 'Vita sancti Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis', in F. Liebermann (ed.), *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strasbourg, 1879), p. 328.

¹⁸⁶ There are three known copies of *De penitentia*, all reckoned to be of the early or mid-thirteenth century: Balliol College, Oxford, MS 152; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 226; and Dole, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 99-106.

¹⁸⁷ I have not been able to consult this manuscript. Lacombe reports the attribution, but he also reported an attribution to Stephen in the Corpus Christi manuscript, mistakenly as I believe: Lacombe and Smalley, 'Studies on the commentaries of Stephen Langton', p. 9.

¹⁸⁸ The name 'Simon' does appear appended to a short reflection on pastoral care, scribbled on the reverse of this same flyleaf: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 222, fol. iv. Perhaps this was the source of some confusion for later cataloguers and bibliographers, but there is no suggestion that this is Simon Langton, nor that this writing relates to the main text of the manuscript.

¹⁸⁹ R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), no. 152, p. 137.

¹⁹⁰ Balliol College, Oxford, MS 152, fol. 25r.

¹⁹¹ Lacombe and Smalley, 'Studies on the commentaries of Stephen Langton', p. 10.

¹⁹² Balliol College, Oxford, MS 152, fol. i^v; Mynors, *Catalogue of Balliol College*, p. 138.

¹⁹³ I have not been able to find any instance when Simon was referred to as *dominus*, and have found very few references to archdeacons as *dominus*. For an exception, see: *HWGC*, II, p. 182.

¹⁹⁴ 'Incipit tractatus magistri S. de Langetuna de penitentia sub persona Magdalene.' Balliol College, Oxford, fol. 25r.

¹⁹⁵ 'Incipit meditatio penitentis. Sic uoluit Dominus Cantuar' ut uocaretur libellus iste.' Balliol College, Oxford, fol. 25r.

The rubricator's added comment helps to identify the text's intended purpose. As Byrne pointed out, it would have been of little practical use either to priests taking confession, or to preachers selecting *exempla*. But as a meditation, it could have been of use to penitents themselves. In the thirteenth century, the Corpus Christi copy of *De penitentia* was owned by Hugh de Geround, a monk of Christ Church Canterbury.¹⁹⁶ The continuator of Gervase of Canterbury's *Gesta regum* inserted a letter of 1239 from Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon (1233-40) to the monks of Christ Church, summoning nineteen monks whom he accused of manifest contumacy and disobedience. Hugh was named among this group.¹⁹⁷ It has been suggested that Hugh's possession of this manuscript indicates that penitence followed.¹⁹⁸ It seems then that the Corpus Christi copy of *De penitentia* was used in the way the Balliol copy tells us Langton intended the text: as a *meditatio penitentis*. *De penitentia* serves as a reminder that expressions of penitential thought were not limited to pastoral guides and theological explanations. Meditative treatments of the subject could be produced, without any explicit connection to the author's duty of pastoral care.

Alexander of Stainsby's *De confessionibus*

Alexander of Stainsby appended a manual for taking confession, *De confessionibus*, to his diocesan statutes for Coventry.¹⁹⁹ Diocesan statutes often treated of the sacraments. In the influential Salisbury statutes (1217x19), for instance, Richard Poore set out some of the basics of confession. He repeated an instruction given by Hubert Walter and Stephen Langton that the circumstances of sin should be attended.²⁰⁰ He also reiterated a command that priests should enquire whether the would-be penitent actually wanted to renounce their sin, and if not to send them away. Poore added to this command a reason, and some further advice about how to proceed. If the penitent did not wish to renounce their sin, then the priest should not enjoin penance, 'lest he [the sinner] have confidence, but he [the priest] should advise him that he should do what he can to the good, so that God might light up his heart for penance. And he should counsel him that he cannot receive the body of Christ in such a state'.²⁰¹ In other canons of the statutes, Poore addressed very specific points. For example, the penance enjoined on married women should not be such as would make their husbands suspicious that they had committed

¹⁹⁶ The flyleaves are now found in MS 222, and contain what has been taken for a mark of ownership: '*Liber Hugonis de Girunde de penitencia magdal*': Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 222, fol. ir.

¹⁹⁷ HWGC, II, pp. 143-4; J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1066-1540* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 167-8.

¹⁹⁸ Sharpe and Willoughby, *MLGB*.

¹⁹⁹ See: Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby', 624-7; Vincent, 'Some pardoners' tales', 31.

²⁰⁰ C&S, II, i, p. 71.

²⁰¹ 'Audita confessione semper interroget confessor confitentem si uelit abstinere ab omni (peccato) mortali, aliter uero non absoluat eum, nec iniungat ei penitentiam, ne inde confidant, set moneat quod interim faciat quicquid boni poterit, ut Deus cor eius illustret ad penitentiam, et consulat ne corpus Christi in tali statu percipiat.' C&S, II, i, pp. 74-5.

some heinous crime.²⁰² Statutes like Poore's provided priests with practical advice and a theological introduction to the sacrament, but they not did provide a practical overview of the sacrament, guiding priests through the actual process of taking confession.

Alexander was surely mindful of that fact when he attached *De confessionibus* to his own statutes along with another tract, *De septem criminalibus*.²⁰³ As Nicholas Vincent pointed out, the two tracts were complementary. One was designed to cultivate an awareness of sin; the other held out the antidote.²⁰⁴ These are usually found in manuscript alongside the statutes, but not always, showing that they were sometimes copied and disseminated independently.²⁰⁵ *De septem criminalibus* begins with an instruction that it be read by priests every Sunday and feast day.²⁰⁶ Its function was thus to be similar to bishops' sermons, inculcating a sense of sin.

In *De confessionibus*, Alexander proceeded systematically, dealing in turn with contrition, confession, and satisfaction.²⁰⁷ Following Poore, Langton and others, Alexander stressed that confession should not proceed if the penitent was not truly contrite. He suggested the following formula:

Confession ought to proceed in this way: 'Brother or sister, you wish to confess your sin. Do you have the will henceforth not to sin mortally, so far as you are able through the grace of God?' If he says, 'I have not.' then he is told that his confession is null. ... He may be understood to relinquish [sin] who has the will not to commit henceforth, through the grace of God.²⁰⁸

Alexander observed that three things hindered sinners from making confession: love of sin, fear of punishment, and shame. In response to the first two hindrances, he advised confessors to teach the penitent that the pleasures and pains of this life were lighter than in eternity.²⁰⁹ But Alexander saw that the last 'hindrance' could be usefully turned to contrition: 'Against his shame, show him that shame is the greatest part of penance.'²¹⁰

The priest could then take confession. Alexander stipulated that the confessor should ask about the penitent's marital status, occupation, and so forth. These details might provide cues to ask about specific

²⁰² 'Mulieribus autem coniugatis talis iniungatur penitentia unde non reddantur maritis suis suspecte de aliquot occulte crimine et enormi. Idem de uiris uxoris obseruetur, dummodo sufficienter puniatur delictum et condigna sit satisfactio.' C&S, II, i, p. 71.

²⁰³ C&S, II, i, pp. 214-20.

²⁰⁴ Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby', 625.

²⁰⁵ C&S, II, i, pp. 207-8.

²⁰⁶ 'Dicatur omnibus parochianis omnibus dominicis diebus uel aliis festis a sacerdotibus.' C&S, II, i, p. 214; Vincent, 'Alexander of Stainsby', 624.

²⁰⁷ 'Penitentia consistat in tribus, in cordis contritione, oris confessione, operis satisfactione.' C&S, II, i, p. 220.

²⁰⁸ 'Circa confessionem hoc modo procedendum est: Frater uel soror, tu uis confiteri peccata tua. Habes tu in uoluntate ut detero non pecces mortaliter in quantum poteris per gratiam Dei. Si dicat: Non habeo, dicatur tunc ei quod confessio sua nulla est. ... Ille intelligitur relinquere qui habet in uoluntate per gratiam Dei decetero non committere.' C&S, II, i, p. 220.

²⁰⁹ 'Set debet sacerdos ostendere quam breuis est delectatio peccati propter quam amittit premium eterni gaudii. Contra timorem quem habet de penitentia, debet ostendere quod nisi peniteat hic, peccatum punietur eterna pena.' C&S, II, i, p. 221.

²¹⁰ 'Contra pudorem debet ostendere quod pudor est maxima pars penitentiae.' C&S, II, i, p. 221.

sins. Married persons could be asked about infidelity, merchants about using unfair measures, lay people about failing to tithe, knights about unfair treatment of their household, women about sorcery.²¹¹

Alexander referred the reader to his tract on the seven sins, and explained how to interrogate penitents about them.²¹² But the confessor had to discern which questions to ask: 'It is not necessary to make these inquisitions of everyone, but the priest ought to enquire according to what God shall inspire.'²¹³

Providing an insight into the role Alexander saw for himself as bishop, he emphasised the personal role of the episcopate in confessional practice. Penitents guilty of more serious crimes must be sent to the bishop, or, if they were unwilling, the priest must go to receive authority from the bishop.²¹⁴

The need to uncover the circumstances of sin was expounded. Alexander recommended, for example, the following form for ascertaining the facts about sexual incontinence:

Let inquisition about inconstancy of the flesh be made briefly in this way: 'Either you knew the person you approached to be unbound, or you did not. If you knew, a smaller penance will be enjoined. If you did not know, then a greater penance will be enjoined, because, perchance, she might have been a married woman, a nun, or known to be of your kin.'²¹⁵

Educated readers would have appreciated Alexander's description of five different kinds of gluttony, taken from Scripture: Jonathan eating honey without knowing it was prohibited; the Israelites desiring meat as well as manna; the inhabitants of Sodom eating too much bread; Esau exchanging his birthright for lentils; and the sons of Eli taking the meat of offerings raw, before it had been boiled.²¹⁶ There was a practical point to this distinction. The same sinful act could be judged severely or leniently depending on the circumstances.

Attending the circumstances of sin made setting penance more complicated. Indeed, Alexander refused to discuss tariffs for sins: 'Because penances are arbitrary, we do not define for you any specific penances which you should enjoin.'²¹⁷ Rather, in accordance with developing attitudes towards confession, his advice about works of satisfaction was that they should match the sins committed. The liar should be directed to pray, the miser to give alms, and the fighter to go on crusade.²¹⁸ Alexander

²¹¹ *C&S*, II, i, pp. 221-2.

²¹² 'Siue uero fuerit solutus siue coniugatus, querendum est de vii criminalibus peccatis, et secundum quod continetur in scripto de illis peccatis procedendum est.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 221.

²¹³ 'Non oportet omnes istas inquisitiones circa omnes personas facere; set secundum quod Deus inspirauerit sacerdos debet inquirere.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 222.

²¹⁴ 'querendum est si fuerit sanctimonialis benedicta, et tales mittantur ad episcopum, quia episcopus tales solet excommunicare. Si forte noluerint ire ad episcopum, eat sacerdos ad episcopum et habeat eius auctoritatem.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 222.

²¹⁵ 'Circa lubricum carnis hoc modo breuiter fiat inquisitio: Aut sciisti illam ad quam accessisti esse solutam, aut nesciisti. Si sciisti, minor penitentia iniungenda est; si nesciisti, tunc maior penitentia iniungenda est; quia forte poterat esse coniugata, monialis, affinis, a parentibus tuis cognita.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 222.

²¹⁶ *C&S*, II, i, p. 223; 1 Kings 14.27; Num. 11.4-6; Ezek. 16.49; Gen. 25.34; 1 Kings 2.13.

²¹⁷ 'Quia penitentiae arbitrarie sunt, non diffinimus uobis aliquas certas penitentias quas debetis iniungere.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 224.

²¹⁸ 'Verbi gratia, si quis peccauerit per os falso placitando uel falso iurando, iniungatur ei oratio et quod defendat pauperes contra quos deliquit in causis honestis. Item, si peccauerit auare retinendo, iniungatur ei elemosinarum

warned his clergy, ‘You should see, therefore, that you are not like those foolish doctors who want to cure every illness with one ointment. What heals the foot does not heal the eye.’²¹⁹

Cadwgan of Llandyfai’s *De modo confitendi*

Cadwgan’s formulary, *De modo confitendi*, was largely copied from other sources: Robert of Courçon’s *Tota celestis philosophia*, Robert Grosseteste’s *Perambulauit Iudas*, Raymund of Peñafort’s *Summa de penitentia*, and Richard of Wetheringsett’s *Summa qui bene presunt*.²²⁰ As the editors of *De modo confitendi* point out, the formulary was ‘apparently for the education of the diocesan clergy in one of the poorest of the Welsh dioceses’.²²¹ The one surviving manuscript copy, containing other pastoral works, demonstrates that it was of a convenient size for dissemination, fitting neatly into a quaternion.²²² Given the sources that he used, Cadwgan could not have produced *De modo confitendi* near the beginning of his episcopate, which began in 1215. The text must have been completed before 1236, when Cadwgan retired, and was probably written some time earlier, before he began collecting materials for a new work on the incarnation.²²³

Much of the text comprises lists of sins and lists of brief questions that confessors might use. However, for such a practical text, there is something strangely academic about the way Cadwgan composed a comprehensive guide to confession: *De modo confitendi* is separated into sections that deal in turn with the sins of all, the sins of the clergy, and the sins of monks.²²⁴ Goering and Pryce point out that the section on monks’ confession was original to Cadwgan, and probably reveals a special interest on the part of this Cistercian bishop.²²⁵ *De modo confitendi* would have been most useful for Cadwgan’s own purposes, as a bishop who might take confession from penitents of all stations. At the same time, it seems clear that Cadwgan designed the formulary for the use of his clergy, as it concludes with a mnemonic about which penitents ought to be referred to the bishop, that is, to Cadwgan himself.²²⁶

Cadwgan did not deal with contrition at length. But he included practical advice about how the confessor might inculcate a sense of contrition in the penitent:

largitio. Si peccauerit male pugnando contra innocentes, iniungatur ei quod pugnet contra nocentes, scilicet saracenos et hereticos.’ *C&S*, II, i, p. 225.

²¹⁹ ‘Videatis ergo ne sitis insipientes medici qui uolunt uno collirio omnes morbos sanare. Non quod sanat oculum sanat calcaneum.’ *C&S*, II, i, p. 225.

²²⁰ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 11-13.

²²¹ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 1.

²²² Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, pp. 11 & 14.

²²³ On this other work, see chapter three of this thesis, pp. 110-13.

²²⁴ Goering and Pryce’s reckon cap. xx to belong to the second section of *De modo confitendi*, which they identify as that section which corresponds closely to Grosseteste’s *Perambulauit Iudas*. However, cap. xx could be seen as the beginning of a third section of the work, pertaining to confession taken from the clergy. See: Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 12-13.

²²⁵ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, p. 13.

²²⁶ ‘<D>editus usure, faciens incendia, falsi / Testes, sortilegii, falsarius atque monete / Tonsor, legatum inpediens, a canone uicti, / Proditor ac heresim sectans, uende<n>sque columbas / Suppone<n>s partumue necans, rerumque sacrarum / Raptor, presbitero nequeunt a simplici solui.’ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, p. 27.

Lest he [the penitent] be in haste, let him make [confession] thus: 'I have committed this sin, and this, and that,' until in this way the combined number is innumerable, so that it more acutely pricks him and he is more afraid.²²⁷

This was a typical suggestion for trying to awaken the prick of conscience. It came in a section, copied from Robert of Courçon, which described how the penitent should come to confession. They ought, for instance, to come truthfully, not fearful of penance, not making excuses, and so forth.²²⁸ *De modo confitendi* contained very little on works of satisfaction. Cadwgan borrowed from Courçon the clearest statement from any of our bishops of the idea that works of satisfaction should match the sins committed: 'In all there are three main sins: pleasure, impudence and pride. And against these, because they are cured by their opposites, the penance ought to be bitterness, modesty and humility.'²²⁹

The lists of sins enumerate the *species* of each capital sin. Pride, for example, was the root of vainglory, boasting, hypocrisy, irreverence, disobedience, impudence, presumption, contention, impatience, indignation, obstinacy, and so forth.²³⁰ The recommended questions listed under these sins were copied from Grosseteste. Cadwgan's original work, towards the end of the formulary, comprised longer lists of sins with explication but no suggested questions. Cadwgan listed infirmity, torpor and sleepiness, nausea and vomiting under the rubric '*Peccatum ebrietatis*'.²³¹ These things were not sinful *per se*, but they were evidence of an underlying sin that might need to be addressed. Thus, these lists were to help confessors identify sins and their root causes, so that the offender might be brought to confession, and the confessor might enjoin appropriate penance.

In the late twelfth century, bishops like William de Vere and even the scholarly Roger of Worcester required help understanding the latest ideas about confession. By the early thirteenth century, bishops like Richard Poore and Alexander of Stainsby were well placed to explain the sacrament themselves. This was a significant development. These texts on confession also reveal how treatments of the sacrament changed over time. They differed significantly one from another. As with penitential literature more generally, over time they became more practical, so as to be more useful to a wider clerical audience.

It should be noted that bishops consistently placed confession in the wider context of moral improvement. Guy of Southwick, for instance, wrote that the most important work of satisfaction was

²²⁷ 'Ne in transcurso fiat sic: "Ego commisi hoc peccatum, et hoc, et hoc," ad modum combinatorum numero per innumeras numero; ut acutius pungant et eum magis tereant.' Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 16-17.

²²⁸ Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 16-17.

²²⁹ 'Nam in omni peccato precipue sunt tria: delectatio, inprudencia, superbia. Et contra hec, *quia contraria contrariis curantur*, debet penitentia esse amara, uerecunda, et humilis.' Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 16.

²³⁰ Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', p. 18.

²³¹ Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', p. 26.

to abstain from sin.²³² Bartholomew included chapters in his penitential on the virtues of faith, hope, and love.²³³ He emphasised that salvation depended on more than just partaking in the sacraments. These virtues were also necessary.²³⁴ Similarly, Cadwgan began *De modo confitendi* by setting penitence within the framework of fifteen steps or grades to heaven.²³⁵ Confession and penance were intended to form part of a wider progression of virtue.

Excommunication

Excommunication was closely connected to the sacrament of confession. As mentioned already, early forms of confession and penitence had developed as a means by which an excommunicate might be reconciled to the society of the Church. But as confession and penance developed towards more regular confession of all kinds of sin, it became necessary to restate how excommunication fitted within the framework of the sacrament. Gilbert Foliot set out the basic principle of excommunication in his last homily on St Peter and St Paul.²³⁶ He detailed three instances when those apostles had condemned sinners: Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, and the man in the Colossian church who had committed fornication with his father's wife.²³⁷ Gilbert proceeded to explain that these were instances of excommunication:

This is the indignation of the saints, the anger of heaven, excommunication, the cursing of justice not from vindictive spite but from heaven, the sword of precision: anathema maranatha; that is, separation in the day of the Lord, and, most wretched fate of all, alienation from the sight of God and the glory of the saints, lasting for perpetuity.²³⁸

Gilbert located excommunication within a sacramental framework: 'For the power of Satan is in man, until he is revived through baptism. Likewise, it is purged for as long as anyone is renewed by the sacrament of grace.'²³⁹ The sacraments thus protected the Christian from Satan's influence. But the man who returned to his vomit, multiplied his sin, failed to make satisfaction, made excuses, and stubbornly

²³² 'Operis quoque satisfactio multiformis est: Tum enim in ieiunii castigatione, tum in orationis deuotione [etc.] ... sed maxime in abstinendo a peccatis et in dimittendo aliis quod in nos deliquere consistit; et huiusmodi puto dictos esse fructus dignos penitentiae.' Wilmart, 'Un opuscule sur la confession', p. 342.

²³³ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 176-7.

²³⁴ 'Bona uero, sine quibus etiam post salutiferam et necessariam sacramentorum susceptionem nemo sane mentis adultus saluari potest, sunt: fides, spes, caritas.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 175.

²³⁵ Cadwgan attributed this to Augustine, but it was in fact derived from Robert of Courçon and William de Montibus: Goering and Pryce, *De modo confitendi*, 11-2 & 16-7.

²³⁶ Observed and briefly discussed in: Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 181.

²³⁷ Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 166r; Acts 5.1-11; Acts 8.9-24; 1 Cor. 5.1-5.

²³⁸ 'Hec est sanctorum indignatio, celestis ira; non liuore uindictae, sed celo iusticie maledicens excommunicatio prescisionis gladius: anathema maranatha; id est, in diem Domini separatio, et quo miserabilius nil esse potest, a uisione Dei et sanctorum gloria, in perpetuum manens alienatio.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 166r.

²³⁹ 'Est enim Sathene potestas in homine, priusquam baptismate renascatur. Euacuatur eadem, dum quilibet sacramento gratie renouatur.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 168r.

rejected the warnings of the church, evidently cherished sin and stubbornly set himself against the warnings of the Church.²⁴⁰ He was therefore deserving of excommunication:

He will have despised the arm that God himself had extended against him, until heaven is closed to him, until he is removed from the threshold of the church in the Spirit of the Lord. He is immediately thrown back to Satan, and that power which had been expelled through baptism is revived in him as before.²⁴¹

In short, excommunication was the opposite to administering the sacraments. Gilbert's mention of the church's threshold referred to the practice of admitting or ejecting excommunicates at the porch, which symbolically represented the point of entry into the Christian community.²⁴² Within the Church, the sacraments were received and Satan's power could thus be resisted. Outside the Church, the excommunicate was given over to Satan's power. Not only was he disbarred from the sacraments, but the excommunicate could in no way benefit from spiritual activity:

For to the excommunicate separated from the bosom of the Church by the power of the eternal word – if indeed he deviates thus – no community of the Church is useful, no prayer of goodness is able to help, but in him Satan exercises fullness of power now and always.²⁴³

There was no hope for the excommunicate, unless and until they were reconciled to the community of the faithful. Matthew 16:19 was the key passage in the Bible for excommunication, as it described Christ promising Peter the keys to the kingdom, which gave the power to loose or bind a soul. There was some debate about who in the medieval Church held these keys. Gilbert expressed his view: 'Peter binds in this way. Paul also binds. Every pastor and minister of the church binds, to whom the power of binding is given from the Lord.'²⁴⁴ This followed Peter Lombard, who argued that all priests received the keys at their ordination.²⁴⁵ Gilbert imagined the Church as a kingdom, whose king has consuls, centurions, tribunes, and justices who exercise power by virtue of the offices held of the king.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ 'Quod si ad uomitum recurrens homo, peccata peccatis adiciens, et ad satisfaciendum super delicto ecclesia uocante commonitus, non solum excusando peccatum fouerit, sed aduersus ecclesie uocationes sese contumaciter erigendo.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fols. 168r-v. Cf. Prov. 26.11.

²⁴¹ 'quid aduersus eum extenditur brachium quoque Domini contempserit, dum celum ei clauditur, dum a liminibus ecclesie in Domini sequestratur Spiritu. Sathane statim reicitur, et que per baptismum elisa fuerat potestas in ipsum pristina reuocatur.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 168v.

²⁴² Larson, *Master of Penance*, p. 253.

²⁴³ 'Excommunicato namque et ab ecclesie sinu manentis semper uerbi uirtute sequestrato, si sic quidem decesserit, nulla prodest ecclesie communio, nulla bonorum subuenire potest oratio, sed in eum Sathanas potestatis plenitudinem iam semper exercet, quam ipsum reiciente ecclesia recuperauit in eundem dum uiueret.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 168r.

²⁴⁴ 'Ligat in hunc modum Petrus. Ligat omnis pastor et minister ecclesie, cui a Domino ligandi concessa potestas est.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 166r. Cf. Matt. 16.19 especially, but also Matt. 18.18.

²⁴⁵ Here Lombard sided with the 'truer judgement' of Jerome, over Gregory and Origen: Lombard, *Sententiae*, vol. II, lib. IV, dist. xix, cap. i, para. i-ix, pp. 365-7.

²⁴⁶ 'Hunc igitur in ecclesia uelut regem in regno potentissimum attendamus. Habet consules rex, centuriones habet, tribunos habet, quam plures iusticie ministros habet. Qui dum regalia dispensant officia, ipsi quidem operantur, sed operatur ille potissimum cuius in ipsorum manibus iusticia est, cuius eorum manibus exercetur potestas et uoluntas in omnibus adimpletur.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 167r.

Apostolic succession guaranteed that each pope continued to dispense this authority to his generation of primates, metropolitans, diocesans, and lower clergy.²⁴⁷

Gilbert thus presented a theological overview of excommunication, setting it in the context of the sacramental system. The bishop's authority to condemn a soul in excommunication was the same authority by which he absolved any penitent of sin. The keys to heaven and hell – used to open or to close – were part of the apostolic inheritance. But there were more complex issues that Gilbert did not address. Was there a difference between excommunication and anathema? Gilbert made no distinction between them. What was the canonical procedure for excommunication? On what was the efficacy of excommunication contingent: the rightness of the cause, or the sacramental authority of the bishop? And which sins warranted this sanction? For bishops, it was of the utmost importance that a weapon as powerful as excommunication was rightly understood and correctly applied. But consensus about the answers to such questions was still emerging in this period.

Bartholomew of Exeter addressed some of these questions in his penitential. His main concern was to distinguish between excommunication and declarations of anathema.²⁴⁸ Bartholomew began the chapter, *De excommunicatione*, with his own *dictum*:

Although frequent use accepts excommunication and anathema indifferently, according to the earliest understanding all anathema is excommunication, but not all excommunication is anathema. For all excommunication is separation from fraternal society ... but anathema is condemnation, or separation from God, which ought not to be, except for great cause.²⁴⁹

This kind of distinction was relatively rare in this period.²⁵⁰ It was not a distinction that Gratian had clearly recognised.²⁵¹ Peter Lombard equated excommunication and anathema.²⁵² But Bartholomew

²⁴⁷ 'In hunc ergo modum Beatus Petrus cum ex suscepta cura totius ecclesie in sua sibi sede statuat in perpetuum successores, sedem illam apostolicam his semper instaurans, quos sedes eadem indubitanter sanctos facit aut sanctos suscipit. Cumque ipsorum manibus patriarchas, primates, metropolitans, et per hos diocesanos et ordinis secundi viros, ceterosque in ecclesia gradus honorum et dignitatum Christi corpus undique dilatando constituat, quicquid ab istorum aliquo ligatur aut soluitur, aperitur aut clauditur, merito ab isto ligari aut solui, aperiri aut claudi dicitur, cuius nimirum potestates ipsi a Domino tradita, et ab ipso in alios deriuata, hoc ipsum ligare aut soluere, aperire aut claudere, non negatur.' Gilbert, 'Homilies', fol. 167r.

²⁴⁸ Taliadoros, 'Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential', p. 469.

²⁴⁹ 'Quamuis frequens usus excommunicationem et anathema indifferenter accipiat, secundum primam tamen acceptionem omne anathema est excommunicatio, sed non conuertitur. Omnis enim fraterna societate separatio excommunicatio est ... Anathema uero est condemnatio, siue a Deo separatio, que non nisi pro magna causa fieri debet.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 280.

²⁵⁰ C. Jaser, 'Ritual excommunication: an 'ars obliuionalis'?' in E. Brenner, M. Cohen and M. Franklin-Brown (eds.), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (Aldershot, 2013), p. 121. But see: B. C. Brasington, 'Differentia est: a twelfth-century *summula* on anathema and excommunication', in U.-R. Blumenthal, A. Winroth and P. Landau (eds.), *Canon Law, Religion and Politics: Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville* (Washington DC, 2012), pp. 107-17.

²⁵¹ J. C. Wei, *Gratian the Theologian*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 13 (Washington DC, 2016), pp. 215-16. Wei's analysis is a corrective to P. Landau, 'Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*', in Hartmann and Pennington (eds.), *History of Medieval Canon Law*, p. 46; E. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 29-30; and Brasington, 'Anathema and excommunication', pp. 108-9.

²⁵² Lombard, *Sententiae*, vol. II., lib. IV, dist. xviii, cap. vi, para. vi, p. 362.

devoted his entire chapter precisely to this point, introducing his compilation of authoritative excerpts thus: ‘The aforesaid distinction between excommunication and anathema can be assessed from the following.’²⁵³

Clearly, Bartholomew was concerned that excommunication and declarations of anathema were being confused. Bartholomew’s view about what these censures entailed was fairly extreme. By comparison, Gratian saw two grades of excommunication: one excluding the sinner from the mass; the other from all the sacraments; both aimed at bringing the excommunicate to reconciliation.²⁵⁴ Bartholomew seems to have seen excommunication as complete exclusion from the sacraments and all Christian society, and anathema as an irrevocable malediction. Confusion of the two censures meant there was a real risk that souls might needlessly be condemned to Hell. Thus, Bartholomew warned that no anathema should be pronounced without the involvement of the archbishop or other bishops, except in the clearest of cases, ‘because anathema is eternal damnation’. It ought only to be imposed on those who had both committed mortal sin and would not be corrected by any means.²⁵⁵

Bartholomew also dealt with procedural issues. In his chapter under the rubric *De his qui post puplicam* [sic] *penitentiam relabuntur*, Bartholomew reasoned that public penance – that is, as a condition of reconciliation to the Church after excommunication – should not be repeated, ‘for reverence of the sacrament, and lest it become vile and contemptible to men.’²⁵⁶ This implied that anybody excommunicated a second time could find themselves beyond help, unless the bishop relented.

Another practical consideration was whether or not sentences could be passed *post mortem*. Certain people, Bartholomew wrote, vainly advanced that heretics ought not to be anathematised after death. But he pointed out that this contradicted the authorities, and so concluded: ‘It is proven from these precedents, according to the example of the Holy Fathers, that a sentence of excommunication or anathema is to be given at any time not only to the living but also to the dead.’²⁵⁷ This conclusion was a counterpart to the idea that the souls of the dead could also be absolved of sin. Bartholomew’s

²⁵³ ‘Predicta uero excommunicationis et anathematis distinctio ex sequentibus perpendi potest.’ *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 280-281.

²⁵⁴ Wei, *Gratian the Theologian*, pp. 215-216; Landau, ‘Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*’, p. 46.

²⁵⁵ ‘Nemo episcoporum quemlibet sine certa et manifesta peccati causa communione priuet ecclesiastica. Sub anathemate autem sine conscientia archiepiscopi, aut coepiscoporum, episcopis nullum ponat, nisi unde canonica docet auctoritas, quia anathema eterna est mortis damnatio, et non nisi pro mortali debet imponi crimine, et illi qui aliter non potuerit corrigi.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 281. The canon is given as *ex concilio meldensi*. Bartholomew found it in Gratian, *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. I: *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879), C. XI, q. 3, c. 41, col. 655.

²⁵⁶ ‘Nemo ex premissa et similibus auctoritatibus, sepe criminaliter peccantibus et etiam post puplicam [sic] penitentiam esse negandum, sed pro solemnī penitentia id dictum intelligat: que secundum specialem morem quarundam ecclesiarum non est iteranda, pro reuerentia sacramenti et ne uilescat et contemptibilis fiat hominibus.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 279.

²⁵⁷ ‘Ex precedentibus liquet non solum in uiuentes sed etiam aliquando in mortuos, iuxta sanctorum patrum exempla, excommunicationis siue anathematis dandam esse sententiam.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 283.

clarifications were not theological niceties. They addressed practical problems that he and other bishops faced, as they made judgements about when to excommunicate or anathematise.

Questions of procedure regarding excommunication were addressed at Church councils. In the canons of Lateran III, and then again in those of Lateran IV, it was emphasised that no one should be excommunicated without canonical warning, unless their crime was by nature worthy of excommunication.²⁵⁸ Canons to the same effect were promulgated at Hugh of Lincoln's synod,²⁵⁹ the Council of Westminster (1200),²⁶⁰ in Stephen Langton's diocesan statutes for Canterbury,²⁶¹ and in Richard Poore's for Salisbury.²⁶² Faced with disobedience, the bishop had recourse to the censure of excommunication, but he was not to pass sentence without giving due warning. The ideal, of course, was that the warning itself should bring the sinner to repentance.

All these canons acknowledged that some crimes automatically required excommunication. Indeed, the proceedings of Church councils often carried the threat of excommunication for any who contravened the canons, as was the case for the legatine Council of York, 1195.²⁶³ At the Council of Westminster a list of such crimes was given, whose perpetrators were to be condemned in general excommunication: soothsayers, perjurers who had sworn on holy objects, arsonists, robbers, and thieves.²⁶⁴ Langton repeated most of these in his Canterbury statutes, also adding usurers, those maliciously impeding reasonable testimony, and stubborn withholders of tithe. Langton also specified that general excommunications should take place at Christmas, Pentecost, and the Assumption.²⁶⁵

What made excommunication effective? What if the Church made a mistake, excommunicating the innocent? We have seen that this kind of question was a concern to Roger of Worcester. Peter Lombard had also considered this issue in relation to Matthew 18:18, concluding that, 'Whoever did not deserve it, is not wounded by the Church's sentence, unless he holds it in contempt.'²⁶⁶ In other words, while excommunicates should not be dismissive of the Church's sentence, it was ultimately the rightness of the cause that gave excommunication its effect. However, all of the concerns expressed by bishops about procedure suggest they held the opposite view, namely, that they had the authority to condemn even an innocent soul and thus needed to exercise due caution.

²⁵⁸ Lateran III, c. 6; Lateran IV, c. 47.

²⁵⁹ *GRHS*, I, p. 357.

²⁶⁰ *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1064.

²⁶¹ *C&S*, II, i, p. 33.

²⁶² *C&S*, II, i, p. 77.

²⁶³ *C&S*, I, ii, p. 1045.

²⁶⁴ *C&S*, I, ii, pp. 1064-5.

²⁶⁵ 'Singulis autem annis in tribus solemnibus festiuitatibus, scilicet die Natalis, die Pentecostes, die Assumptionis beate Marie, excommunicentur in genere solemniter sortiarii, testes periuri super sacrosancta, incendiarii, usurarii, raptore publici, malitiose impediens executionem rationabilium testamentorum, et contumaces decimarum detentores.' *C&S*, II, i, p. 33.

²⁶⁶ 'Qui autem non meruit, sententia ecclesie non leditur, nisi contemnat.' Lombard, *Sententiae*, vol. II., lib. IV, dist. xviii, cap. vii, para. iii, p. 363.

Alongside the theoretical discussions of excommunication were accounts purporting to describe actual incidents. These indicate how theory might be carried over to actual practice. Adam of Eynsham devoted a section of his *Magna vita Sancti Hugonis* to Hugh of Lincoln's excommunications, compiling descriptions of eight different occasions, some involving multiple excommunications and other censures. The point of the section as a whole was to show that those excommunicated by Hugh almost always met a sudden and 'miserable death' (*mors reprobata*).²⁶⁷ In hagiographical literature, the efficacy of one's malediction indicated sanctity.²⁶⁸ It was a demonstration of spiritual authority and, in Adam's *Magna vita*, of ideal pastoral behaviour.

Some of Adam's accounts emphasise the idea that excommunicates had been handed over to Satan. An adulteress of Oxford was said to have been strangled by the Devil soon after her excommunication.²⁶⁹ Likewise, men who had supplanted the rightful incumbent of a benefice in York were tormented following their excommunication; some went mad, some died, others had their eyes put out.²⁷⁰ Adam assures us that he could fill many books with stories of sinners who had met this kind of sorry end while under the bishop's excommunication.²⁷¹ Only Agnes, wife of the knight Thomas of Saleby, survived unharmed for a time under the bishop's sentence of anathema. (Adam used the language of excommunication and anathema interchangeably). Ultimately, though, she repented and presumably it was for this reason that she was spared.²⁷² For Adam, not only did Hugh's excommunications show his spiritual authority; they were an essential aspect of his *cura animarum*:

Those who received a blow from his right hand speedily died, for either they reformed and died to sin to live for God, or, unrepentant and with hardened hearts, they were delivered over to Hell.²⁷³

The various accounts given by Adam provide details of Hugh's procedure for excommunication. The bishop was not hasty to excommunicate. When he summoned Thomas of Saleby to interrogate him about his wife's fraudulent behaviour, he first warned the knight to return with a full account, on pain of excommunication. Thomas failed to do so and died the following day.²⁷⁴ Likewise, in the case of the adulteress of Oxford, Hugh first appealed to the woman to be reunited with her lawful husband, only excommunicating her after she refused.

The most interesting case, in terms of procedure, involved a confrontation between Hugh and Hubert Walter, who was at that time not only archbishop of Canterbury, but papal legate and justiciar of

²⁶⁷ *MVSH*, II, p. 19.

²⁶⁸ J. Harrington, 'Vengeance and saintly cursing in the saints' Lives of England and Ireland, c. 1060-1215', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 2018).

²⁶⁹ *MVSH*, II, p. 32.

²⁷⁰ *MVSH*, II, pp. 32-3. This incident took place while Hugh was acting as judge-delegate, hence his involvement in a case beyond his own diocese.

²⁷¹ *MVSH*, II, pp. 32-3.

²⁷² *MVSH*, II, pp. 20-5.

²⁷³ 'Citius enim quisque in mortem cecidit qui dextere ipsius ictum excepit. Aut enim corripiebatur, et Deo uiucturus peccato moriebatur, aut corde induratus et incorrectus exitio tradebatur.' *MVSH*, II, p. 33.

²⁷⁴ *MVSH*, II, pp. 22-3.

England. Hugh had forbidden Richard de Waure, a deacon of Lincoln, from pursuing a case against the knight Reginald de Argentan in a secular court, *sub interminatione anathematis*.²⁷⁵ In part, this was because the case might have resulted in bloodshed.²⁷⁶ Hubert, in his role as justiciar, wanted to ensure that the case was prosecuted, since it touched on the king's honour. And so the bishop and archbishop were at odds. Significantly, Hugh first enquired by the authority of which of his three offices Hubert ordered that Richard be allowed to proceed. Having satisfied himself that he was flouting Hubert's temporal authority as justiciar, and not the spiritual authority of the archbishop and papal legate, Hugh suspended Richard and deprived him of his deaconry. Later, the wayward deacon approached Hugh, boasting that Hubert had reversed the suspension, and by virtue of his authority as legate, exempted him from Hugh's jurisdiction.

Undeterred, Hugh warned that Richard's actions plainly warranted excommunication, and proceeded to pronounce sentence upon him.²⁷⁷ Yet again, Richard obtained absolution from Hubert, as well as letters ordering Hugh to hold him absolved. Nevertheless, when Richard delivered this mandate, Hugh responded thus (according to Adam):

‘If the lord archbishop declares a hundred times that you are to be absolved, be assured that just so often we shall again excommunicate you as long as we see you truculently maintaining your mad defiance. Make up your mind what importance you should attach to our sentence, for we are absolutely convinced of its legality and validity.’²⁷⁸

Richard was being challenged to consider who had more authority: Hugh or Hubert. Hugh was convinced of his case and had a reputation for holiness; but Hubert was the superior. If Adam is to be believed, the deacon did not live long enough to reach a decision, but was killed by one of his pages with an axe-blow to the head. This, of course, proved Hugh's case.

This account demonstrates how political concerns, personal animosity, and pastoral care could each have a bearing on any case. Procedurally, Hugh's stance was interesting. Despite checking in the first instance that he was not disobeying his archbishop, ultimately Hugh was willing to defy Hubert as legate. But although he was convinced that the excommunication was valid, he still recognised Hubert's absolutions because he felt it would have been necessary to pronounce excommunication afresh each time. A wrongful absolution or excommunication still had effect – this had precisely been Bartholomew of Exeter's concern.

Adam saw one further implication of Hugh's excommunications. He claimed that Hugh might easily have been accounted a martyr after the fashion of Thomas Becket. There were not one but three

²⁷⁵ *MVSH*, II, p. 28.

²⁷⁶ Adam claimed the accusation was of treason; in fact Reginald had been charged with a breach of the king's peace. See: *Rotuli Curiae Regis* (6 Richard I, 1194), I, pp. 6 & 60; cited *MVSH*, II, p. 28.

²⁷⁷ “‘Incassum sane super huiusmodi,” inquit, “relaxatione tibi blandiris ; nam excommunicandum te incontinenti noueris, si iuri parere super excessibus tuis ulterius detrectaueris.”” *MVSH*, II, pp. 29-30.

²⁷⁸ *MVSH*, II, p. 30.

occasions, Adam claimed, when Hugh faced down armed men in church; in Lincoln, Northampton, and the Lincolnshire Holland. Although his adversaries drew their swords and were ready to strike down the bishop, he used the sword of the Spirit, delivering over his enemies to Satan.²⁷⁹ Adam reported that in such moments Hugh would tell his foes: ‘You can sometimes slay the body, but are unable to touch the soul. Our sword destroys the body, and condemns the souls of those whom it transfixes not to temporal but eternal destruction.’²⁸⁰ So, Adam reasoned, Hugh was, ‘rightly described as having laid down his life for his sheep though no one was strong enough to take it from him’.²⁸¹

Summary

Judged by their writing, no pastoral issue preoccupied these bishops more than penitence and confession. They preached about confession in their sermons, aiming to stir up contrition and remind their parishioners to perform works of satisfaction. Moreover, they produced or commissioned treatments of the sacrament. Langton’s *De penitentia* and Adam of Eynsham’s *Visio* reinforced penitential ideas. Various treatises and manuals were designed simply to explain the sacrament, or some aspect of it. Others, mostly the thirteenth-century texts, were intended to instruct priests how to administer the sacrament.

Confession was one of the more complicated sacraments to explain. It involved various stages, most of which were beyond the priest’s immediate control, and all of which had to be authentic if the sacrament was to benefit the recipient. The theological basis for the sacrament was not entirely straightforward, with competing traditions needing to be held in tension. Many of the questions raised by the sacrament were still under discussion, consensus emerging only gradually over the period. And penitential thought touched on a number of related issues that were also being discussed: indulgences, purgatory and excommunication being notable examples. It is little wonder that some twelfth-century bishops felt unable adequately to account for the sacrament.

²⁷⁹ *MVSH*, II, p. 17.

²⁸⁰ ‘Vos si quando carnem ceditis, set animam prorsus contingere non ualetis; gladius noster et corpus perimit et morti non transitorie set eterne eorum quos percellit animas adicit.’ *MVSH*, II, p. 19.

²⁸¹ ‘Quamobrem non immerito animam suam pro suis monstratur ouibus posuisse, quamuis eam tollere ab eo nullus preualuerit.’ *MVSH*, II, p. 18.

PART TWO: CONCLUSION

Ideas about every aspect of pastoral care evolved during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. But, with regard to the sacraments especially, there was a knowledge gap in the late twelfth century between English bishops and the schools. Bishops' treatments of the Eucharist were becoming old-fashioned. They emphasised faith and holiness more than the importance of regular attendance as an expression of communion with the Church. More problematically, some bishops did not understand the sacrament of confession, and were acutely aware of that fact. They felt left behind by the pace of change and even entertained doubts about newer ideas. It seems unlikely that Roger of Worcester and William de Vere were the only bishops in this position.

This knowledge gap seems to have closed by the end of our period, when the episcopate included masters who had been closely involved in theological discussions about the sacraments and so were well-placed to instruct the clergy themselves. In just a few decades, the treatments of sacraments presented by bishops had changed drastically. This was especially the case for confession, but it was also true of the Eucharist.

Administration of the sacraments lay at the very core of the *cura animarum*. Even without the added complication of shifting ideas, it still presented an obvious difficulty. The administration of the sacraments relied upon the participation and proper conduct of the flock, even more than did preaching and resisting heresy. Bishops thus had to consider not only how their clergy should administer the sacraments, but how to ensure that the people of their dioceses understood and engaged with such sacraments correctly. The pastor was to guide his flock to salvation; he could not carry them. This was the central challenge of pastoral care, recognised by various bishops. Baldwin of Forde, for one, was apparently uncertain that he could ensure his own salvation, let alone the salvation of his flock.¹

¹ 'Veror, ne offensus mihi Dominus hanc iniunxerit mihi sollicitudinem multorum, qui non sufficebam proprie salutis procurare negotium.' *PBO*, col. 303; cited Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, p. 199.

PART THREE

PROTECTING THE FLOCK

EPISCOPAL DEFENCE OF ORTHODOXY

CHAPTER SIX

A VARIETY OF THREATS

‘That the heretics ought to fear: According to Luke chapter thirteen at the end, where some of the Pharisees came to him saying, “Leave! Flee from here, because Herod wants to kill you!” And he said to them, “Go, and say to that fox: ‘Behold, I cast out demons and perform healings, today and tomorrow, and on the third day I am consummated.’”’¹

- Stephen Langton

Herod the heretic

Luke 13:31-32 was one of several passages identified by Stephen Langton as descriptive of heretics, in the fifty-sixth section of his *Distinctiones*.² Some of the verses he selected had long been thought to speak of heretics. Others he arrived at by means of the *distinctio*. So, for example, he included three verses using ‘*vulpus*’, because the fox represented the heretic.³ This section of the *Distinctiones* encapsulates Langton’s theological conception of heresy, because he set out categories for understanding heretics, their behaviour, and their end. Langton’s suggested interpretations of these Bible verses were indicated with lemmata. Heretics presented a genuine threat. They were like the woman alluring passers-by into the house of death.⁴ They destroyed fruit, like the foxes which Samson released, torches tied to their tails, who proceeded to run through the crops of the Philistines, burning everything.⁵ Moreover, they were the locusts described in Joel, Nahum and Revelation.⁶ Heretics were deceitful and ought to be avoided.⁷ But they were not always easy to identify, and could be hidden within the Church. They were the illegitimate children of Abraham.⁸ They were the tares among the wheat.⁹

¹ ‘Quod [heretici] timendi sunt: Iuxta Lucam c. xiii in fine ibi accesserunt Pharisaeorum dicentes illi, “Exi, uade hinc, quia Herodes uult te occidere.” Et ait illis, “Ite, et dicite uulpi illi: ecce eicio demonia et sanitates perficio, hodie et cras, et tertia die consumor.”’ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167ra-b; cf. Luke 13.31-2.

² The *Distinctiones* have been catalogued by Riccardo Quinto, but remain unedited: R. Quinto, ‘*Doctor Nominatissimus*’: Stefano Langton (Münster, 1994), pp. 58-71. The following analysis is based on Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526. Langton’s *Distinctiones* also appear in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 393.

³ The three passages are Luke 9.57-58, Luke 13.31-32 and Jud. 15.4-5: Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167ra-b.

⁴ ‘Fortiui sunt, allicientes’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167ra; cf. Prov. 9.13-18. Verse eighteen of this passage is necessary to understand the warning here, but in the MS the excerpt actually ends at verse seventeen.

⁵ ‘Quod fructus perimunt’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167ra; cf. Jud. 15.4-5. This excerpt from Judges appears twice in this section of the *Distinctiones* twice. It first occurs under the lemma ‘*Quod emuli*’, which does not quite fit, and indeed the copyist seems to have broken off the passage abruptly. This might be a scribal error – I have not been able to check the other copy of the *Distinctiones* to compare.

⁶ ‘Quod sunt locuste’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167rb; cf. Joel 1.4, Nah. 3.15-17, Rev. 9.1-3.

⁷ ‘Quod cauti sunt, subdoli’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167ra; cf. 1 Sam. 13.19-22.

⁸ ‘Quod sunt spurii’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167ra; cf. Gen. 25.6.

⁹ ‘Quod sunt zizania’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167rb; cf. Matt. 13.24-25 & 27-30.

However, if anyone should fear because of heresy, it was the heretic. They had forsaken the Lord.¹⁰ They were members of the Antichrist.¹¹ And, in his third verse expounding the word ‘*vulpus*’, Langton quoted Jesus’ warning to Herod the ‘fox’, interpreted as a figurehead of the heretics. Jesus pointed to his miraculous displays of power, and alluded to his coming death and resurrection. Langton’s lemma for this passage was ‘that the heretics ought to fear’. His point was simple: heretics had chosen the losing side. Langton’s *distinctio* provided a variety of scriptural analogies for heresy. Those who represented a threat to orthodoxy did not take one form, but could be understood in a variety of ways.

Bishops and the defence of the Church

The pastor defending his flock from wolves was a familiar trope. But from whom exactly was the pastor defending his flock? In the *Regula pastoralis*, Gregory had mentioned the wolves that pastors had to contend with only once, without specifying who they were.¹² Baldwin of Forde clearly identified the wolves as heretics.¹³ However, when Nigel Whiteacre branded certain bishops as wolves, he was not accusing them of heresy but of rapacious oppression of their flock.¹⁴ This idea had a long history too. Ambrose had described two kinds of wolves: heretics and persecutors.¹⁵ Gilbert Foliot combined the two when he described how the Apostle Paul had been converted, ‘so that he who had appeared as a wolf tearing the flock to pieces, might be proved the pastor, anxiously guarding and protecting the flock on all sides’.¹⁶ Paul, formerly a persecutor of the Church, subsequently defended it from false doctrine. Thus, Gilbert identified persecutors and heretics as wolves in the same sentence. To complicate matters further, Richard Poore likened Satan to a wolf from whom the flock should flee. The threat in Richard’s mind was primarily temptation to sin, although this came accompanied by a kind of false teaching. Satan could only tempt sinners through deception, like a murderer sweetening poison.¹⁷

¹⁰ ‘Quod dereliquerunt Dominum’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167rb; cf. Jer. 2.13 & 18-19.

¹¹ ‘Quod membra sunt antichristi’ Paris, BN, MS lat. 14526, fol. 167rb; cf. John 2.10, 1 John 2.18-19.

¹² *Regula pastoralis*, II, iv, p. 188. Gregory mentioned heretics in only one chapter: *Regula pastoralis*, III, xxiv, pp. 420-2.

¹³ See chapter seven of this thesis, p. 190.

¹⁴ See chapter three, p. 97.

¹⁵ ‘Lupi sunt enim persecutores, lupi sunt heretici omnes; docere nesciunt, ululare consueverunt.’ Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi cxviii*, ed. Petschenig, p. 116.

¹⁶ ‘Ipse namque Benjamin scilicet filius dextere est qui de sinistra in dexteram uocatus est, ut qui lupus extiterat gregem dilanans pastor efficeretur gregem sollicitè custodiens et undique muniens.’ Gilbert, ‘Homilies’, fol. 155r. Gilbert is explaining in this passage how Benjamin was a type for the Apostle Paul. One of the reasons Benjamin became a type for Paul was the prophecy in Gen. 49.27, ‘Benjamin is a ravenous wolf’. In his *Sermo in conuersione sancti Pauli*, Bartholomew of Exeter also likened Paul to ‘Benjamin lupus rapax’: Bartholomew, ‘Sermons’, fol. 21ra.

¹⁷ ‘Diabolus, enim, quasi cocus artificiosus ueneficorum, qui non possunt dare potum mortale inimicis suis nisi aliquid dulcoris admisceant. Ita diabolus non potest dare uenenum peccati nisi aliquid dulcedinis admisceat. Et ideo necesse est quod sicut noscitur homo per uestimenta sua exteriora, ita agnoscamus diabolum per falsas compositiones suas, sicut ouis et non solum fugit lupum cum eum uidet, set etiam cum ullulatum eius audit. Et quamuis non esset lupus set esset indutus pelle lupina, tamen fugeret eum ouis.’ Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, pp. 10-11.

To speak of prelates ‘defending the Church’ in twelfth-century England recalls the clashes between royal and ecclesiastical authority in that period, and the insistence by some clerics that they sought only to defend Church liberties.¹⁸ Failure to resist perceived encroachments on the rights of the Church could be seen as a failure of pastoral duty. But there was a danger of imbalance – of giving so much heed to this threat that others were overlooked. This was a point made during the Becket controversy. Even while he was in exile for taking a stand on Church liberties, Becket’s opponents accused him of abandoning his flock.¹⁹ This pastoral metaphor could be appropriated for political ends. Our focus, however, will be on bishops’ attempts to defend orthodoxy from false teaching.

The contest between true and false teaching is a theme that runs through much of the Bible. In the Old Testament, Israel was advised how to discern between true and false prophets.²⁰ The New Testament defined the pastor as one who held to orthodox doctrine and suppressed heretical alternatives.²¹ From the inception of the Church, then, its leaders had been charged with rebutting false teaching. The Church Fathers contested the alternative ideas that became totemic heresies in Christian thought: Gnosticism, Arianism, Pelagianism, and so forth.²² The oecumenical councils – especially Nicaea – constituted Canon Law and formulated the response to these heresies, thereby establishing orthodoxy and orthopraxis.²³ Consequently, authoritative Christian literature communicated to medieval churchmen the notion that challenges to orthodoxy were to be expected and must be quashed.

The principle that bishops, above all others, were responsible for rooting out heresy was reiterated at Lateran III and IV. Bishops were directed to ascertain, while on visitation, whether heretics were operating in their dioceses, and to excommunicate secular lords who failed to suppress heresy.²⁴ Moreover, both councils warned that bishops who were negligent in this regard would be suspended from office.²⁵ There was, admittedly, ambiguity in the canons of Lateran III. The threat of suspension for bishops came at the end of a long canon about popular heresy.²⁶ Almost certainly, the threat of

¹⁸ W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1977), p. 220; F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), p. 94; A. J. Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004), pp. 124-42.

¹⁹ ‘discretionis quis attribuat ob quedam que poterunt et leuius et expeditius obtineri, ecclesiam sic deserere, in principem exurgere et ecclesie totius regni concussa pace animarum in subditis corporumque pericula non curare? Agris cessit Ambrosius, ecclesiam deserere non approbavit.’ *LCGF*, p. 242.

²⁰ False prophets feature prominently throughout Jeremiah and in Ezekiel 13. The problem of discerning false prophets is addressed in Deut. 13.1-5 and 18.15-22. See: R. R. Wilson, ‘Interpreting Israel’s religion: an anthropological perspective on the problem of false prophecy’, in R. P. Gordon (ed.), *“The Place is Too Small for Us”: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship*, Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 5 (Winona Lake, 1995), pp. 333-44.

²¹ Tit. 1.9; Eph. 4.11-14; Acts 20.28-31.

²² H. Chadwick, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Early Church* (Aldershot, 1991).

²³ H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Sardica* (Oxford, 2002). G. R. Evans, ‘The Fathers and the early Councils’ in Evans (ed.), *History of Pastoral Care*, pp. 59-76; S. Wessel, ‘The formation of ecclesiastical law’, in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (eds.), *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500* (Washington DC, 2012), pp. 1-23.

²⁴ Lateran IV, c. 3.

²⁵ Lateran III, c. 2 & c. 27; Lateran IV, c. 3.

²⁶ ‘Episcopi uero siue presbyteri qui talibus fortiter non restiterint officii sui priuatione mulcentur donec misericordiam apostolice sedis obtineant.’ Lateran III, c. 27.

suspension was supposed to fall on those who failed to enact the whole canon. But it could have been interpreted as relating only to the immediately preceding passage in which bishops were instructed to excommunicate anyone molesting the property of absent crusaders. By Lateran IV, the ambiguity was gone: 'If from sufficient evidence it is apparent that a bishop is negligent or remiss in cleansing his diocese of the ferment of heretical wickedness, let him be deposed from episcopal office and let another, who will and can confound heretical depravity, be substituted.'²⁷

This was a period marked by heightened concerns about all perceived threats to the Church's control of orthodoxy and orthopraxis. Both Lateran councils also decreed discriminative measures against Jews and Muslims,²⁸ and Lateran IV specifically charged bishops with preventing apostasy.²⁹ Heresy, though, was the main cause of anxiety. The reasons for this have been demonstrated. From the eleventh century onwards there was a perceived re-emergence of popular heresy that developed into a serious threat to Church hegemony.³⁰ Equally important, however, was the increasing authority and uniformity of the Roman Church, enabling it to be more assertive and condemn deviant doctrines and practices; heresy is always defined by the authority that condemns it.³¹

Popular heresy

By the late twelfth century, bishops in England would have been acutely aware of the popular heretical movements that had spread across the European continent and, in some areas, become entrenched. It has been demonstrated that the majority of contemporary English historians and writers were especially interested in the Cathars of Southern France.³² In the early thirteenth century, the situation in the Languedoc was considered desperate enough to launch the Albigensian Crusade. But popular heresy enjoyed little success in England. So what of our bishops' dealings with heretics of this kind?

Roger of Worcester, Gilbert Foliot and the heretical weavers

The 1160s saw the only recorded occasion of Cathars appearing in England during the twelfth century. Peter Biller has examined the episode with a particular focus on William of Newburgh, who provides

²⁷ 'Si quis enim episcopus super expurgando de sua dioecesi heretice prauitatis fermento negligens fuerit uel remissus cum id certis indiciis apparuerit et ab episcopali officio deponatur et in loco ipsius alter substituatut idoneus qui uelit et possit hereticam confundere prauitatem.' Lateran IV, c. 3.

²⁸ Lateran III, c. 26; Lateran IV, c. 68.

²⁹ Lateran IV, c. 70.

³⁰ M. D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, 3rd ed. (Malden, 2002), pp. 14-96; H. Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000-1200* (University Park, Pa., 1998), pp. 70-104.

³¹ R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2007), pp. 64-8; M. Frassetto (ed.), *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the work of R. I. Moore* (Leiden, 2006).

³² J. Gillingham, 'Events and opinions: Norman and English views of Aquitaine, c.1152-c.1204', in M. G. Bull and C. Léglu (eds.), *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 73-5.

the fullest account.³³ According to William, *publicani* arrived in England around the time of Archbishop Theobald's death, that is, early 1161.³⁴ William cast them as Cathar missionaries from Germany, come to England in order to make converts.³⁵ Whether or not this was entirely true, the group clearly became a concern to the episcopate. Roger of Worcester sought the advice of Gilbert Foliot, then bishop of London, with regard to these 'heretical weavers' who had arrived in his diocese. Gilbert's reply survives in two drafts.³⁶ Peter Biller suggested that Gilbert may have been the original source for William of Newburgh's account, with Ailred of Rievaulx serving as an intermediary.³⁷

That Roger felt it necessary to appeal to Gilbert for advice suggests this was an unprecedented appearance of Cathars, or indeed any group of heretics, that required a response from the English Church.³⁸ As the editors of Gilbert's letters observed, 'Gilbert writes as a man who has not had to face this problem before'.³⁹ This impression is given by the uncertain tone of the letter and the rather academic approach to the subject. The question of heresy was an old one, Gilbert explained to Roger, and there was precedent for a variety of responses. Gentleness and clemency were possible, according to the Proverb: 'The law of clemency is on her tongue,' and Christ's saying: 'Neither do I condemn you.'⁴⁰ But punishments might also be considered, including confinement, torture, and even death by fire.⁴¹

Gilbert repeatedly emphasised that he left final judgement to the impending council of his fellow bishops.⁴² Since there was a range of available options, Gilbert was concerned that the response to heresy across the English Church should be consistent, not divided.⁴³ In the meantime, however, he advised Roger to confine the heretics, and to appoint men learned in law and of proven faith to preach,

³³ P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh and the Cathar mission to England', in D. Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-c.1700: Essays in honour of Claire Cross*, Studies in Church History 12 (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 11-30.

³⁴ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett, I, p. 131.

³⁵ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett, I, pp. 131-4.

³⁶ *LCGF*, nos. 157-8, pp. 207-10.

³⁷ Biller, 'The Cathar mission to England', p. 16.

³⁸ P. A. Hayward, 'Before the coming of popular heresy: the rhetoric of heresy in English historiography, c. 700-1154', in I. Hunter, J. C. Laursen and C. J. Nederman (eds.), *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 19.

³⁹ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 242.

⁴⁰ 'Grandis enim hec questio est, et a sanctis patribus et ecclesie doctoribus non mediocriter agitata, quibusdam ecclesie mansuetudinem et clementiam predicantibus – iuxta quod dictum est: 'lex clementie in lingua eius'; et illud Domini: 'nec ego te condempnabo'' *LCGF*, no. 158, p. 209; cf. Prov. 31.26; John 8.11.

⁴¹ 'Hii filium freneticum uinculis arctandum sicque custodiendum commemorant; alii quod in religionem diuinam committitur in omnium ferri iniuriam protestantes, in crimen hoc publicum legem Iuliam maiestatis intant; alii exemplis iudicantes huiusmodi cremandos iudicant; alii seueritatem hanc beati Augustini sententia temperant, qui Donatistas non interfici sed flagellis et suppliciis exorat emendari.' *LCGF*, no. 158, p. 209.

⁴² Gilbert stated this three times in the two letters. *LCGF*, nos. 157-8, pp. 208-10.

⁴³ 'questionem hanc communi fratrum nostrorum conuentui<i> reseruari consulimus, ut sicut est in regno hoc donante Deo ecclesia una, sic sit et in talibus eadem omnium sententia et actio non diuisa.' *LCGF*, no. 158, pp. 209-10.

warn, or threaten them as necessary.⁴⁴ The aim was primarily to bring the heretics back to the orthodox faith, but secondarily to prevent them from doing evil.⁴⁵ Gilbert did not consider heretics to be irrevocably lost, for the word of God was living and active, able to turn the wicked and revive the sinner.⁴⁶

Eventually, the heretics were indeed brought before an episcopal council at Oxford, convened by the king. They were interrogated by the bishops, but refused to recant their heresy and so were flogged and left to die of exposure to the winter cold.⁴⁷ William of Newburgh praised Henry II for his severity. Depending on how one translates '*precauit*', he claimed that the king had either 'protected' England from the 'plague' of heresy in the future (implying successful prevention of further outbreaks of heresy), or 'guarded against' (leaving later outbreaks possible).⁴⁸ Moore and Russell assumed the former meaning; Biller the latter.⁴⁹ Aside from the linguistic ambiguity, Biller felt that it was difficult to reconcile a categorical statement about the absence of heresy later in the twelfth century with 'more evidence of heresy or concern about it than is usually suspected'.⁵⁰ However, the only certain evidence of other cases of popular heresy in England Biller could point to come from the thirteenth century, and the anxiety regarding heresy expressed during the late twelfth century could just as well have derived from the wider European context. In the early 1180s, Walter Map stated that England had seen no more than these sixteen heretics who arrived in the 1160s. Furthermore, he added that Normandy and Brittany had no Cathars, Anjou many, Aquitaine and Burgundy even greater numbers.⁵¹ The north-western corner of Europe was not an area in which Catharism successfully took root.

On the subject of the punishment of the Cathars at the hands of the king, Morey and Brooke speculated that Henry II took a harsher course of action than that advocated by Gilbert because he was more familiar with the Cathars close to his French lands.⁵² This interpretation suggests that Gilbert was not

⁴⁴ 'Illis uero interim seorsum constitutis ne mutuis se possint in malum obfirmare colloquiis, bonos uiros et graues, uiros probate fidei, diuine legis et litterarum peritos eorum cure conuenit et custodie deputari, qui eos uisitent in uerbo predicationis sancte, monitis emolliant, minis et metu penarum exterreant, flagris interdum et flagellis cum moderata seueritate coerceant, et ad ecclesie unitatem omnimodis prout caritas suggeret reuocare procurent.' *LCGF*, no. 157, p. 208.

⁴⁵ 'Vtrumque per Dei gratiam hac nobis uia sperandum est, si nec penitendi illis tempus adimitur, nec ulla relinquatur facultas malignandi.' *LCGF*, no. 157, p. 208.

⁴⁶ 'Est sermo Dei uiuus et efficax, qui per idoneum ministratorem cito uertit impium et suscitatur ilico peccatorem.' *LCGF*, no. 158, p. 209; cf. Heb. 4.12.

⁴⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett, I, pp. 131-4, 'concilium episcopalis', p. 133. Jeffrey Russell pointed out that William of Newburgh's account of the heretics' fate is corroborated by Assizes of Clarendon: J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1965), pp. 224-6.

⁴⁸ 'Huius seueritatis pius rigor non solum a peste illa, que iam irrepserat, Anglie regnum purgauit, uerum etiam ne ulterius irreperet, incusso hereticis terrore, precauit.' William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett, I, p. 134. On William of Newburgh and other medieval authors' association of heresy with disease, see: R. I. Moore, 'Heresy as disease', in W. Lordaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *Medievalia Lovanensia* 1.4 (Louvain, 1976), pp. 1-11.

⁴⁹ Moore, 'Heresy as disease', p. 11; Russell, *Dissent and Reform*, p. 226; Biller, 'The Cathar mission to England', p. 28.

⁵⁰ Biller, 'The Cathar mission to England', p. 29.

⁵¹ Map, *De nugis curialium*, p. 120.

⁵² Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 242.

well informed about the Cathars. In support of this argument, Morey and Brooke pointed out that Gilbert made no mention of the Council of Tours (1163), where the confiscation of heretics' property and imprisonment had clearly been prescribed.⁵³ However, the chronicler Ralph Diceto recorded that all of the bishops of England attended the council, save only the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Bath.⁵⁴ In which case, it would seem that Roger, who became bishop of Worcester a year after the Council of Tours, was seeking the advice of a learned bishop who *had* been present at the council. Quite why Gilbert did not confidently inform Roger of the decisions from Tours is not clear. Did he not consider Tours to be conclusive? Did he not associate the heretics in England with those described at the council? Did he disagree with the decisions at Tours? Whatever the case, it is surprising that Gilbert seems to have been uncertain about the right course of action. This was a learned man whose advice was frequently sought. If Gilbert was doubtful, the majority of the episcopate would have been even less informed. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear from the episode that when heretics appeared, Roger and Gilbert knew it was a matter for them as bishops.

In the early thirteenth century there were perhaps one or two further incidents, of which details are scarce. The *Chronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, written later in the thirteenth century, reported that an Albigensian was burnt at London in 1210.⁵⁵ A continuator of Ralph Niger's chronicle claimed that, in 1211, 'Albigensian heretics came to England; some were intercepted and burnt'.⁵⁶ Biller's suggestion, that these incidents were connected, is plausible.⁵⁷ Given the scant information on the episode, it is not known whether any bishops were involved. In any case, it remains true that there were very few moments when popular heresy required a response from bishops in England.

Reginald fitz Jocelin and the Toulouse Inquest

Bishops of England were, however, sometimes involved in the campaign against popular heresy elsewhere in Europe. The Languedoc region, in which the Cathar heresy particularly took hold, neighboured the duchy of Aquitaine, a territory held by Henry II in right of his wife, Eleanor. It has been suggested that Henry saw in the heresy of the region an opportunity to undermine the authority of the Count of Toulouse and further his own claims.⁵⁸ In 1178, by which time the count of Toulouse had

⁵³ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot*, p. 243; R. Sommerville, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163): A Study of Ecclesiastical Politics and Institutions in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1977), p. 50.

⁵⁴ *RDO*, I, 310; Gillingham, 'Norman and English views of Aquitaine', pp. 73-4.

⁵⁵ 'Hic anno concrematus est quidam Ambigensis apud Londonia.' T. Stapleton (ed.), *Chronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, Camden Society 34 (1846), p. 3; cited Biller, 'The Cathar mission to England', p. 27.

⁵⁶ 'Albigenses heretici Angliam ueniunt et quidem intercepti comburuntur' London, British Library, MS Royal 13 A xii; cited Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 85. This text has been printed, but mistakenly identified as a chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall: *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus saec. XII et XIII*, ed. F. Liebermann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores* 27 (Hanover, 1885), p. 357; cited in Biller, 'The Cathar mission to England', p. 27.

⁵⁷ Biller, 'The Cathar mission to England', p. 27.

⁵⁸ N. C. Vincent, 'England and the Albigensian Crusade', in B. K. U. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (eds.), *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 67-70; J.-L. Biget, "Les Albigeois": remarques sur une dénomination, in M. Zerner (ed.), *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et*

recognised Henry's overlordship as Duke of Aquitaine, Henry and Louis VII jointly decided to send an inquest to the region.⁵⁹ It was the involvement of Henry II that led in turn to the participation in this inquest of Reginald fitz Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Wells (1174-91). Reginald was the only representative from the English Church named among the more eminent members of the inquest. Also chosen were Cardinal Peter of St Chrysogonus, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, Bishop John of Poitiers, Abbot Henry of Clairvaux, 'and many other ecclesiastics whose preaching and doctrine the two kings trusted'.⁶⁰ Alongside these spiritual leaders were temporal lords, making the inquest an imposing display of ecclesiastical and royal authority.

The whole episode was described by the English chronicler Roger of Howden, who inserted the cardinal's report of the inquest into both his *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* and his *Chronica*.⁶¹ How exactly Roger came by the letter is not known, although it was evidently intended for wide circulation, being addressed to 'all the sons of the Holy Church and the servants of the apostolic faith'.⁶² Roger did, of course, insert various official documents into his texts.⁶³ Ultimately, his interest in the inquest was related to Henry II's contribution more than to the ecclesiastical dignitaries who actually travelled to Toulouse.

The cardinal's report and Roger's account, which follows the report closely, do not attribute to Reginald any particular role in the inquest. None of his actions or speeches were recorded, but he was present throughout, and involved in, the proceedings. The commissioners were more interested in uncovering heresiarchs – the preachers of heresy – than their converts. When these preachers were summoned before the inquisition, it was presumed that they would be deceptive. In his report, the cardinal accused them of 'transfiguring themselves into angels of light', a phrase echoed by Roger of Howden.⁶⁴ This was an allusion to 2 Corinthians 11:13-14, which provided an interpretive framework for the commissioners as they heard evidence. The presumption of deceit proved necessary to establish the preachers' guilt, for when they came before the commissioners – including 'our venerable brother Reginald, bishop of Bath' – they gave an entirely orthodox confession of faith (in the vernacular) and denied that they had ever preached anything different. However, the Count of Toulouse and others 'who

pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition (Nice, 1998), pp. 232-3; both discussed in Gillingham, 'Norman and English views of Aquitaine', pp. 73-4.

⁵⁹ Count Raymond did homage to Henry II in 1173: Warren, *Henry II*, p. 614. On the decision to send an inquest, see: *GRHS*, I, pp. 198-9.

⁶⁰ 'elegerunt Petrum tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyterum cardinalem, apostolice sedis legatum; et Bituricensem et Narbonensem archiepiscopos; et Reginaldum Battoniensem, et Iohannem Pictaviensem, et abbatem Henricum Clarevallensem, et multos alios ecclesiasticos de quorum predicatione et doctrina confidebant.' *GRHS*, I, p. 199.

⁶¹ On the relationship between the *Chronica* and *Gesta*, and their dating, see: D. Corner, 'The *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, parson of Howden', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983), 126-44; D. Corner, 'The earliest surviving manuscripts of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*', *EHR* 98 (1983), 297-310.

⁶² 'uniuersis sancte ecclesie filiis catholicam atque apostolicam fidem seruantibus' *GRHS*, I, p. 202.

⁶³ Staunton, *Historians of Angevin England*, pp. 51 & 55-62.

⁶⁴ 'transfigurantes se in angelos lucis, cum sint Sathane' *GRHS*, I, p. 202; 'transfigurabant se in angelos lucis, cum sint Sathane' *GRHS*, I, pp. 200-1.

had previously heard them preach things contrary to the Christian faith' then accused them of lying.⁶⁵ The commissioners required that the men accused of heresy should swear to the truth of their testimony. They, however, refused on the basis that they should not swear any oath, citing the words of Jesus: 'Do not swear an oath at all, but let your yes be yes, and your no be no.'⁶⁶ This excuse was unacceptable to the cardinal and his entourage, who condemned the preachers as heretics and excommunicated them.

R. I. Moore observed that the Church's inquisitors often struggled to comprehend supposed heretics on their own terms, and tended to resort to stereotypes.⁶⁷ Often, the heretics' 'confession' was produced by others on their behalf, and they were condemned on that basis. This tendency to stereotype heretics is demonstrated by Roger of Howden who, in his *Chronica*, (but not in the *Gesta*), labelled the heretics 'Arians'.⁶⁸ At moments such as these, it was the representatives of orthodoxy who did more to define the supposed heretics, than the heretics themselves. This is not to suggest that these preachers had not in fact strayed from the doctrine of the Church. But it is almost impossible to discern, from these records, the exact nature of their heresy. Rather more is revealed about the inquisitors themselves, and their attitudes toward heresy. The commissioners of the Toulouse inquest – and we must assume that Reginald was of like mind to the cardinal – assumed throughout that those accused of heresy would be deceptive and dishonest under interrogation. Their guilt was never in question, only the precise nature of their heresy and what response was most appropriate. The commissioners' task was not to determine whether there were heretics in the region, but to uncover heretics, to convert or to expel them. And so the inquest had an inevitable outcome: heretics would be found.

Episodes such as the Toulouse inquest shaped, and were shaped by, the prevailing attitudes towards heresy. Against a backdrop of growing anxiety, the responses to heresy became increasingly harsh. Roger described how the first man to be condemned as a heretic by the inquest had all his property confiscated and his two castles destroyed. He was paraded naked and bound through the streets of the city as well as the surrounding villages, and then sent on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as penance.⁶⁹ Accounts of heretics who had been found to deserve severe punishment confirmed and amplified the concerns felt by watchful pastors, in England as well as mainland Europe.

Stephen Langton and the Bogomils

Contemporaries viewed dealing with popular heresy as a mark of pastoral diligence. This is confirmed by evidence relating to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207-28). Jessalynn Bird has demonstrated that Langton, along with other scholars in the circle around Peter the Chanter, responded

⁶⁵ 'Quod cum comes Tolosias et ceteri qui prius audierant ipsos Christianas fidei contraria predicasse, uehementi admiratione commoti et Christiane fidei zelo succensi, surrexerunt, et eos plane in caput suum mentitos fuisse manifestius conuicerunt.' *GRHS*, I, p. 201.

⁶⁶ 'Nolite omnino iurare, sed sit sermo, Est, est; Non, non.' *GRHS*, I, p. 205; cf. Matt 5.34 & 27.

⁶⁷ Moore, *Persecuting Society*, pp. 114-5.

⁶⁸ *Chronica Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, p. 150.

⁶⁹ *GRHS*, II, p. 200.

to the popular heretical objections to the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁷⁰ Langton's clarification and defence of transubstantiation, in his *Quaestiones*, addressed two kinds of heretic: theologians who might still argue against the real presence in the Eucharist,⁷¹ and the Cathars who denied the doctrine.⁷²

Bird pointed to further examples of Langton's action against heresy: his *distinctio* on heresy (examined above), and his interactions with heretics in Italy.⁷³ This episode is briefly described in the surviving fragment from Matthew Paris' *Vita sancti Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, the relevant passage of which, in its entirety, reads thus:

Returning through Italy towards England, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, expelled from the hearts of those in mortal danger, whom we commonly call 'Bugaros', so many errors of the infidels through his preaching, disputations, exhortations and entreaties to God for them, in order that many souls might be rescued from the jaws of the Devil, so that the talents committed to him by God might seem to be more readily multiplied.⁷⁴

Matthew sought to demonstrate the truth of this account by identifying his source, Gervase of Melkeley, who also contributed information for his *Chronica maiora*.⁷⁵ Judging from the apparent chronology of the *vita* fragment, these events should probably be dated to early 1218, when Langton was permitted by Honorius III to return to England.⁷⁶ The 'Bugaros' refer to Bogomils, members of that heretical sect apparently originating in tenth-century Bulgaria, of which Catharism has been described as 'a Western outgrowth'.⁷⁷ In so far as their beliefs were systematised, there was apparently a good deal of overlap between the worldviews of Cathars and Bogomils.⁷⁸ Matthew did not explain how Langton identified the Bogomils. Nor did he specify what points of contention were disputed, although he reported that there were many. No precise location was identified, but given Matthew's emphasis on the variety of means employed by Langton – preaching, disputation, and prayer – it seems he did not refer to one occasion, but a series of events in various places, as Langton travelled through the region.

⁷⁰ J. Bird, 'The construction of orthodoxy and the (de)construction of heretical attacks on the Eucharist in *pastoralia* from the Peter the Chanter's circle in Paris', in C. Bruschi and P. Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, York Studies in Medieval Theology 4 (York, 2003), pp. 45-61; Vincent, 'Stephen Langton', pp. 51-126.

⁷¹ E. Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 51-2.

⁷² Bird, 'The construction of orthodoxy', p. 57.

⁷³ Bird, 'The construction of orthodoxy', p. 46.

⁷⁴ 'Rediens autem Stephanus archiepiscopus Cantuarie per partes Ytalie uersus partes Anglicanas, tot errores infidelium, quos Bugaros uulgariter appellamus, predicando, disputando, exhortando et pro eis Deum exorando a cordibus periclitantium expulit, ut tot anima perituras a faucibus Diaboli liberaret ut sic a Deo sibi commissa talenta propensius multiplicasse uideretur.' Matthew Paris, *Vita sancti Stephani*, p. 327.

⁷⁵ The rubric for this chapter of the *Life* ends 'secundum magistrum Geruasium de Melkeleie': Matthew Paris, *Vita sancti Stephani*, p. 327. On Gervase as a source for Matthew, see: R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 160.

⁷⁶ Brenda Bolton has suggested an earlier date, between April and July of 1213: B. M. Bolton, 'Pastor Bonus: Matthew Paris's Life of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207-28)', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 84 (2004), p. 63.

⁷⁷ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, p. 77.

⁷⁸ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, pp. 71-84.

The important point for Matthew was the simple fact that Langton successfully contested heresy. Matthew's allusion to the parable of the talents was often used with reference to bishops, who had received a greater responsibility from God, and were thus expected to achieve a greater return.⁷⁹ Thus, Langton's attempts to convert the Bogomils were presented as a demonstration of his exemplary pastoral behaviour. And yet Langton was not in his own province, let alone his own diocese. We have more evidence of English bishops contesting popular heresy outside England and Wales than within it. The significant problems facing the Church in some regions of mainland Europe were followed anxiously from England. But in England itself, no popular heresy successfully took hold during this period.

'Practical' heresies

Although popular heresy did not take hold in England and Wales, the warning to bishops that they should root out heresy in their dioceses fostered an atmosphere of suspicion. Any kind of error was more quickly identified and condemned as a result. Popular heresy was not the only threat to the Church's authority in matters of doctrine and practice. The threats considered most serious related to intellectual error, as we shall see in due course. But more common problems could also arise, namely, any infraction of orthopraxy and especially those practices that ran counter to the ideals of 'reform'. The identification of simony as a heresy – indeed as one of the most serious heresies – had a long history.⁸⁰ Jeffrey Russell has shown that a wider range of offenses was labelled 'heresy' after the accession of Gregory VII, including simony and nicolaitism.⁸¹ Schism was also more consistently considered a heresy after this period.⁸² Recognising this development, Constant Mews chose to differentiate between doctrinal and 'practical' heresies.⁸³ Categorising cursing, vow-breaking, usury, fortune-telling and so forth as heresy was identified by Heinrich Fichtenau as a thirteenth-century phenomenon.⁸⁴ Essentially, anything approaching subversion of ecclesiastical hierarchy, or deviation from the norms of orthopraxy might be suspect, and even labelled heresy. This was the result of a drive towards uniformity of praxis in the Latin Church. The general attitude of the era was to confront beliefs and practices that stood outside the mainstream.

⁷⁹ J. S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050-1150*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series (Cambridge, 2015), p. 260; cf. Matt. 25.14-30.

⁸⁰ Russell, *Dissent and Reform*, pp. 125-33; J. Leclercq, 'Simoniaca heresis', *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 523-30; J. Gilchrist, "'Simoniaca haeresis'" and the problem of orders from Leo IX to Gratian', *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (1965), 209-35.

⁸¹ Russell, *Dissent and Reform*, p. 135.

⁸² Russell, *Dissent and Reform*, pp. 135-43.

⁸³ C. J. Mews, 'Accusations of heresy and error in the twelfth-century schools: the witness of Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Otto of Freising', in Hunter, Laursen and Nederman (eds.), *Heresy in Transition*, p. 48.

⁸⁴ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, p. 7.

Gerald of Wales described an incident that reflects movement towards this suspicious attitude. Hearing a priest reciting extra passages from the Gospel after the mass, Hugh of Lincoln joked: ‘What will he say tomorrow when he has used up all he knows today?’⁸⁵ Gerald interpreted this as a gentle criticism, and explained that some were in the habit of reading passages from the Bible, especially the first bit of John’s gospel, believing that it had the power to heal and repel demons.⁸⁶ In other words, Gerald thought the priest was guilty of superstition. It is doubtful that this interpretation accurately reflects Hugh’s intentions, and the account inevitably tells us more about Gerald, who frequently highlighted the shortcomings of his fellow ecclesiastics. Yet it is informative that Hugh should have intervened. In another era, the priest might have been commended for his piety in reading more of the gospel. But in the late twelfth century, the increasing standardisation of Church praxis meant that such variations were viewed with suspicion, or at least amused disapproval.

Attitudes towards heteropraxy became more robustly confrontational over time. Matthew Paris’s *vita* of Stephen Langton suggested an association between heretics and other groups. The description of Langton preaching against heretics in Italy was preceded, in Matthew’s narrative, by an episode in which Langton healed a demoniac, and followed with Langton rooting out usurers in France with the help of Robert of Courçon.⁸⁷ The demoniac and usurers were not described as heretics, but the three episodes read as though they were collated to show Langton cleansing Christendom of Satanic evils. Similarly, bishops’ diocesan statutes of the early thirteenth century condemned various practices that were not identified explicitly as heresy, but brought automatic excommunication or anathema: usury, withholding tithes, and clerical concubinage for example.⁸⁸ The ideas that underpinned these practices would ultimately be deemed heretical.⁸⁹ Bishops’ description of such crimes show a trajectory towards that state of affairs. Richard Poore, quoting from Lateran IV, described how various lay people, ‘stirred by a ferment of heretical wickedness’, sought to obstruct the Church in its attempts to eradicate

⁸⁵ ‘Quid cras dicturus est presbyter iste, qui hodie quod nouit totum effudit?’ *GCO*, II, Gemma ecclesiastica, p. 129.

⁸⁶ ‘Vt etiam errorem suum, cum ab eruditis inde arguuntur, utcumque tueri possint, dicunt, ‘Quia medicina est et phantasma fugat, precipue Iohannis initium.’’ *GCO*, II, Gemma ecclesiastica, p. 129.

⁸⁷ Matthew Paris, *Vita sancti Stephani*, pp. 323-8.

⁸⁸ *C&S*, II, i, pp. 25, 33, 55 & 66.

⁸⁹ R. Kieckhefer, ‘Witchcraft, necromancy and sorcery as heresy’, in M. Ostorero, G. Modestin and K. Tremp-Utz (eds.), *Chasses aux sorcières et démonologie: Entre discours et pratiques (XIVe-XVIIe siècles)* (Firenze, 2010), pp. 133-53; M. Giansante, ‘Eretici e usurai: l’usura come eresia nella normativa e nella prassi inquisitoriale dei secoli XIII-XIV: il caso di Bologna’, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 23.2 (1987), 193-221. At the Council of Vienna (1311), not usurers themselves, but those who maintained it was not a sin were deemed heretics: ‘Sane si quis in illum errorem inciderit ut pertinaciter affirmare presumat exercere usuras non esse peccatum decernimus eum uelut hereticum puniendum locorum nihilominus ordinariis et heretice prauitatis inquisitoribus districtius iniungentes ut contra eos quos de errore huiusmodi diffamatos inuenerint aut suspectos tanquam contra diffamatos uel suspectos de heresi procedere non omittant.’ J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti, P. P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi, H. Jedin (eds.), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), cl. 29, p. 384.

simony.⁹⁰ Later, Alexander of Stainsby decreed that all kinds of sorcery be prohibited under threat of anathema, ‘because they are contrary to the faith’.⁹¹

A clearer example of heteropraxy being identified as heretical is found in Cadwgan of Llandyfai’s penitential guide, *De modo confitendi*. Cadwgan was probably keen to deal with heresy in person. *De modo confitendi* includes a mnemonic designed to remind priests which sinners ought to be referred to episcopal authority. Included among them was ‘the traitor, pursuing heretical doctrine’.⁹² Heresy was treated in the third section of *De modo confitendi*, where Cadwgan dealt with taking confession from priests. Notably, contraventions of either orthodoxy or orthopraxy were considered heretical. Cadwgan borrowed the following definition from Raymond Peñafort (d. 1275):

The heretic is described in four ways, namely: those erring from the faith, creating or holding a false opinion. Also: those who understand Holy Scripture otherwise than the Holy Spirit requires. Also: those separated from the sacraments or communion of the Church. Also: the twister of the sacraments, the simoniac buying or selling the sacraments.⁹³

The first two kinds of heretic were clearly guilty of doctrinal error. The third was a heretic *ipso facto*, being either excommunicated or anathema. The fourth was a heretic who was identified by his actions. The heteropraxis of the simoniac was predicated on heterodoxy; his willingness to sell the sacraments derived from a failure to understand their true nature. Cadwgan had a whole section under the rubric, ‘Circumstances of injuries of the sacraments’, in which a series of questions was suggested for the confessor to ask a priest.⁹⁴ Notably, there is a mixture of questions about orthopraxis – ‘Have you been present when an infant died without baptism?’ – and orthodoxy – ‘Have you erred in the faith? In which article?’⁹⁵

Cadwgan identified schism and apostasy as separate issues, defined as disunity between those who ought to be united, and being let loose from the divine breath or from God.⁹⁶ Immediately following these definitions came a list of sins in a section entitled ‘*Peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum*’, which was mostly original to Cadwgan.⁹⁷ The category of ‘sin against the Holy Spirit’ came from the unforgiveable sin identified in the synoptic gospels as blasphemy against the Spirit, the exact meaning of which was

⁹⁰ C&S, II, i, p. 66.

⁹¹ ‘Item, ueneficia, quia fidei sunt contraria, sub anathematis interminatione prohibeantur.’ C&S, II, i, p. 214.

⁹² ‘Proditor ac heresim sectans’ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 27.

⁹³ ‘Hereticus autem quatuor modis dicitur, scilicet errans a fide, falsam opinionem gignans uel tenens. Item, qui aliter intelligunt sanctam scripturarum quam Spiritus Sanctus flagitat. Item, a sacramentis ecclesie uel communione diuisus. Item, peruersor sacramentorum, ut simoniacus uendens uel emens sacramenta.’ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 22-3; cf. Raymond Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, ed. Xaverio Ochoa and Aloisio Diez (Rome, 1976), I, pp. 317-18.

⁹⁴ ‘Exigentie de iniuriis sacramentorum.’ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 22. These questions were borrowed from Robert Grossesteste’s *Perambulauit Iudas*: Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 22.

⁹⁵ ‘Presens fuisti ubi infans sine baptismo discessit?’ ‘In fide errasti? In aliquo articulo?’ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 22.

⁹⁶ ‘Scisma uel dissensio eorum illicita inter quos debet esse unitas. Apostosia, id est retensus a flatu diuino uel Deo.’ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 23.

⁹⁷ Goering and Pryce, ‘*De modo confitendi*’, 23.

debated by theologians.⁹⁸ In *De modo confitendi* one expects to find sins listed that match what Cadwgan had just defined, namely heresy, schism and apostasy. And indeed, simony, paganism, idolatry and Judaism all appear in the list, as well as soothsaying, augury, divination, calling on demons, and necromancy. However, also listed are the breaking of vows and perjury,⁹⁹ bitterness towards prelates, irreverence for superiors, and hypocrisy, to mention but a few.¹⁰⁰ These inclusions are more surprising, and led the editors of *De modo confitendi* to consider the rubric confusing.¹⁰¹ There are two possible interpretations. Either Cadwgan was himself confused, or he considered these sins to inhabit a category of errors that verged on heresy. Many of these sins seem to indicate a rejection of the authority of a superior. It is possible that Cadwgan felt such sins represented a rejection of the Church, tantamount to schism.

Intellectual error: Roger de Pont l'Évêque and the Salomites

Thus far bishops have been presented as the agents leading the enforcement of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. But there were moments when bishops themselves could be challenged on the soundness of their doctrine. The Becket controversy was sometimes cast as a doctrinal dispute, with bishops accused of opposing the teaching of St Peter.¹⁰² It is instructive to consider the case of Roger de Pont l'Évêque, archbishop of York (1154-81), who found his orthodoxy called into question by a local prior. Doing so allows us to come at the question of the bishop's role with regard to heresy from another angle. And it also brings us to consider intellectual error – explored more fully in the following chapter.

Roger de Pont l'Évêque found himself caught up in the Salomite controversy. This debate turned on the identity of Salome, who appears twice in the gospel of Mark, once at the cross, and again with the women who attended Jesus' tomb.¹⁰³ Generally, she was considered to be another of Jesus' female disciples, but the Salomites contended that Salome was in fact a man, the third husband of St Anne the mother of Mary, and the grandfather of James the Great and John the Evangelist.¹⁰⁴ This interpretation depended on the belief that the name 'Salome' was in the genitive case, rather than the nominative, when it appeared in Mark 15:40, such that the verse could refer to 'Mary the mother of James the less

⁹⁸ Mark 3.28-9; Matt. 12.31; Luke 12.10; Lombard, *Sententiae*, vol. I, lib. II, dist. xliii, cap. i, paras i-v, pp. 572-4. For a later discussion of *Peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum*, see: R. Regan (ed.), *The De malo of Thomas Aquinas* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 310-21.

⁹⁹ These both came from Raymond Peñafort, who was explicit that they were *not* sins against the Holy Spirit: Raymond Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, p. 339; cited Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 23.

¹⁰⁰ Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 23.

¹⁰¹ Goering and Pryce, '*De modo confitendi*', 13.

¹⁰² See, for example, Becket's letter to the bishops of England, 1166: Duggan, *Becket Correspondence*, no. 73, pp. 283-91.

¹⁰³ Mark 15.40 & 16.1.

¹⁰⁴ M. R. James, 'The Salomites', *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1934), 287-97; M. Naydenova-Slade and D. Park, 'The earliest Holy Kinship image, the Salomite controversy, and a little-known centre of learning in northern England in the twelfth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008), 95-119.

and of Joses, and [daughter] of Salome.¹⁰⁵ The origins of this idea have been traced back to the ninth century, and tentatively attributed to Haymo of Auxerre.¹⁰⁶ It was an emotive issue, because of its connection to the question of Mary's perpetual virginity. The idea that St Anne had remarried, either once or twice, was considered essential in order to maintain that the 'brothers' of Christ, as they are described in the Bible, were in fact his first cousins.¹⁰⁷

This dispute was revived in Yorkshire during Roger's archiepiscopate. Increasingly, the idea that Anne married three times had been accepted without question, and indeed would become standard for some centuries. However, Maurice, prior of Kirkham, was a leading critic of the Salomite position and agitated against it. He is known for his tract addressed to Gilbert of Sempringham, *Contra Salomitas*, in which he sought to demonstrate the Salomites' error. In one of the two manuscript copies of this work, a letter from Maurice to Archbishop Roger is found, along with rhymes that the two subsequently exchanged. It is with these rhymes that we are concerned at present.¹⁰⁸ *Contra Salomitas* has been dated to 1170x77.¹⁰⁹ Maurice's letter to Roger refers to the tract, and so must post-date it. The rhymes refer in turn to the letter and so post-date that. So we are perhaps in the late 1170s, and certainly not after 1181 when Roger died.

In his letter, Maurice described how he had been troubled to discover that Roger was in error regarding the question of Salome. One point of contention in the controversy had been caused by some Salomites' erroneous claims that certain authorities supported their view. Maurice was energetic in setting the record straight.¹¹⁰ He was alarmed, therefore, to learn that the archbishop thought he, Maurice, contradicted Gregory the Great regarding the women at the tomb. No doubt it was a worry that his bishop, responsible for identifying and opposing false teaching, considered him to be in the wrong. But Maurice was sure of his cause, and determined that the archbishop should be set right. He sought to demonstrate that he had not contradicted Gregory, and then proceeded to repeat the arguments he had made in *Contra Salomitas*.

Roger politely replied with a rhyming couplet acknowledging receipt of the epistle. But Maurice, who in modern times has acquired a reputation for 'prolixity' thanks to M. R. James, was not done with the archbishop.¹¹¹ He responded with a longer poem of his own in which he pleaded for more of a reaction from Roger:

But now, write to me, I pray,
How seemed my work on Salome?

¹⁰⁵ Naydenova-Slade and Park, 'The Salomite controversy', 100.

¹⁰⁶ Naydenova-Slade and Park, 'The Salomite controversy', 96.

¹⁰⁷ Matt. 12.46 & 13.55-56; Mark 3.31 & 6.3; Luke 8.19; John 2.12 & 7.1-10; Acts 1.14; 1 Cor. 9.5; Gal. 1.19.

¹⁰⁸ The poems, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 92, pt. 1, fols. 36-7 are printed in M. R. James, 'The Salomites', *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1934), 296-7.

¹⁰⁹ Naydenova-Slade and Park, 'The Salomite controversy', 103.

¹¹⁰ James, 'The Salomites', 293-4.

¹¹¹ James, 'The Salomites', 288.

Was the work worthily made,
Or should it in fire be laid?¹¹²

Roger dutifully sent another verse, in which he was more careful to assure Maurice of his brilliance:

The work you gave me on Salome, good man,
is exceedingly distinguished and should not be destroyed in fire.
Nothing in it is distorted, nothing deviating from reason.
A thousand might be ignorant whether Salome was he or she.
Surely, Father, this ignorance will be removed through you.¹¹³

Roger went on to flatter Maurice by claiming that no one before had treated these things so clearly.¹¹⁴ He also demonstrated that he had read and understood Maurice's arguments, by mimicking his descriptions of the Salomite's errors: they do not pay enough attention to the gospels;¹¹⁵ they do not know grammar, reading a nominative as a genitive.¹¹⁶ Interestingly, Roger did not mention Gregory, whose position Maurice had accused him of misrepresenting. Rather, he was careful to describe the Salomites in the third person, and thereby distance himself from their position.

Whether Maurice was more concerned with Roger's orthodoxy, or his own reputation, this episode demonstrates that bishops were not exempt from accusations of error. Neither were they the only ecclesiastics to challenge heretical ideas. Whilst bishops had been charged with rooting out heretics in their dioceses, in this instance, it was Prior Maurice who enthusiastically sought to suppress a local outbreak of heresy, and the bishop who found himself defending his own conduct. In his letter to Roger, however, Maurice credited one English bishop with the right view. Bartholomew of Exeter had been present at a papal council, probably Tours (1163), where the Salomite controversy was debated. Bartholomew had been clear: Salome was a woman.¹¹⁷ As we shall see in the following chapter, Bartholomew was notable for his energetic defence of orthodoxy, and it is no surprise to hear of him weighing in on the Salomite controversy.

¹¹² 'Sed iam precor scribe pro me / Quid uidetur de Salome. / An sit opus factum digne / Vel mittendum sit in igne?' James, 'The Salomites', 296.

¹¹³ 'Scriptum de Salome donasti, uir bone, pro me: / Est nimis insigne, non ergo peribit in igne: / Nil ibi distortum, nil a ratione retortum. / Ignorant mille Salome sit an illa uel ille: / Hinc aberit certe, pater, ignorancia per te.' James, 'The Salomites', 296.

¹¹⁴ 'Nemo prius certe <de> hiis tractauit aperte' James, 'The Salomites', 297.

¹¹⁵ 'Non euangelium, pater, attendit bene diuum' James, 'The Salomites', 296.

¹¹⁶ 'Nec bene gramaticam nouit, si fas tibi dicam, / Nomina – qui – tium Salome fecit genitium.' James, 'The Salomites', 296.

¹¹⁷ 'Bartholomeus Exoniensis episcopus a quodam fratre uestre consultus quid de Salome sentiret utrum uir uel femina fuerit, respondit: "Debes illam esse feminam intelligere, que in euangelio legitur circa domini sepulturam sollicita." For this reference I am most grateful to Professor C. J. Mews, whose edition, *Maurice of Kirkham, Contra Salomitas and Related Texts*, is forthcoming from the University of Toronto Press.

Summary

There were a variety of ‘wolves’ that bishops thought they should oppose. As Bartholomew of Exeter explained, the wolves were ‘those who do evil to soul and body’.¹¹⁸ This was a broad and malleable category, accommodating all manner of threats – not only false doctrines. Throughout the period, this category became broader, as various ideas and practices were identified as being contrary to the teaching of the Church and thus liable to be deemed heretical. Popular heresy was the most obvious threat for bishops to respond to, and when it appeared they did so. But there were very few recorded incidents of its appearance in England. Bishops could find alternative targets though: infractions of orthopraxis and the errors of intellectuals.

¹¹⁸ See the introduction to this thesis, p. 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BARTHOLOMEW OF EXETER AND BALDWIN OF FORDE

‘The house of God was built, and the synagogue of Satan was erected opposite, fortress against fortress, falsehood against truth, infidelity against piety, faithlessness against faith, the sons of darkness against the sons of light, wolves against pastors, heretic against catholic, Simon Magus against Simon Peter.’¹

- Baldwin of Forde

The synagogue of Satan

With these words, Baldwin of Forde painted the familiar image of a cosmic war between the kingdoms of God and Satan. The pastor was a central figure in this conflict, set against the wolves who would otherwise destroy the flock. Baldwin must have recognised his own position as he described this aspect of pastoral office. The phrase ‘synagogue of Satan’ was an allusion to Revelation 3:9. Plausibly, it was a hint at the threat to orthodoxy from the Jews; both Baldwin and his colleague Bartholomew were conscious of the contest between Christian and Jewish ideas.² But, if Baldwin had the Biblical context of this verse in mind, then it actually worked against any anti-Jewish sentiment. The ‘synagogue of Satan’ in Revelation were those who claimed to be Jews but were not; they impersonated God’s people, but really belonged to Satan. This was the kind of threat that most exercised Baldwin and his mentor Bartholomew of Exeter: those who seemed to be within the Church and yet espoused heretical doctrines. These heretics were more difficult to identify than adherents of popular heretical movements. And, unless they were uncovered, their ideas could easily spread.

Throughout our period, scholars could be accused of holding and propagating heretical beliefs.³ Often, theologians were accused of creating ‘novelties’ contrary to the Catholic faith. As Fichtenau explained, ‘the speculative theologians of the twelfth century were used to engaging in intellectual experimentation at the margins of orthodoxy and hence to continually inviting suspicions of heresy’.⁴ Richard Poore, while he was a master of Paris, was himself said to have taken part in the hunt for the disciples of the

¹ ‘Domus Dei edificabatur et e regione sinagago Sathane erigebatur castra contra castra, falsitas contra ueritatem, infidelitas contra pietatem, perfidia contra fidem, filii tenebrarum contra filios lucis, lupi contra pastores, hereticus contra catholicum, Symon magus contra Symonem Petrum.’ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 30.

² See below, pp. 196 & 207-15.

³ Russell, *Dissent and Reform*, pp. 153-71; E. M. Peters, ‘Transgressing the limits set by the Fathers: authority and impious exegesis in medieval thought’, in S. L. Waugh (ed.), *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 338-62; Mews, ‘Accusations of heresy in the schools’, 43-57; Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, *passim*; J. M. M. H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1998).

⁴ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, p. 7.

heretic, Amaury of Bène.⁵ Specific doctrines might be condemned, but some churchmen had broader concerns about the increasing reliance on reason and logic, the embrace of pagan authorities, and collaboration with Jewish scholars. There had always been theologians with rogue interpretations. But, in the twelfth century, a whole system of scholarly endeavour was in contention. Sophistry was repeatedly castigated, including by some English bishops.⁶ Two bishops, in particular, devoted considerable energy to combating what they saw as significant threats to orthodoxy.

Bartholomew and Baldwin

Bartholomew of Exeter and Baldwin of Forde were both notable for producing texts designed to defend and preserve orthodoxy. Both men had advanced through the ranks of the church to high office as a result of their reputations for learning and piety. Neither were of noble family, and neither owed their preferment to royal service. Baldwin had studied law in Bologna, perhaps theology elsewhere, and was employed as a tutor to the nephew of Pope Eugenius III.⁷ Bartholomew seems to have studied both theology and law after the liberal arts. He is sometimes identified as the Bartholomew referred to as a master of the Parisian schools.⁸ Both men served under Robert of Chichester, bishop of Exeter (1155-61). Bartholomew succeeded Robert as bishop, with the assistance of his fellow alumni from Archbishop Theobald's household. In 1162, Bartholomew appointed Baldwin to the archdeaconry of Totnes, a position that had been held by Baldwin's father.

Their careers survived the turmoil of the Becket controversy. Bartholomew tried, and despite some difficult moments largely succeeded, in maintaining a position of compromise between the two sides.⁹ In the aftermath of the controversy, Baldwin withdrew from the cares of the world, becoming a Cistercian monk of Forde Abbey. But his talents could not be hidden. Impressing his order, he quickly became abbot; impressing the Church, he was then elected to the see of Worcester; and impressing the king, he was translated to Canterbury. This last move, in 1184, coincided with Bartholomew's death. Bereft of his mentor and called to a higher office that did not suit him well, Baldwin entered into what would be the last years of his life, troubled by legal wrangling with the monks of Christ Church. He was, however, remembered for his crusade to the Holy Land, where he died in 1190.¹⁰

⁵ *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange (Köln, 1851), p. 306; cited Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, p. 20.

⁶ Sophistry is warned against in the sermon that may be attributed to Richard Poore: 'Omnis autem dulcedo dulcis temporalium sophistica est et non uera.' Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Morenzoni, p. 10; *CFE*, CIII, i, p. 105.

⁷ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 317.

⁸ *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright, *Camden Old Series* 16 (London, 1841), p. 29, cited in Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 4.

⁹ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 15-30.

¹⁰ F. Barlow, 'Bartholomew (d. 1184)', *ODNB* (2004); C. Holdsworth, 'Baldwin [of Forde] (c.1125-1190)', *ODNB* (2004).

Heresy and associated matters were important themes in some of Bartholomew and Baldwin's earlier works: Bartholomew's penitential and Baldwin's *De commendatione fidei*.¹¹ But it was later, during their time as bishops, that they produced substantial works in defence of orthodoxy: Bartholomew's *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, his *Dialogus contra Iudeos*, and Baldwin's *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*.¹² Similar texts were produced by others, notably by Peter of Blois, who made use of Bartholomew and Baldwin's work.¹³ But they stood apart from their episcopal colleagues in devoting so much attention to these subjects.

The penitential

The penitential was not, of course, principally concerned with heresy. It is notable, however, that heresy and related themes recur in the text, from the very outset. In his first chapter, Bartholomew discussed vices, virtues, and their relation to salvation. In an original passage, Bartholomew described the relationship between true faith and good works. True faith inevitably led to good works, and thus good works confirmed the presence of true faith. Interestingly, Bartholomew readily made a connection to heresy:

For it is necessary that whoever believes with the heart and confesses with catholic words should not disavow with perverse deeds. Because just as it is possible to apostatise with the heart or the mouth, so also with perversity of deeds. This is what Paul says concerning false faith: 'They profess that they know God, but in their works they deny him.' For it is right that this same faith be sound and firm. Sound, that it might have no admixture of heretical perversity. Firm, that at the moment of need, each of the faithful might be prepared to lay down his soul for the confession and defence of the faith.¹⁴

¹¹ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 161-300; *BFO*, pp. 343-458.

¹² Bartholomew of Exeter, *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 157 (Turnhout, 1996); 'Dialogus contra Iudeos', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 482; Baldwin of Forde, *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, ed. J. L. Narvaja, *Rarissima Mediaevalia* 2 (Münster, 2008).

¹³ Sabina Flanagan has noticed that Peter of Blois seems to make use of Bartholomew's *Dialogus* in his own *Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum*: *PBO*, cols 825-70; S. Flanagan, 'Baldwin of Forde, Bartholomew of Exeter and the authorship of the *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*', *Anglo-Norman studies* 41 (forthcoming). As Suzanne Coley points out, Peter states that he had used Baldwin's work in his own *Tractatus de fide*: 'In hoc autem opera sequor immo adoro uestigia uenerabilium patrum qui tractauerunt de fide et contra hereses uictrices aquilas erexerunt. Inter quos celebrioris fame titulis efulsere, Eusebius Cesariensis, Athanasius, Ruffinus, Yreneus, Hylarius, Ieronimus, Augustinus, Epiphanius et primas anglie Baldewinus qui licet sit posterior tempore, non multum tamen ab eius degenerat uita, sciencia, sanctitate.' Oxford, Jesus College, MS 38, fol. 84v; quoted S. G. Coley, 'Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and the fear of heresy in late twelfth-century England', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Southampton (2018), p. 266.

¹⁴ 'Necesse est etiam ut, quod corde credit et uerbis catholicis confitetur, prauis operibus non diffiteatur. Quia sicut corde uel ore apostatare quis potest, sic et operum peruersitate. Hinc est quod de falsis fidelibus Paulus dicit, qui confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant. [Tit. 1:16] Oportet etiam ut eadem fides sincera sit et firma. Sincera ut nichil habeat heretice prauitatis admixtum, firma ut in necessitatis articulo pro ipsius confessione et defensione paratus sit quisque fidelis animam ponere.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 176.

This passage reveals Bartholomew's nascent concerns about heresy. Emphasising how serious lack of virtue was, he suggested that it was a kind of 'apostasy' of 'perverse deeds'. 'False faith' made itself manifest both intellectually and morally. Thus, Bartholomew could move easily from a discussion of virtue and vice to a discussion of faith and heresy.

The penitential contains chapters specifically on heresy and apostasy. Under the rubric *De scismaticis et hereticis*, Bartholomew collected authoritative judgements on the nature of schism and heresy, and how they were to be treated. These authorities he copied from intermediary sources, in this case from Gratian and from Ivo of Chartres. Thus, the chapter falls into two sections. Bartholomew first borrowed material from Gratian in order to define heresy, and then from Ivo of Chartres to specify the practical response to heresy. The first section begins with the definitions of the Church Fathers. Jerome had distinguished between heresy and schism: 'I judge this to distinguish between heresy and schism: that heresy has perverse dogma, while schism also separates from the Church after episcopal withdrawal.'¹⁵ One important implication of this definition was that not all heretics leave the Church; some would remain until they were removed. The role attributed to the bishop would not have been lost on Bartholomew. He was responsible for uncovering and casting out heretics – an idea Bartholomew seems to have taken to heart. Despite the rubric, Jerome's judgement contains the only mention of schism in this chapter. Schism was a familiar problem in the twelfth century, particularly because of the papal schism between Alexander III and Victor IV. But Bartholomew included no further material on the subject. His focus was on heresy.

Two further definitions of heresy, one from Augustine and the other from Urban II, emphasised the point that heretical groups were comprised of leaders and followers, and it seems Gratian had placed the two extracts together for that reason. Urban's judgement was the more detailed of the two:

Who defends the error of others is more damnable than they who err, because they do not only err, but also support and confirm the offensive errors of others. Whence, because the teacher has erred, he is called not just a heretic, but a heresiarch.¹⁶

This denunciation of heresiarchs would have seemed pertinent to doubts about the orthodoxy of certain scholastic theologians. It may have been what encouraged Bartholomew and Baldwin to focus on intellectuals more than the laity or even their clergy.

With heretics and heresiarchs defined, Bartholomew then copied from Ivo of Chartres a section regarding the practical response to heresy, namely, the penitential tariffs that might be enjoined for various crimes. The recommended penances begin with those who sin by associating with heretics. A

¹⁵ 'Inter heresim et scisma hoc esse arbitror, quod heresis peruersum dogma habet, scisma post episcopalem discessionem ab ecclesia pariter separat.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 260.

¹⁶ 'Qui aliorum errorem defendit, multo est damnabilior illis qui errant, quia non solum errat, sed etiam aliis offendicula erroris preparat et confirmat. Vnde quia magister erroris est, non tantum hereticus, sed etiam heresiarcha dicendus est.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 260.

year's penance was to be enjoined on anyone unknowingly communing with a heretic. If they knew their associate was a heretic, then different authorities recommend penance of five, seven, or ten years. Anyone permitting a heretic to celebrate mass in church, without knowing them to be a heretic, was to perform forty days penance.¹⁷ The heretic himself was to be ejected from the Church, unless they perform ten years penance. Naturally, the heresiarch had the longest penance of all:

If he left the Catholic Church for the congregation of the heretics, and persuaded others; if he afterwards does penance, let him do twelve years penance, three outside the church, seven among the initiates, and two more besides outside the community.¹⁸

The central theme of this section is the danger of interaction with heretics. It was a sin to commune with heretics, even unknowingly. The treatment of heretics themselves focused on separation. Unrepentant heretics were anathema. And even the repentant heresiarch had to be rehabilitated gradually into Christian society, in effect remaining excommunicate for the first few years. The clear implication was that heretics could corrupt other Christians, and so must be isolated for the preservation of orthodoxy. This same idea is found later in the penitential with reference to apostasy, where it is specified that the apostate may have their penance increased or reduced at the discretion of the bishop.¹⁹ In this way no apostate could be reconciled to Christian society prematurely, if the bishop considered them a threat.

As he prepared the penitential, Bartholomew was already giving heresy serious thought, even if heresy was not yet the major concern that it became for him in later years. There were two ideas in particular that Bartholomew received from the authorities, and that later came to shape his own response to heresy: heretics could be found inside the Church and needed to be rooted out; and heretics should be removed from Christian society for the preservation of orthodoxy. There was nothing unusual about these ideas, but we shall see that Bartholomew took them more seriously than most.

Baldwin's *De commendatione fidei*

Whereas the penitential reveals the formation of Bartholomew's ideas about heresy, for Baldwin we have his treatise, *De commendatione fidei*. This was the product of Baldwin's years at Forde. He described in the prologue how he had received permission to write it from his superior, Alexander, abbot of Cîteaux.²⁰ As with the penitential, heresy was not the principal subject matter of *De*

¹⁷ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 260.

¹⁸ 'Si recesserit ab ecclesia catholica in congregatione hereticorum, et alios persuaserit, si postea penitentiam egerit, duodecim annos peniteat, tres extra ecclesiam et septem inter audientes, et duos adhuc extra communionem.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 261.

¹⁹ 'Penes episcopos autem erit potestas conuersionis eorum probantes uel humanius erga eos agere uel amplius tempus adicere.' Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 287.

²⁰ *BFO*, p. 344.

commendatione fidei. But its central theme, the relationship between faith and reason, came to play an important role in Baldwin's approach to heresy.

De commendatione fidei has rightly been called a 'tour-de-force of *ratio fidei*' by David Bell, the text's most recent editor.²¹ Baldwin warned against an over-reliance on reason, which should rather be used in support of the scriptures, from which true understanding comes. In the prologue to *De commendatione fidei*, Baldwin made a connection between the intellectual and moral manifestations of faithlessness, as Bartholomew had in the introduction to the penitential. Mankind, Baldwin explained, had been created with two things: reason and will. 'One is that by which he might know that he is made and [know] his Maker; the other is that by which he may humbly serve his Maker with obedience.'²² Both reason and will, Baldwin explained, had been corrupted at the Fall. He was keen to point out that reason had been corrupted first, and this in turn had corrupted the will. For Eve was first 'wickedly persuaded' to disobey through a 'false opinion'.²³ The antidotes to corrupted reason and will were, respectively, faith and charity 'by which our hearts may be cleansed and protected from the harmful opinions of sacrilegious impiety and the unlawful desires of the vainest cupidity'.²⁴ Baldwin made no direct mention of heresy, but it is clear that he saw a connection between deviation from orthodoxy, and sin.

Baldwin carried this emphasis on the danger of over-reliance on reason into his later works. This can be seen, for instance, in his sermons, where the ideas of *De commendatione fidei* are ubiquitous. David Bell has shown that Baldwin continued to contrast divine faith and human reason in his sermons.²⁵ There is one sermon in which Baldwin's view of faith as the antidote to false opinion reappears most obviously. Preaching on the Beatitudes, Baldwin sought to explain what it meant to be poor in spirit. To do so, he described three ways in which one might *not* be poor in spirit: vain opinion, vain hope, and vain cupidity.²⁶ Each of these was to be remedied with the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, respectively.²⁷ Already, the parallel with the prologue to *De commendatione fidei* is clear. And indeed, Baldwin explained that vain opinion could be equated to false opinion, and he thus inserted a tangential

²¹ *The Commendation of Faith*, trans. D. N. Bell and J. P. Freeland (Kalamazoo, 2000), p. 31.

²² 'Homo, factus ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei, ut participatione summi boni beate uiueret, in ipso conditionis sue exordio, Deo donante, geminum munus accepit: iudicium rationis et beneplacitum uoluntatis, ambo incorrupta et illibata: alterum quidem quo se factum factorem que suum cognosceret, alterum quo factori suo humiliter obediendo seruiret.' *BFO*, p. 343.

²³ 'Mulier uero male suasa, ut per opinionem falsi Deo minus crederet, et per concupiscentiam mali Deo minus obediret, naturam nostram, ab auctore bono bene institutam, uitio suo corrumpit; et corruptionis sue labem, cum pena debite mortalitatis, nobis inuexit.' *BFO*, p. 343.

²⁴ 'Nobis ergo desiderantibus imaginem Dei in nobis reformari, totis uiribus laborandum est, sedulis precibus, studiis, et uotis semper est agendum, ut fidem habeamus et caritatem, quibus corda nostra mundentur et muniantur a noxiis opinionibus sacrilege impietatis et illicitis desideriis uanissime cupiditatis.' *BFO*, pp. 343-4.

²⁵ For example: 'Si uidetur impossibile iuxta humanam rationem, si incredibile secundum humanam sapientiam, uerum semper et certum maneat in conscientia fidei propter diuini sermonis reuerentiam.' *BFO*, sermo 4, p. 76; Bell, 'Certitudo fidei', 249-75.

²⁶ 'Tribus modis tumescit homo opinione uana: hoc est, opinione falsa.' *BFO*, sermo 16, p. 259.

²⁷ *BFO*, sermo 16, pp. 259-66; cf. 1 Cor. 13.13.

discussion under the rubric *De opinione falsa*.²⁸ Baldwin described the person guilty of this vice: 'For, trusting himself through the pride of his spirit, he now invents falsehoods about God.'²⁹ He did not go so far as to label this person a heretic. Nevertheless, the warning is delivered in strong terms:

A false opinion about God is considered most dangerous. For the things of God are secret and concealed. It is not permissible to bring them out into the open on account of the uncertainty of human opinion, nor to believe anything about God other than what he has deigned to reveal about himself.³⁰

The remedy for this form of arrogance was, of course, faith. More specifically, it was faith in the words of scripture.³¹ There was much to be found in scripture that might be known, but 'whatever is sought beyond this shall not be found'.³² In order for the Christian fully to trust in God and his word, he must become poor in spirit, that is, cease to trust in his own opinion:

Every opinion of man about God is pious if it is from God, and thus it is not pious if it is from man. Therefore, lack of spirit is good when, lacking its own opinion, it ventures nothing about God for which the Spirit of God does not provide testimony in the words of God.³³

This humble faith leads to a close communion with God, causing all 'impious errors' to be eliminated from the heart by the Spirit of God.³⁴ Baldwin himself was assiduous in relying on scripture. Virtually every chapter of *De commendatione fidei* was based on a passage of the Bible, such that he could be seen to prove every proposition from the scriptures.

Baldwin's ideas about faith and reason were foundational to his thought. They would later be brought to bear on heresy, in his *Liber*. But, though he did not yet identify these 'false opinions' as heresy, Baldwin was already contesting what he considered to be a threat to orthodoxy. Bernard of Clairvaux had made his views known about the developing methods used by some theologians of the schools, Abelard specifically.³⁵ Baldwin was, of course, also a Cistercian, and certainly influenced by the founder of his order.³⁶ Like Bernard, albeit less publicly, Baldwin issued a rebuke in *De commendatione*

²⁸ *BFO*, sermo 16, p. 258.

²⁹ 'De superbia enim spiritus sui sibi credens, nunc de Deo falsa confingit' *BFO*, sermo 16, p. 259.

³⁰ 'De Deo quidem falsa opinio periculosissime admittitur. Nam que Dei sunt occulta et archana, ex incerto humane opinionis uentilare non licet; nec aliud de Deo credere, quam ipse dignatus est de se reuelare.' *BFO*, sermo 16, p. 259.

³¹ 'Hec autem humilitas fidei primas partes uendicat in uirtute pauperum spiritu. Hec dignam reuerentiam uerbis Dei exhibet: illis credula, illis que contenta.' *BFO*, sermo 16, p. 259.

³² 'Scriptura enim sancta diuinitus inspirata est; in ea prescripta est nobis forma fidei: quicquid ultra queritur, non inuenitur.' *BFO*, sermo 16, p. 259.

³³ 'Omnis enim opinio hominis de Deo, sicut pia est si a Deo est, ita pia non est si ab homine est. Bonus itaque defectus spiritus est, cum a sua opinione deficiens, nichil circa Deum audet, cui testimonium non perhibeat in uerbis Dei Spiritus Dei.' *BFO*, sermo 16, pp. 259-60.

³⁴ 'Et dum de corde nostro omnis erroris impietas per sanctum Dei Spiritum eliminatur.' *BFO*, sermo 16, pp. 259-60.

³⁵ C. J. Mews, 'Bernard de Clairvaux and Peter Abelard', in B. P. McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 133-68.

³⁶ Baldwin made use of several of Bernard's works: *BFO*, pp. 496-8.

fidei to those engaged in speculative theology, which he considered to be irreverent at best and subversive at worst.³⁷

There are other indications in *De commendatione fidei* that Baldwin was being drawn to consider threats to orthodoxy. David Bell has demonstrated that Baldwin extended a passage on divination in a recension of *De commendatione fidei* produced following his receipt of Bartholomew's *Contra fatalitatis errorem* in the early 1180s.³⁸ *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, as we shall see, was Bartholomew's treatise condemning astrology. Accordingly, the section Baldwin added to *De commendatione fidei* emphasised that no divination was ever orthodox, even if predictions were fulfilled. Baldwin warned that, 'God sometimes permits signs and portents of things that are in the future to be predicted through wicked people'.³⁹ Even if the predictions of the astrologers came to pass, it was only because God chose to fulfil their guesses to test the faithful.⁴⁰ Evidently, Bartholomew had persuaded Baldwin to toughen his attitude to divination, and to uphold the doctrines of the Church against any evidence in favour of astrology.

In another section of *De commendatione fidei*, Baldwin gave an account of the Jews. This section fitted into Baldwin's wider argument because, having insisted on the primacy of scripture over reason and logic, he anticipated a counter argument: what about the Jews, who also have the Scriptures, but understand them differently to Christians? The Jews, Baldwin argued, have been blinded in three ways. They are blind to the law; that is, they do not understand the scriptures. They are blind to the timing of His visitation; that is, they do not recognise Jesus as the Messiah. Finally, they are blind to their own blindness.⁴¹ Of most interest is the chapter on blindness towards the scriptures. Here, Baldwin presented the classic Christian view. He quoted from 2 Corinthians 3:15, and summarised the chapter thus: 'The spiritual understanding of the law has been taken away from the Jews.'⁴² This insistence on the inability of the Jews to understand even their own scriptures underpinned Bartholomew's *Dialogus contra Iudeos*.

Bartholomew's *Contra fatalitatis errorem*⁴³

Bartholomew of Exeter produced two texts that he dedicated to Baldwin, whom he addressed as bishop of Worcester. This means that they were both produced 1180x84, in the last years of Bartholomew's

³⁷ Bell, 'Certitudo fidei', 249-75.

³⁸ Bell, 'Twelfth-century divination', pp. 249-50; *BFO*, pp. xxx-xxxi. The extended section is: *BFO*, LXXXV, vii-xvi, pp. 431-434.

³⁹ 'Permittit autem Deus nonnunquam per malos signa et portenta que futura sunt predici.' *BFO*, p. 431.

⁴⁰ *BFO*, p. 433.

⁴¹ *BFO*, pp. 452-5.

⁴² 'Spiritualis quippe legis intelligentia a Iudeis ablata est.' *BFO*, p. 452.

⁴³ This section on Bartholomew's *Contra fatalitatis errorem* is expanded on in my article: D. Runciman, 'Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (d. 1184) and the heresy of astrology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (published online 2018, forthcoming in print).

life. The first of these was *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, as David Bell, who edited the text, has called it. In the letter of dedication to Baldwin and in the preface, Bartholomew explained that the treatise was written as a response to astrology.⁴⁴

Astrology in England had been invigorated by the arrival of Arabic knowledge from Spain.⁴⁵ Men like Adelard of Bath (*fl. circa* 1110-50), Roger of Hereford (*fl.* 1176-98) and Daniel of Morley (*fl.* 1175-1210) argued that astrology was entirely a natural science and so advocated the use of judicial astrology.⁴⁶ In the thirteenth century, various theologians accepted astrology to some degree, while it was condemned by others, such as William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste.⁴⁷ But writers in twelfth-century England still tended to be vague about its legitimacy and efficacy.⁴⁸ John of Salisbury is known as a critic of astrology, but in fact he was relatively sympathetic.⁴⁹ Bartholomew, on the other hand, was unrelenting in his opposition to astrology, and bitterly opposed it throughout his career.

If Bartholomew was familiar with John of Salisbury's treatment of astrology in the *Policraticus*, which seems likely given the friendship between them, he would have considered it an inadequate response.⁵⁰ On the fundamental point that astrology was difficult to reconcile with Christian doctrine they agreed.⁵¹ But John was clearly fascinated by astrologers' predictions, and would not rule out the possibility that some form of divination might be perfected in future.⁵² In contrast, Bartholomew condemned divination, without reservation.

⁴⁴ The *epistola commendativa* survives in two of the manuscripts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 360, fols. 3r-61r; Oxford, Lincoln College, MS 96, fos 1r-37r; *CFE*, p. xxiii.

⁴⁵ C. Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London, 1997), pp. 16-42; J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 143-8.

⁴⁶ C. Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century* (London, 1987); C. H. Haskins, 'The reception of Arabic science in England', *EHR* 30 (1915), 56-69. By 'astrology' Bartholomew meant 'judicial astrology', that is, the prognostication of events including those contingent on human will. In the twelfth century, the meaning of '*astrologia*' and similar terms was inconsistent: C. Burnett, 'Astrology', and E. Grant, 'Astronomy, cosmology and cosmography', in F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (eds.), *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington DC, 1996), pp. 369-78 & 363-8.

⁴⁷ J.-P. Boudet, *Entre Science et Nigromance: Astrologie, Divination et Magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe - XVe siècle)* (Paris, 2006), p. 235. E. M. Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 85-90.

⁴⁸ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, pp. 153-60.

⁴⁹ S. Seit, 'Die kunst, die wahrheit in den sternern zu lesen, astrologie, divination und die "ars coniectoris" bei Johannes von Salisbury', in G. Wieland (ed.), *Ars und Scientia im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ergebnisse interdisziplinärer Forschung, Georg Wieland zum 65 Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 77-96.

⁵⁰ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 11 & 20.

⁵¹ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, I-IV, ed. K. S.B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 118 (Turnhout, 1993), II, xx, p. 118; cf. Matt. 24.36.

⁵² 'Ceterum artem esse qua quis de futuris ad omnia interrogata uerum respondeat aut omnino non esse aut nondum innotuisse hominibus michi multorum auctoritate et ratione persuasum est.' John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, xxv, p. 140; John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol. II: *The Later Letters (1163-1180)*, ed. W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1979), pp. 392-3.

In the letter of dedication attached to *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, Bartholomew described how he had turned to astrology when he received the *regimen animarum*, that is, some twenty years earlier.⁵³ As we have seen, Bartholomew also claimed to have preached publicly against astrology from that time.⁵⁴ In his penitential, he had included the judgement that the practices of *planetarii* and *mathematici* were unorthodox.⁵⁵ Thus, *Contra fatalitatis errorem* was the culmination of decades' opposition to astrology.

Bartholomew made clear in the preface that he conceived of the work as a compilation of authorities, announcing his intention to gather materials 'so that the faithful who cannot process the abundance of sacred writings on this matter, or cannot memorise them, can find them easily in one place'.⁵⁶ There were five substantial *auctoritates* that Bartholomew copied almost verbatim. These were taken from: the *Hexameron* of Basil of Caesarea, as translated by Eustathius;⁵⁷ the *Hexameron* of Ambrose of Milan;⁵⁸ Augustine's *De civitate dei*;⁵⁹ Anselm of Canterbury's *De concordia praescientia et predestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio*;⁶⁰ and Boethius' *De consolazione philosophie*.⁶¹ In each case, Bartholomew carefully identified the author, the text, and where in that text the excerpt might be found. These five extended quotations, together with Bartholomew's 'recapitulations' of the authorities' solutions, comprise approximately the first fifth of the entire treatise.⁶²

Each *auctoritas* runs to the order of one- or two-thousand words. The extracts from Basil, Augustine, and Anselm almost entirely retain their integrity, Bartholomew cutting out only brief phrases. Those from Ambrose and Boethius received more editorial attention. Ambrose had done little more than translate Basil's *Hexameron*,⁶³ and after beginning to copy out Ambrose's work Bartholomew broke off, explaining that 'Blessed Ambrose urges against the same error so concordantly with Basil, except

⁵³ 'Quod tunc plenius aduertere cepi cum regimen animarum, quamuis indignus, Dei tamen miseratione et ordinatione suscepi.' *CFE*, epistola commendativa, ii, 11.

⁵⁴ See chapter one, p. 66.

⁵⁵ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 273. The penitential is generally dated to 1155-70: B. Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 205. Bartholomew's use of Gratian, which is not known to have circulated in England as early as the 1150s, supports the view that the penitential was the product of his episcopal tenure.

⁵⁶ 'Conabor sub quanta res sinit et potero breuitate colligere, ut fidelibus qui sacrarum super hoc scripturarum copiam uel memoriam habere non possunt, facile sit hic inuenire.' *CFE*, I, ii, p. 12.

⁵⁷ These *auctoritates* were identified by D. N. Bell. This reference and the four following, indicating the passages from which Bartholomew excerpted material, are taken from Bell's edition. *CFE*, II-XV, pp. 13-20; Eustathius, *Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée*, ed. E. A. de Mendieta and S. Y. Rudberg, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur* 66 (Berlin, 1958), VI, iv-vii, pp. 74-80.

⁵⁸ *CFE*, XVI, pp. 20-21; Ambrose, *Hexameron, De paradiso, De Cain, De Noe, De Abraham, De Isaac, De bono mortis*, ed. C. Schenkl, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 32.1 (Vienna, 1896), IV, iv, pp. 118-26.

⁵⁹ *CFE*, XVII-XXI, pp. 21-8; Augustine, *De civitate dei, Libri I-X*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL 47 (Turnhout, 1955), V, i-x, pp. 128-41.

⁶⁰ *CFE*, XXII-XXIX, pp. 29-35; Anselm of Canterbury, *Sancti Anselmi opera omnia, vol. II*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, (Edinburgh, 1938), I, i-v, pp. 245-55.

⁶¹ *CFE*, XXIX-XXXVII, pp. 35-43; Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 94 (Turnhout, 1984), V, iii, iv – V, vi, xliii, pp. 93-106.

⁶² *CFE*, XXXVIII-XLI, pp. 43-9.

⁶³ Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. J. J. Savage (New York, 1961), p. vi.

in a few places, that to read one after the other in succession seems almost superfluous'.⁶⁴ The two *Hexamerons* seem to have circulated together, which may be how Bartholomew gained access to Basil's rarer text.⁶⁵ Bartholomew also explains that he made some omissions from Boethius, leaving enough for the summary of his opinions.⁶⁶ He seldom interrupted the extracts, except to introduce Cicero's *De divinatione* when it was mentioned and argued against by Augustine,⁶⁷ and to summarise the material he had cut from Boethius so as to maintain the flow of the argument. Bartholomew summarised the salient points after each extract, but generally withheld analytical comment, only suggesting of Anselm's *De concordia* that 'this reasoning is a solution rather than a proof'.⁶⁸

In presenting these *auctoritates* as they were with only minimal editing, Bartholomew was making a point about the nature of authority. He made clear that the authorities condemned astrology as 'contrary to the Catholic faith, incomprehensible, and vain'.⁶⁹ For Bartholomew, this should have settled the matter. Augustine, in particular, was so persuasive in his attack that 'sufficiently understanding what he says ought to be sufficient'.⁷⁰ This was a pointed remark in a period when some scholars were accused of arrogantly trusting their own reason and logic more than the authorities.⁷¹ It was a similar attack to the one Baldwin made in *De commendatione fidei* and his sermons, although Baldwin had emphasised the authority of Scripture, whereas Bartholomew stressed that the judgements of the Church Fathers should not be challenged.

Bartholomew acknowledged, however, that certain '*moderni*' – a term used pejoratively – might remain unconvinced that astrology was illicit despite the Fathers' condemnation.⁷² Thus, Bartholomew proceeded to use his own scholastic training to answer his critics. This latter section of the treatise was

⁶⁴ 'Hec Basilius, quibus beatus Ambrosius contra eundem errorem preterquam in paucis ita concorditer agit, ut unum seriatim legisse post alterum pene superfluum uideatur.' *CFE*, XVI, i, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Both *Hexamerons* were apparently held at Reading Abbey in 1192, and at Ramsey Abbey and the Augustinian Friary at York in the fourteenth century: R. Sharpe, J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson and A. G. Watson (eds.), *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Libraries 4 (London, 1996), pp. 382-3, 428 & 435; K. W. Humphreys (ed.), *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Libraries 1 (London, 1990), p. 22.

⁶⁶ 'Seuerinus uero Boetius circa finem Consolationis Philosophice eandem de prouidentia questionem paucis intermissis quantum ad necessarium sententiarum summam, nisi fallor, opponendo atque soluendo per dialogum tractat hoc modo.' *CFE*, XXIX, vi, p. 35.

⁶⁷ *CFE*, XIX, i-ii, pp. 24-5.

⁶⁸ 'Hec ratio solutio potius est quam probatio.' *CFE*, XXII, iv, p. 29.

⁶⁹ 'In primis tamen contra eos qui per signorum et astrorum constitutionem et potestatem hanc heresim conantur astruere, duxi esse dicendum, tum quia contra alios diutius et laboriosius est intendendum, tum quia contra hos a sanctis patribus sufficienter non modo dictum, sed et scriptum esse reperio, qui signorum celestium nec omnimodam, nec nullam admittendam, iudicant observationem, quia in plerisque catholice fidei contraria, et incomprehensibilis est et uana' *CFE*, II, i, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁰ 'Beatus uero Augustinus contra eandem heresim tam prudenter et peremptorie disputat, ut sufficienter intellegendis quod dicit sufficere debeat.' *CFE*, XVII, i, pp. 21-2.

⁷¹ Baldwin, *Scholastic Culture*, pp. 80-4; W. Otten, 'Authority and identity in the transition from monastic to scholastic theology', and M. L. Colish, 'Authority and interpretation in scholastic theology', in J. Frishman, W. Otten and G. A. M. Rouwhorst (eds.), *Religious Identity and the Problem of Historical Foundation: The Foundational Character of Authoritative Sources in the History of Christianity and Judaism*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 8 (Leiden, 2004), pp. 349-68 & 369-86.

⁷² *CFE*, XLI, i, p. 49; *CFE*, p. xxxii.

itself divided into two parts.⁷³ The first was particularly devoted to reconciling divine foreknowledge and free will, by means of distinctions and other solutions that would satisfy ‘sophistic objections’.⁷⁴ The second part addressed the soteriological questions arising from these doctrines, establishing that the guilt for sin still belonged to man despite God’s providence.⁷⁵ These sections are considerably larger than the compilation of *auctoritates*. Nevertheless, Bartholomew insisted that he wanted only to be credited with discovering and compiling the judgements of the Catholic Doctors,⁷⁶ and requested that Baldwin correct the treatise by removing not only anything ‘opposed to the Holy Faith’, but also that which was ‘not fully supported by authority’.⁷⁷ This was more than just the obligatory expression of humility found in so many medieval prefaces. Bartholomew was emphasising that, in contrast to the astrologers, he relied on the authorities more than his own reasoning.

Historically, astrology had been condemned as both impracticable and contrary to Christian doctrine. The two were often combined, as Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine had done, and others continued to do in the twelfth century. Peter Abelard, for example, claimed that astrologers would decline to foretell his next action when asked, for they knew that he would be able to do precisely the opposite in response.⁷⁸ Underpinning this criticism was an insistence on both the duplicity of the astrologers, who would refuse to predict something that could so immediately be tested, and on free will to act against the prediction. Robert Grosseteste used similar lines of argument in the thirteenth century.⁷⁹

What made Bartholomew’s approach so distinctive was his almost exclusive focus on astrology’s incompatibility with Christian doctrine. This can be seen from the way Bartholomew structured and commented on his compilation. It is true that in some of the *auctoritates* astrology is described as illogical and impractical. Basil (and therefore Ambrose) had argued that the casting of nativities was flawed because by the time the ‘Chaldaean’ had received a baby from the midwives, enough time must have passed for the prediction to be erroneous.⁸⁰ He described astrology as a spider’s web that trapped the weak-minded, while the rational broke through.⁸¹ But it would be a mistake to suppose that Bartholomew thought much of these arguments. As we shall see, Bartholomew was more interested in Basil and Ambrose’s concluding comments regarding the theological implications of astrology.

⁷³ For David Bell’s description of this section, see: *CFE*, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

⁷⁴ ‘sophisticas obiectiones’ *CFE*, CIII, i, p. 105. This section of the treatise is: *CFE*, XLII-CII, pp. 49-105.

⁷⁵ *CFE*, CIV-CLXXIV, pp. 106-66.

⁷⁶ ‘In quo nichil michi ascribendum censeo, nec ascribo, nisi catholicorum doctorum sententias multa diligentia conquisisse, sed maiore studio iuxta questionum uarietates locis congruentibus adaptasse.’ *CFE*, epistola commendativa, iii, p. 11.

⁷⁷ ‘si quid inueneris sacre fidei uel bonis moribus aliquatenus aduersum, aut non manifeste uerum, aut non irrefragabili ratione probatum, aut non saltem certa auctoritate subnixum, totum deleas.’ *CFE*, epistola commendativa, iv, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Peter Abelard, *Opera Theologica V, Expositio in hexameron, Abbreviatio Petri Abaelardi expositionis in hexameron*, ed. M. Romig, D. E. Luscombe and C. Burnett, CCCM 15 (Turnhout, 2004), cciii, pp. 49-50.

⁷⁹ Robert Grosseteste, *Hexameron*, ed. R. C. Dales and S. Gieben (Oxford, 1982), V, viii-xi, pp. 164-70. Peters, *The Magician*, p. 85.

⁸⁰ Eustathius, *l’Hexaéméron de Basile*, VI, v, pp. 76-7; *CFE*, IX-XI, pp. 15-17.

⁸¹ Eustathius, *l’Hexaéméron de Basile*, VI, vi, p. 78; *CFE*, XII, p. 17.

Augustine was the most important authority for Bartholomew, as he was for all who opposed astrology, because he specifically set out the incompatibility of astrology with the Christian doctrines of divine foreknowledge and human free will. This brought Bartholomew to the main subject of his treatise: the reconciliation of providence and free will. The extracts from Anselm and Boethius did not mention astrology at all, but they were useful to Bartholomew because they were attempts to reconcile these doctrines. So in his compilation, Bartholomew moved from direct condemnations of astrology by the authorities, to affirmations of the doctrines with which astrology was said to be incompatible. It is clear which of the authorities were most important to Bartholomew, for he concluded his compilation thus: ‘Behold the solutions of Augustine, Anselm and Boethius.’⁸² Bartholomew’s aim in *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, therefore, was to reconcile divine foreknowledge and free will, affirm both doctrines anew, and thereby exclude the possibility of belief in astrology within orthodoxy. This is why astrology is rarely mentioned directly in the latter part of the treatise.⁸³ Consequently, the letter of commendation and the preface are the main places where Bartholomew connected astrology to the doctrines at stake.

He discussed free will more than divine foreknowledge, summarising his view in the preface:

However much they [the astrologers] may present different faces, they all come together in this one scorpion’s tail: that nothing should be left to man’s free will, nor indeed that anything should remain of free will itself. And thus, with their sacrilegious excuse, they presume to cast back all the cause of sinning on to the Author of Salvation.⁸⁴

Bartholomew characterised the astrologers as fatalists who believed, as he put it, in ‘inevitable necessity’, and who sought to blame God for their own sin.⁸⁵ He took these ideas from the authorities in his compilation, where he quoted Augustine’s argument that astrologers casting nativities were effectively accepting determinism, and so denied free will and God’s right to judge sin. Augustine did allow that astrologers could hold different positions, and that some might say the stars were a sign of God’s future, not a cause. But he added that no *mathematicus* actually spoke in this way.⁸⁶ Basil and Ambrose, for all their rational arguments against astrology, were summarised by Bartholomew thus:

⁸² ‘Ecce Augustini et Anselmi et Boetii solutiones’ *CFE*, XXXVII, vii, p. 43.

⁸³ Astrology is not discussed directly after chapter XXI, with two brief exceptions: *CFE*, LVIII, iv, p. 65; LX, i-ii, p. 68.

⁸⁴ ‘Qui, quamuis uarias pretendunt facies, in hac tamen una scorpionis cauda conueniunt, ut nichil libero hominum arbitrio, immo nec ipsum liberum relinquatur arbitrium; et sic omnem peccandi causam sacrilega excusatione sui, in salutis auctorem retorquere presumunt.’ *CFE*, I, i, p. 12.

⁸⁵ ‘Plerique declinantes corda in uerba malicie ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis, omnium que fiunt seu quoquomodo eueniunt, fatalem uel alias inuitabilem necessitatem conantur astruere.’ *CFE*, I, i, p. 12.

⁸⁶ Augustine, *De civitate dei*, V, i, p. 191. In *De civitate dei*, Augustine presented a more nuanced version of his earlier insistence on free will in his anti-Manichean polemic: Augustine, *Four Anti-Pelagian Writings*, ed. J. A. Mourant and W. J. Collinge, The Fathers of the Church 86 (Washington DC, 1992), pp. 10-11. Bartholomew’s use of *De civitate dei* rather than *De libero arbitrio* is simply explained by Augustine’s treatment of astrology in the former: L. Karfíková, *Grace and the Will according to Augustine*, trans. M. Janebová (Leiden, 2012), pp. 267-9 & 272.

This teaches that if the astrologers' opinion is truth, it will be estimated that neither the rewards nor the punishments according to justice are to be owed, and every industry and labour of mankind superfluous.⁸⁷

Bartholomew also described how astrology was incompatible with divine foreknowledge and providence. In his penitential, he had inserted the often-repeated etymological quip that diviners were so called because they pretended to be divine.⁸⁸ In *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, Bartholomew went further and defined belief in astrology as in direct opposition to belief in the providence of God: 'Some contend the cause of necessity to be the immutability and infallibility of divine providence; others that it is the position or a constellation of the stars, which they call fate.'⁸⁹ This rather simplistic statement is all that Bartholomew offers directly on the incompatibility of astrology and divine providence. His simple analogue between two absolute causes lacks all the nuance of Augustine's order of causes.⁹⁰ Bartholomew would, of course, proceed to offer a more sophisticated attempt at reconciling divine foreknowledge and human free will later in the treatise. But here he stated the orthodox position in the simplest possible terms, in order to draw a stark contrast with the astrologers' ideas. In so doing, Bartholomew effectively sidestepped the vexed question of which, if any, prognostications from celestial bodies might be valid, enabling him to present the disagreement about astrology as a clear divide between those who subscribed to orthodoxy and those who did not.

In fact, where Augustine, Abelard and Hugh of Saint Victor had not done so explicitly, Bartholomew repeatedly branded astrology as heresy.⁹¹ His opening theme in the letter of commendation to Baldwin was taken from the parable of the wheat and tares:

Of the tares which we see the enemy over-sow after the good seed of the Father while men were sleeping, none, I believe, are more firmly rooted to the ground, none more perniciously abounded, than the error of fate.⁹²

This parable was commonly understood to refer to heresy.⁹³ False teachers sent by Satan had infiltrated the Church. God would allow this evil, for he would know his own at the last judgement. When the harvest was collected the tares would be taken aside and burnt, but until then, these imposters would

⁸⁷ 'Denique docet quod si uera est mathematicorum opinio, nec iustis premia, nec iniustis supplicia iure deberi, omnemque hominum industriam et laborem superfluum estimandum.' *CFE*, XVI, iv, p. 21.

⁸⁸ 'Diui dicti sunt, quasi Deo pleni' Morey, *Bartholomew*, p. 271. Consulting diviners was a sin listed in the penitential used by Stephen Langton: Quinto, 'Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care', p. 309.

⁸⁹ 'Necessitatis uero causam, alii diuine prouidentie immutabilitatem et infallibilitatem, alii siderum positionem seu constellationem, quam et fatum appellant, esse contendunt.' *CFE*, I, i, p. 12.

⁹⁰ Augustine, *De civitate dei*, V, ix, p. 207.

⁹¹ *CFE*, I, i, p. 12; II, i, p. 12; XVII, i, p. 21; XXII, p. 29. Of course, astrology had long been associated with heresy: T. Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology*, Patristic Studies 6 (New York, 2007), pp. 146-7.

⁹² 'Inter zizania que post patris familias semen bonum inimicus homo cum dormirent homines superseminasse perhibetur, nichil, arbitror, terre firmitus choaluisse, nichil perniciosius exuberasse, quam fatalitatis errorem.' *CFE*, epistola commendativa, ii, p. 11; cf. Matt. 13.24-30.

⁹³ It was included, for example, in Stephen Langton's *distinctio* on heresy: chapter six of this thesis, p. 172.

work evil in the Church.⁹⁴ Bartholomew saw astrologers as heretics, not at the fringes of Christian society, but embedded in the Church itself.

Therefore he wrote to Baldwin: ‘We believe, following the apostle, that after the first and second admonition, they are to be avoided as heretics.’⁹⁵ That is, astrologers were to be anathema. This matched Bartholomew’s recommendation in his penitential for all those found guilty of divination.⁹⁶ Any clergy found consulting with magicians, haruspices, seers, augurs or fortune-tellers were to be degraded and made to enter the monastic life for perpetuity.⁹⁷ Heretics of any kind were to be excluded from society and only gradually rehabilitated, or confined within the cloister.⁹⁸ These *dicta* were not original to Bartholomew. But nor was this call for the exclusion of such people from Christian society mindlessly copied by him. Consistently, he wrote about the need to isolate threats to orthodoxy, advocating it not only in *Contra fatalitatis errorem* and the penitential, but also in his *Dialogus contra Iudeos* where Christians were instructed to avoid Jews.⁹⁹

Bartholomew viewed astrology as a heresy that led *litterati* into error, not as a movement leading the flock astray from the Church.¹⁰⁰ His objection to astrology was its incompatibility with Christian doctrine, not its association with magic.¹⁰¹ Like any heresy, astrology was a deception that Satan used. But it was the astrologers’ ideas that were dangerous, not their practices. He never described astrology as *demonica*, nor the astrologers as *malefici*. Nowhere in *Contra fatalitatis errorem* did he refer or allude to Exodus 22:18 – ‘You shall not suffer magicians to live’. Neither did Bartholomew describe astrology as superstitious or irrational. The astrologers’ newly acquired sophistication lent them credibility.¹⁰² Their astronomical measurements were indisputably more precise, and they could point to ancient and apparently authoritative assurances of the efficacy of astral prognostication, rooted in the ideas of Aristotle and Ptolemy.¹⁰³ In the same decade that Bartholomew wrote *Contra fatalitatis*

⁹⁴ R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975), p. 23; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 92; J. K. Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, 2011), p. 51.

⁹⁵ ‘Hos tamquam hereticos post unam et secundam correptionem, secundum apostolum credimus esse uitandos.’ *CFE*, I, i, p. 12; cf. Tit. 3.10.

⁹⁶ ‘Si quis ariolos, aruspices uel incantatores obseruauerit, aut philacteriis usus fuerit, anathema sit.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 272.

⁹⁷ ‘Si quis episcopus aut presbiter, siue diaconus uel quilibet ex ordine clericorum, magos aut aruspices aut ariolos, aut certe augures uel sortilegos, aut eos qui profitentur artem magicam aut aliquos eorum similia exercentes consuluisset fuerit deprehensus, ab honore dignitatis sue depositus, monasterium ingressus ibique perpetue penitentiae deditus, scelus admissi sacrilegii luat.’ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 272. Similar lists of condemned kinds of divination are seen in earlier penitentials: B. Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto, 2005), pp. 223-5.

⁹⁸ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 260-1 & 287-8.

⁹⁹ See below, pp. 209-10.

¹⁰⁰ On the distinction between two kinds of heresy, see: Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, pp. 1-8; G. Verbeke, ‘Philosophy and heresy: some conflicts between reason and faith’, in Lordaux and Verhelst (eds.), *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, pp. 173 & 179-80.

¹⁰¹ On the association between magic and heresy, see: Peters, *The Magician*, p. 46.

¹⁰² For a summary of the ‘scientific’ justifications of astrology, see: J. D. North, ‘Medieval concepts of celestial influence: a survey’, in P. Curry (ed.), *Astrology, Science, and Society: Historical Essays* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 5-18.

¹⁰³ Burnett, *Introduction of Arabic learning*, pp. 2-16.

errorem, Daniel of Morley claimed, in his *Philosophia*, to have acquired more wisdom studying Arabic sciences in Spain than theology in Paris.¹⁰⁴

But when Bartholomew wrote of the ‘difficulty of the questions’ astrologers raised,¹⁰⁵ he was more likely thinking of the theological defences they advanced. Raymond of Marseilles (*fl.* 1141) for instance, in his *Liber cursuum planetarum*, justified astrology with reference to Scripture: ‘No-one doubts that an astrologer can predict the future. For if this were false, the Truth himself would not have instructed us about the signs by which we will know that the day of judgement is close, saying, “There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars.”’¹⁰⁶ Other biblical passages could be cited in support of astrology, such as the Magi following Christ’s natal star.¹⁰⁷ Commentators on Genesis often felt it necessary to explain that astrology was not sanctioned by the giving of *luminaria* as signs for determining times, days, and years.¹⁰⁸

Astrologers also defended themselves against the very judgements of the Church Fathers that Bartholomew compiled, and particularly against the charge that they were determinists who believed God to be limited in any way. They emphasised that astronomical measurements and predictions were possible because the stars moved regularly according to divinely ordained laws. Thus it was God who constrained the movements of the stars, not the other way around. Merlin, Geoffrey of Monmouth’s astrologer-prophet praised God with the address: ‘O King, through whom the machine of the starry heavens exists.’¹⁰⁹ Raymond of Marseilles specified that all things were subject to God’s will. God remained the first cause, but revealed the future in the stars. ‘The planets will signify nothing different,’ he declared, ‘from what God has foreseen or predestined’.¹¹⁰ Roger of Hereford, a contemporary of Bartholomew, likewise argued that the stars were not a cause at all, only a sign. Thus he concluded that only God had complete foreknowledge because the thought and miracles of God were beyond the astrologer’s grasp.¹¹¹

John of Salisbury had encountered this argument, and wrote that ‘the most moderate’ astrologers would not promise the fulfilment of events predicted, because the future was not bound to the stars’

¹⁰⁴ Daniel of Morley, ‘*Philosophia*’, ed. G. Maurach, *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 212.

¹⁰⁵ *CFE*, epistola commendativa, iii, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 243, fol. 112r; cited and translated in J. V. Tolan, ‘Reading God’s will in the stars: Petrus Alfonsi and Raymond de Marseille defend the new Arabic astrology’, *Revista española de filosofía medieval* 7 (2000), 27; cf. Luke 21.25.

¹⁰⁷ Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, pp. 205-7.

¹⁰⁸ Abelard, *Hexameron*, VI, clxvi-ccviii, pp. 42-52; Grosseteste, *Hexameron*, V, viii, p. 166; Gen. 1.14.

¹⁰⁹ ‘O rex siderei quo constat machina celi...’ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini*, ed. B. Clarke (Cardiff, 1973), p. 114.

¹¹⁰ ‘Nichil enim aliud planete nisi quod Deus preuiderit aut predestinauerit significant.’ C. W. Clark, ‘A Christian defense of astrology in the twelfth century: the *Liber cursuum planetarum* of Raymond of Marseilles’, *International Social Science Review* 70 (1995), pp. 98 & 102.

¹¹¹ N. Whyte, ‘Roger of Hereford’s *Liber de astronomice iudicandi*: a twelfth-century astrologer’s manual’, unpublished MPhil dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1991), p. 17.

movements.¹¹² These Christian astrologers all accepted God's prerogatives of sovereignty and foreknowledge. Indeed, they felt there was a devotional aspect to astrology, for they were interpreting God's communication through the natural order.¹¹³ There was something of a hiatus in the debate, however, since astrologers focused on reconciling their art with predestination, while their opponents – including Bartholomew – were more concerned with human free will. Though connected, these were distinct issues. Abelard responded to Raymond of Marseilles with the charge that he had not accounted satisfactorily for human free will in his defence of astrology.¹¹⁴

This may be why Bartholomew focused more on free will than predestination. However, he never engaged directly with the contemporary arguments made in favour of astrology. When Bartholomew described the astrologers as those who believed stars to be the cause of necessity, rather than God, it is more reminiscent of the earlier, bolder claims of Adelard of Bath:

If anyone could make her [*astronomia*] his own, he would be confident in declaring not only the present condition of lower things, but also their past or future conditions. For, those higher and divine animate beings are the principle and causes of the lower natures.¹¹⁵

Given its appeal to intellectuals, Bartholomew worried about whom astrology might ensnare, and readily acknowledged the skill (*facilitas*) of his adversaries.¹¹⁶ He reminded Baldwin who had fallen victim to error: 'we are not talking only of the laity, but also of many *literati*', by whom he clearly meant clergy.¹¹⁷ These heretics could not be dismissed like others as *illiterati*, *idiotae*, or *rustici*.¹¹⁸ In his study of the secular clergy, Hugh Thomas noted that 'many clerics were open to such religiously suspect subjects as magic, astrology, and divination'.¹¹⁹ Bartholomew mentions no names, but we may speculate based on his and Baldwin's regional context.

It is interesting that the Welsh Marches and the West Country seem to have produced most of the known English astrologers of the period.¹²⁰ A poem of Simund de Freine (*d. circa* 1210), written in the late twelfth century, describes the teaching of astronomy and the other liberal arts at the cathedral school of

¹¹² 'Qui uero eorum modestissimi sunt nec sideribus rerum pollicentur effectus nec eas necessitati lege dispositionis astringunt, sed quia uenture sunt certisque prenuntiantur indiciis, predicere non uerentur.' John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, xxiv, p. 137.

¹¹³ Clark, 'A Christian defense of astrology', p. 95.

¹¹⁴ Abelard, *Hexameron*, VI, cxcii, p. 47; M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Abélard et l'astrologie', in R. Louis, J. Jolivet and J. Châtillon (eds.), *Pierre Abélard et Pierre le Vénérable: les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), p. 613.

¹¹⁵ 'Hanc si quis sibi priuatam facere posset, non modo presentem rerum inferiorum statum, uerum etiam preteritum uel futurum non diffiteretur. Superiora quippe illa diuinaque animalia inferiorum naturarum et principium et cause sunt.' Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and on Birds*, ed. C. Burnett (Cambridge, 1988), p. 69.

¹¹⁶ *CFE*, epistola commendativa, iii, p. 11.

¹¹⁷ 'non solum laici, sed et plerique literati' *CFE*, epistola commendativa, iii, p. 11.

¹¹⁸ Moore, *Persecuting Society*, p. 131.

¹¹⁹ Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, p. 293.

¹²⁰ J. C. Russell, 'Hereford and Arabic science in England about 1175-1200', *Isis* 18 (1932), 14-25.

Hereford.¹²¹ Roger of Hereford's work, the *Liber de quatuor partibus iudiciorum astronomie* of 1178, appears to have been intended as a textbook for his students, and includes the interpretive characteristics of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the nature of the seven planets for producing horoscopes.¹²² At the time of Bartholomew's writing *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, astrologers were especially animated by a number of events. There were the solar eclipses of 1178 and 1180, the former of which Roger of Hereford used to date his manual.¹²³ There was also frenzied anticipation of 1186, in which year all the planets were to align.¹²⁴ As a result, Bartholomew and Baldwin were presumably aware of this active community of astrologers at the cathedral school of Hereford.

Robert Foliot, bishop of Hereford (1173-86), would have appeared to Bartholomew and Baldwin as the astrologers' patron. There were also continued connections between this same school of astrologers and Robert's brother, Gilbert Foliot, formerly bishop of Hereford but since translated to London. Gilbert commissioned a *computus* from Roger of Hereford in 1176.¹²⁵ He also wrote favourably about divination and with great interest about the firmament in his homilies.¹²⁶ Other senior ecclesiastics were connected to notable astrologers. Daniel of Morley found employment with John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich (1175-1200), for whom he wrote the *Philosophia*, in which he asserted the efficacy of astrology.¹²⁷ Daniel may also have taught at the schools of Northampton, where he claimed the liberal arts still flourished, and to which he had originally been *en route* from Toledo when he met John of Oxford.¹²⁸ These examples show that astrology was gaining credibility amongst even the highest ranking churchmen, emphasising Bartholomew's concern that this 'heresy' was firmly taking root in the Church.

Bartholomew's emphasis on doctrine over reason also derived from his epistemological convictions. On this point, Bartholomew held an opposite view to Baldwin, who thought reason led the will astray. Bartholomew described the astrologers as men with 'straying hearts', motivated by the desire to find an excuse for their sin.¹²⁹ Their problem was that they 'willingly believe that which they desire'.¹³⁰ It was

¹²¹ R. W. Hunt, 'English learning in the late twelfth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 19 (1936), 19-43 (poem at 36); Whyte, 'Roger of Hereford's *Liber de astronomice iudicandi*', p. 6.

¹²² Whyte, 'Roger of Hereford's *Liber de astronomice iudicandi*', pp. 25-9.

¹²³ Whyte, 'Roger of Hereford's *Liber de astronomice iudicandi*', pp. 8-9.

¹²⁴ G. de Callatay, 'La grande conjonction de 1186', in I. Draelants, A. Tihon and B. van den Abeele (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts Scientifiques au Temps des Croisades* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 369-95; Bell, 'Twelfth-century divination', 237-52.

¹²⁵ C. Burnett, 'Hereford, Roger of (fl. 1176-1198)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

¹²⁶ Gilbert, 'Homilies', fols. 156r & 163r. On Gilbert's treatment of Joseph's cup of divination, see chapter one of this thesis, p. 53. On Gilbert's *quaestiones naturales* in the homilies, see: Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 169 & 172-3.

¹²⁷ T. Silverstein, 'Daniel of Morley, English cosmogonist and student of Arabic science', *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948), 179-96.

¹²⁸ H. G. Richardson, 'The schools of Northampton in the twelfth century', *EHR* 56 (1941), 595-605; Burnett, *Introduction of Arabic Learning*, p. 62.

¹²⁹ 'Plerique declinantes corda in uerba malicie ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis, omnium que fiunt seu quoquomodo eueniunt, fatalem uel alias ineuitabilem necessitatem conantur astruere.' *CFE*, I, i, p. 12.

¹³⁰ 'qua homines quod cupiunt libenter credunt' *CFE*, epistola commendativa, iii, p. 11.

not reason that had led the astrologers into error, but desire. Accordingly, they would not be dissuaded through reason. Faith was required, because true understanding was predicated on faith.¹³¹ Quoting Isaiah, Bartholomew explained: ‘Unless you believe, you will not understand.’¹³² Bartholomew was not altogether opposed to reason, in its place. He explained that the Christian should ‘faithfully desire and humbly seek not only to believe, but also afterwards to understand what they believe’.¹³³ This pattern corresponds with the structure of *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, in which Bartholomew first held out the judgements of the Church Fathers to be believed simply with faith, before providing his own arguments and commentary in order that these truths might better be understood. The heresy of astrology represented, in Bartholomew’s mind, not only a deviation from Catholic doctrine, but also the rejection of patristic authority in favour of human reason that had been corrupted by sin. And so it became his primary target in the fight to defend orthodoxy.

Bartholomew’s *Dialogus contra Iudeos*

Bartholomew’s final work was his *Dialogus contra Iudeos*.¹³⁴ It survives in just one copy: a thirteenth-century manuscript originally from Exeter Cathedral which contains nothing besides the *Dialogus*.¹³⁵ Despite the intentions of Gilbert Dahan some twenty years ago, the text remains unedited.¹³⁶ The manuscript runs to seventy-eight *folia* of double columns, each containing thirty-seven lines of a medium-sized script. The scribe produced a readable hand, but was somewhat prone to error. Small sections of the text have been lost, where the manuscript has suffered from damp.

The *Dialogus* was another expression of Bartholomew’s anxiety about the threats to orthodoxy, as he perceived them. It was produced alongside *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, and can be seen as a companion volume. Heresy and Judaism had long been associated in Christian thought. Heinrich Fichtenau speculated that, in the Middle Ages, Jews may have assisted would-be heretics in developing alternative exegesis.¹³⁷ Some popular heresies in Europe were characterised by an insistence on adhering to all of the Mosaic Law, possibly reflecting Jewish influence.¹³⁸ And there may even have been a connection

¹³¹ Bartholomew’s addressee Baldwin of Ford had written about faith and reason, particularly in his *De commendatione fidei*. However, Baldwin argued that reason led the will astray, rather than *vice versa* as Bartholomew contends here: *BFO*, p. 343.

¹³² ‘Sunt alii qui definitum per prophetam gradum qui ait: Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.’ *CFE*, I, ii, p. 12; cf. Isa. 7.9.

¹³³ ‘non solum credere, sed et postmodum intelligere quod credunt, pie cupiunt et humiliter querunt.’ *CFE*, I, ii, p. 12.

¹³⁴ Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 109.

¹³⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 482. Hereafter: Bartholomew, ‘*Dialogus*’.

¹³⁶ Dahan, *La polémique chrétienne*, p. 144.

¹³⁷ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, p. 66.

¹³⁸ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, p. 66.

between Jews and the astrologers whom Bartholomew reviled, since Hebrew was a useful language for studying astrology.¹³⁹

But Jews were a threat distinct from heretics, even if the distinction sometimes needed to be spelled out. Durand of Huesca, a converted Waldensian, felt it necessary to specify that the Cathars were not comparable to Jews and Saracens since they reneged on their original faith, whereas Jews and Saracens never pretended to belong to the Church. Heretics were therefore to be judged more harshly.¹⁴⁰ R. I. Moore judged that Judaism was, in reality, the most pressing threat to Christian orthodoxy, since it was intellectually robust in a way that popular heretical movements were not.¹⁴¹ There was also the added complication that Jews, unlike heretics, were considered necessary to Christian theology.¹⁴²

In intellectual circles, theologians who associated with Jewish scholars and utilised their expertise in Old Testament exegesis – men like Herbert of Bosham – invited suspicion.¹⁴³ In the early thirteenth century, concerns about apostasy grew. At Lateran IV, it was decreed that Jews should be made more conspicuous, identified with badges.¹⁴⁴ And bishops were charged with preventing apostasy.¹⁴⁵ In England, the Council of Oxford (1222) was notable for its condemnation of a deacon convicted of apostasy to Judaism, who was ultimately burned.¹⁴⁶ But Bartholomew, writing in the early 1180s, did not mention the danger of apostasy. It rather seems that he was seeking to keep Christian theology free from Jewish influence.

The *Dialogus* belonged to a Christian tradition of *Adversus Iudaeos* literature that had a long history by Bartholomew's time, but proliferated in the twelfth century. It has been estimated that more polemical texts against the Jews were composed in the twelfth century than in the whole of the previous millennium.¹⁴⁷ The *Dialogus* format Bartholomew adopted was already established within the *Adversus Iudaeos* genre. Notable previous examples included the dialogues by Peter Alfonsi and Gilbert

¹³⁹ R. C. Stacey, 'Jews and Christians in twelfth-century England: some dynamics of a changing relationship' in M. A. Signer and J. Van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth Century Europe* (Notre Dame, 2001), p. 344.

¹⁴⁰ C. Thouzellier, *Une somme anti-cathare: Le 'Liber contra Manicheos' de Durand de Huesca*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et documents 32 (Louvain, 1964), p. 165; cited in Verbeke, 'Philosophy and Heresy', pp. 180-1.

¹⁴¹ Moore, *Persecuting Society*, p. 142.

¹⁴² J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999); Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, ed. I. M. Resnick (Washington DC, 2006), pp. 5-6; A. Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 171-8.

¹⁴³ D. L. Goodwin, "Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew": *Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden, 2006); E. de Visscher, *Reading the Rabbis: Christian Hebraism in the Works of Herbert of Bosham* (Leiden, 2013).

¹⁴⁴ Lateran IV, c. 68.

¹⁴⁵ Lateran IV c. 70.

¹⁴⁶ C&S, II, i, p. 100.

¹⁴⁷ Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, ed. Resnick, p. 8.

Crispin.¹⁴⁸ And Peter of Cornwall would later dedicate his *Liber Disputationum Petri contra Symonem Iudeum de confutatione Iudeorum* to Stephen Langton.¹⁴⁹

The whole *Adversus Iudaeos* genre, including dialogues and disputations, comprised texts that tended to be ‘repetitive and stereotypical’.¹⁵⁰ Amos Funkenstein suggested that the twelfth century saw, not only a proliferation of texts, but the emergence of new and diverging approaches to these texts. The basic division was between arguments from Scripture and arguments from reason, the latter being a more recent development.¹⁵¹ The emphasis some Christian theologians placed on reason in this period began to ‘spill over’ into Jewish-Christian debate, Funkenstein suggested.¹⁵² This summary has been modified by Anna Abulafia, who pointed out that the authors of disputations who primarily argued from scripture also attempted to use rational argument.¹⁵³ This is true of Bartholomew.

Bartholomew’s *Dialogus* was relatively unusual for the way it purported to be a dialogue between two Christians, rather than a disputation between a Christian and a Jew. His portrayal of a master and student in conversation has been characterised by Alex Novikoff as an ‘older, monastic convention’.¹⁵⁴ This is a fair observation, but there is a sense in which Bartholomew’s approach reflected a very contemporary attitude. Gilbert Dahan cited Bartholomew’s *Dialogus* as evidence of deteriorating relations and growing mistrust between Christians and Jews.¹⁵⁵ He drew attention to a passage near the start of the text, where the master warns the disciple not to interact with Jews:

Master: ... We ought to refuse not only their gatherings but also all conversation, knowing that perverse conversations corrupt good morals, and whoever touches pitch shall be stained by it.

Student: How then can anyone learn what to reply to them or what must be objected to when necessary, except by conferring with them?

Master: Learn this from the faithful, who have a greater knowledge of each testament than the Jews. For these, just as they freely hate the proposer of our law, so also they hate the law itself out of

¹⁴⁸ Alfonsi, *Dialogue*; Gilbert Crispin, ‘Disputatio Iudei et Christiani’, in A. Abulafia and G. R. Evans (eds.), *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (London, 1986).

¹⁴⁹ R. W. Hunt, ‘The disputation of Peter of Cornwall against Symon the Jew’ in R. W. Hunt (ed.) *Studies in Medieval History, presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 143-56. The Anglo-Norman *Vie de St George* commissioned by William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, recast the content between Christianity and Paganism which formed the original setting for the story of St George as between Christianity and Islam, seen most clearly in the disputation between George and the Emperor Dacien: Matzke, *Les oeuvres de Simund de Freine*, pp. 70-4; Runciman, ‘Monk-bishops’, pp. 72-3.

¹⁵⁰ Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, p. 173.

¹⁵¹ Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, pp. 172-98.

¹⁵² This is Abulafia’s characterisation of Funkenstein’s argument: A. S. Abulafia, ‘Jewish-Christian disputations and the twelfth-century renaissance’, *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 105-6.

¹⁵³ Abulafia, ‘Jewish-Christian disputations’, 105-23; A. S. Abulafia, ‘An attempt by Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, at rational argument in the Jewish-Christian debate’, *Studia Monastica* 26 (1984), 55-74.

¹⁵⁴ A. J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 187-8.

¹⁵⁵ Dahan, *La polémique chrétienne*, p. 21.

hereditary malice. But Christians rely not only on the apostolic testimonies, but also on the Mosaic Law and the prophets.¹⁵⁶

Even in what seems to be a fictional dialogue, Bartholomew kept to his own advice; he would not converse with a Jew. This attitude corresponds with other evidence from late twelfth-century England showing a rise in anti-Semitism, most notably the pogrom of 1190 against the Jews of York, and the ongoing propagation of the blood libel myth which had been encouraged by William Turbe, bishop of Norwich (1146-74).¹⁵⁷ It should, however, be remembered that Bartholomew consistently recommended that heretics be anathema.¹⁵⁸ Thus, while his advice at the start of the *Dialogus* is undeniably anti-Semitic, his recommendation to avoid the Jews matched his usual advice for any threat to orthodoxy. Bartholomew was concerned to prevent Christians from interacting with the proponents of *any* teaching he deemed false, for fear that they might be deceived and drawn away.

Bartholomew's principal concern lay in defending Christian orthodoxy; he did not seek the conversion of Jews. This is in contrast to earlier Jew-Christian dialogues. Texts like Peter Alfonsi's, for example, concluded with the conversion of the Jew.¹⁵⁹ It should be noted that some scholars posit that these earlier dialogues were equally intended for a Christian audience.¹⁶⁰ But with Bartholomew's text there can be no doubt of his intended audience. It is evident that Bartholomew was very deliberate about the choice to have a Christian-Christian dialogue, from the sources that he used. Alex Novikoff claims to have found direct quotations from Peter Alfonsi in the *Dialogus*, although he does not cite where.¹⁶¹ It also appears that Bartholomew knew of Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani*. Of all his works, Gilbert's *Disputatio* enjoyed the widest circulation. It survives in over thirty copies, and was used by Lambert of Saint-Omer, Jacob ben Reuben, and possibly Alan of Lille.¹⁶² At some point during the twelfth century, a continuation of the text was produced, which does not seem to reflect any further dialogue or work from Gilbert himself.¹⁶³ Gilbert's *Disputatio* is almost certainly an edited record of an actual disputation with a real Jew.

¹⁵⁶ 'Magister: ... Eorum non solum collationes sed et colloquia uniuersa declinare debemus scientes, quia corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia praua, et qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea. D: Qualiter ergo discemur quis eis respondendum quid ue sit obiciendum cum opus fuerit, nisi conferendo cum ipsis? M: Hoc a fidelibus disce, qui maiorem habent utriusque testamenti periciam quam Iudei. Ipsi enim sicut legis nostre latorem, sic et ipsam legem hereditaria malicia gratis oderunt. Christiani uero non solum apostolicis sed et mosaice legis et prophetarum testimoniis innituntur.' Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fol. 1va; cf. Dahan, *La polémique chrétienne*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁷ S. R. Jones and S. Watson (eds.), *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts* (Woodbridge, 2013); E. M. Rose, *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of the Blood Libel in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2015); C. Harper-Bill, 'William [called William Turbe]', *ODNB* (2004); Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich (De vita et passione Sancti Willelmi martyris Norwicensis)*, ed. A. Jessopp and M. R. James (London, 1896).

¹⁵⁸ See above, p. 203.

¹⁵⁹ Alfonsi, *Dialogue*, p. 273.

¹⁶⁰ Alfonsi, *Dialogue*, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ Novikoff, *Culture of Disputation*, p. 188.

¹⁶² Abulafia and Evans (eds.), *Works of Gilbert Crispin*, p. xxvii.

¹⁶³ Abulafia and Evans (eds.), *Works of Gilbert Crispin*, pp. xxx-xxxi.

It is interesting to note, then, that Bartholomew appears to have used Gilbert's *Disputatio* as a source, refashioning it as a conversation between Christians. This can be seen from a comparison of the following passages:

Iudeus: **Si ad tempus** hoc uel illud sermo Dei **seruandus est**, eoque tunc annullato item alius ad aliud tempus obseruandus est, **sicque per temporum uicissitudines diuine inmutantur sanctiones, quomodo stabit: 'Semel locutus est Deus'?** Quo pacto ratum erit: **'In eternum Domine uerbum tuum permanet in celo'?**¹⁶⁴ – Gilbert, *Disputatio*

Discipulus: **Si** aliquo Dei mandatum uel uerborum **ad tempus seruandum est, sicque per temporum uicissitudines diuine mutantur sanctiones, quomodo stabit: 'Semel locutus est Deus'?** Et illud: **'In eternum Domine uerbum tuum perstat in celo'**. Et illud: 'In inicio cognoui de testimoniis tuis, quia in eternum fundasti ea'. Et similia multa.¹⁶⁵ – Bartholomew, *Dialogus*

In this example, Bartholomew borrowed some of the phrasing and Bible references from Gilbert Crispin, inserting an additional verse from Scripture. Similar cases can be found elsewhere, where Bartholomew appears to have borrowed from Gilbert Crispin for the questions and objections the student raises with his master.¹⁶⁶ Given his use of Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio*, Bartholomew must have been conscious of the alteration from Christian-Jew disputation, to Christian-Christian dialogue. His intention was to bolster Christian doctrines in preparation for the traditional criticisms from Jews.

How, then, did Bartholomew seek to achieve this objective in the *Dialogus*? In her classic exposition, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Beryl Smalley highlighted how Bartholomew contrasted Christian and Jewish exegesis. The same excerpt is worth repeating here more fully because it reveals Bartholomew's approach to his text. The *discipulus* begins: 'In the first place, therefore, I ask what the principal cause of dissension is between the Jews and us.'¹⁶⁷ The *magister* replies:

I believe the principal cause is known only to God, by whose most just but hidden judgement blindness has come on the majority of Israel, so that the fulness of the Gentiles might enter into the faith. When this is done, Israel shall be converted to Christ. The chief cause of disagreement between ourselves and the Jews seems to me to be this: all scripture of the Old Testament in which they are able to discover the literal sense, they always accept to the letter, even though it bears witness to Christ. Then they either deny scripture, saying this [is not] in the Hebrew, that is, he does not have it in his book, or they turn to some other fable, or it is claimed that it is not yet complete, or, when they perceive themselves to be caught out, they slip away with some other serpent-like fraud. Truly, except when they do not have another solution, they are in the habit of never accepting allegory. But we interpret not only the words of Holy Scripture, but also the things done and the

¹⁶⁴ Abulafia and Evans (eds.), *Works of Gilbert Crispin*, xxxii, p. 15.

¹⁶⁵ Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fol. 3ra.

¹⁶⁶ Compare Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fol. 4ra with Abulafia and Evans (eds.), *Works of Gilbert Crispin*, lxxx-lxxxii, pp. 80-81.

¹⁶⁷ 'D : In primis igitur quero que sit inter Iudeos et \nos/ dissensionis causa principalis.' Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fol. 1vb.

deeds themselves in a mystical sense, yet so that neither the history in the things done, nor the proper understanding of the words, are in any way nullified by the freedom of allegory.¹⁶⁸

Bartholomew begins the master's response with a disclaimer about the hidden judgements of God, and a brief account of the connection between the salvation of Jews and Gentiles, all of which demonstrated his familiarity with Romans 11. But he was clear enough about his own view of the principal cause of disagreement: exegesis. The *magister* immediately proceeds to explain the 'Christian' threefold understanding of sacred scripture: historical, tropological, and allegorical.¹⁶⁹ Thus, Bartholomew presented his imagined opponents in terms of their exegesis, whom he characterised as maintaining a strict adherence to the literal sense of the Old Testament. Here, Bartholomew revealed his limited awareness of Jewish exegesis, just as he had revealed limited awareness of astrology in *Contra fatalitatis errorem*. The literal exegesis he had in mind was the school of exegesis developed by Rashi. This school had in fact been condemned in similar terms by Herbert of Bosham; but Herbert knew that not all Jewish exegesis could be characterised in this way.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, this was Bartholomew's assumption, and he framed the rest of the *Dialogus* by emphasising this difference between Jewish and Christian exegesis.

Who understood the Bible better – Jews or Christians – was a vexed question. As Abulafia established, it had been an important question in Gilbert Crispin's disputation.¹⁷¹ Bartholomew immediately addressed one obvious criticism of the Christians. The *discipulus* asks: 'Why do we not observe the Mosaic Law to the letter?'¹⁷² The response comes that most of the law – whatever teaches morals or faith or charity – should be kept literally. The rest of the Mosaic Law has been fulfilled by Christ, but is not redundant, for it figures or signifies future things.¹⁷³ The *discipulus* raises three further objections to this answer, all focusing on the immutability of the word of God. The *magister* replies that 'however frequently the divine sanctions pertain to *mutabilia*, they are immutable'.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ 'M: Causam principalem soli Deo cognitam credo, cuius iudicio iustissimo quamuis occulto, facta est ex maxima parte cecitas in Israel, ut plenitudo gentium intraret ad fidem. Quo facto, Israel conuertetur ad Christum. Causarum uero nobis cognitarum dissensionis inter nos et illos hoc mihi prima uidetur: que illi omnem ueteris instrumenti scripturam, in qua literalem possunt sensum inuenire, ad literam semper accipiunt, nisi manifestum Christo perhibeat testimonium. Tunc, enim, aut scripturam negant, dicentes hic in Hebraica ueritate, id est, in suis libris non habei, uel ad aliud aliqui fabulose conuertunt, uel ut non dum completum prestolantur, uel alia aliqua fraude serpentina cum arctari se sentiunt, elabuntur. Allegoriam uero numquam nisi cum alium non habent exitum, recipere solent. Nos uero non solum scripturas sanctas, sed et res factas et facta ipsa mystice interpretamur, ita tamen ut nec in rebus gestis historia, nec in scripturis competens intelligentia per allegorie liberatem aliquatenus euacuetur.' Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fol. 1vb. For an abbreviated and less literal translation, see: Smalley, *Study of Bible*, pp. 170-1.

¹⁶⁹ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 1vb-2vb.

¹⁷⁰ De Visscher, *Reading the Rabbis*, pp. 161-9.

¹⁷¹ A. S. Abulafia, 'Gilbert Crispin's disputations: an exercise in hermeneutics', in R. Foreville (ed.), *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des 11e - 12e siècles* (Paris, 1984), pp. 511-20.

¹⁷² Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fol. 2vb.

¹⁷³ 'Multa et maxima illius legis mandata etiam ad literam esse seruanda concedimus, omnia uidelicet que etiam secundum litteram intellecta mores aut fidem aut caritatem edificant.' Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 2vb.

¹⁷⁴ 'Diuine sanctiones quamuis frequenter ad mutabilia pertineant, inmutabiles sint.' Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fol. 3va.

Having defended Christian exegesis on that point, Bartholomew took the offensive, arguing for the progress of divine revelation. He quoted at length from Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam*: 'The spiritual knowledge of the Fathers grew with increments of time. As Moses was more instructed than Abraham, and the prophets more instructed than Moses, so the apostles were more instructed than the prophets in the knowledge of almighty God.'¹⁷⁵ Bartholomew explained why he had resorted to quoting from Gregory: 'This was said lest anyone be surprised because this article was not fully revealed by the Holy Prophets.'¹⁷⁶ Accordingly, the *discipulus* states a desire to hear whether Christian doctrines were in *any* way found in the Old Testament. This request functions as the 'springboard' for the rest of the *Dialogus*. The *magister*'s reply flows into the following section, which is the beginning of the main substance of the *Dialogus*:

To the faithful, there are certainly several sufficient things for belief. To the knowledgeable, who shall not understand unless they believe, truly there are enough arguments for proving what is believed through human reason. For truly there are figures in the Holy Scriptures ... But these are intimated to the faithful according to the measure of the grace of revelation.¹⁷⁷

It is worth noticing the allusion to Isaiah 7:9 in this passage – 'unless you believe, you shall not understand' – since Bartholomew had used it in his preface to *Contra fatalitatis errorem*.¹⁷⁸ We are again brought to consider Bartholomew's epistemology. Human reason could uncover only so much; true understanding came through divinely apportioned faith in God's revelation. Reason, used properly, built on the foundations of faith.

Christians, Bartholomew argued, had a better understanding of the Bible because they accepted the various senses of scripture. Moreover, they had the New Testament, which was God's fuller and more recent revelation to man. The Old Testament offered shadows of the truths subsequently revealed to the apostles, and above all in Christ. In the remainder of the *Dialogus*, therefore, Bartholomew systematically presented key Christian doctrines and their 'figures' in the Old Testament. This presentation of Christian doctrine begins with the nature of God and essentially proceeds chronologically from Creation to Judgement Day. The first doctrine to be defended is the Trinity.¹⁷⁹ Early chapters then address the situation before the coming of Christ. The disciple asks, for example,

¹⁷⁵ 'De eodem Gregorius in omelia viii: "Sciendum est quia per incrementa temporum creuit spiritualum sanctia patrum. Plus namque Moyses quam Abraham, plus prophete quam Moyses, plus apostoli quam prophete in omnipotentis Dei sanctia.'" Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fol. 5ra; cf. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout, 1971), p. 267.

¹⁷⁶ 'Hec dicta sint ne quis miretur cur hic articulus non fuerit a prophetis sanctis plenarie reuelatus.' Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fol. 5ra.

¹⁷⁷ 'Sunt quidem nonnulla fidelibus ad credendum sufficiencia. Scientibus que nisi crediderint non intelligent, ad probandum uero humana ratione que creditur uero satis urgentia. Sic enim sunt sacris scripturis adumbrata ... Ipse autem secundo secundum mensuram reuelantis gratie fidelibus intimetur' Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fol. 5rb.

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 207.

¹⁷⁹ Bartholomew, '*Dialogus*', fols. 5rb-7rb.

about the situation of the Gentiles who were not given the Law.¹⁸⁰ Not surprisingly, Bartholomew devoted a considerable portion of the text to demonstrating that Jesus was the prophesied messiah. Several chapters deal with Christ's birth; its time, place, mode, and meaning.¹⁸¹ Others treat his ministry, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension.¹⁸² Bartholomew then proceeded to address the period of early Christianity: Pentecost, the spread of the Christian faith, the institution of baptism and the Eucharist, the curse of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles.¹⁸³ And finally, the text concludes by looking ahead to the coming of the Antichrist, the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgement.¹⁸⁴

Interspersed throughout are additional chapters in which Bartholomew tackled the contentious questions raised in Christian-Jewish disputation. The first tangent from the chronological scheme is the chapter, 'On the varied acceptation of *domus*', where Bartholomew argued that *domus Dei* should be understood metaphorically, and not literally to refer to the temple.¹⁸⁵ Later, Bartholomew returned to the same theme, arguing that the *domus Dei* was not an earthly edifice, but the Church of the faithful.¹⁸⁶ These additional chapters on doctrinal controversies were inserted at apposite points in the chronological framework. For instance, the section on Christ's birth includes the chapters 'On the divinity and humanity of Christ' and 'On the virgin birth.'¹⁸⁷ 'On the insufficiency and reprobation of the laws of sacrifices' was placed before 'On Christ's passion'.¹⁸⁸

Bartholomew's chief authority was, of course, the Bible. But he also quoted Gregory, Bede, Augustine, Tertullian, Origen, and Josephus. Tertullian and Augustine were frequently cited in the *Adversus Iudaeos* genre of polemical literature.¹⁸⁹ Bartholomew's use of Josephus is more interesting and unusual.¹⁹⁰ Gilbert Crispin had not cited the Jewish historian. There was a copy both of Josephus' *Jewish Wars* in Latin and Rufinus' translation of the *Antiquities* attested at Exeter in the inventory of 1327.¹⁹¹ Neither manuscript is known to survive, so it is not possible to say whether they were old enough to have been at Exeter in Bartholomew's day, but perhaps these were the manuscripts he used.

¹⁸⁰ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fol. 8va.

¹⁸¹ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 8vb-27rb.

¹⁸² Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 31ra-39va.

¹⁸³ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 39va-54vb.

¹⁸⁴ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 67rb-78rb.

¹⁸⁵ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 11ra-12rb.

¹⁸⁶ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 61rb-67rb.

¹⁸⁷ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 17ra-18va.

¹⁸⁸ Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fols. 31vb-33rb.

¹⁸⁹ Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, pp. 173-4.

¹⁹⁰ See, for example: 'Iosephus quosque Iudaice captiuitatis et antiquitatis scriptor egregius de Christo que per inuidiam sacerdotum fuerit crucifixus, et die tertia resurrexit, manifestissime scripsit.' Bartholomew, 'Dialogus', fol. 41rb.

¹⁹¹ These texts are identified in the 1327 inventory as *Iosephus magnus* and *Iosephus parvus*, but can be identified by their incipits: 'Iosephus Matthie filius' and what should read 'Quoniam bellum'. Once again (see above, p. 54), George Oliver incorrectly expanded the abbreviation to 'Quum bellum': Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, with Appendix*, p. 303.

Adrian Morey once dismissed the *Dialogus* as ‘rather dull’.¹⁹² But Novikoff argued that it ‘reflects the very issues that were at the forefront of the Victorine exegetes in Paris ... Even if the dialogue adds little to the content of the Jewish-Christian debate *per se*, Bartholomew belongs to a second generation of twelfth-century polemicists who brought models of scholastic exegetical discourse from Paris and the continent to England.’¹⁹³ However much Bartholomew was influenced by his time in the schools, he also followed in the footsteps of Gilbert Crispin. Both men produced texts emphasising exegesis as the main cause of dissension. They focused on arguments from scripture, but were also prepared to support them with rational polemic. The *Dialogus* was thus a blend of conservative and innovative methods. Bartholomew departed from Crispin, though, in what appears to have been a very deliberate alteration to the usual format of *Adversus Iudaeos* disputations, transforming it into a Christian-Christian dialogue. The *Dialogus* was designed to be an *apologia* for the instruction of Christians. Bartholomew sought to prevent his reader interacting with Jews, and to equip them for the difficult questions that they might ask. He was not looking to make converts.

Baldwin’s *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*

The authorship of the *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata* has lately been thrown into doubt. In booklists from the thirteenth century onwards two titles are attributed to Baldwin of Forde: *Liber de sectis hereticorum* and *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*. A decade or so ago, José Luis Narvaja identified them together in a fifteenth-century manuscript, produced for Thomas Basin, bishop of Lisieux (d. 1491). No internal evidence identifies the author, but Narvaja found that the text matched the incipits and second folios of booklist records for the *Liber de sectis hereticorum* and *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*.¹⁹⁴ The two works turn out to be one, or at least a pair. Narvaja pointed out that the author refers to *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata* as the second part.¹⁹⁵ On the evidence of the booklists, Narvaja treated the work as Baldwin’s, and so has Suzanne Coley in a recent doctoral thesis on the work.¹⁹⁶ However, Sabina Flanagan has questioned the attribution to Baldwin, arguing that Bartholomew is in fact a more likely candidate.¹⁹⁷

In either case, of course, the work deserves our attention. But Baldwin still seems the more likely author of the *Liber*. The attitude towards heresy displayed in the *Liber* is markedly different from Bartholomew’s views expressed in his works. Indeed, the *Liber* seems to have been designed to counter the concerns of men like Bartholomew. Probably, Baldwin wrote the text with Bartholomew in mind.

¹⁹² Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, p. 109.

¹⁹³ Novikoff, *Culture of Disputation*, p. 188.

¹⁹⁴ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 17-18

¹⁹⁵ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 18

¹⁹⁶ Coley, ‘Baldwin and the fear of heresy’.

¹⁹⁷ Flanagan, ‘The authorship of the *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*’. I am very grateful to Dr Flanagan for providing a proof of her article, and for further discussion of her arguments.

He set out to accomplish various things in this text. But, above all, he expounded reasons *not* to fear the presence of heresy: God used heresy for his own purposes; the heretics were always divided amongst themselves, and the Church stood firm.

The date of the *Liber's* production most probably spans Baldwin's years at Forde, Worcester, and Canterbury. Coley identified a manuscript of Forde that had been used in preparation for the *Liber*.¹⁹⁸ Walter Map wrote that Baldwin continued writing as bishop of Worcester. *De sacramento altaris* and *De commendatione fidei* had already been completed, so it was perhaps the *Liber* that occupied Baldwin at that time. These, of course, were the very years when Bartholomew sent Baldwin his *Contra fatalitatis errorem* and *Dialogus contra Iudeos*.¹⁹⁹ As Flanagan points out, apart from 'a brief honeymoon period' at Canterbury, work on the *Liber* would be difficult once Baldwin became embroiled in litigation with the monks of Christ Church.²⁰⁰

The overarching narrative that Baldwin sought to present in the work as a whole is summarised in the prologue to the *Liber*:

Just as the devil was from the beginning a murderer and did not stand in the truth, envying our salvation and the glory of God, so also he now desires that man should perish and is unwilling that the truth should stand. Therefore, with grave persecutions, either by speech of contradiction or the sword of persecution, he has agitated against the faith from the beginning, and does not desist. But, by the marvellous dispensation of God, faith increases through contradiction and is perfected through persecution. ... 'There must also be heresies,' says the apostle, 'that they who are proved may be manifest.'²⁰¹

In short, God allows Satan to assail the Church with heresy and persecution, because he uses these to refine the Church. As well as revealing the elect, this refining also brought about the expression of orthodox dogmas formulated in response to heresy. Baldwin wanted to demonstrate that process. So, in part one of the work – the *Liber de sectis hereticorum* – he set out the historical details of certain heresies. Then, in part two – *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata* – he described how the dogmas of the Church were developed in response to these heresies. The result was an innovative text, blending together historical and dogmatic sources that Baldwin informed the reader he 'took pains to read and reread' in preparation.²⁰² Baldwin explained his approach to these sources thus:

¹⁹⁸ Coley, 'Baldwin and the fear of heresy', pp. 79-80.

¹⁹⁹ Map, *De nugis curialium*, p. 37.

²⁰⁰ Flanagan, 'The authorship of the *Liber*'.

²⁰¹ 'Inuidens dyabolus nostre salutis et glorie Dei sicut ab initio homicida fuit et in ueritate non stetit, ita et nunc hominem perire uoluit et ueritatem stare noluit. Propterea graues persecutiones uel linguis contradicentium uel gladiis persequentium contra fidem ab initio commouit et non desistit. Veruntamen Deo mirabiliter dispensante fides et contradictione crescit et persecutione perficit. ... "Oportet", inquit apostolus, "et hereses esse, ut qui probati sunt manifesti fiant."' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 30.

²⁰² 'Hanc sanam fidei doctrinam ex sanctorum patrum scriptis apprehendere cupiens quantos potui inuenire eorum de fide libros, epistolas, omelias, tractatus etiam aut sermones studiosius legere et ex parte relegere curaui.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 84.

It seemed useful to me, for their easier understanding, to interpose the writings of the Holy Fathers concerning the faith with some mention of history which was written in several histories ... For ignorance of these things can generate many difficult and useless questions.²⁰³

Part one of the work, the *Liber de sectis hereticorum*, is itself comprised of three parts. In the first, Baldwin copied from Irenaeus of Lyon's *Adversus haereses*, sections of which are followed by Baldwin's commentary under headings such as *Explanacio predictorum* or *De predictis*.²⁰⁴ Secondly, and more briefly, Baldwin excerpted sections from Rufinus' continuation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* and just a few lines from Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita*.²⁰⁵ Thirdly and finally, the *Liber de sectis hereticorum* concludes with two lists from the *Liber canonum* of pseudo-Isidorus: a list of Church councils, and a list of popes.²⁰⁶

Baldwin's purpose in the *Liber de sectis hereticorum* was to contrast the divisions of heretical sects with the unity of the Catholic Church. The lists of Church councils and popes at the end of the section was intended to demonstrate the Church's stability and authority. The Church had agreed on orthodox dogmas at various councils, and maintained an unbroken chain of leadership from the Roman see.²⁰⁷ By contrast, the heretics were unable to agree amongst themselves, and had so often failed to preserve a succession of leaders who maintained the ideas of their predecessors. Baldwin illustrated this point in one of his original chapters, inserted after Irenaeus' descriptions of the heretics Simon Magus, Menander, and Valentinus:

Menander agreed with Simon, from whom Valentinus dissented. Evidently, heretics in the diversity of sects are sometimes at variance with each other, and yet they all come together in contradiction of the truth. They are always divided amongst themselves, likewise they are against us. Isaiah says: 'Manasseh devours Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh, and likewise they are against Judah.' Menander was against Valentinus, and Valentinus against Menander, and likewise they were against Christ. 'Princes,' it says, 'gather as one against the Lord and against his Christ.'²⁰⁸

²⁰³ 'Vtile mihi uidetur ad faciliorem intelligenciam eorum que a sanctis patribus de fide cum aliqua mentione historie scripta sunt nonnulla de historiis interponere, ne obscurum sit lectori quod intelligenciam iuuare potest, ex serie nempe rerum gestarum intelligitur contra quos quibus temporibus et ex quibus causis concilia congregata sunt. Horum autem ignorancia multas questiones difficiles et inutiles generare potest.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 102-3.

²⁰⁴ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 32-65.

²⁰⁵ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 66-73.

²⁰⁶ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 74-83.

²⁰⁷ Incidentally, the list of popes is inaccurate, and Baldwin acknowledged that he had found a number of different versions: 'Hic ordo in quibusdam libris inuenitur. In aliis uero nonnulla diuersitas deprehenditur.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 82.

²⁰⁸ 'Menander Simoni consentit a quo et Valentinus dissentit. Heretici nimirum in diuersitate sectarum quandoque ab inuicem discordant et tamen omnes in contradictione ueritatis concordant. Inter se quandoque diuisi sunt semper simul contra nos sunt. Ysaia dicit: Manasses Effraim et Effraim Manassen, simul ipsi contra Iudam. Menander contra Valentinum, Valentinus contra Menandrum, simul ipsi contra Christum. Principes, inquit, conuenerunt in unum aduersus dominum et aduersus Christum eius.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 41-42. cf. Isa. 9.20; Ps. 2.2.

By referring to historic heresies, Baldwin hoped to show that no heresy lasted the course. Although he did not refer to his contemporary context, this was a pertinent point. Popular heresies and intellectual errors alike – no matter how troubling – would not ultimately survive.

Midway through the *Liber*, Baldwin placed an important chapter entitled ‘Why the blasphemies of heretics should be remembered’.²⁰⁹ The prompt for writing this chapter was Baldwin’s recognition, which apparently came as an after-thought, that it might seem ill-advised to produce a compilation of heretical ideas. ‘I am not ignorant,’ Baldwin assured his reader, ‘that to hear such unworthy ideas about God is painful and absurd for religious ears. For if the truth is scandalous and folly to those who are perishing, how much more shall blasphemy offend those who shall be saved!’²¹⁰ But, Baldwin argued, recording ancient heresies enabled a better understanding of the Church Fathers who condemned them: ‘How shall they who are arguing for the truth be understood, unless the falsehood being refuted is understood?’²¹¹ The darkness of heretical ideas had to be grasped, in order that the light of truth might shine all the brighter.²¹² It should be noted that this idea stood in stark contrast to Bartholomew’s refusal, particularly in *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, to engage with the substance of his opponents’ views.

The lists of Church councils and popes with which Baldwin ended the *Liber de sectis hereticorum* formed a connection to the second part of the work, the *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*. Each list corresponds with a subsection of *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, in which Baldwin examined first the Church councils and then papal decretals. *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata* is about four times the size of the *Liber de sectis hereticorum*. Its purpose was twofold: to produce a compilation of dogmas for the sake of record, and to demonstrate how these dogmas came into being. It was in *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata* that Baldwin deployed the blend of historical and dogmatic sources most effectively.

Baldwin wrote in the prologue to *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata* that the judgements of the holy councils and the Orthodox Fathers consisted of two parts: recognition of the truth, and confutation of blasphemous heresies.²¹³ He continued to list the specific ways in which these authoritative texts effected both of those functions:

There [in the writings of the church councils and Orthodox Fathers], truth is built upon, piety is preserved, falsehood is contested, impiety is condemned, the frauds of the heretics are exposed,

²⁰⁹ ‘Cur hereticorum blasphemie rememorentur.’ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 40-1.

²¹⁰ ‘Non sum nescius quam sit graue et absurdum religiosis auribus indigna de Deo audire. Si enim ueritas scandalum est et stulticia his qui pereunt, quantomagis blasphemia offendit eos qui salui fiunt.’ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 40; cf. 1 Cor. 1.18.

²¹¹ ‘Denique quomodo intelligitur arguens ueritas, nisi intelligatur redarguenda falsitas?’ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 41.

²¹² ‘Ergo, ut magnificencius gracias Deo referamus, cognoscenda est et ueritatis claritas in qua transpositi sumus, et ob hoc maxime credidi mendacia hereticorum non tacenda, ut lux que in tenebris lucet de tenebris tamen nobis luceat.’ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 41.

²¹³ ‘Doctrina sanctorum conciliorum et orthodoxorum patrum qui de fide scripserunt tam perfecte tam ualide suis partibus absoluitur, ut in utramque plene partem sufficere possit, primum quidem ad ueritatis agnitionem et religiosam pietatis confessionem, deinde uero ad omnium errorum subuersionem et blasphemantium hereticorum confutationem.’ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 84.

fabricators of errors and cultivators of perverse dogmas are duly subjected to condemnation. ... Against the enemies of the truth, the testimonies of each testament are set out for faith, and faithfully expounded according to canonical interpretation. There, all opportunity for impious interpretation is cut off, so that the understanding of all Holy Scripture is brought into compliance with Christ.²¹⁴

This was a forceful statement of the idea, basic to medieval theology, that the authorities had specified the correct interpretation of Scripture. Nevertheless, this emphasis was something of a concession for Baldwin. In *De commendatione fidei*, he had been fairly insistent about the sufficiency of Scripture.²¹⁵ But in the *Liber de sectis hereticorum et Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, Baldwin asserted the necessity of authoritative interpretations, if heretical deviations from the truth were to be prevented.

Baldwin affirmed the authority of the first seven ecumenical councils specifically, in an original chapter at the beginning of *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*. He then used the authorities to defend the authorities, inserting two further chapters, one from Gregory the Great and the other from Pope Gelasius, which commended the oecumenical councils. Of course, Gregory and Gelasius could only mention the councils that had been held by their time: Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Baldwin judged these first four councils more holy, on account of their antiquity.²¹⁶

The longest section of the whole work followed: an extended treatment of twenty-two church councils that Baldwin identified as a *Tractatus de conciliis xxii*.²¹⁷ Baldwin's particular interest in Church councils, and his apparent preservation of texts for them, was noted by Narvaja.²¹⁸ Flanagan's interpretation is that the *Liber* was produced by Bartholomew of Exeter, in anticipation of Lateran III.²¹⁹ She is surely right that contemporary general councils would have been in the author's mind, as the *Liber* makes the case for the authority of such councils. If Baldwin was indeed gathering material for the *Liber* while at Forde, as Coley suggests, and proceeded to write while bishop of Worcester, then he would have been working on the text at the time of Lateran III.

Following the *Tractatus de conciliis xxii*, Baldwin provided still further records of the canons of the Church councils, taken from dogmatic sources: the *Liber canonum* of pseudo-Isodore, and an anonymous synopsis of Church councils. Baldwin described how he had the latter text – which Narvaja

²¹⁴ 'Ibi ueritas astruitur, pietas asseritur, falsitas arguitur, impietas condempnatur, fraudes hereticorum deteguntur, fabricatores errorum and cultores peruersorum dogmatum debite maledictioni subiciuntur. ... utriusque testamenti pro fide testimonia contra ueritatis inimicos proponuntur et secundum ecclesiasticam interpretationem fideliter exponuntur. Ibi omnis occasio impie interpretationis amputatur, ut totius sacre scripture intellectus in obsequium Christi redigatur.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 84.

²¹⁵ *BFO*, p. 423.

²¹⁶ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 84-87.

²¹⁷ 'Explicit prima pars de uiginti duobus conciliis cum suis expositionibus in quibus orthodoxa fidei dogmata continentur.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 261.

²¹⁸ J. L. Narvaja, 'La idea de concilio en el "*Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*" de Balduino de Canterbury como argumento antiherético', *Patristica et mediaevalia* 29 (2008), 21-32.

²¹⁹ Flanagan, 'The authorship of the *Liber*'.

called the *Tractatus de septem conciliis generalibus*²²⁰ – translated into Latin from a Greek original.²²¹ Interwoven with these sources were accounts narrating how the Church had responded to heretics, taken from Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia longobardorum*. In this section of the work, Baldwin's commentaries on the excerpts were more extensive, as he offered more of his own ideas. For instance, he presented an original refutation of Arianism,²²² and explained why it was so important that Christ was *unigenitus et primogenitus*.²²³

In the second part of *Orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, and the final section of the entire work, Baldwin treated the judgements of fourteen early popes, from Anacletus to Leo I.²²⁴ Baldwin had actually introduced this section at the end of the *Liber de sectis hereticorum*. After the list of popes given there, Baldwin had listed the popes whose 'confessions' he would subsequently return to.²²⁵ Baldwin recognised that he did not present his material in chronological order, despite his deliberately historical approach to the work. A number of these popes had lived before the councils discussed at length. But Baldwin argued that it was appropriate to have dealt first with the councils, 'because of the dignity of their authority'.²²⁶

As Narvaja identified, in the *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, Baldwin reflected on the theological disputes of the patristic period and applied them to the twelfth century.²²⁷ The *Liber* is thus a uniquely interesting text.²²⁸ The blend of historical and dogmatic sources was significant. By historicising the conflict between orthodoxy and heresy, Baldwin acknowledged that orthodoxy was responsive to heresy. Of course, he did not credit any popes or councils with creating orthodoxy. Rather, these authorities had set out the truth in a way that was designed to exclude and condemn the heretical ideas of their time. New expressions of orthodoxy and condemnations of heresy were thus one and the same. The words of the Nicene Creed, for example, 'elucidate the arcane mysteries of the true faith; they confute the errors of the pagans, the Jews and the heretics with the declaration of truth'.²²⁹

²²⁰ Narvaja, 'La idea de concilio en el "*Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*"', 21-32.

²²¹ 'Extat tractatus grece editus de septem conciliis generalibus grecis quem ego nuper in latinum transferri feci.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 100.

²²² Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 92-3.

²²³ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 114-15.

²²⁴ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 262.

²²⁵ 'Post uiginti duo concilia cum suis exposicionibus in sequenti tractatu posita sequuntur confessiones sanctorum patrum et earum exposiciones, romanorum scilicet pontificum qui de fide scripserunt quorum nomina subnotata sunt.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 82. The popes are: Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander I, Sixtus I, Hyginus, Sixtus II, Felix I, Eutichian, Caius, Marcellinus, Julius I, Damasus, Innocent I, Leo I: Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, pp. 82-3.

²²⁶ 'Post ordinem conciliorum, que propter auctoritatis dignitatem duximus preponenda, adiungere etiam curauimus summorum pontificum de fide confessiones, quamuis in libro canonum decreta pontificum in quibus et confessiones eorum continentur ante concilia ordinate reperiantur.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 262.

²²⁷ Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 13.

²²⁸ H.-J. Sieben, 'Der "*Liber de sectis haereticorum*" und sein Beitrag zur Konzils-idee des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 15 (1983), 262-306.

²²⁹ 'Vere fidei archanum misterium elucidant, errores gentilium, iudeorum et hereticorum declaratione ueritatis confutant.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 101.

Most interesting of all was Baldwin's attitude to heresy. Whereas Bartholomew had identified the most dangerous contemporary threats, Baldwin took the long view. As a result, he was supremely confident. Heresy was used by God to test the Church and cause Christians to refine their expressions of orthodoxy. Baldwin thus concluded that the heretics hurt only themselves:

Therefore, heresies and scandals exercise and increase the faith, they arouse the negligent, they furnish caution, they prepare the victory of the faith, so that the truth of the gospel may triumph in all men, conquering both those whom it subjects to itself, and convincing those resisting. The ignorant and unwilling heretics are slaves to the salvation of the faithful, and condemn themselves. They destroy their own devices, and build up the reasoning of faith. Their sword enters their own hearts and their tongues are an infirmity against them. There is one foundation which no-one is able to shift. There is one firm rock on which the Church was founded. The winds blow, the rivers flow, but this house shall not be moved.²³⁰

At the end of this extract, Baldwin alluded to Jesus' parable of the wise and foolish builder.²³¹ The Church rested on the solid foundation of Christ's teaching; the heretics built on sand. This conclusion was unlike anything written by Bartholomew, who was profoundly anxious about any false teaching that threatened to distort Christian doctrines. Where Bartholomew saw that the Bible warned of false teachers and agents of Satan hidden in the Church, Baldwin saw that the true Church would be saved. Bartholomew's focus was first and foremost pastoral; Baldwin's theological. This led them to produce remarkably dissimilar responses to the idea of heresy. Bartholomew worried about his flock being drawn away. Baldwin seemed almost to welcome the opportunity for refining the Church through the fires of heresy. At the very least, he sought to reassure the faithful in a period marked by anxiety about heresy. Perhaps Baldwin wrote the *Liber* to assuage the fears of his friend and episcopal colleague, Bartholomew.

Summary

Over the course of their careers, Bartholomew and Baldwin devoted increasing attention to heresy and other threats to orthodoxy. This crescendo of concern was brought about by their reading of the Bible, the writings of the Church Fathers, the contemporary warnings of the Church, and, most significantly of all, by each other. The two men were nonetheless distinct in their attitudes. Bartholomew focused on the present threat and was deeply concerned that heretics and Jews might lead his flock astray. Baldwin

²³⁰ 'Hereses ergo et scandala fidem exercent et augent, negligenciam excitant, cautelam prestant, fidei uictoriam preparant, ut ueritas euangelii in omnibus triumphet, uincens pariter et eos quos sibi subicit et eos quos resistentes conuincit. Heretici nescientes et nolentes saluti credentium seruiunt, contra semetipsos seruiunt. Suis molitionibus sua molimina destruunt, fidei rationem componunt. Gladius eorum intrat in corda ipsorum et infirmate sunt contra eos lingue eorum. Vnum est fundamentum quod nemo mutare potest. Vna est petra firmissima super quam ecclesia fundata est. Ruant uenti, fluant flumina, non mouebitur domus ista.' Baldwin, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja, p. 31.

²³¹ Matt. 7.24-7; Luke 6.46-9.

took a historical and theological perspective and was confident that God's purpose was to refine the Church. They did share consternation about the developing methods and subjects of the schools. Both men were themselves products of the schools. They were not anti-intellectual. But they were suspicious of over-reliance on reason; they shared the view that reason had been corrupted by the Fall.

Bartholomew and Baldwin never stated explicitly that they wrote in order to defend their flock from false teaching. But, Bartholomew recalled that he had opposed astrology more vigorously after receiving the *cura animarum*. He warned, in his *Dialogus*, that those with doubts should enquire of learned Christians – surely with men such as himself in mind. And, in his *Liber*, Baldwin was explicit about the role of pastors in the cosmic war between truth and falsehood. These remarks, coupled with the simple fact that both men devoted precious time to writing their texts, make it clear that defending orthodoxy was, for these two bishops at least, a duty of pastoral care.

PART THREE: CONCLUSION

The papacy worried, in this period, about the apparent rise of heresy. Popular heretical movements posed a threat, not just to orthodoxy, but to Church hegemony. A major part of the response to this situation was the proclamation of increasingly urgent warnings that bishops were to root out heresy in their dioceses, on pain of deposition. This left conscientious bishops of England and Wales in an awkward position. There was no widespread problem of popular heresy in their dioceses. There were more opportunities to contest heresy abroad than at home. When Cathars did arrive in England, the bishops were not confident of the right course of action. Nevertheless, bishops could be seen to deal with heresy when they identified alternative targets: those guilty of ‘practical’ heresy, flouting the principles of reform; those guilty of intellectual error, like the astrologers; and the Jews, who perhaps suffered more because of the absence of popular heresy in England.

The reality, though, is that few bishops really concerned themselves with this aspect of pastoral care. They could still speak of ‘wolves’ they contested, referring to secular elites, corrupt prelates, or even the Devil. But, unlike preaching and the administration of the sacraments, actively rooting out heresy was not an unavoidable task. Baldwin of Forde, and more especially Bartholomew of Exeter, more than made up for the apathy of their episcopal colleagues. Bartholomew carried a burden of anxiety about threats to orthodoxy in the English Church. Baldwin, his friend, may have sought to reassure him that God had a purpose for the heresies that seemed so threatening.

CONCLUSION

THE BISHOP AS PASTOR

‘For shame! The man was made a woman, the chancellor a chancelloress, the priest a prostitute, the bishop a buffoon. Thus, although lame, he picked out his steps to hasten to the beach from the higher castle, clothed in a feminine, green, and enormously long tunic in place of the priestly purple tunic, with a hideously long-sleeved cape of the same colour in place of the chasuble, a mantle on his head in place of the mitre, a string purse in the left hand as if for selling, and a vendor’s rod in the right in place of the pastoral staff.’¹

- Hugh of Nonant

Buffoon’s betrayal

William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, suffered a spectacular fall from power in 1191. Soon after, Hugh of Nonant, bishop of Coventry, detailed Longchamp’s failings in a famous open letter, with one particularly scandalous passage purporting to describe the bishop’s attempted escape from England.² It was not just for comic effect that Longchamp was described putting off his pastoral, priestly, and episcopal garments for the disguise of feminine garb. Nonant was labouring the point that this transaction symbolised abandonment and betrayal of pastoral office. Of course, Longchamp’s downfall was not precipitated by pastoral negligence. But, having mostly considered bishops who were the model pastors of their generation, we are brought to consider men of a different mould. What of bishops like William Longchamp, or indeed like Hugh of Nonant, whom John Gillingham has described as ‘[King] John’s chief propagandist and, in his spare time, bishop of Coventry’?³

It is undeniable that some bishops showed a greater propensity than others to exercise their pastoral care with diligence. If we wish to form some idea of the range of pastoral diligence shown by bishops, the lower limit must be identified as well as the higher. So what did contemporaries think of as the ‘worst’ pastoral performance? In terms of preaching, Gerald of Wales accused William Longchamp of errors in his Latin and Cadwgan of Llandyfai of plagiarising sermons.⁴ As for administration of the sacraments, Adam of Eynsham criticised the young bishop who sprinkled chrism from horseback and

¹ ‘Proh dolor! Vir factus est femina, cancellarius cancellaria, sacerdos meretrix, episcopus scurra. Ergo de castello superiori licet claudus esset, pedibus preelegit properare ad littus, tunica feminea uiridi et enormiter longa, pro tunica sacerdotis hyacinthina indutus: cappam habens eiusdem coloris deformiter manicatam pro planeta, peplum in capite pro mitra; pannum lineum in manu sinistra quasi ad uendendum, pro manipulo; uirgam uenditoris in dextera, pro baculo pastoralis.’ *GRHS*, II, p. 219.

² D. B. Balfour, ‘William Longchamp: upward mobility and character assassination in twelfth-century England’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Connecticut, 1996), pp. 334-401; R. V. Turner, ‘Longchamp, William de (d. 1197)’, *ODNB* (2007); Desborough, ‘Hugh de Nonant’, 5; J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 228-9.

³ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 228; cited Desborough, ‘Hugh de Nonant’, 1.

⁴ See chapter two, pp. 83-4.

Hugh of Nonant for rushing the mass.⁵ With regard to heresy, Maurice, prior of Kirkham was appalled by Roger de Pont L'Évêque's ignorance of Salome's gender.⁶ According to these examples, even the worst of bishops' pastoral performance was nowhere close to abdication of pastoral responsibility. Longchamp preached.⁷ So too did Hugh of Nonant – albeit at Longchamp's excommunication.⁸ Confirmation was still being administered, however carelessly. And Roger's errors about Salome were only revealed because he himself had initially tried to correct Maurice.

If these were some of the worst errors that could be identified, then the episcopate as a whole was probably no less attentive toward their pastoral duties. We should be sceptical of modern historians' assessments that bishops were negligent pastors. These are arguments from silence. It is true that chroniclers emphasised bishops' political action. It is true that the bishops' *acta* reveal many of them frequently left their dioceses. But there are considerable amounts of their time unaccounted for. When all the evidence is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that bishops, however much they attended to political and administrative duties, also performed the necessary basics of pastoral care at the very least. Those bishops featured prominently in this thesis – men like Bartholomew of Exeter, Hugh of Lincoln and Richard Poore – were exemplary but not unique. It has been shown that Hubert Walter and Peter des Roches – accused by contemporaries and historians alike of prioritising secular interests – actually paid regard to the exercise of pastoral care.⁹ No bishop could entirely escape his pastoral responsibility. Nor would he want to: satisfying expectations with regard to pastoral care validated episcopal authority. The spiritual and sacramental authority of episcopal office was a powerful complement to the influence that came through family, wealth, land, and royal service.

The sources: towards *pastoralia*

The paucity of evidence showing routine pastoral care has long deterred scholars from making a broad assessment of bishops' pastoral activity. With the exception of Hugh of Lincoln's *vitae*, narrative sources were not written with any emphasis on pastoral care. The *English Episcopal Acta* series is a valuable resource. But, as Nicholas Vincent has remarked, 'If his diocesan administration were all we knew of him, Langton would emerge as a conscientious but not particularly significant administrator'.¹⁰ In other words, no assessment of bishops' priorities, or the energy with which they pursued them, can be discerned from the *acta* alone. The evidence from commentators, and more especially from the bishops' own writing, is of great importance.

⁵ See chapter four, pp. 116 & 132.

⁶ See chapter six, pp. 186-8.

⁷ See chapter two, pp. 82-3.

⁸ See chapter two, p. 80.

⁹ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 32-41; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ Vincent, 'Stephen Langton', pp. 112-13.

Many of these episcopal texts have received little attention. Where they have been examined, it has been because of an interest either in the individual author, or the specific genre of text. But, in gathering together a variety of texts, produced by a variety of bishops, we have formed a corpus of evidence with which to consider pastoral office. As with any corpus of evidence, it has limitations, and these must be borne in mind. But it does afford a new perspective on bishops' priorities. Bishops were interested in and wrote about a variety of issues. Not every subject they addressed related to their spiritual office. But, if there is a unifying theme or common denominator to their writing, it is pastoral care. This was the topic addressed most often and most clearly. We have seen that bishops left to posterity evidence of their preaching, of their treatment of the sacraments, and of heresy. Some texts have been neglected in the past because, as stand-alone pieces, they seem to address niche subjects. But, viewing our corpus of texts as a whole, the bishops' pastoral motive for writing comes more clearly into focus.

The variety of the source material is apparent in terms of genre. But we have noted only a little of the variation across time. William Campbell identified 'an inverse bell curve of literary complexity in pastoral literature for parish priests'. The late twelfth-century works, in his judgement, were 'often well-intentioned but relatively inaccessible'. As the thirteenth century proceeded, simpler texts were designed to be more accessible. Beyond the period studied here, Campbell observed that pastoral texts – diocesan statutes in particular – gradually became more complex, reflecting better levels of education among the clergy.¹¹ The evidence we have examined in this thesis certainly matches Campbell's observations. Boyle's *pastoralia* – the pastoral manuals designed for priests' instruction – were preceded by sermon collections, treatises and a variety of other sources produced and commissioned by bishops, already designed to address pastoral issues. Some bishops expressed a general ambition that this was for the benefit of the clergy.¹² But they did not yet demonstrate the clear emphasis on didacticism that came later in our period.

It should be acknowledged that, in focusing on pastoral care, we have forced some texts into a construct. These texts do contain evidence of engagement with pastoral care. But they also reveal bishops' other interests, and even other modes of behaviour. We observed in the introduction that Hugh du Puiset's collection of books reflected the tastes of a connoisseur, and that works produced by William Longchamp, Richard fitz Neal, and Hubert Walter reflected their royal service.¹³ Julia Barrow has argued that William de Vere's patronage of literature derived from an enthusiasm for Anglo-Norman picked up at the royal court.¹⁴ And those scholar-bishops who continued to write no doubt enjoyed the opportunity to exercise their academic abilities.

¹¹ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 265.

¹² See chapter five, pp. 149-50.

¹³ See the introduction, pp. 13 & 23-4.

¹⁴ Barrow, 'William de Vere', 175-89.

The texts we have analysed were produced by bishops who had studied at the schools. Thus, we have heard mostly from men who leaned towards intellectual matters. But, while that fact should be borne in mind, it is too simplistic to imagine that scholars always made conscientious pastors, and it is especially misleading to suggest that conscientious pastors had all been scholars. Moreover, many scholar-bishops did not become authors, for whatever reason. As Jane Sayers wrote of Jocelin of Wells, he ‘might well have fitted into that kind of group of able and business-like men who felt no need to compose or write treatises’.¹⁵ In short, as Cheney pointed out, background was no reliable predictor of a future bishop’s conduct.¹⁶ And there was no one model for the bishop, nor even two or three. But can we say anything of episcopal office nonetheless?

Episcopal office and the pastoral priority

Episcopal office was fundamentally pastoral. The least spiritually-minded bishop could not avoid this reality. Land, wealth, and political influence were the accoutrements of episcopal office, not its defining features. Political and administrative functions were integral to episcopal office and could easily become the priority in terms of the time and energy they required. Nicholas Karn was not wrong to conclude of William Longchamp that he ‘clearly regarded his work in secular government as his primary task’.¹⁷ But even a lauded pastor like Hugh of Lincoln knew what it was to have administration and politics consume his time, as Adam of Eynsham recalled:

‘Now’, he [Hugh] would say, ‘almost the only difference between the governors or bailiffs of towns and the prelates of the church, is that the former are deciding cases every day and the latter on alternate days. The former at times are allowed to attend to their own worldly affairs, whereas the latter are scarcely permitted occasionally to attend to their spiritual welfare.’¹⁸

Bishops were generally to be found engaging in a common set of activities; what divided them was which of those activities they appeared to prioritise. It has long been recognised that all bishops – including those who studiously avoided the *curia regis* – were significant political actors. Increasingly, it is recognised that all bishops – including those who devoted themselves to royal service – were still pastors of their flock. How well each individual bishop served as a pastor is not usually possible to discern. But the fact of bishops’ pastoral care and something of its appearance is indicated in this thesis.

The basic problem for bishops was lack of time. Which duties could they afford to put off, and which could they not? Political and administrative matters must often have seemed more pressing than pastoral

¹⁵ J. Sayers, ‘Jocelin of Wells and the role of a bishop in the thirteenth century’, in R. Dunning (ed.), *Jocelin of Wells: Bishop, Builder, Courtier* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 37.

¹⁶ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, pp. 27-9.

¹⁷ Karn, ‘The twelfth century’, p. 7.

¹⁸ “‘Iam,” inquit, “urbium pretores uel presides et ecclesiarum presules eo fere solo distare cernuntur quod isti continuis, illi diebus interpolates, forensibus uacant litigiis. Illis interdum licet rei familiaris sue utilitatibus consulere, isti ipsa etiam animarum suarum negotia uix quandoque permittitur tractare.”” *MVSH*, II, p. 149.

care. Pastoral instruction, however, was not an optional extra for bishops. As contemporaries saw it, all bishops were teaching all of the time, even by their most routine words and actions.¹⁹ The only question was: what kind of message did they transmit and how effectively? When the bishop delivered spiritual instruction in speech or writing, or indeed performed any pastoral duty, simply by doing so he communicated the importance of spiritual matters. The evidence suggests that all bishops preached. It is true that less well-educated bishops might avoid preaching, as Richard of Dover did at his Church council of 1175.²⁰ But this is no surprise, when men like Gerald of Wales leaned in to catch every word and deride every error. It generally required a bishop like Gilbert Foliot, with all his exegetical expertise, to preach on such occasions.

While most of the sermons we hear of were given at councils, these were exceptional occasions. The routine preaching of a bishop in his diocese was unexceptional, in every sense. Not until the bishop claimed to have seen visions of the late king and archbishop crossing from purgatory to paradise was his sermon noted by commentators.²¹ Indeed, if it were not for Bartholomew of Exeter's sermon collection, the evidence for bishops' diocesan preaching would be virtually non-existent. The next best evidence comes from Hugh of Lincoln's hagiographers, and, while they acknowledged Hugh's preaching, it was not their main focus. Bartholomew's sermons demonstrate that a bishop could preach often enough to fulfil his pastoral responsibilities respectably, and still leave time for the many other duties that required attention. Giving very similar sermons each year, for the same occasion, helped to cut down preparation time.²² Bishops also saved time through efficiency. We have found suggestions in the sources that the travel necessitated by other business could be treated as a kind of visitation, attending to sermons and sacraments along the way.²³ And so, practically speaking, the bishop could combine his political and pastoral duties.

It also relieved pressure on the bishop to delegate pastoral responsibilities. Cheney saw the bishops' pastoral role as a kind of paternal authority, distant from the actual work of pastoral care.²⁴ With regard to the administration of the sacraments, this was essentially correct. We do, of course, hear of bishops administering the sacraments in person.²⁵ But mostly this central task of the *cura animarum* was left to the clergy of his diocese. This did not mean that bishops ignored the administration of the sacraments. As their texts demonstrate, the opposite was true. Ideas about the sacraments threatened to develop more rapidly than bishops could comprehend. If they were to ensure the correct administration of the

¹⁹ See chapter three, pp. 97-103.

²⁰ See chapter two, p. 78.

²¹ See chapter two, p. 81.

²² See chapter one, p. 58.

²³ See chapter two and four, pp. 81-4 & 117.

²⁴ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 146.

²⁵ See chapter four, pp. 133-4 & 137.

sacraments in their dioceses, bishops themselves needed to understand the latest ideas so that they could instruct the clergy.

Not every bishop would have been inclined, like Roger of Worcester, to get to the bottom of the sacramental theology emanating from Paris.²⁶ Most bishops probably responded slowly to changing conceptions of the sacraments. Even the educated bishops whose works comprise most of our evidence tended to have an old-fashioned emphasis in their teaching on the Eucharist.²⁷ But, eventually, the English episcopate caught up with the new thinking, and began to disseminate statutes and constitutions by which they communicated to their clergy how the sacraments should be administered.²⁸

Defending the flock from false teaching was not a regular feature of bishops' pastoral care; heresy was a background concern. Certainly, when heretics arrived in England, bishops knew it was for them to respond.²⁹ But, most of the time, the bishop's many other duties would have seemed more important. Not so for Bartholomew of Exeter. He devoted an extraordinary amount of time and energy to answering the threats he identified. Moreover, he was concerned that the educated clergy – no doubt including his episcopal colleagues – were so lax with regard to false doctrine that they risked falling victim themselves.³⁰ Baldwin of Forde, though less worried about the danger heresy posed, agreed with Bartholomew that fighting wolves was an integral part of pastoral office. The bishop's place, he suggested, was on the frontline of the battle between orthodoxy and heresy.³¹

Across the range of pastoral duties, bishops were active in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The amount of attention bishops gave to pastoral care probably increased through the period. They were increasingly explicit that pastoral care was a motivation for writing the texts they produced. It is significant that, in the early thirteenth century, a number of scholars who had been connected to Peter the Chanter's circle were appointed to the episcopate in England. These men were closely familiar with the latest theological treatments of pastoral care. But they were not the first generation of bishops to engage with questions about pastoral care. Bishops of the late twelfth century prepared the way for the more systematic changes to pastoral care introduced in the thirteenth century.

Between Paris and parish: bishops and the transmission of ideas

'He did not simply stand at the centre of things – he was the centre.'³² So concluded John Ott and Anna Jones of the medieval bishop and his place in medieval society. They referred to the bishop's many and

²⁶ See chapter five, pp. 150-52.

²⁷ See chapter four, p. 134.

²⁸ See chapters three, four and five, pp. 103-7, 129-33 & 158-61.

²⁹ See chapter six, pp. 177-9.

³⁰ See chapter seven, pp. 206-7.

³¹ See chapter seven, p. 190.

³² Ott and Jones, 'The bishop reformed', p. 1.

varied social contacts: with kings, scholars, and prelates, as well as with the rustics and parish priests of their diocese. But the bishop did not only connect these social groups. He stood between the authoritative and intellectual worlds of Rome and Paris, and the parishioners of his diocese. In the early thirteenth century, this connection was increasingly direct. Bishops who had been to the schools themselves and participated in discussions about moral theology and pastoral care could then apply the latest ideas in their dioceses. Men like Stephen Langton, Richard Poore and Alexander of Stainsby belong to this category.

But in the late twelfth century, bishops were more often one link – albeit an important one – in a longer chain of connection between Paris, Rome and their dioceses. Even those bishops who had been to the schools did not necessarily consider themselves equipped to explain the latest ideas about pastoral care. Roger of Worcester supplies the clearest example here. When he was unsure of the theology of indulgences and indeed of confession more broadly, Roger turned to the theologian Senatus, who presumably had some contact with other scholars judged by the conclusions at which he arrived. Certainly, Guy of Southwick reported that he had spoken with scholars in preparation for his own tract on confession for William de Vere.³³ In these instances men like Senatus and Guy mediated the latest ideas from the schools to bishops, who could then instruct their clergy to administer the sacrament accordingly. When Roger was uncertain how to deal with the heretics who arrived in his diocese, he turned to his fellow bishop Gilbert Foliot, most likely because Gilbert had been at the Council of Tours and should have been able to expound the judgements of the papacy in full detail.³⁴ Thus, Roger did not always have recourse to direct connection with Paris or Rome. He sometimes asked those in England whom he expected to possess the relevant knowledge.

There were other ways in which bishops imported ideas from the schools. Some mediated texts into England. Bartholomew of Exeter seems to have been among the first to introduce an English diocese to Gratian.³⁵ Cadwgan of Llandyfai brought a variety of scholastic texts into his diocese of Bangor, and was apparently in the process of preparing more for dissemination.³⁶ Other bishops employed theologians expert in pastoral theology, such as William de Montibus.³⁷ *Magistri* were everywhere found in bishops' households.³⁸ Christopher Cheney thought that bishops' households were more likely to dispute 'nice legal points' than engage in 'literary debates'.³⁹ But the latest ideas about pastoral care might equally have been the subject of discussion. Bishops surely relied on the *magistri* they employed

³³ See chapter five, pp. 150-2.

³⁴ See chapter six, p. 179.

³⁵ See chapter five, p. 149.

³⁶ See chapters three and five, pp. 110-13 & 161-3.

³⁷ See chapter three, pp. 107-10.

³⁸ Baldwin, '*Studium et Regnum*', 199-215.

³⁹ Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 28.

to navigate the complexities of pastoral office. As Hugh Thomas points out, ‘the personal mobility of the secular clergy made them ideal transmitters of knowledge’.⁴⁰

Bishops’ dependence on the papacy has been ably demonstrated by Charles Duggan with regard to the twelfth century, and by Gibbs and Lang for the thirteenth.⁴¹ The acquisition and collection of papal decretals by bishops, and their dissemination – however imperfect – of papal canons in their own dioceses, shows that bishops leant on papal authority and were thus vital for Rome’s influence. We have little to add to this, except to observe that the papacy’s concerns, about heresy for example, were shared by various bishops of England. It is difficult to establish the causal connection. In their treatments of heresy, bishops failed to mention even the charge given them by Rome to root out heretics, let alone the course of action prescribed.⁴² After Lateran IV, bishops certainly borrowed from the council in their own diocesan statutes. But Langton’s first statutes for Canterbury predated Lateran IV, and proved equally influential in England. The close and continuing association between bishops and the schools is also suggested by the way bishops’ statutes were more influenced by the statutes issued by the bishop of Paris than the canons of Lateran IV.⁴³ Rome’s influence over England in this period cannot be doubted. But that influence was not only felt in specific provisions given by decretals or by legatine visitations. Rome set certain priorities that bishops in England and Wales responded to.

Paris and Rome were obviously the most influential forces in directing pastoral theology. But they were not the only influences on bishops seeking to address questions of pastoral care. Monk-bishops continued to look to the monastic world for guidance. This was the clear message that Adam of Eynsham wished to communicate about Hugh of Lincoln in his *Magna vita*. Hugh had been a model bishop, precisely because he was a model monk.⁴⁴ Baldwin of Forde evidently stood in a tradition of Cistercian thought that influenced all of his theology.⁴⁵ But Gilbert Foliot also, although contemporaries seemed almost to forget his monastic background (so long was his episcopal career), retained connections with the monastic world. Not only did Gilbert compose and send homilies to two Cistercian abbeys,⁴⁶ but we have shown that he made use of Ailred of Rievaulx’s exegesis in his treatment of pastoral questions in his commentary on the *Pater noster*.⁴⁷

Bishops also looked to the authorities. Naturally, the Bible and the Church Fathers were an influence. But more recent authorities could be drawn upon too, with Bartholomew of Exeter depending on Anselm of Canterbury and Gilbert Crispin, for instance.⁴⁸ Lastly, and importantly, these bishops

⁴⁰ Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, p. 365.

⁴¹ Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, *passim*; Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, *passim*.

⁴² See chapter six, p. 177-8, and chapter seven generally.

⁴³ See chapter three, p. 106.

⁴⁴ Runciman, ‘Monk-bishops’, pp. 74-5.

⁴⁵ Bell, ‘Baldwin of Ford and twelfth-century theology’, pp. 136-48; Bell, ‘The ascetic spirituality of Baldwin of Ford’, 227-50; Holman, ‘Cistercian spirituality in Baldwin of Ford’, 355-64.

⁴⁶ See chapter one, pp. 47-51.

⁴⁷ See chapter four, pp. 123-5.

⁴⁸ See chapter seven, pp. 199 & 211-12.

influenced each other. Gilbert Foliot was consulted by other bishops.⁴⁹ Bartholomew and Baldwin shaped each other's attitudes towards heresy.⁵⁰ And in the early thirteenth century, the main sources employed by bishops in their diocesan statutes were the earlier statutes of their episcopal colleagues.⁵¹

With the passage of time, bishops served as a more direct point of connection between Paris, Rome and their dioceses. But throughout the period, and especially in the late twelfth century, it was common for ideas to be transmitted from the schools to a theologian or ecclesiastic who in turn advised their bishop. The bishop could then instruct the clergy of his diocese, so that they might instruct the laity. The agency of the bishop in this process depended on the man himself. The flow of ideas could be instigated by the bishop, as the example of Roger of Worcester demonstrates. But sometimes the instigation came from someone else: a Richard Barre or a Peter of Blois.⁵² Still, without the interest and assistance of the bishop, new ideas about pastoral care might have had little impact.

Conclusion: the bishop as pastor

The bishops of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century England and Wales held office in a period punctuated by political trauma. Thomas Becket, their archbishop, was cut down in his cathedral; they experienced interdict and exile; they negotiated their way through rebellions and civil war. It was a time of advancement in administrative and legal processes, and bishops played no small part in the development of bureaucratic forms and processes. But this was also a period that saw significant developments in theology, contributing to a fresh articulation of and a renewed emphasis on the bishop's pastoral responsibilities. As with politics and administration, this was not something bishops could ignore.

The remarkable events in which these bishops were involved and their individual achievements as political figures, administrators, and in some cases as intellectuals, has tended to eclipse their basic pastoral identity. In the bishops' own writing, it is possible to see that the issues they addressed and the questions they asked most often related to pastoral care. What are the implications here? Even in a period of political turmoil, episcopal office was still fundamentally pastoral. Most encounters between individual Christians and their bishop would have related to pastoral care. Although these activities were rarely recorded, bishops preached sermons, confirmed children, ordained clergy, dedicated churches, heard confessions and more. Bishops took up the ideas of Paris and the prescriptions of Rome and applied them in their dioceses. Bishops took the ambitions of the Church and made them a reality.

⁴⁹ See chapter six, p. 177.

⁵⁰ See chapter seven generally.

⁵¹ See chapter three, pp. 103-7.

⁵² See chapter two, pp. 75 & 83.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College

MS 222 (Originally formed one manuscript with MS 226).

MS 226 ('S.' Langton, *De penitentia sub persona Magdalene*).

MS 358, fols. 75r–76v (Baldwin of Forde?, 'Ad laudem Bartholomei Exoniensis episcopi de coloribus rhetoricis').

Cambridge, St John's College

MS 57, fols. 147-352 (Stephen Langton, *Quaestiones*).

Cambridge, Trinity College

MS R. 14. 40, pp. 359-262 (Baldwin of Forde?, 'Ad laudem Bartholomei Exoniensis episcopi de coloribus rhetoricis'. This manuscript is numbered by page, not folio).

Cambridge, University Library

MS Gg.6.42, fols. 21r-27r (The 'Sol meldunensis').

Hereford Cathedral Library

MS O.6.viii, fols. 59r-90v (Cadwgan of Llandyfai, 'Orationes').

London, British Library

MS Harley 3255 (Richard Barre, *Compendium ueteris et noui testamenti*).

MS Add. 15971, fols. 2r-66r (Bartholomew of Exeter, *Contra fatalitatis errorem*).

MS Royal 2 D. XXXII, fols. 138v-168v (Gilbert Foliot, homilies).

Oxford, Balliol College

MS 152 ('S.' Langton, *De penitentia sub persona Magdalene*).

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

MS Bodley 449, fols. 1r-89r (Bartholomew of Exeter, sermons).

MS Bodley 482 (Bartholomew of Exeter, *Dialogus contra Iudeos*).

MS Bodley 633, fols. 197r-199v (Senatus of Worcester, treatise on the theology of penance).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

MS, lat. 14526 (Stephen Langton, *Distinctiones*).

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Adam of Eynsham, *Magna vita Sancti Hugonis*, 2 vols., ed. D. L. Douie and D. H. Farmer, OMT (Oxford, 1961–62).
- Adam of Eynsham, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, ed. R. Easting (Oxford, 2002).
- Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and on Birds*, ed. C. Burnett (Cambridge, 1988).
- Ailred of Rievaulx, *Aelredus Rieuallensis opera omnia*, vol. III, ed. G. Raciti, CCCM 2B (Turnhout, 2001).
- Ailred of Rievaulx, *Homiliae de oneribus prophetis Isaiae*, ed. G. Raciti, CCCM 2D (Turnhout, 2005).
- Ailred of Rievaulx, *Sermones I*, ed. G. Raciti, CCCM 2C (Turnhout, 2012).
- Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis: Introduction doctrinale et littéraire*, ed. J. Longère (Louvain, 1965).
- Alan of Lille, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, J.-P. Migne, PL 210 (Paris, 1855).
- Alberigo, J., Dossetti, J. A., Joannou, P. P., Leonardi, C., Prodi, P. and Jedin, H. (eds.), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973).
- Alexandri Neckam Sacerdos ad altare, ed. C. J. McDonough, CCCM 227 (Turnhout, 2010).
- Alexandri Essebiensis Opera omnia, Pars I: Opera theologica, ed. F. Morenzoni and T. H. Bestul, CCCM 188 (Turnhout, 2004).
- Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi cxviii*, ed. M. Petschenig, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 62 (Vienna, 1913).
- Ambrose, *Hexameron, De paradiso, De Cain, De Noe, De Abraham, De Isaac, De bono mortis*, ed. C. Schenkl, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 32.1 (Vienna, 1896).
- Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. J. J. Savage (New York, 1961).
- Anderson, A. O. and Anderson, M. O. (eds.), *The Chronicle of Melrose* (London, 1936).
- Andrew of St Victor, *Super duodecim prophetas in Iolem*, ed. F. A. van Liere and M. A. Zier, CCCM 53G (Turnhout, 2007).
- Anselm of Canterbury, *Sancti Anselmi opera omnia*, vol. II, ed. F. S. Schmitt, (Edinburgh, 1938).
- Augustine, *De civitate dei, Libri I-X*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL 47 (Turnhout, 1955).
- Augustine, *Four Anti-Pelagian Writings*, ed. J. A. Maurant and W. J. Collinge, The Fathers of the Church 86 (Washington DC, 1992).
- Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, J.-P. Migne, PL 38 (Paris, 1865).
- Baker, A. T. (ed.), 'An Anglo-French life of St Osyth', *Modern Language Review* 6 (1911), 476-502.
- Baldwin of Forde, 'Balduini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi tractatus diuersi', J.-P. Migne, PL 204 (Paris, 1855), cols. 401-774.
- Baldwin of Forde, *Balduini de Forda opera: Sermones et De commendatione fidei*, ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 99 (Tournai, 1991).
- Baldwin of Forde, *Le sacrement de l'autel*, 2 vols., ed. J. Morson and E. de Solms, Sources Chrétiennes 93 (Paris, 1963).
- Baldwin of Forde, *Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*, ed. J. L. Narvaja, Rarissima Mediaevalia 2 (Münster, 2008).

- Baldwin of Forde, *Spiritual Tractates*, 2 vols., trans. D. N. Bell, Cistercian Fathers 38-39 (Kalamazoo, 1986).
- Baldwin of Forde, *The Commendation of Faith*, trans. D. N. Bell and J. P. Freeland (Kalamazoo, 2000).
- Barlow, F. (ed.), *Exeter 1046-1184*, EEA 11 (Oxford, 1996).
- Barlow, F. (ed.), *Exeter 1186-1257*, EEA 12 (Oxford, 1996).
- Barnes, P. M. and Powell, W. R. (eds.), *Interdict Documents*, Pipe Roll Society: New Series 34 (London, 1960).
- Barrow, J. (ed.), *Hereford 1079-1234*, EEA 7 (Oxford, 1993).
- Barrow, J. (ed.), *St David's Episcopal Acta, 1085-1280*, South Wales Record Society (Cardiff, 1998).
- Bartholomew of Exeter, 'Penitential', ed. A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 163-300.
- Bartholomew of Exeter, *Contra fatalitatis errorem*, ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 157 (Turnhout, 1996).
- Bede, *In proueria Salomonis libri iii*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983).
- Bell, D. N. (ed.), 'The commentary on the Lord's Prayer of Gilbert Foliot', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 56 (1989), 80-101.
- Bell, M. (ed.), *Wulfic of Haselbury, by John, abbot of Ford*, Somerset RS 47 (1933).
- Benson, L. D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2008).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi opera*, 8 vols., ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1963).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. and trans. B. S. James (London, 1953).
- Bethel, D., 'The lives of St Osyth of Essex and St Osyth of Aylesbury', *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (Brussels, 1970), 118-21.
- Bieniak, M., 'A critical edition of Stephen Langton's question "De persona"', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin, Université de Copenhague* 77 (2006), 85-109.
- Bieniak, M., 'Who created the light? A critical edition of Stephen Langton's question on "Fiat Lux" (Gen. 1,3)', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 36 (2011), 279-300.
- Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 94 (Turnhout, 1984).
- Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange (Köln, 1851).
- Capes, W. W. (ed.), *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, Cantilupe Society 3 (Hereford, 1908).
- Cheney, C. R. (ed.), *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216)* (London, 1953).
- Cheney, C. R. and John, E. (eds.), *Canterbury 1193-1205*, EEA 3 (Oxford, 1986).
- Cheney, C. R. and Jones, B. E. A. (ed.), *Canterbury 1162-1190*, EEA 2 (Oxford, 1986).
- Cheney, C. R., *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales: A Calendar with an Appendix of Texts* (Oxford, 1967).
- Cheney, M., Smith, D., Brooke, C. and Hoskin, P. M. (eds.), *Worcester 1186-1218*, EEA 34 (Oxford, 2008).

- Cheney, M., Smith, D., Brooke, C. and Hoskin, P. M. (eds.), *Worcester 1062-1185*, EEA 33 (Oxford, 2007).
- Chodorow, S. and Duggan, C. (eds.), *Decretales ineditae saeculi XII: from the Papers of the Late Walter Holtzmann*, Monumenta iuris canonici, Series B, Corpus collectionum 4 (Vatican City, 1982).
- Church, S. and Amt, E. (eds.), *Dialogus de scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer, and Constitutio Domus Regis: the Disposition of the Royal Household* (Oxford, 2007).
- Constable, G., 'An unpublished letter by Abbot Hugh II of Reading concerning Archbishop Hubert Walter', in T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 17-31.
- Conway Davies, J. (ed.), *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272* (Cardiff, 1946-8).
- Coss, P. (ed.), *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Crouch, D. (ed.), *Llandaff Episcopal Acta, 1140-1287*, South Wales Record Society (Cardiff, 1988).
- Darlington, R. R. (ed.), *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory (register I)*, Pipe Roll Society 76, new ser. 38 (London, 1968).
- Delhay, P., 'Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur la pénitence', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 19 (1952), 203-24.
- Denifle, H. and Chatelain, E. (eds.), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-97).
- Denton, J. H. and Hoskin, P. M. (eds.), *Coventry and Lichfield 1215-1256*, EEA 43 (Oxford, 2014).
- Doble, G. H. (ed. and trans.), *Life of St Nectan*, Cornish Saints 45 (Torquay, 1941).
- Douglas, D. C. (ed.), *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury* (London, 1944).
- Duggan, A. (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000).
- Ebbesen, S. (ed.), 'A partial edition of Stephen Langton's *Summa* and *Quaestiones* with parallels from Andrew Sunesen's *Hexaameron*', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin, Université de Copenhague* 49 (1985), 25-224.
- Eustathius, *Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée*, ed. E. A. de Mendieta and S. Y. Rudberg, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur* 66 (Berlin, 1958).
- Fowler, J. T. (ed.), *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society 107 (Durham, 1903).
- Franklin, M. J. (ed.), *Coventry and Lichfield 1160-1182*, EEA 16 (Oxford, 1998).
- Franklin, M. J. (ed.), *Coventry and Lichfield 1183-1208*, EEA 17 (Oxford, 1998).
- Franklin, M. J. (ed.), *Winchester 1070-1204*, EEA 8 (Oxford, 1993).
- Fransen, G. and Legendre, P., 'Rectifications et additions au texte imprimé de la *Practica legum et decretorum* de Guillaume de Longchamp', *Revue d'histoire de droit français et étranger* 44 (1966), 115-8.
- Frere, W. H., *The Use of Sarum: The Ordinal and Tonal* (Cambridge, 1901).
- Frere, W. H., *The Use of Sarum: The Sarum Customs* (Cambridge, 1898).
- Garton, C. (ed.), *The Metrical Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1986).
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini*, ed. B. Clarke (Cardiff, 1973).
- Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, 8 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, RS 21 (London, 1861-1891).

- Gerald of Wales, *Speculum duorum*, ed. Y. Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens (Cardiff, 1974).
- Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1978).
- Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 2 vols., ed. W. Stubbs, RS 72 (London, 1879-1880).
- Gibbons, A. W. (ed.), *Liber antiquus de ordinationibus vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells, Lincolniensis episcopi, 1209–1235* (Lincoln, 1888).
- Gilbert Crispin, ‘*Disputatio Iudei et Christiani*’, in A. Abulafia and G. R. Evans (eds.), *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (London, 1986).
- Gilbert Foliot, *Epistolae*, 2 vols., ed. J. A. Giles (Oxford, 1856).
- Gilbert Foliot, *Expositio in cantica canticorum*, J.-P. Migne, PL 202 (Paris, 1855), cols. 1147–304.
- Gilbert Foliot, *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967).
- Goering, J. W. (ed.), *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Texts and Studies 108 (Toronto, 1992).
- Goering, J. W., and Pryce, H., ‘The *De modo confitendi* of Cadwgan, Bishop of Bangor’, *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000), 1-28 (text: 16-28).
- Gratian, *Corpus iuris canonici, vol. I: Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879).
- Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, ed. R. Etaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999).
- Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout, 1971).
- Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum: Libri viii-xiv*, ed. D. Norberg, CCSL 140A (Turnhout, 1982).
- Gregory the Great, *Règle pastorale*, 2 vols., ed. F. Rommel, B. Judic and C. Morel, Sources Chrétiennes 381-382 (Paris, 1992).
- Guy II, *Scala claustralium – Die Leiter der Mönche zu Gott: eine Hinführung zur lectio divina*, ed. D. Tibi (Nordhausen, 2009).
- Hall, G. D. G. (ed.), *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England commonly called Glanvill* (London, 1965).
- Häring, N. M. (ed.), ‘Alanus de Insulis: *Regulae caelestis iuris*’, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 48 (1981), 124-53.
- Häring, N. M. (ed.), ‘The commentary of Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers, on Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*’, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 21 (1954), 241-357.
- Harper-Bill, C. (ed.), *Norwich 1070-1214*, EEA 6 (Oxford, 1990).
- Harper-Bill, C. (ed.), *Norwich 1215-1243*, EEA 21 (Oxford, 2000).
- Henry of Avranches, *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England*, ed. J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus, The Mediaeval Academy of America: Studies and Documents 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).
- Hesbert, R.-J. (ed.), *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols., *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta: series maior fontes* 7-12 (Rome, 1963-79).
- Hilka, A., ‘Die anglonormannische versversion des Briefes des Presbiters Johannes’, *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache* 43 (1915), 82–112 (text: 100-111).

- Holtzmann, W. (ed.), *Papsturkunden in England*, 3 vols., Abhandlung der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, new series 25, 3rd ser. 14–15 & 33 (Berlin, 1930–52).
- Holtzmann, W. and Kemp, E. (eds.), *Papal Decretals relating to the Diocese of Lincoln in the Twelfth Century*, Lincoln RS 47 (Lincoln, 1954).
- Hoskin, P. M. (ed.), *Chichester 1215-1253*, EEA 22 (Oxford, 2001).
- Hoskin, P. M. (ed.), *Worcester 1218-1268*, EEA 13 (Oxford, 1997).
- Hugh of St Victor, *De archa Noe*, ed. P. Sicard, CCCM 176 (Turnhout, 2001).
- Jackson, J. E. (ed.), *Liber Henrici de Soliaco*, Roxburghe Club (London, 1882).
- Jerome, *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*, J.-P. Migne, PL 23 (Paris, 1845).
- John of Forde, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite*, ed. and trans. P. Matarasso (Collegeville, 2011).
- John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. J. B. Hall and K. S.B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 98 (Turnhout, 1991).
- John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909).
- John of Salisbury, *Policraticus, I-IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 118 (Turnhout, 1993).
- John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, OMT (Oxford, 1986).
- John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, 2 vols., ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1986).
- Johnson, D. P. (ed.), *London 1189-1228*, EEA 26 (Oxford, 2003).
- Jones, W. H. R. (ed.), *Vetus registrum Sarisberiense alias dictum registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi*, RS 80 (London, 1884).
- Jones, W. H. R. and Macray, W. D. (eds.), *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, RS 97 (London, 1891).
- Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad*, trans. A. C. Rigg (Toronto, 2005).
- Joseph of Exeter, *Trojan War*, 3 vols., ed. and trans. A. K. Bate (Liverpool, 1986).
- Karn, N. (ed.), *Ely 1109-1197*, EEA 31 (Oxford, 2005).
- Karn, N. (ed.), *Ely 1198-1256*, EEA 42 (Oxford, 2013).
- Karris, R. J., ‘St Bonaventure’s use of *distinctiones*: his independence of and dependence on Hugh of St Cher’, *Franciscan Studies* 60 (2002), 209-50.
- Kemp, B. R. (ed.), *Salisbury 1078-1217*, EEA 18 (Oxford, 1999).
- Kemp, B. R. (ed.), *Salisbury 1217-1228*, EEA 19 (Oxford, 2000).
- Lacombe, G., ‘An unpublished document on the Great Interdict (1207-12130’, *The Catholic Historical Review* 15 (1930), 408-20.
- Lovatt, M. (ed.), *York 1154-1181*, EEA 20 (Oxford, 2000).
- Lovatt, M. (ed.), *York 1189-1212*, EEA 27 (Oxford, 2004).
- Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Annales monastici*, 5 vols., RS 36 (London, 1864-9).
- Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis epistolae*, RS 25 (London, 1861).
- Macray, W. D. (ed.), *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham, ad annum 1418*, RS 29 (London, 1863).
- Major, K. (ed.), *Acta Stephani Langton*, Canterbury and York Society 50 (Oxford, 1950).

- Matthew Paris, 'Vita sancti Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis', in F. Liebermann (ed.), *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strasbourg, 1879), pp. 318-29.
- Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, 7 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872-83).
- Matthew Paris, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. and trans., R. Vaughan (Gloucester, 1984).
- Matzke, J. E. (ed.), *Les oeuvres de Simund de Freine* (Paris, 1909).
- Maurach, G. (ed.), 'Daniel of Morley, *Philosophia*', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 204-55.
- Mayr-Harting, H. (ed.), *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester, 1075-1207*, Canterbury and York Society 56 (London, 1964).
- Meyer, P. (ed.), *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, régent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1891-1901).
- Neininger, F. (ed.), *London 1076-1187*, EEA 15 (Oxford, 1999).
- Nigel Whiteacre, *A Mirror for Fools: The Book of Burnel the Ass*, trans. J. H. Mozley (Oxford, 1961).
- Nigel Whiteacre, *Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960).
- Nigel Whiteacre, *Nigellus de Longchamp dit Wireker 1: Introduction, Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos*, ed. A. Boutemy (Paris, 1959).
- Peckham, W. D. (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, Sussex RS 46 (1946).
- Peter Abelard, *Opera Theologica V, Expositio in hexameron, Abbreviatio Petri Abaelardi expositionis in hexameron*, ed. M. Romig, D. E. Luscombe and C. Burnett, CCCM 15 (Turnhout, 2004).
- Peter Lombard, *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis episcopi sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 2 vols. ed. I. Brady, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4-5 (Grottaferrata, 1971-81).
- Peter of Blois, *Petri Blesensis opera omnia*, J.-P. Migne, PL 207 (Paris, 1855).
- Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. E. Revell, Auctores Britannici medii aevi (Oxford, 1993).
- Peter of Cornwall's Book of Revelations*, ed. R. Easting and R. Sharpe (Toronto, 2013).
- Peter the Chanter, *Verbum adbreuiatum (textus prior)*, ed. M. Boutry, CCCM 196A (Turnhout, 2012).
- Peter the Chanter, *Verbum adbreuiatum (textus alter)*, ed. M. Boutry, 196B (Turnhout, 2012).
- Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, ed. I. M. Resnick (Washington DC, 2006).
- Phillimore, W. P. W. and Davis, F. N. (eds.), *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, episcopi Lincolniensis*, 3 vols., Canterbury and York Society 1.3-4 (1907-9).
- Phillimore, W. P. W. and Davis, F. N. (eds.), *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, 3 vols., Lincoln RS 3, 6 & 9 (Lincoln, 1912-14).
- Powicke, F. M. and Cheney, C. R. (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church (1204-1313), vol. I* (Oxford, 1964).
- Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, J.-P. Migne, PL 110 (Paris, 1852).
- Raine, J. (ed.), *The Register or Rolls of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York*, Surtees Society 56 (Durham, 1872).
- Ralph de Diceto, *Radulfi de Diceto decani Londoniensis opera historica: The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 68 (London, 1976).
- Ralph Niger, *Radulfi Nigri chronica*, ed. R. Anstruther, Caxton Society 13 (London, 1851).

- Ralph of Coggeshall, *Radulphi de Coggeshall chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875).
- Ramsey, M. R. (ed.), *Bath and Wells 1061-1205*, EEA 10 (Oxford, 1995).
- Raymond Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, ed. Xaverio Ochoa and Aloisio Diez (Rome, 1976).
- Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. J. T. Appleby, Medieval Texts (London, 1963).
- Richter, M. (ed.), *Canterbury Professions*, Canterbury and York Society 67 (Torquay, 1973).
- Rigg, A. G., 'Roger of Ford's poem on the Virgin: a critical edition', *Cîteaux* 40 (1989), 200-14.
- Robert Grosseteste, *Hexaemeron*, ed. R. C. Dales and S. Gieben (Oxford, 1982).
- Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis: a critical edition with introduction and notes*, ed. J. J. F. Firth (Toronto, 1971).
- Roger of Howden, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, 4 vols., ed. W. Stubbs, RS 51 (London, 1868-71).
- Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum ab anno domini MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo*, 3 vols., ed. H. G. Hewlett, RS 84 (London, 1886-1889).
- Rogeri de Wendover Chronica*, 5 vols., ed. H. O. Coxe (London, 1841-44).
- Saunders, H. W. (ed.), *The First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, Norfolk Record Society 11 (1939).
- Savage, H. E. (ed.), *The Great Register of Lichfield Cathedral known as Magnum registrum album*, William Salt Archaeological Society (1924).
- Searle, E. (ed.), *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, OMT (Oxford, 1980).
- Senatus, 'Vita S. Oswaldi archiepiscopi', *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, RS 71 (London, 1886), 60-97.
- Senatus, 'Vita sanctissimi Wulfstani confessoris atque pontificis', in R. R. Darlington (ed.), *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, Camden Series, 3rd ser. 40 (London, 1928).
- Sigebert of Gembloux, *Epistula cuiusdam aduersus laicorum in presbyteros coniugatos contumeliam*, ed. E. Sackur, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 2 (Berlin, 1891).
- Smith, D. M. (ed.), *Carlisle 1133-1292*, EEA 30 (Oxford, 2005).
- Smith, D. M. (ed.), *Lincoln 1067-1185*, EEA 1 (Oxford, 1980).
- Smith, D. M. (ed.), *Lincoln 1186-1206*, EEA 4 (Oxford, 1986).
- Snape, M. G. (ed.), *Durham 1153-1195*, EEA 24 (Oxford, 2002).
- Snape, M. G. (ed.), *Durham 1196-1237*, EEA 25 (Oxford, 2002).
- Stapleton, T. (ed.), *Chronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, Camden Society 34 (1846).
- Stephen Langton, *Quaestiones theologiae, Liber I*, ed. R. Quinto and M. Bieniak (Oxford, 2014).
- Stephen Langton, *Selected sermons of Stephen Langton*, ed. P. B. Roberts, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 10 (Toronto, 1980).
- Stevenson, J. (ed.), *Chronicon de Lanercost, 1201-1346*, Bannatyne Club 65 (1839).
- Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I: vol. I, Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, RS 38 (London, 1864).
- Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I: vol. II, Epistolae Cantuariensis*, RS 38 (London, 1865).

- Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192*, 2 vols., RS 49 (London, 1867).
- Sulavik, A., ‘Baruch secundum Decanum Salesburiensem: Text and introduction to the earliest Latin commentary on Baruch’, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 68 (Paris, 2001), 249–96.
- Talbot, C. H., ‘Cadogan of Bangor’, *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 9 (1958), 18–40 (text: 26–40).
- Thomas Aquinas, *The De malo of Thomas Aquinas*, ed. R. Regan (Oxford, 2001).
- Thomas of Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. F. Morenzoni, CCCM 82A (Turnhout, 1993).
- Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Bloomfield (Louvain, 1968).
- Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich (De vita et passione Sancti Willelmi martyris Norwicensis)*, ed. A. Jessopp and M. R. James (London, 1896).
- Thomson, R. M. (ed.), *The Chronicle of the Election of Hugh Abbot of Bury St Edmunds and Later Bishop of Ely* (Oxford, 1974).
- Thouzellier, C., *Une somme anti-cathare: Le ‘Liber contra Manicheos’ de Durand de Huesca, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et documents* 32 (Louvain, 1964).
- Vincent, N. (ed.), *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England, 1216–1218*, Canterbury and York Society 83 (Woodbridge, 1996).
- Vincent, N. (ed.), *Winchester 1205–1238*, EEA 9 (Oxford, 1994).
- Waddell, C. (ed.), *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary: (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. oct. 402) with variants from the “Bernardine” Cistercian breviary*, Spicilegium Friburgense, Texts concerning the History of Christian Life 44 (Freiburg, 2007).
- Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, OMT (Oxford, 1983).
- Walter of Coventry, *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, 2 vols., ed. W. Stubbs, RS 58 (London, 1872–73).
- Whitelock, D., Brett, M. and Brooke, C. N. L. (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church, 871–1204*, vol. II (Oxford, 1981).
- Wilkins, D., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiensi*, vol. I (London, 1737).
- William Longchamp, *Practica legum et decretorum*, ed. E. Caillemer, ‘Le droit civil dans les provinces anglo-normandes au XIIe siècle’, *Mémoires de l’Académie nationale des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Caen* (Caen, 1883), 157–226.
- William of Auvergne, *Sermones de tempore, Sermones de sanctibus, Sermones de communi sanctorum et de occasionibus*, ed. F. Morenzoni, CCCM 230–230C (Turnhout, 2010–13).
- William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum: Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, 2 vols., ed. R. Howlett, RS 82 (London, 1884–85).
- Wilmart, A. (ed.), ‘Un opuscule sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XIIe siècle’, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1935), 337–52.
- Wright, T. (ed.), *The Anglo-Norman Satirical Poets* (London, 1874).
- Wright, T. (ed.), *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., RS 59 (London, 1872).
- Wright, T. (ed.), *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Society 16 (London, 1841).

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- Abulafia, A. S., 'An attempt by Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, at rational argument in the Jewish-Christian debate', *Studia Monastica* 26 (1984), 55-74.
- Abulafia, A. S., 'Gilbert Crispin's disputations: an exercise in hermeneutics', in R. Foreville (ed.), *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des 11e - 12e siècles* (Paris, 1984), pp. 511-20.
- Abulafia, A. S., 'Jewish-Christian disputations and the twelfth-century renaissance', *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 105-25.
- Adams, S. J., 'Monastic preaching and pastoral care as ascetic sanctity in William of Malmesbury's "Vita Wulfstani"', *The American Benedictine Review* 63 (2012), 122-40.
- Ambler, S. T., *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213-1272* (Oxford, 2017).
- Anlezark, D., 'Which books are "most necessary" to know? The Old English Pastoral Care preface and King Alfred's educational reform', *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 98 (2017), 759-80.
- Antl, L., 'An introduction to the "Quaestiones theologicae" of Stephen Langton', *Franciscan Studies* 12 (1952), 151-75.
- Antl, L., 'Stephen Langton's principle of determining the essence of a sacrament', *Franciscan Studies* 14 (1954), 336-73.
- Arnold, J. H., *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005).
- Aurell, M., *Le chevalier lettré: savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2011).
- Aylmer, G. and Tiller, J. (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (2000).
- Baber, H. E., 'The real presence', *Religious Studies* 49 (2013), 19-33.
- Bagliani, A. P., 'Le concile de Latran IV: un aperçu des recherches récentes', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions und Kulturgeschichte* 109 (2015), 15-26.
- Baldwin, J. W., 'Master Stephen Langton, future Archbishop of Canterbury: the Paris schools and Magna Carta', *EHR* 123 (2008), 811-46.
- Baldwin, J. W., 'Studium et Regnum: the penetration of university personnel into French and English administration at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Revue des études islamiques* 44 (1976), 199-215.
- Baldwin, J. W., *Masters, Princes, and Merchants; the Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970).
- Baldwin, J. W., *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages: 1000-1300* (Lexington, Mass., 1971).
- Balfour, D. B., 'William Longchamp: upward mobility and character assassination in twelfth-century England', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Connecticut, 1996).
- Barlow, F., *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986).
- Barrat, A., 'The sermons of Stephen Langton: a new manuscript', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 43 (1976), 111-20.
- Barrau, J., 'Did medieval monks actually speak Latin?', in S. Vanderputten (ed.), *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 21 (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 293-317.
- Barrau, J., 'Gilbert Foliot et l'Écriture, un exégète en politique', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27 (2005),

16-31.

Barrau, J., *Bible, lettres et politique: l'écriture au service des hommes à l'époque de Thomas Becket* (Paris, 2013).

Barrow, J., 'A twelfth-century bishop and literary patron: William de Vere', *Viator* 18 (1987), 175-89.

Barrow, J., 'Hereford bishops and married clergy', *Historical Research* 60 (1987), 1-8.

Barrow, J., *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800 – c. 1200* (Cambridge, 2015).

Bartlett, R., *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982).

Bartlett, R., *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986).

Bataillon, L.-J., Bériou, N., Dahan, G., Quinto, R. (eds.), *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 9 (Turnhout, 2010).

Baumann, D., 'Stephen Langton und sein Bischofssitz Canterbury', in H. P. Neuheuser (ed.), *Bischofsbild und Bischofssitz: geistige und geistliche Impulse aus regionalen Zentren des Hochmittelalters*, *Archa verbi* 9 (Münster, 2013), pp. 147-72.

Baumann, D., *Stephen Langton: Erzbischof von Canterbury im England der Magna Carta (1207-1228)* (Leiden, 2009).

Bejczy, I. P., 'Two questions of Stephen Langton on the cardinal virtues', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 31 (2006), 299-335.

Bell, D. N. and Freeland, J. P., 'The sermons on obedience and the cross', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994), 241-90.

Bell, D. N., 'Baldwin of Ford and the sacrament of the altar', in J. R. Sommerfeldt (ed.), *Erudition at God's Service*, *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* 11, *Cistercian Studies Series* 98 (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 217-42.

Bell, D. N., 'Baldwin of Ford and twelfth-century theology', in E. R. Elder (ed.), *Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism*, *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* 7, *Cistercian Studies Series* 65 (Kalamazoo, 1981), pp. 136-48.

Bell, D. N., 'Certitudo fidei: faith, reason, and authority in the writings of Baldwin of Forde', in J. R. Sommerfeldt (ed.), *Bernardus Magister*, *Cistercian Studies Series* 135 (Spencer, 1992), pp. 249-75.

Bell, D. N., 'Heaven on Earth: celestial and cenobitic unity in the thought of Baldwin of Ford' in E. R. Elder (ed.), *Heaven on Earth*, *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* 9, *Cistercian Studies Series* 68 (1983), 1-21.

Bell, D. N., 'The ascetic spirituality of Baldwin of Ford', *Cîteaux* 31 (1980), 227-50.

Bell, D. N., 'Twelfth-century divination and a passage in the *De commendatione fidei* of Baldwin of Forde', *Cîteaux* 44 (1993), 237-52.

Benson, R. L. and Constable, G. (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982).

Benson, R. L., *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968).

Bethel, D., 'The lives of St Osyth of Essex and St Osyth of Aylesbury', *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (1970), 75-127.

Bieniak, M., 'Faith and the interconnection of the virtues in William of Auxerre and Stephen Langton', in M. Forlivesi, R. Suinto, and S. Vecchio (eds.), *Fides Virtus: The Virtue of Faith from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, *Archa verbi* 12 (Münster, 2014), pp. 209-20.

Biget, J.-L., '"Les Albigeois": remarques sur une dénomination', in M. Zerner (ed.), *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition* (Nice, 1998) pp. 219-55.

- Biller, P. (ed.), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, York Studies in Medieval Theology 2 (York 2013).
- Biller, P., 'William of Newburgh and the Cathar mission to England', in D. Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-c.1700: Essays in honour of Claire Cross*, Studies in Church History 12 (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 11-30.
- Bird, J., 'The construction of orthodoxy and the (de)construction of heretical attacks on the Eucharist in *pastoralia* from the Peter the Chanter's circle in Paris', in C. Bruschi and P. Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, York Studies in Medieval Theology 4 (York, 2003), pp. 45-61.
- Bishop, E., 'Gifts of Bishop Henry of Blois, abbot of Glastonbury, to Winchester Cathedral', in E. Bishop (ed.), *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 392-401.
- Bolton, B. M., 'Pastor bonus: Matthew Paris's Life of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207-28)', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* (2004), 57-70.
- Boudet, J.-P., *Entre Science et Nigromance: Astrologie, Divination et Magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe - XVe siècle)* (Paris, 2006).
- Boussard, J., 'Ralph Neville, évêque de Chichester et chancelier d'Angleterre', *Revue Historique* 176 (1935), 217-33.
- Boyle, L. E., 'The Fourth Lateran Council and manuals of popular theology', in T. J. Heffernan, *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 20-43.
- Boyle, L. E., 'The inter-conciliar period 1179-1215 and the beginning of pastoral manuals', in F. Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea, Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), pp. 43-55.
- Boyle, L. E., *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981).
- Brasington, B. C., 'Differentia est: a twelfth-century *summula* on anathema and excommunication', in U.-R. Blumenthal, A. Winroth and P. Landau (eds.), *Canon Law, Religion and Politics: Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville* (Washington DC, 2012), pp. 107-17.
- Brasington, B. C., *Order in the Court: Medieval Procedural Treatises in Translation*, Medieval Law and its Practice 21 (Leiden & Boston, 2016).
- Briscoe, M. G. and Jaye, B. H., *Artes praedicandi*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 61 (Turnhout, 1992).
- Brooke, Z. N. L., *The English Church and the Papacy: From the Conquest to the Reign of John*, (Cambridge, 1931).
- Brundage, J. A., *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago, 2008).
- Burnett, C. (ed.), *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century* (London, 1987).
- Burnett, C., *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London, 1977).
- Bynum, C., *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 13 (Missoula, 1978).
- Byrne, P., "'Non est vera misericordia nisi sit ordinata": pastoral theology and the practice of English justice, 1100-1250', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 2014).
- Callataÿ, G. de, 'La grande conjonction de 1186', in I. Draelants, A. Tihon and B. van den Abeele (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts Scientifiques au Temps des Croisades* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 369-95.
- Camargo, M., 'The late fourteenth-century renaissance of Anglo-Latin rhetoric', *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 45.2, Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Michael C. Leff (2012), 107-33.

- Campbell, W. H., *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England* (Cambridge, 2018).
- Carpenter, D. A., 'Archbishop Langton and Magna Carta: his contribution, his doubts and his hypocrisy', *EHR* 126 (2011), 1041-65.
- Carpenter, D. A., 'Chancellor Ralph de Neville and plans of political reform, 1215-1258', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth-Century England, II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987* (Woodbridge, 1988), 69-80.
- Catto, J. I. (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. I: The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984).
- Cazel, F. A., 'The legates Guala and Pandulf', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth-Century England, II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 15-21.
- Chadwick, H., *Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Early Church* (Aldershot, 1991).
- Cheney, C. R., 'Hubert Walter and Bologna', in C. R. Cheney, *The English Church and its Laws 12th-14th centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 160 (London, 1982), pp. 81-4.
- Cheney, C. R., 'The earliest English diocesan statutes', *EHR* 75 (1960), 1-29.
- Cheney, C. R., 'The statutes of Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, and related texts', in C. R. Cheney (ed.), *English Synodalia of the 13th century* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 51-89.
- Cheney, C. R., *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941).
- Cheney, C. R., *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government 1170-1213* (Manchester, 1956).
- Cheney, C. R., *Hubert Walter, Leaders in Religion* (London, 1967).
- Cheney, M. G., 'The Council of Westminster, 1175: new light on an old source', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Materials, Sources, and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*, Studies in Church History 11 (Oxford, 1975), 61-8.
- Cheney, C. R., *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250* (Manchester, 1950).
- Cheney, C. R., *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976).
- Cheney, M. G., *Roger, bishop of Worcester, 1164-1179* (Oxford, 1980).
- Church, C. M., 'Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1191): his episcopate and his share in the building of Wells', *Archaeologia* 50 (1887), 259-360.
- Clark, C. W., 'A Christian defense of astrology in the twelfth century: the *Liber cursuum planetarum* of Raymond of Marseilles', *International Social Science Review* 70 (1995), 93-102.
- Clark, M. J., 'Le cours d'Étienne Langton sur l'histoire scolastique de Pierre le Mangeur: le fruit d'une tradition unifiée', in G. Dahan (ed.), *Pierre le Mangeur ou Pierre de Troyes, maître du XIII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 12 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 243-66.
- Clark, M. J., 'Peter Comestor and Stephen Langton: lecturing on gospel faith in Parisian classrooms from 1150 to 1200', in M. Forlivesi, R. Suinto, and S. Vecchio (eds.), *Fides Virtus: The Virtue of Faith from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Archa verbi 12 (Münster, 2014), pp. 53-72.
- Clark, M. J., 'Stephen Langton and Hugh of St. Cher on Peter Comestor's "*Historia scholastica*": the Lombard's sentences and the problem of sources used by Comestor and his commentators', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 74 (2007), 63-117.
- Clayton, J., *St Hugh of Lincoln: A Biography* (London, 1931).
- Cohen, J., *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999).
- Colchester, L. S. (ed.), *Wells Cathedral: A History* (West Compton, 1982).

- Coley, S. G., 'Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and the fear of heresy in late twelfth-century England', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Southampton, 2018).
- Colish, M. L., 'Early scholastics and the reform of doctrine and practice', in C. M. Bellitto and L. I. Hamilton (eds.), *Reforming the Church before Modernity: Patterns, Problems and Approaches* (Aldershot, 2005).
- Colish, M. L., 'Scholastic theology at Paris around 1200', in S. E. Young (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 36 (Leiden, 2011), pp. 29-50.
- Constable, G., 'Monasteries, rural churches and the *cura animarum* in the early Middle Ages', *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (1982), 349-89.
- Constable, G., 'The language of preaching in the twelfth century', *Viator* 25 (1994), 131-52.
- Constable, G., *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Corner, D., 'The earliest surviving manuscripts of Roger of Howden's "Chronica"', *EHR* 98 (1983), 297-310.
- Corner, D., 'The *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, parson of Howden', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983), 126-44.
- Corran, E., 'Hiding the truth: exegetical discussions of Abraham's lie from Hugh of St. Victor to Stephen Langton', *Historical Research* 87 (2014), 1-17.
- Cotts, J. D., *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC, 2009).
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'The papacy and the Berengarian controversy', in H. E. J. Cowdrey (ed.), *Popes and Church Reform in the 11th Century* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 109-38.
- Crosby, E. U., *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066-1216* (New York, 2013).
- D'Alessandro, M., 'La quaestio di Stefano Langton su uita contemplatiua et actiua', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 35 (2010), 257-89.
- D'Alverny, M.-T., 'Abélard et l'astrologie', in R. Louis, J. Jolivet and J. Châtillon (eds.), *Pierre Abélard et Pierre le Vénérable: les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), pp. 611-30.
- D'Avray, D. L., 'Magna Carta: its background in Stephen Langton's academic biblical exegesis and its episcopal reception', *Studi medievali* 38 (1997), 423-38.
- D'Avray, D. L., 'Method in the study of medieval sermons', in N. Bériou, D. D'Avray, J. Riley-Smith, and M. Tausche (eds.), *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, Medioevo Latino: Biblioteca 11 (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 3-29.
- D'Avray, D., 'Popular and elite religion: feastdays and preaching', in K. M. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds.), *Elite and Popular Religion: Papers read at the 2004 Summer meeting and the 2005 Winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 162-79.
- Dahan, G., 'Exégèse et polemique dans les Commentaires de la Genèse d'Étienne Langton', in G. Dahan (ed.), *Les Juifs au regard de l'histoire: Mélanges en l'honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz* (Paris, 1985), 129-48.
- Dahan, G., *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1999).
- Dahan, G., *La polémique chrétienne contre le Judaïsme au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1991).
- Davies, F. M. R., 'The bishops of Wells and Bath and their *Acta*, 1061-1205', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 1991).

- Davies, S., 'The administration of the diocese of Worcester in the thirteenth century', unpublished PhD dissertation, (University of Wales, 1971).
- Deane, J. K., *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, 2011).
- Desborough, D. E., 'Politics and prelacy in the late twelfth century: the career of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry, 1188-98', *Historical Research* 64 (1991), 1-14.
- Donahue, C., 'Gerard Pucelle as a canon lawyer: life and the Battle Abbey case', in R. Helmholz, P. Mikat, J. Müller, and M. Stolleis (eds.), *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau zum 65 Geburtstag* (Paderborn, 2000), 333-48.
- Donovan, C., *The Winchester Bible* (Toronto, 1993).
- Douie, D. L., *Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the chapter of York, St Anthony's Hall Publications* 18 (York, 1960).
- Duggan, A. J., 'De consultationibus: the role of episcopal consultation in the shaping of canon law in the twelfth century', in B. C. Brasington (ed.), *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100: Essays in Honour of Martin Brett*, Church, Faith, and Cultures in the Medieval West (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 191-214.
- Duggan, A. J., 'Henry II, the English Church and the papacy, 1154-76', in C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (eds.), *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 154-83.
- Duggan, A. J., *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004).
- Duggan, C., 'Decretals of Alexander III to England', in F. Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea, Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), pp. 87-151.
- Duggan, C., 'Richard of Ilchester, royal servant and bishop', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 16 (1966), 1-21.
- Duggan, C., *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and their Importance in English History*, University of London Historical Studies 12 (London, 1963).
- Duggan, L. G., *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity* (Woodbridge, 2013).
- Duggan, C., *Canon Law in Medieval England: The Becket Dispute and Decretal Collections*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 151 (London, 1982).
- Dunning, R. W. (ed.), *Jocelin of Wells: Bishop, Builder, Courtier* (Woodbridge, 2010).
- Ebbesen, S., 'The semantics of the trinity according to Stephen Langton and Andrew Sunesen', in S. Ebbesen (ed.), *Topics in Latin philosophy from the 12th-14th centuries collected essays of Sten Ebbesen*, Ashgate studies in medieval philosophy (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 43-68.
- Edbury, P. E., 'Preaching the crusade in Wales' in A. Haverkamp and H. Vollrath (eds.), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), 221-33.
- Evans, G. R., *The Church in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2007).
- Farmer, D. H. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1982).
- Farmer, D. H., 'St Hugh of Lincoln and his biographers', *The American Benedictine Review* 16 (1965), 396-412.
- Farmer, D. H., *Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1985).
- Fichtenau, H., *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000-1200* (University Park, Pa., 1998).
- Filotas, B., *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto, 2005).
- Flanagan, S., *Doubt in an Age of Faith: Uncertainty in the Long Twelfth Century* (Turnhout, 2008).

- Forbes, F. A., *St Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1917).
- Foreville, R., *Le jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket du XIIIe au XVe siècle (1220-1470)* (Paris, 1958).
- Foreville, R., *L'église et la royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet, 1154–1189* (Paris, 1943).
- Frankforter, A. D., 'The *familiares* of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln: a glimpse at invisible men', *The American Benedictine Review* 27 (1976), 199-211.
- Franklin, M. J., 'The bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, c.1072–1208', in G. Demidowicz (ed.), *Coventry's First Cathedral: The Cathedral and Priory of St Mary* (Stamford, 1994), pp. 116-38.
- Frassetto, M. (ed.), *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the work of R. I. Moore* (Leiden, 2006).
- Frassetto, M. (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York, 1998).
- Freeman, E., 'Aelred of Rievaulx's pastoral care of religious women, with special reference to "*De institutione inclusarum*"', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46 (2011), 13-26.
- Frishman, J., Otten, W. and Rouwhorst, G. A. M. (eds.), *Religious Identity and the Problem of Historical Foundation: The Foundational Character of Authoritative Sources in the History of Christianity and Judaism*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 8 (Leiden, 2004).
- Froude, J. A., *Saint Hugh of Lincoln: James Anthony Froude's study of 'A bishop of the twelfth century' with an introduction by Sir Maurice Powicke*, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets 1 (Lincoln, 1959).
- Fryde, N., 'The roots of Magna Carta', in J. Canning and O. G. Oexle (eds.), *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 147 (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 53-65.
- Funkenstein, A., *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, 1993).
- Gelin, M.-P., 'Gervase of Canterbury, Christ Church and the archbishops', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009), 449-63.
- Giansante, M., 'Eretici e usurai: l'usura come eresia nella normativa e nella prassi inquisitoriale dei secoli XIII-XIV: Il caso di Bologna', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 23.2 (1987), 193-221.
- Gibbs, M. and Lang, J., *Bishops and Reform, 1215–1272* (Oxford, 1934).
- Gibson, M., 'The case of Berengar of Tours', in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), *Councils and Assemblies: Papers Read at the Eighth Summer Meeting and the Ninth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 61-8.
- Gilchrist, J., '"*Simoniaca haeresis*" and the problem of orders from Leo IX to Gratian', *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (1965), 209-35.
- Gilchrist, J., 'The office of the bishop in the Middle Ages', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1971), 85-101.
- Gillingham, J., 'Events and opinions: Norman and English views of Aquitaine, c.1152-c.1204', in M. G. Bull and C. Léglu (eds.), *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 57-82.
- Gillingham, J., *Richard I* (New Haven, 1999).
- Gilsdorf, S. (ed.), *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millenium* (Münster, 2004).
- Goering, J. and Payer, P. J., 'The "*Summa penitentie Fratrum Predicatorum*": a thirteenth-century confessional formulary', *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), 1-50.
- Goering, J. W. and Pryce, H., 'The *De modo confitendi* of Cadwgan, bishop of Bangor', *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000), 1-28.
- Goering, J., 'The invention of transubstantiation', *Traditio* 46 (1991), 147-70.

- Goering, J., *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Texts and Studies 108 (Toronto, 1992).
- Golding, B. J., ‘Gerald of Wales, the *Gemma ecclesiastica* and pastoral care’, in C. Gunn and C. Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in honour of Bella Millett* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 47-61.
- Goodwin, D. L., ‘*Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew*’: *Herbert of Bosham’s Christian Hebraism* (Leiden, 2006).
- Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England: c. 500 to c. 1307* (London, 1996).
- Grant, E., *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Greatrex, J., *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1066-1540* (Oxford, 1997).
- Green, J. R., *A Short History of the English People* (London, 1874).
- Greenway, D. E., ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, in D. E. Greenaway, C. J. Holdsworth, and J. E. Eleanor (eds.), *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 77-102.
- Gregory, A. L., ‘The Cambridge manuscript of the *Questiones* of Stephen Langton’, *New Scholasticism* 4 (1930), 165-226.
- Hamesse, J. and Hermand, X. (eds.), *De l’homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain, 1993).
- Haney, K. E., ‘Some Old Testament pictures in the psalter of Henry of Blois’, *Gesta* 24 (1985), 33-45.
- Haney, K. E., ‘The provenance of the Psalter of Henry of Blois’, *Manuscripta* 24 (1980), 40-4.
- Harkins, F. T. and Van Liere, F. A., *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory; a Selection of Works of Hugh, Andrew, Godfrey and Richard of St. Victor, and Robert of Melun* (Turnhout, 2012).
- Harper-Bill, C., ‘Bishop William Turbe and the diocese of Norwich, 1146–74’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1984), 142-60.
- Harper-Bill, C., ‘John and the Church of Rome’, in S. D. Church (ed.), *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 289-315.
- Harper-Bill, C., ‘John of Oxford, diplomat and bishop’, in M. J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of D. M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), 83-105.
- Harrington, J., ‘Vengeance and saintly cursing in the saints’ Lives of England and Ireland, c. 1060-1215’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 2018).
- Hartmann, W. and Pennington, K. (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140 - 1234: from Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX* (Washington DC, 2008), pp. 367-78.
- Harvey, K., ‘Objections to episcopal elections in England, 1216-72’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 55 (2011), 125-48.
- Harvey, K., *Episcopal Appointments in England: c. 1214 – 1344: From Episcopal Election to Papal Provision* (Farnham, 2014).
- Haskins, C. H., ‘The reception of Arabic science in England’, *EHR* 30 (1915), 56-69.
- Haussherr, R., ‘Petrus Cantor, Stephan Langton, Hugo von St. Cher und der Isaias-Prolog der Bible moralisée’, in R. Haussherr and E. König (eds.), *Bible moralisée: Prachthandschriften des hohen Mittelalters; gesammelte Schriften* (Petersberg, 2009), pp. 124-39.
- Hayward, J., ‘Guy Rufus, dean of Waltham (c.1162-1177) and bishop of Bangor (1177-1190)’, *Medieval History* 1 (1991), 34-47.
- Hegedus, T., *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology*, Patristic Studies 6 (New York, 2007).

- Hess, H., *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica* (Oxford, 2002).
- Hill, C., *Gilbert Foliot and the Two Swords: Law and Political Theory in Twelfth-Century England* (Austin, 2008).
- Hinnebusch, W. A., *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951).
- Hobbs, M. (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral: An Historical Survey* (Chichester, 1994).
- Hohler, C., 'St Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 18 (1966), 61-72.
- Holdsworth, C. J., 'Baldwin of Forde, Cistercian and archbishop of Canterbury', *Annual Report: Friends of Lambeth Palace Library* (1989), 13-31.
- Holdsworth, C. J., 'John of Ford and English Cistercian writing, 1167-1214', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (1961), 117-36.
- Holman, J., 'Cistercian spirituality in Baldwin of Ford', *Cistercian Studies* 23 (1988), 355-64.
- Holt, J. C., *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961).
- Hoyt, F. S., 'The Carolingian episcopate: concepts of pastoral care as set forth in the capitularies of Charlemagne and his bishops (789-822)', unpublished PhD thesis (Yale, 1975).
- Hudson, J. G. H., 'Administration, family and perceptions of the past in late twelfth-century England: Richard Fitz Nigel and the dialogue of the Exchequer', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 74-98.
- Humphreys, K. W. (ed.), *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Libraries 1 (London, 1990).
- Hunt, R. W., 'English learning in the later twelfth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 19 (1936), 19-43.
- Hunt, R. W., 'The disputation of Peter of Cornwall against Symon the Jew', in R. W. Hunt (ed.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 143-56.
- Hunt, R. W., *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)*, revised M. Gibson (Oxford, 1984).
- Hunter, I., Laursen, J. C. and Nederman, C. J. (eds.), *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005).
- Jaeger, C. S., *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994).
- James, M. R., 'The Salomites', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1934), 287-97.
- Jansen, K. L., 'Mary Magdalen and the mendicants: the preaching of penance in the late Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* 21.1 (1995), 1-25.
- Jaser, C., 'Ritual excommunication: an 'ars oblivionalis'?' in E. Brenner, M. Cohen and M. Franklin-Brown (eds.), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (Aldershot, 2013), pp. 119-42.
- Jones, S. R. and Watson, S. (eds.), *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts* (Woodbridge, 2013).
- Justice, S., 'Eucharistic miracle and eucharistic doubt', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42.2 (2012), 307-32.
- Kaeppli, T., 'Un recueil de sermons prêchés à Paris et en Angleterre', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 26 (1956), 161-91.
- Karfiková, L., *Grace and the Will according to Augustine*, trans. M. Janebová (Leiden, 2012).
- Kay, R., 'Gerald of Wales and the Fourth Lateran Council', *Viator* 29 (1998), 79-93.

- Kemp, B. R., 'God's and the king's good servant: Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, 1217-28: Denis Bethell Memorial Lecture 1997', *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 12 (1998), 359-78.
- Kieckhefer, R., 'Witchcraft, necromancy and sorcery as heresy', in M. Ostorero, G. Modestin and K. Tremp-Utz (eds.), *Chasses aux sorcières et démonologie: Entre discours et pratiques (XIVe-XVIIe siècles)* (Firenze, 2010), pp. 133-53.
- Kienzle, B. M. (ed.), *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 81-83 (Turnhout, 2000).
- Knowles, D. *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Oxford, 1951).
- Körntgen, L. and Waßenhoven, D. (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, Prinz-Albert-Forschungen 6 (Berlin, 2011).
- Kusaba, Y. L., 'Henry of Blois, Winchester, and the twelfth-century renaissance', in J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993* (Chichester, 1993), pp. 69-80.
- Kuttner, S. and Rathbone, E., 'Anglo-Norman canonists of the twelfth century', *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 7 (1949-51), 279-358.
- Kuttner, S., 'Concerning the canons of the Third Lateran Council', *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 13 (1957), 505-6.
- Lacombe, G. and Smalley, B., 'Studies on the commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 5 (1931), 5-266.
- Lacombe, G., 'The authenticity of the *Summa* of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *The New Scholasticism* 4 (1930), 97-114.
- Lacombe, G., 'The *Questiones* of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *The New Scholasticism* 3 (1929), 1-18 & 113-58.
- Lambert, M. D., *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, 3rd ed. (Malden, 2002).
- Landgraf, A. M., and Lacombe, G., 'The *Questiones* of Cardinal Stephen Langton', *The New Scholasticism* 4 (1930), 115-64.
- Langlois, C.-V., 'L'éloquence sacrée au Moyen Âge', *Revue des deux mondes* 115 (1893), 170-201.
- Larson, A. A., *Master of Penance: Gratian and the Development of Penitential Thought and Law in the Twelfth Century*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 11 (Washington DC, 2014).
- Leclercq, J., 'Simoniaca heresis', *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 523-30.
- Leland, J., *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709).
- Levy, I. C., Macy, G. and van Ausdall, K. (eds.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011).
- Lewis, C. E., 'Canonists and law clerks in the household of Archbishop Hubert Walter', in R. H. Bowers (ed.), *Seven Studies in Medieval English History and Other Historical Essays Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove* (Jackson, 1983).
- Lewis, C. E., 'Ricardus Anglicus: a 'familiaris' of Archbishop Hubert Walter', *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 22 (1966), 469-70.
- Longère, J., 'Maurice de Sully: évêque de Paris (1160-1196), le prédicateur', in M. Lemoine and A. Michel (eds.), *Notre-Dame de Paris: un manifeste chrétien (1160 - 1230)* (Turnhout, 2004).
- Longère, J., *La prédication médiévale*, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1983).
- Lordaux, W. and Verhelst, D. (eds.), *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *Medievalia Lovanensia* 1.4 (Louvain, 1976).

- Lovatt, M., 'The career and administration of Geoffrey Archbishop of York, ?1151–1212', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1974–75).
- Lucic, J., 'On the earliest contacts between Dubrovnik and England', *Journal of Medieval History* 18 (1992), 373–89.
- Macy, G., 'Berengar's legacy as a heresiarch', in P. Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and F. Niewöhner (eds.), *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 2 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 47–67.
- Macy, G., *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to Theologians c.1080-c.1220* (Oxford, 1984).
- Madan, F. and Craster, H. H. E., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been described in the Quarto Series, with references to the Oriental and other Manuscripts*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1895–1953).
- Maggioni, G. P. and Quinto, R., 'Is it admissible for a man to will differently from God (if, indeed, he knows what God wills)? A critical edition of a theological *quaestio* by Stephen Langton (d.1228)', *Przegląd tomistyczny* 17 (2011), 53–102.
- Maier, C. T., *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Major, K., 'The "familia" of Archbishop Stephen Langton', *EHR* 48 (1933), 529–57.
- Mâle, E., *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, 3rd edition, trans. D. Nussey (New York, 1958).
- Mantello, F. A. C. and Rigg, A. G. (eds.), *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington DC, 1996).
- Marner, D., 'The Bible of Hugh of Le Puiset (Durham Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1)', in D. W. Rollason, M. M. Harvey and M. C. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 471–84.
- Marson, C. L., *Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln: A Short Story of one of the Makers of Mediaeval England* (London, 1901).
- Matzke, J. E., 'Contributions to the history of the legend of Saint George, with special reference to the sources of the French, German and Anglo-Saxon metrical versions', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 18 (1903), 99–171.
- Mayer, H. E., *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972).
- Mayr-Harting, H. (ed.), *Saint Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the 8th Centenary of St. Hugh's Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987).
- McCue, J. F., 'The doctrine of transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: the point at issue', *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968), 385–430.
- Meadows, P. (ed.), *Ely: Bishops and Diocese, 1109–2009* (Woodbridge, 2010).
- Meadows, P. and Ramsay, N., *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Meens, B., *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014).
- Mesley, M., 'The construction of episcopal identity: the meaning and function of episcopal depictions within Latin saints' lives of the long 12th century', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2010).
- Mews, C. J., 'Bernard de Clairvaux and Peter Abelard', in B. P. McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 133–68.

- Mews, C. J., 'Between the schools of Abelard and Saint-Victor in the mid twelfth century: the witness of Robert of Melun', in D. Poirel (ed.), *L'École de Saint-Victor de Paris: influence et rayonnement du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne; colloque international du C.N.R.S. pour le neuvième centenaire de la fondation (1108-2008), tenu au Collège des Bernardins à Paris les 24-27 septembre 2008* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 121-38.
- Miller, E., *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: new series 1 (Cambridge, 1951).
- Millett, B., 'The pastoral context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies' in W. Scase (ed.), *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 43-66.
- Monagle, C., 'Theology, practice, and policy at the turn of the thirteenth century: the papacy and Peter Lombard', *Journal of Religious History* 37 (2013), 441-56.
- Montclos, J. de, *Lanfranc et Bérenger: la controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle* (Louvain, 1971).
- Moore, R. I., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975).
- Moore, R. I., *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2007).
- Morenzoni, F., 'La littérature des *artes praedicandi* de la fin du XII^e au début du XV^e siècle', in S. Ebbesen (ed.), *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 339-59.
- Morey, A. and Brooke, C. N. L., 'The Cerne letters of Gilbert Foliot and the legation of Imar of Tusculum', *EHR* 63 (1948), 523-7.
- Morey, A. and Brooke, C. N. L., *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge, 1965).
- Morey, A., *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937).
- Morson, J., 'Baldwin of Ford: a contemplative', *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 27 (1965), 160-4.
- Mortimer, R., 'The family of Rannulf de Glanville', *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research* 54 (1981), 1-16.
- Moule, J., 'Gilbert Glanvill, bishop of Rochester, 1185-1214, and the relationship of the see of Rochester to Canterbury to 1238', unpublished MA dissertation (University of Manchester, 1954).
- Muessig, C. A. (ed.), *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, 1998).
- Muessig, C. A. (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2002).
- Murray, A., 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 3 (1993), 51-82.
- Mursell, G., *The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno and Guigo I*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 127 (Salzburg, 1988).
- Mynors, R. A. B. and Thomson, R. M. (eds.), *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Mynors, R. A. B., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963).
- Narvaja, J. L., 'La idea de concilio en el "*Liber de sectis hereticorum et orthodoxe fidei dogmata*" de Balduino de Canterbury como argumento antiherético', *Patristica et mediaevalia* 29 (2008), 21-32.
- Naydenova-Slade, M. and Park, D., 'The earliest Holy Kinship image, the Salomite controversy, and a little-known centre of learning in northern England in the twelfth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008), 95-119.
- Neil, B. and Dal Santo, M. K. (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 47 (Boston, 2013).

- Nielsen, L. O., 'Three questions on the Old Law and the gospel precepts by Stephen Langton', *Cahiers de l'institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin, Université de Copenhague* 78 (2008), 3-36.
- North, J. D., 'Medieval concepts of celestial influence: a survey', in P. Curry (ed.), *Astrology, Science, and Society: Historical Essays* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 5-17.
- Novikoff, A. J., *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia, 2013).
- Oligier, P. R., *Les évêques réguliers: recherches sur leur condition juridique depuis les origines du monachisme jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1958).
- Oliver, G., *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and a History of the Cathedral, with an Illustrative Appendix* (Exeter, 1861).
- Omont, H. (ed.), *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements I, Rouen* (Paris, 1886).
- Orme, N., 'Lay literacy in England, 1100-1300' in A. Haverkamp and H. Vollrath (eds.), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 35-56.
- Orme, N., *English Church Dedications: with a survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter, 1996).
- Ott, J. S. and Jones, A. T. (eds.), *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages, Church, Faith, and Cultures in the Medieval West* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Ott, J. S., *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050-1150*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series (Cambridge, 2015).
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published online, 2004-) <www.oxforddnb.com>.
- Paget, J. C. and Schaper, J. (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, II: From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Parish, H., *Clerical Celibacy in the West, c.1100-1700* (Farnham, 2010).
- Peters, E. M., 'Transgressing the limits set by the Fathers: authority and impious exegesis in medieval thought', in S. L. Waugh (ed.), *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 338-62.
- Peters, E. M., *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia, 1978).
- Pfaff, R. W., *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Poggioli, P. A., 'From politician to prelate: the career of Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, 1184-1207', unpublished PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins University, 1984).
- Poole, R. L. and Bateson, M. (eds.), *John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers* (Oxford, 1902).
- Poole, R. L., 'Two documents concerning Archbishop Roger of York', *Speculum* 3 (1928), 81-3.
- Powicke, F. M., *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928).
- Purkis, W. J., *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008).
- Quinto, R., 'Bonte divine, toute-puissance divine et existence du mal: la discussion autour d'Augustin, Enchiridion 24-26 d'Anselme de Laon à Etienne Langton', in R. Berndt and M. Fedou (eds.), *Les réceptions des Pères de l'Église au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiale, Congrès du Centre Sèvres - Facultés jésuites de Paris (11-14 juin 2008) Actes, vol. II*, Archa verbi 10 (Münster, 2013), pp. 589-620.
- Quinto, R., 'Il codice 434 di Douai, Stefano Langton e Nicola di Tournai', *Sacris erudiri, Jaarboek voor godsdienstwetenschappen* 36 (1996), 233-361.
- Quinto, R., 'Il MS. British Library, Harley 658 e l'opera teologica di Stefano Langton', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 50 (2008), 17-52.

- Quinto, R., 'Stefano Langton e i quattro sensi della Scrittura', *Medioevo: Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale* 15 (1989), 67-109.
- Quinto, R., 'Stefano Langton e la teologia dei maestri secolari di Parigi tra XII e XIII secolo: status quaestionis e prospettive di ricerca', *Archa verbi* 5 (2008), 122-42.
- Quinto, R., 'Stephen Langton: theology and literature of the pastoral care' [sic], in B.-M. Tock (ed.), *"In principio erat verbum": mélanges offerts en hommage à Paul Tombeur par des anciens étudiants à l'occasion de son éméritat* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 301-55.
- Quinto, R., 'The *Conflictus uitiorum et uirtutum* attributed to Stephen Langton', in I. P. Bejczy and R. G. Newhauser (eds.), *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, Brill's studies in intellectual history 130 (Leiden, 2005), pp. 197-268.
- Quinto, R., *Stefano Langton (†1228) e la tradizione delle sue opere: "doctor nominatissimus"*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 39 (Münster, 1994).
- Rathbone, E., 'Roman law in the Anglo-Norman realm', *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967), 253-71.
- Reames, S. L., 'The remaking of a saint: Stephen Langton and the liturgical office for Becket's translation', *Hagiographica, Rivista di agiografia e biografia della Società internazionale per lo studio del Medio Evo latino* 7 (2000), 17-33.
- Renna, T. J., 'Mary Magdalen in the thirteenth century', *Michigan Academician: Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 30.1 (1998), 59-68.
- Renna, T. J., 'St Bernard's view of the episcopacy in historical perspective, 400-1150', *Cistercian Studies* 15 (1980), 39-49.
- Renna, T. J., 'The corpus of the works of Baldwin of Ford', *Cîteaux* 35 (1984), 215-34.
- Richardson, H. G., 'The schools of Northampton in the twelfth century', *EHR* 56 (1941), 595-605.
- Richardson, M., 'The *Ars dictaminis*, the formulary, and medieval epistolary practice', in C. Poster and L. C. Mitchell (eds.), *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia, South Carolina, 2007), pp. 52-7.
- Rigg, A. G., 'Nigel of Canterbury: what was his name?', *Medium Aevum* 56 (1987), 304-7.
- Riley-Smith, J. S. C., *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997).
- Roberts, P. B., 'Master Stephen Langton preaches to the people and clergy: sermons texts from twelfth-century Paris', *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* (1980), 237-68.
- Roberts, P. B., 'Stephen Langton and St. Catherine of Alexandria: a Paris master's sermon on the patron saint of scholars', *Manuscripta: A Journal for Manuscript Research* (1976), 96-104.
- Roberts, P. B., 'Stephen Langton's *Sermo de virginibus*', in J. Kirshner and S. F. Wemple (eds.), *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in honour of John H. Mundy* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 103-18.
- Roberts, R. B., 'Archbishop Stephen Langton and his preaching on Thomas Becket in 1220', in T. L. Amos, E. A. Green, and B. M. Kienzle (eds.), *De ore Domini: Preacher and word in the Middle Ages*, *Studies in medieval culture* 27 (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 75-92.
- Roberts, R. B., 'Langton on Becket: a new look and a new text', *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973), 38-48.
- Roberts, R. B., *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton*, *Studies and Texts* 16 (Toronto, 1968).
- Robertson Jr., D. W., 'Frequency of preaching in thirteenth-century England', *Speculum* 24 (1949), 376-88.
- Robinson, J. A., 'Bishop Jocelin and the interdict', *Somerset Historical Essays* (1921), 141-59 .

- Robson, C. A., *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily, With the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS* (Oxford, 1952).
- Rollason, D.W., Harvey, M. M. and Prestwich, M. C. (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham* (Woodbridge, 1994).
- Rose, E. M., *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of the Blood Libel in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2015).
- Round, J. H., 'Nigel, bishop of Ely', *EHR* 8 (1893), 515-19.
- Rouse, R. H. and Rouse, M. A., 'Biblical distinctions in the thirteenth century', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire de Moyen Âge* 41 (1974), 27-37.
- Rubin, M., 'Sacramental life', in M. Rubin and W. Simon (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, 4: Christianity in Western Europe c.1100—c.1500* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 217-37.
- Rubin, M., *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Rubin, M., *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (London, 1999).
- Runciman, D., 'Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (d. 1184) and the heresy of astrology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (published online 2018, forthcoming in print).
- Runciman, D., 'Monk-bishops and their theological ideas in late twelfth-century England', unpublished MPhil dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2015).
- Runciman, D., 'The sermons of Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter (1161-84)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* (2019).
- Russell, J. B., *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1965).
- Russell, J. C., 'Hereford and Arabic science in England about 1175-1200', *Isis* 18 (1932), 14-25.
- Sargent, M. (ed.), *De cella in seculum* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Sayers, J. E., *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury, 1198-1254* (London, 1971).
- Scammell, G. V., *Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956).
- Schneyer, J. B., 'Eine Sermonesliste des Kardinals Stephan Langton Erzbischof von Canterbury', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962), 159-205.
- Schneyer, J. B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 43 (Münster, 1969-1990).
- Sedgwick, W. B., 'The *Bellum Troianum* of Joseph of Exeter', *Speculum* 5 (1930), 49-76.
- Seit, S., 'Die kunst, die wahrheit in den sternern zu lesen, astrologie, divination und die "ars coniectoris" bei Johannes von Salisbury', in G. Wieland (ed.), *Ars und Scientia im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ergebnisse interdisziplinärer Forschung, Georg Wieland zum 65 Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 77-96.
- Sharp, T., Cochelin, I., Dinkova-Bruun, G., Firey, A. and Silano, G. (eds.), *From Learning to Love: Schools, Law, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages: Essays in honour of Joseph W. Goering* (Toronto, 2017).
- Sharpe, R. and Willoughby, J., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* <<http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>>.
- Sharpe, R., 'Richard Barre's *Compendium veteris et novi testamenti*', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004), 128-46.
- Sharpe, R., *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (Turnhout, 1997).

- Sharpe, R., Carley, J. P., Thomson, R. M. and Watson, A. G. (eds.), *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Libraries 4 (London, 1996).
- Sieben, H.-J., 'Der "Liber de sectis haereticorum" und sein Beitrag zur Konzilsidee des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 15 (1983), 262-306.
- Silverstein, T., 'Daniel of Morley, English cosmogonist and student of Arabic science', *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948), 179-96.
- Silvestri, A., *Power, Politics, and Episcopal Authority: The Bishops of Cremona and Lincoln in the Middle Ages, 1066-1340* (Newcastle, 2015).
- Singer, M. A., *Abiding in the Fields: Pastoral Care and Society in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England* (Columbia, 2012).
- Smalley, B., 'Stephen Langton and the four senses of scripture', *Speculum* 6 (1931), 60-76.
- Smalley, B., *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford, 1973).
- Smalley, B., *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1984).
- Smith, D. M., 'The administration of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln, 1209-1235', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Nottingham, 1970).
- Smith, D. M., 'The episcopate of Richard, bishop of St. Asaph: a problem of twelfth-century chronology', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 24 (1974), 9-12.
- Smith, D. M., 'The rolls of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln, 1209-35', *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research* 45 (1972), 155-95.
- Smith, D. M., *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of the Episcopacy in 1646*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 11 (London, 1981).
- Sommerville, R., *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163): a Study of Ecclesiastical Politics and Institutions in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1977).
- Stacey, R. C., 'Jews and Christians in twelfth-century England: some dynamics of a changing relationship' in M. A. Signer and J. Van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth Century Europe* (Notre Dame, 2001), pp. 340-54.
- Stansbury, R. J. (ed.), *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages, 1200-1500* (Leiden, 2010).
- Staunton, M., *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017).
- Stones, J., 'Bishop Ralph Neville, chancellor to King Henry III, and his correspondence: a reappraisal', *Archives* 16 (1984), 227-57.
- Stubbs, W., *The Constitutional History of England, in Its Origin and Development*, 5th ed. (Oxford, 1891).
- Summerlin, D., 'Using the canons of the 1179 Lateran Council', in P. Carmassi and G. Drossbach (eds.), *Rechtshandschriften des deutschen Mittelalters: Produktionswege und Importwege* (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 245-60.
- Swanson, R. N. (ed.), *The Routledge History Of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon, 2015).
- Taglia, K. A., 'The cultural construction of childhood: baptism, communion, and confirmation', in C. M. Rousseau and J. T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B.* (Kalamazoo, 1998), pp. 276-83.
- Taliadoros, J., 'Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential: some original observations on his personal dicta', *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (2010), 457-76.
- Taliadoros, J., 'Law and theology in Gilbert of Foliot's (c. 1105/10-1187/88) correspondence', *The*

Haskins Society Journal 16 (2005), 77-94.

Tanner, N. P., 'Pastoral care: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', in G. R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), pp. 112-25.

Tester, J., *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge, 1987).

Thacker, A. T., 'Priests and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England', in G. H. Brown and C. F. Briggs (eds.), *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in honor of Richard W. Pfaff* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 187-208.

Thijssen, J. M. M. H., *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1998).

Thomas, H. M., *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* (Oxford, 2014).

Thomson, R. M., *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of Alter Orbis* (Walkern, 2006).

Thomson, R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2011).

Thurston, H., *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln: Translated from the French Carthusian Life* (London, 1898).

Tinti, F., 'Benedictine reform and pastoral care in late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 23 (2015) 229-51.

Tolan, J. V., 'Reading God's will in the stars: Petrus Alfonsi and Raymond de Marseille defend the new Arabic astrology', *Revista española de filosofía medieval* 7 (2000), 13-30.

Turner, R. V., 'Richard Lionheart and English episcopal elections', *Albion* 29 (1997), 1-13.

Turner, R. V., 'Who was the author of Glanvill? Reflections on the education of Henry II's common lawyers', *Law and History Review* 8 (1990), 97-127.

Turner, R. V., *Men Raised from the Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England* (Pennsylvania, 1988).

Tyerman, C., *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

Van den Eynde, D., 'Stephen Langton and Hugh of St. Cher on the causality of the sacraments', *Franciscan Studies* 11 (1951), 141-55.

Van Engen, J. H., 'From practical theology to divine law: the work and mind of medieval canonists', in P. Landau and J. Müller (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law Munich, 13-18 July 1992, Monumenta Iuris Canonici C.10* (Vatican City, 1997), pp. 873-96.

Vaughan, R., *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958).

Vincent, N. C., "'Let us go down from this joyful commencement to the plain": Richard Poer and the Refoundation of Salisbury Cathedral', in P. Binski and E. A. New (eds.), *Patrons and professionals in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2012), pp. 5-40.

Vincent, N. C., 'An inventory of gifts', in D. Crook and L. J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015).

Vincent, N. C., 'England and the Albigensian Crusade', in B. K. U. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (eds.), *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 67-97.

Vincent, N. C., 'Jews, Poitevins, and the bishop of Winchester', in D. S. Wood (ed.), *Christianity and Judaism: Papers read at the 1991 summer meeting and the 1992 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 119-32.

- Vincent, N. C., 'Master Alexander of Stainsby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1224–1238', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), 615–40.
- Vincent, N. C., 'Some pardoners' tales: the earliest English indulgences', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 12 (2002), 23–58.
- Vincent, N. C., 'The court of Henry II', in C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (eds.), *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 278–334.
- Vincent, N. C., 'The election of Pandulph Verraccio as bishop of Norwich (1215)', *Historical Research* 68 (1995), 143–63.
- Vincent, N. C., *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4.31 (Cambridge, 1996).
- Visscher, E. de, *Reading the Rabbis: Christian Hebraism in the Works of Herbert of Bosham* (Leiden, 2013).
- Vodola, E., *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986).
- Voss, L., *Heinrich von Blois Bischof von Winchester: 1129–71*, Historische Studien 210 (Berlin, 1932).
- Warner, G. F. and Gilson, J. P., *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection in the British Museum* (London, 1921).
- Warren, W. L., *Henry II* (London, 1977).
- Warren, W. L., *King John* (London, 1978).
- Watkins, C. S., *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Weiórka, W., 'Double knowledge in Christ: a critical edition of Stephen Langton's '*Quaestio theologiae*' Camb063', *Archa verbi* 8 (2011), 145–70.
- Wei, J. C., *Gratian the Theologian*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 13 (Washington DC, 2016).
- Wessel, S., 'The formation of ecclesiastical law', in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (eds.), *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500* (Washington DC, 2012), pp. 1–23.
- West, F. J., *The Justiciarship in England, 1066–1232* (Cambridge, 1966).
- Whyte, N., 'Roger of Hereford's *Liber de astronomice iudicandi*: a twelfth-century astrologer's manual', unpublished MPhil dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1991).
- Wilson, R. R., 'Interpreting Israel's religion: an anthropological perspective on the problem of false prophecy', in R. P. Gordon (ed.), '*The Place is Too Small for Us*': *The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship*, Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 5 (Winona Lake, 1995).
- Woolley, R. M., *St Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1927).
- Wyatt, L., 'The making of an archbishop: the early career of Walter de Gray, 1205–1215', in R. H. Bowers (ed.), *Seven Studies in Medieval English History and Other Historical Essays Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove* (Jackson, 1983), pp. 65–73.
- Young, C. R., *Hubert Walter, Lord of Canterbury and Lord of England* (Durham, DC, 1968).
- Zatta, J., 'The *Vie Seinte Osith*: hagiography and politics in Anglo-Norman England', *Studies in Philology* 96 (1999), 367–93.