

THE
EPISTOLAE VAGANTES
OF
POPE GREGORY VII

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

H. E. J. COWDREY

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PREFACE

I AM most grateful to the custodians of the manuscripts detailed in the List of Manuscripts Used, who have made them available for the preparation of this edition, as well as to the photographic departments or agents of the several libraries and archives for their expert services. Various scholars have helped and encouraged me with advice and information. Professor C. N. L. Brooke, a general editor of this series, has not only shown generous interest at every stage of the work, but has read, criticized, and greatly improved my typescript. Dr. S. Mähl and Dr. G. Tangl, of Munich, supplied me with some particularly valuable information. Professor J. G. Plante, curator of the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, also advised me about manuscripts in certain Austrian archives and sent me invaluable photographs of otherwise inaccessible items. Two further scholars kindly allowed me to use the papers of eminent medievalists of the last generation: Professor S. Kuttner, of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law at Berkeley, supplied me with references and notes from the papers of the late Professor W. Holtzmann; and Professor A. M. Stickler (now Prefect of the Vatican Library) allowed me to examine the papers of the late Don G. B. Borino at the Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano in Rome. In Oxford it is a pleasure to acknowledge my continued indebtedness to the staffs of the Bodleian Library and of the Clarendon Press. I am also most grateful to the Research Committee of the British Academy and to the Board of the Faculty of Modern History at Oxford University for assistance towards the expenses of preparing this book.

I must also make an acknowledgement of a different kind. Carl Erdmann died in 1945 while still a fairly young man. Had he survived the Second World War the *Epistolae uagantes* of Pope Gregory VII would long since have been edited as he alone could have performed the task. The following pages will make abundantly clear how largely I have drawn upon his published work. Yet such a measurable debt is but a small part of what a medievalist working within the vast area of Erdmann's interests must

THE
EPISTOLAE VAGANTES
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To Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury: Gregory commends his messenger to him and desires his help and prayers amidst the tribulations of the papal office; Lanfranc is to take steps against those 'Scots' who abandon or sell their wives

(1073, after 30 June)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei carissimo fratri in Christo Lanfranco uenerabili Cantuariorum archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Qualiter nobis apostolici regiminis honor et onus impositum sit, et quantis undique stringamur angustiis, praesentium tibi portitor indicabit, cui respectu tuae dilectionis etiam nonnulla nostris adhuc familiaribus occulta aperuimus. De caetero in primis fraternitatem tuam rogamus ut Deum pro nobis iugiter exorare non pigeat, et subditos sibi uel coniunctos fratres^a suis nos orationibus apud Deum iuuare commoneat. Quanto enim in maiore periculo positi sumus, tanto amplius tuis et bonorum omnium suffragiis indigemus. Nos etenim, si diuinae uindictae iudicium effugere uolumus, contra multos insurgere et eos in animam nostram prouocare compellimur. Nam dum omnes fere, sicut ait apostolus, quae sua sunt non quae Ihesu Christi quaerunt,¹ regnorum principes et huius mundi potentes ut cupiditates suas expleant legem Dei et iusticiam non iam neglegenter deserunt sed summis conatibus impugnant, ut illud prophetae nunc sub oculis uideamus impletum: 'Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes conuenerunt in unum, aduersus Dominum et aduersus christum eius.'² Episcopi uero et qui pastores animarum esse deberent, mundi gloriam et delicias carnis insatiabili desiderio prosequentes,

^a Text uncertain in E; fratris R but second syllable scored through

* This letter illustrates the countenance which Gregory gave to the church of Canterbury's claims to a primacy over the whole British Isles, which Archbishop Lanfranc (1070-89) energetically pursued. Apart from his dispute with the church of York Lanfranc's later endeavours were largely directed towards Ireland: in 1074 he consecrated a monk of Worcester to be bishop of Dublin, and perhaps hoped to set up a dependent archbishopric.

To Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury

(1073, after 30 June)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved brother in Christ, Lanfranc, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and apostolic blessing.

In what way the office and burden of apostolic rule were laid upon us, and by how many tribulations we are hemmed in on every side, the bearer of this letter will make known to you; and by reason of your love we have also disclosed to him certain matters which are as yet hidden even from our own familiar counsellors. In addition to these things, we first beseech you not to be slack in continually interceding with God on our behalf, and to urge the brethren who are your subjects or companions to help us before God by their prayers. For as the danger in which we are placed becomes greater, the more pressing is our need of your support and that of all good men. As for ourself, if we would escape the judgement of divine vengeance we must needs rise up against many and provoke them against our own life. For while almost all men, as the Apostle says, seek their own and not the things of Jesus Christ,¹ the rulers of earthly kingdoms and the powers of this world, to fulfil their own desires, no longer only carelessly desert God's law and righteousness but attack them with all their might; thus we now see the prophetic word being fulfilled before our very eyes: 'The kings of the earth stand up and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his anointed.'² Yet bishops and those who should be shepherds of souls follow with insatiable

J.L. 4801. MSS.: London, Brit. Mus. Cotton Claudius E.V, fo. 244^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (E). Rome, Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 285, fos. 5^v-6^r, twelfth cent. (R). Cambridge, University Library, Dd. i. 11, fos. 204^v-205^r, fifteenth cent.³ Printed: Baronius, *Annales eccles.* xi. 446-7. *Lanfranci opera*, ed. Giles, i, no. 40, pp. 58-9. *Ep. coll.* no. 1, pp. 520-1.

¹ Cf. Phil. 2: 21.

² Ps. 2: 2.

³ I am grateful to Professor C. N. L. Brooke for drawing my attention to this MS.

non solum in semetipsis quae sancta quaeque sunt religiosa confundunt, sed subditos suos ad omne nefas operum suorum exemplo pertrahunt. Quibus non contraire quam nobis periculum resistere autem et eorum nequiciam refrenare quam difficile sit, tua prudentia nouit. Sed quoniam quos dolores inter has patiamur angustias, ut supradiximus, huic communi filio nostro tibi referendum exeruimus, plura de his dicere super sedemus.

Tuam uero fraternitatem etsi monitore non egeat, impellente tamen nos sollicitudine admonemus quatinus grauiora usquequaque resecare uitia studeat, et inter omnia et prae omnibus nefas quod de Scottis audiuius,¹ uidelicet quod plerique proprias uxores non solum deserunt sed etiam uendunt, modis omnibus prohibere contendat. Ad haec enim apostolica te auctoritate fultum esse uolumus, ut non solum in Scottis hoc scelus sed etiam in aliis, si quos in Anglorum insula tales esse cognoueris, dura animaduersione punias et radicem tanti mali prudenti sarculo correctionis penitus extirpare non differas.

2

To the clerks, monks, and laymen of Vallombrosa: Gregory praises the memory of Abbot John Gualbertus, exhorting his followers to imitate his zeal for reform and promising them all support
(1073, after 12 July)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei clericis monachis ac religiosis laycis disciplinam sancte recordationis Iohannis Gualberti abbatis imitantibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Licet uenerande memorie eundem Iohannem patrem uestrum corporeis oculis non uiderimus, quia tamen fidei eius puritas in

* Vallombrosa, in Tuscany, was founded in 1036 by John Gualbertus of Florence (died 12 July 1073). His monks followed the Rule of St. Benedict but were dedicated to strict enclosure and perpetual silence. Associated with them was a convent of *conversi* or lay brothers. Vallombrosa was a centre of anti-simoniactal propaganda in north Italy. It became especially famous as such through the ordeal by fire in which its monk Peter Igneus (later Cardinal Peter of Albano) in 1068 secured the expulsion from Florence of its simoniactal bishop, Peter Mezzabarba.

J.L. 4814. *I.P.* iii, p. 88, no. 3. MS.: Andrew of Genoa, *Vita sancti Iohannis*

lust after worldly glory and fleshly delights. They not only confound holy and religious things in their own persons, but by the example of their works they lead their subjects astray into all manner of wickedness. You well know how dangerous it is for us not to proceed against them, yet how difficult to resist and bridle their iniquity. But since, as we have already said, we have made known to this messenger, who is the son of us both, for him to relate to you, the griefs which we suffer in the midst of these tribulations, we refrain from writing more about such matters.

Although you need no one to prompt you, yet because our pastoral duty impels us we urge you to be ever zealous for the extirpation of more serious evils, and first and foremost to strive by all means to end the abomination of which we have heard concerning the 'Scots',¹ namely that many of them not only abandon but even sell their own wives. We therefore desire that you should be strengthened by apostolic authority to visit this crime with severe punishment, not only amongst the 'Scots' but also amongst others in the British Isles if you know of any who are similarly guilty, and that you should brook no delay in utterly eradicating so great an evil by the hoe of your correction.

To the clerks, monks, and laymen of Vallombrosa
(1073, after 12 July)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clerks, monks, and religious laymen who follow the discipline of Abbot John Gualbertus of holy memory, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Although we never saw with our bodily eyes John, your father of honoured remembrance, we loved him with great affection

Gualberti, cap. 82: Florence, Archivio di stato, A.S.F., Corporazioni religiosi soppresse, archivio 260, no. 223, fos. 57^v-58^r, twelfth cent. (G). Printed: Baronius, *Annales eccles.* xi. 451. Franchi, *Historia del Patriarcha S. Giovan Gualberto*, pp. 430-1. *Ep. coll.* no. 2, pp. 522-3.

¹ It is not clear from this letter whether the 'Scotti' in question were inhabitants of Scotland or Ireland. That they may well have been the latter is suggested by Lanfranc's letter of 1074 to Toirdhealbhaich, king of Ireland, in which he complained 'quod in regno uestro quisque pro arbitrio suo legitime sibi copulatam uxorem nulla canonica causa interueniente relinquit, et aliam quamlibet . . . puniendi sibi temeritate coniungit' (*Lanfranci opera*, ed. Giles, i, no. 44, p. 63).

Tuscie partibus mirabiliter resplenduit multo cum amore dileximus. Cuius sancte conuersationis^a quamuis uos imitatores esse non ambigamus, ut uigor rectitudinis uestre ad extirpandam de agro dominico zizaniam sollicitius inuigilet¹ attentiusque ferueat paterne uobis exhortationis uerba impendimus. Vos itaque dilectissimi in quantum humana possibilitas permittit uitam illius sequentes et uere filios eius et heredes simili uos conuersatione probantes, uiriliter agite et confortamini in Domino et in potentia uirtutis eius.² Documenta sanctorum scripturarum, quibus hereticorum argumenta destruuntur et fides sancte ecclesie defenditur contra membra diaboli que diuersis machinationibus christianam religionem conantur euertere, mens uestra cotidie meditetur et ea qua solet libertate in malorum confusione erigatur. Eos uero qui in uobis confidunt et consilium religionis uestre sequi disponunt more predicti patris uestri suscipite, et de his que ad salutem eorum pertinere uidentur sanctis exhortationibus instruite, ut non solum uestra sed et uos sequentium circumpositi populi considerantes sancta opera glorificent patrem uestrum qui in celis est.³ Nos autem ipsum amorem quem patri uestro et uobis olim impendimus donec nostros spiritus rexit artus⁴ exhibere desideramus, et tanto quidem deinceps maiori uos caritate fouebimus quanto uos in diuinis negotiis feruentiores esse probabimus, quibus non solum spirituale sed et seculare,^b si necesse fuerit, auxilium Deo adiuuante ministrabimus. Vos igitur omnipotentem Dominum exorate, ut ipse uires et facultates nobis tribuat, quatinus suscepti regiminis importabile pondus possimus tollere et sanctam ecclesiam in statum antike religionis reducere. Valet.

^a add studium G
margin G

^b et scailare, deleted and corrected to seculare in the margin G

¹ Cf. Matt. 13: 24-30.

² Cf. 1 Cor. 16: 13, Eph. 6: 10.

³ Cf. Matt. 5: 16. Gregory refers to such groups as the Patrenes of Milan who had looked to John Gualbertus for help: cf. Andrew of Strumi, *Vita sancti Ioannis Gualberti*, cap. 78, ed. F. Baethgen, *M.G.H. Scr.* xxx. 1100.

⁴ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4. 336.

because his spotless faith shone wonderfully abroad throughout all Tuscany. Although we have no doubt that you are followers of his holy life, we send you words of fatherly exhortation that the zeal of your righteousness may watch the more diligently and burn the more keenly to root out the tares from the Lord's field.¹ Wherefore, dearly beloved, so far as human strength allows, follow his ways and prove yourselves by a similar manner of life to be in truth his sons and heirs: be courageous, be strong in the Lord and in the strength of his might.² Let your mind meditate daily upon the lessons of the holy scriptures by which the assertions of the heretics are confuted and the faith of holy church is defended against the members of the devil who are trying to overthrow the Christian religion by their manifold devices; let your mind stand upright to the confusion of evil men in the liberty wherein it is wont to stand. As for those who trust in you and desire to follow your holy counsel, do you, after your father John's example, receive them and by your holy exhortations guide them concerning whatever matters seem to belong to their salvation, so that the peoples round about, seeing not only your own good works but also your followers', may give glory to your Father who is in heaven.³

We, for our part, desire so long as life still moves our limbs⁴ to show you the same love as we formerly extended to your father and to yourselves. We shall continue to support you with ever greater charity according as we find you more zealous in the things of God, and with God's help we shall bring you not only spiritual but also, if need arises, temporal aid. Do you therefore beseech Almighty God to give us the strength and the means to support the intolerable burden of the office which is laid upon us, and to restore holy church to the standard of her former devotion. Farewell.

3

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory reproves him for associating with the excommunicated Count Fulk of Anjou and summons him to answer at Rome for his conduct
(1074, after 9 Mar.)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. Turonensi archiepiscopo.

Apostolicae sedis benedictionem tibi libenter mandarem, nisi excommunicato Fulconi Andegauensi comiti te communicasse grauius doleremus. Et quia in Romana synodo haec sunt relata et probabiliter enarrata, ab uniuerso sacri concilii coetu est laudatum ut, quoniam ab apostolica sede anathematizato adherere non timuisti, uerum etiam diuina illi misteria celebrare praesumpsisti, canonicae ultionis gladius in te deberet uibrari et depositionis sententia rite posset^a depromi. Sed interuenientibus carissimi fidelis nostri Astonis marchionis precibus hoc ad praesens distulimus et inducias tibi satisfaciendi usque ad proximam Omnium Sanctorum futuram festiuitatem¹ concessimus. Quapropter fraternitatem tuam monemus ut ad hunc terminum uenire non dimittat ne, quod absit, nos in se quod non optamus depromere cogat.

4

To the clergy and people of the church of Mâcon: Gregory commends to them their new bishop, Landeric
(1074, late Apr.)†

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei clero et populo Matisconensis ecclesiae salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.^a

Quanta sit erga uos et locum uestrum apostolicae sedis beneuolentia ex amore quem in episcopum uestrum² habemus cognoscere

^a posse *BD* 4 ^a *om.* et apostolicam benedictionem *S*

* Archbishop Ralph of Tours (1073–86) took office after a vacancy of five years during which Count Fulk IV, *le Réchin*, for long opposed his nomination. The circumstances of the count's excommunication, and the archbishop's actions which caused Gregory to deal with their association at his Lent council of 9–15 Mar. 1074, are obscure. But the presence at the council of Marquis Azzo II of Este (1029–97) is referred to in *Reg. i.* 57, 17 Mar. 1074, pp. 84–5, and *ii.* 9, 16 Oct. 1074, p. 139.

Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aeui 5, fo. 8^r, c. 1100,

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours (1074, after 9 Mar.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Archbishop Ralph of Tours.

We would gladly send you the blessing of the apostolic see, if we were not deeply aggrieved that you have associated with the excommunicated Count Fulk of Anjou. Because the matter was reported and reliably set forth in our Roman synod, it was agreed by the whole assembly of the holy council that, since you have not feared to keep company with a man excommunicated by the apostolic see and indeed have even ventured to celebrate the holy mysteries for him, the sword of canonical punishment should rightly be drawn against you and that sentence of deposition might properly be passed. But because of the pleas of our very dear and trusted Marquis Azzo we have deferred this for the present and given you stay to make satisfaction until next All Saints' Day.¹ We therefore warn you not to fail to come to us at this time, lest, which heaven forbid, you compel us to pass a sentence against you which we do not desire to pass.

To the clergy and people of the church of Mâcon
(1074, late Apr.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clergy and people of the church of Mâcon, greeting and apostolic blessing.

The great good will of the apostolic see towards you and your church may be seen from the love which we have towards your bishop,² who, as is well known, has received the blessing and

(*B.*) Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 109^r, seventeenth cent. (*D.*) Printed: Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931–2), no. 4, pp. 37–8. Morin, *R.B.* xlvi (1936), no. 2, pp. 120–1. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 8, pp. 70–1.

† The see of Mâcon, in the duchy of Burgundy, had been vacant since 5 Mar. 1072. King Philip I of France refused his consent to the canonical election of Landeric, archdeacon of Autun, unless a simoniacal payment was made; the metropolitan, Archbishop Humbert of Lyons, therefore failed to act upon Gregory's instructions that he should perform Landeric's consecration: *Reg. i.* 35–6, 4 and 7 Dec. 1073, pp. 56–8. Gregory summoned Landeric to Rome where he consecrated him in Apr. 1074: *Reg. i.* 76, 15 Apr. 1074, pp. 107–8, cf. *i.* 85a, 28 June 1074, p. 123. Landeric thereafter took possession of his see without difficulty or resistance on the king's part.

J.L. 4857. MS.: none. Printed: Severt, *Chronologia historica*, ii. 113 (*S.*) *G.C.* iv, instr. no. 27, col. 282. *Ep. coll.* no. 7, p. 527. The text is that of *G.C.*

¹ 1 Nov. 1074. For a similar summons to Rome by this date, see *Reg. i.* 51, 14 Mar. 1074, pp. 77–8.

² Landeric of Berzé (1074–96).

datur, qui episcopalis officii benedictionem et dignitatem per impositionem manuum nostrarum, auctore Deo, suscepisse dignoscitur.^b Caeterum ut ordinationis suae certa demonstrare possit indicia, sicut oportere cognouimus cum litteris nostris¹ et apostolico sigillo eum ad uos remisimus, ammonentes uos et apostolica auctoritate praecipientes^c ut eum omni dilectione et gaudio recipientes unanimiter honoretis, et reuerentiam quae patri debetur et episcopo fideli obedientia ac deuota subiectione sibi exhibeatis, attendentes dominica uerba: 'Qui uos audit me audit, et qui uos spernit me spernit.'² Tanto enim laetioribus animis hunc suscipere, uenerari, timere,^d debetis ac diligere, quanto eum ab omni simoniaca ambitione purum et incontaminatum, nec aliunde quam per ostium³ ad custodiam animarum uestrarum in ecclesiam introisse et episcopalis uigilantiae speculam constat ascendisse. Proinde nos multum uobis congaudentes rogamus et ammonemus dilectionem uestram quatenus ad regendam sibi commissam ecclesiam eiusque iura conseruanda, et ubi opus fuerit recuperanda, quantum ualetis consilium sibi et adiutorium praebatis, et in omnibus quae ad christianam religionem pertinent eius ammonitionibus acquiescatis, scientes sibi ac uobis et ecclesiae cuius in Christo spiritalis^e filii estis apostolica suffragia, quantum Deo praestante possumus, ad libertatem fidei uestrae et nostram^f profectumque salutis ubique prompta atque parata fore.

5

(*To Countess Matilda of Tuscany*): *Gregory confides to her his desire personally to cross the sea and help the Eastern Christians under persecution, and asks whether she will join the Empress Agnes and himself*

(1074, after 16 Dec.)*

Quanta sit mihi meditatio quantumque desiderium mare

^b add Et hic apertius constat Landricum Romae inauguratum antistitem
S, perhaps as a comment by the editor ^c add mandamus S ^d tuerique S
^e speciales S ^f Thus in G.C., ? nostrae; animarum curam for nostram S

* Gregory's plans for an expedition to defend Byzantium from Turkish attacks began to take shape early in 1074. He broached them to Count William of

office of the episcopate by the laying on of our own hands. However, in order that he may be able to display sure proofs of his ordination, as we know it to be necessary we have sent him back to you with our letters under apostolic seal,¹ warning and commanding you by apostolic authority to receive him with all love and joy, to honour him with one mind, and to show him by faithful obedience and devoted service the reverence which is due to a father and bishop, paying heed to the Lord's words: 'He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me.'² You should receive, honour, fear, and love him with the more joyful minds in that he is well known to be spotlessly clean from all simoniacal ambition, neither did he enter the church to assume custody of your souls nor climb the watch-tower of episcopal vigilance some other way than by the door.³ So, rejoicing greatly with you, we beg and beseech you, so far as in you lies, to give him help and counsel in ruling the church committed to him and in preserving and where necessary recovering its rights. In all things belonging to the Christian religion you should obey his admonitions. And you may be sure that, so far as with God's assistance we are able, we are ready and prepared, for the bishop's sake, for your own, and for the church's whose spiritual sons in Christ you are, everywhere to promote the liberty of your faith and our own and the furtherance of salvation.

(*To Countess Matilda of Tuscany*) (1074, after 16 Dec.)

There are some whom I blush to tell, lest I should seem to be led

Burgundy in *Reg.* i. 46, 2 Feb. 1074, pp. 69-71, and issued a general summons to all Christians in *Reg.* i. 49, 1 Mar. 1074, pp. 75-6. Gregory met with a favourable response from Duke William of Aquitaine: cf. *Reg.* ii. 3, 10 Sept. 1074, pp. 126-8; a letter which refers to news of a relief from pagan pressure which had caused Gregory to delay his plans. He revived them vigorously in Dec. 1074. He then intended himself to lead an expedition as its *dux et pontifex*; it was not only to relieve Byzantium but also to seek to free the Holy Sepulchre and to reconcile the Byzantine and Armenian churches to the apostolic see: *Reg.* ii. 31, 7 Dec. 1074, pp. 165-8; ii. 37, 16 Dec. 1074, pp. 172-3. The plan was totally abortive.

J.L. 4911. *I.P.* v, p. 389, no. 14. MS.: Hanover Collection: Hanover, Niedersächsisches Landesbibl. XI. 671, fo. 242^{r-v}, sixteenth cent. (*H*). Printed: Sudendorf, *Reg.* ii, no. 21, pp. 24-5. *Ep. coll.* no. 11, pp. 532-3. *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung* (i. *Hildesheimer Briefe*), no. 43, ed. Erdmann, *M.G.H. B.D.K.* v. 86-7.

¹ Lost.

² Luke 10: 16.

³ Cf. John 10: 1.

transeundi, ut christianis qui more pecudum a paganis^a occiduntur¹ Christo fauente ualeam succurrere, erubesco quibusdam dicere ne uidear aliqua duci leuitate. Sed tibi, o charissima plena dilectione filia,² nil horum dubito indicare, de cuius prudentiae studio quantum possim praesumere tu ipsa uix poteris exprimere. Quapropter uisis super hac re nostris literis quas mitto ultramontanis,³ si quid potes adhibere consilium immo creatori tuo adiutorium summopere procura, quia si pulchrum est, ut quidam dicunt, pro patria mori,⁴ pulcherrimum est ac ualde gloriosum carnem morticinam⁵ pro Christo dare, qui est aeterna uita. Credo enim multos milites in tali labore nobis fauere, ipsam etiam nostram imperatricem⁶ nobiscum ad illas partes uelle uenire teque secum ducere, matre tua⁷ in partibus his relicta pro tuendis rebus communibus; quia sic tute^b Christo iuuante possemus abire.^c Proinde praedicta imperatrix causa orationis ueniens multos ad hoc opus una tecum posset animare. Ego autem talibus ornatus sororibus libentissime mare transirem ut animam meam, si oporteret, uobiscum pro Christo ponerem, quas mihi semper cupio in aeterna patria adherere. Quid super hac re et de tuo aduentu Romam tibi uideatur, citissime procura rescribere. Quam Dominus omnipotens de uirtute in uirtutem ducendo dignetur benedicere, ut uniuersalis mater longo tempore de te^d possit gaudere.⁸

^a paginis *H*^b sancte *H*^c adire *H*^d dote *H*

¹ Cf. Sallust, *Catilina*, 58. 21; whence Hegesippus, *Historiae*, I. 11. 2, 5. 43. 2. Gregory used similar phrases in *Reg.* i. 49, 1 Mar. 1074, p. 75; ii. 31, 7 Dec. 1074, p. 166; ii. 37, 16 Dec. 1074, p. 173.

² Matilda, separated wife of Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine; countess of Tuscany (1052-1115).

³ *Reg.* ii. 37.⁴ Horace, *Carmina*, 3. 2. 13.⁵ Cf. Seneca, *Epistolae*, 122. 4.⁶ Agnes of Poitou, widow of the Emperor Henry III and mother of Henry IV.⁷ Countess Beatrice of Tuscany.⁸ Cf. Ps. 83: 8 (84: 7), Gal. 4: 26.

by a mere fancy, how firmly my mind and heart are set upon crossing the sea in order that, by Christ's favour, I may bring help to the Christians who are being slaughtered by the heathen like cattle.¹ But to you, my most beloved and loving daughter,² I do not hesitate to disclose any of these thoughts, for even you yourself can hardly imagine how greatly I may count upon your zeal and discretion. When, therefore, you have read my letter about this matter which I am sending to those beyond the Alps,³ do all that you can to give your counsel, and still more your help, to your Creator; for if, as some say, it is a noble thing to die for our country,⁴ it is a far nobler and a truly praiseworthy thing to give our corruptible flesh⁵ for Christ, who is life eternal.

Now, I believe that many knights support us in such a task, also that our empress herself⁶ desires to come with us to distant parts and to bring you with her, leaving your mother⁷ behind to safeguard our common interests here; for so, with Christ's help, we might depart in safety. If, moreover, the empress came and devoted herself to prayer, she in concert with you might encourage many to take part in this work. As for me, furnished with such sisterly aid I would most gladly cross the sea, if need be to lay down my life for Christ with both of you whom I always desire should cleave to me in the heavenly country.

See that you answer as quickly as you can what seems good to you about this matter and about your coming to Rome. May the Almighty Lord graciously bless you and lead you from strength to strength, so that the mother of us all may for long be able to rejoice upon your account.⁸

6

*To Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz: Gregory urges German bishops to co-operate in eliminating simony and enforcing clerical chastity, and transmits the decrees of his Lateran council (1075, Feb.)**

G. seruus seruorum Dei Mogontino archiepiscopo¹ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum apostolica auctoritate et ueridicis sanctorum patrum sententiis incitati ad eliminandam simoniacam heresim et praecipendam clericorum castitatem pro nostri officii debito exarsimus, tibi cui est clerus et populus amplissime dilatatus, cui praeterea plures et late dispersi suffraganei sunt, hoc obedientiae munus iniungere decreuimus, ut tam per te quam per coadiutores tuos hoc Romanae ecclesiae decretum uniuerso clero studiosius inculcares et inuiolabiter tenendum proponeres. Qua de re tibi etiam speciales litteras cudere bulla nostra impressas collibuit, quarum fultus auctoritate tucius animosiusque praeceptis nostris obtemperes et de sanctuario Domini simoniacam heresim et fedam libidinosae contagionis pollutionem expellas. Vnde non ab re tibi scribendum fore arbitrati sumus, nos iuxta auctoritatem sanctorum patrum in nostra synodo sententiam dedisse, ut hi qui per symoniacam heresim, hoc est interuentu precii, ad aliquem sacrorum ordinum gradum uel officium promoti sunt, nullum in sancta ecclesia ulterius locum ministrandi habeant; illi quoque qui ecclesias datione pecuniae obtinent omnino eas perdant, ne deinceps uendere aut emere alicui liceat; sed nec illi qui in crimine fornicationis iacent missas celebrare aut secundum inferiores ordines ministrare altari debeant. Statuimus etiam ut si ipsi contemptores fuerint nostrarum immo sanctorum patrum constitutionum, populus nullo modo eorum officia recipiat, ut qui pro amore Dei et officii dignitate non corriguntur uerecundia saeculi et obiurgatione populi respiscant. Studeat ergo fraternitas tua sic se in his rebus nobis cooperatricem exhibere, sic crimina

* For the date, see Additional Note, pp. 160-1. In this and the two following letters, which are probably typical of others to German bishops, Gregory sought to secure compliance with the decrees, now lost, of his Lent council of 1075 against simony—the buying and selling of ecclesiastical orders and offices—and clerical marriage and concubinage. The letters are particularly noteworthy

To Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz

(1075, Feb.)

Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to the archbishop of Mainz,¹ greeting and apostolic blessing.

Prompted by our apostolic authority and by the truthful decrees of the holy fathers, we were enkindled by the duty of our office to banish the simoniac heresy and to enforce the chastity of the clergy. Knowing that your clergy and people are widely dispersed and that, moreover, your suffragans are many and far flung, we determined to impose upon you this obligatory task: that both by your own endeavours and by your fellow bishops' you should impress the decree of the Roman church with due zeal upon all the clergy, and set it forth to be inviolably observed. It seemed good also to furnish you with a special letter about it bearing our seal, so that by the sanction of its authority you might the more safely and boldly obey our command and drive out from the sanctuary of the Lord the simoniac heresy and the foul defilement of polluting lust.

Thus we do not deem it superfluous to write to you that we have made a conciliar injunction, by the authority of the holy fathers, that those who have been promoted by the simoniac heresy, that is, with the intervention of money, to any rank or office of holy orders may no longer exercise any ministry in holy church. Those, too, who obtain churches by the gift of money must utterly forfeit them, so that no one for the future may be allowed to sell or buy them. Nor may those who are guilty of the crime of fornication celebrate masses or minister at the altar in lesser orders. We have further appointed that if they disregard our rulings, or rather those of the holy fathers, the people may in no wise receive their ministrations, so that those who are not corrected from the love of God and the honour of their office may be brought to their senses by the shame of the world and the reproof of the people. Be zealous, therefore, so to show yourself our fellow worker in these things, and so

for Gregory's attempt to stimulate lay resistance to the ministrations of sinful clergy.

J.L. 4931. MS.: Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. lat. 6236, fo. 166^v, eleventh cent. Printed: *Ep. coll.* no. 3, pp. 523-4.

¹ Siegfried (1060-84).

ista de ecclesiis tuis radicitus euellere, quatinus boni pastoris meritum apud Deum ualeas obtinere et Romana ecclesia de te sicut de karissimo fratre et studioso cooperatore debeat gaudere.

7

*To Archbishop Werner of Magdeburg: Gregory urges German bishops to co-operate in eliminating simony and enforcing clerical chastity, and transmits the decrees of his Lateran council (1075, Feb.)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei Magdaburgensi archiepiscopo¹ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Text as no. 6

8

To Bishop Otto of Constance: Gregory informs him of the decrees of his Lateran council against simony and clerical unchastity (1075, Feb.-Mar.)†

Gregorius episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo^b fratri Ottoni Constantiensi episcopo² salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Instantia nuntiorum tuorum festinanter redire^c uolentium non permisit nos fraternitati tue que in Romana synodo² constituta sunt seriatim intimare. Hec tantum necessario tibi scribenda fore arbitrati sumus, nos iuxta auctoritatem sanctorum patrum in eadem synodo sententiam dedisse, ut hi qui per symoniacam heresim, hoc est interuentu precii, ad aliquem sacrorum ordinum gradum uel officium promoti sunt, nullum in sancta ecclesia

^a om. episcopus M

^b om. in Christo A

^c abire A

* For the date, see Additional Note, pp. 160-1.

J.L. 4932. MSS.: Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. lat. 16054, fo. 1^r, twelfth cent. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. lat. 18541a, fo. 222^v, eleventh cent. Printed: *Ep. coll.* no. 4, pp. 524-5.

† For the date, see Additional Note, pp. 160-1.

J.L. 4933. *G.P.* ii, pt. 1, p. 127, no. 15. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fo. 252^v, twelfth cent.; Heiligenkreuz,

to tear out these offences by the root from your churches, that you may win from God the reward of a good shepherd and that the Roman church may rejoice in you as a most dear brother and zealous fellow worker.

To Archbishop Werner of Magdeburg (1075, Feb.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the archbishop of Magdeburg,¹ greeting and apostolic blessing.

Text as no. 6.

To Bishop Otto of Constance (1075, Feb.-Mar.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Bishop Otto of Constance,² greeting and apostolic blessing.

The haste of your messengers wishing to return without delay did not allow us to communicate to you in due order the decrees which were approved in the Roman council.³ We thought it necessary that you should be sent written notice of this much at least: we made a ruling in this council, by the authority of the holy fathers, that those who have been promoted by the simoniac heresy, that is, by the intervention of money, to any rank or office of holy orders may no longer exercise any ministry in holy church.

Stiftsbibl. 12, fo. 185^r, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 132^{r-v}, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fo. 93^{r-v}, twelfth cent.; Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 1363, fo. 244^r, twelfth cent. (*V*). Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebeh. lib.*: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl. Rastatt 27, fo. 28^r, twelfth cent. (*M*). Bernard of Constance, *Apol.*: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl. 169, pp. 129-30, eleventh cent. (*A*); Stuttgart, Württ. Landesbibl. HB. VI. 107, fos. 144^v-145^r, eleventh cent. Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 36, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, p. 490. Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebeh. lib. cap.* 17, *M.G.H. L. de L.* i. 340-1. Bernard of Constance, *Apol. cap.* 1, *M.G.H. L. de L.* ii. 60-1. *Ep. coll.* no. 5, pp. 525-6.

¹ Werner (1063-78).

² 1071-86.

³ 24-8 Feb. 1075.

ulterius ministrandi locum habeant; illi quoque qui ecclesias datione pecunie obtinent omnino eas perdant, nec deinceps uendere aut emere alicui liceat; sed nec illi qui in crimine fornicationis iacent missas celebrare aut secundum inferiores ordines ministrare altari debeant. Statuimus etiam ut si ipsi contemptores fuerint nostrarum immo sanctorum patrum constitutionum, populus nullomodo eorum officia recipiat ut qui pro amore Dei et officii dignitate^d non corriguntur, uerecundia seculi et obiurgatione populi resipiscant.^e Studeat igitur fraternitas tua sic se in his nobis cooperatricem exhibere, sic crimina ista radicitus de ecclesiis tuis euellere, quatinus boni pastoris meritum apud Deum ualeas obtinere et Romana ecclesia de te sicut de karissimo fratre et studioso cooperatore debeat gaudere.

9

To Bishop Otto of Constance: Gregory insists upon his sanctions against simony and clerical unchastity, reproves Otto for disobediently conniving at the marriage of his clergy, and summons him to Rome (1075, late)*

Gregorius^a seruus seruorum Dei Ottoni Constantiensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Perlatum est ad nos de fraternitate tua quod satis inuitus et mestus audiui quodque, si uel de extremo christiane plebis membro ad audientiam nostram deferretur, seueriores^b districtioris^c discipline censura esset proculdubio castigandum. Cum enim, apostolica auctoritate et ueridicis sanctorum patrum sententiis incitati, ad eliminandam symoniacam heresim et precipiendam clericorum castitatem pro nostri officii debito exarsimus,^d Mogontino uenerabili^e archiepiscopo¹ confratri nostro, cui plures et late

^d om. dignitate A

^e The rest of the letter is lacking in V

9 ^a add episcopus ZC ^b seuerioris F ^c districtionis WHFS; districtionis et ZC

^d om. et precipiendam . . . debito exarsimus WZC

^e om. uenerabili WHSZC

* For the date and circumstances, see Additional Note, pp. 160-1.

J.L. 4970. G.P. ii, pt. 1, p. 128, no. 17. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fos. 252^v-253^r, twelfth cent. (V); Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fo. 185^{r-v}, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 132^v, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fos. 94^v-95^r, twelfth cent. Wolfen-

Those, too, who obtain churches by the gift of money must utterly forfeit them, and no one for the future may be allowed to sell or buy them. Nor may those who are guilty of the crime of fornication celebrate masses or minister at the altar in lesser orders. We have further appointed that if they disregard our rulings or rather those of the holy fathers, the people may in no wise receive their ministrations, so that those who are not corrected from the love of God and the honour of their office may be brought to their senses by the shame of the world and the reproof of the people. Be zealous, therefore, so to show yourself our fellow worker in these things, and so to tear out these offences by the root from your churches, that you may win from God the reward of a good shepherd and that the Roman church may rejoice in you as a most dear brother and zealous fellow worker.

To Bishop Otto of Constance

(1075, late)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Bishop Otto of Constance, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Tidings have reached us about you which I have been most reluctant and sad to hear, and which if they came to our ears about even the lowliest member of the Christian people we should undoubtedly punish by a most stern judgement of stringent discipline. For, urged by our apostolic authority and the truthful judgements of the holy fathers, we were enkindled according to the duty of our office to extirpate the simoniac heresy and to enforce the chastity of the clergy. We laid it as a bounden duty upon our brother the venerable archbishop of Mainz,¹ whose suffragans are many and

büttel, Hgz.-Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 18, fos. 43^v-44^v, twelfth cent. (W). Hanover Collection: Hanover, Niedersächs. Landesbibl. XI. 671, no. 17, fo. 44^{r-v}, sixteenth cent. (H). Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fos. 104^v-105^r, eleventh cent. (F). Sélestat, Bibl. municip. 13, fo. 41^{r-v}, eleventh cent. (S).² *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, pp. 103-4, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fo. 60^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (C). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 37, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 490-2. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 426-7. *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist.* ii, no. 142, cols. 141-3. *Ep. coll.* no. 8, pp. 528-9.

¹ Siegfried.

² This MS., originally from Hirsau, is described by F. Thaner, under its former reference no. 99, in *M.G.H. L. de L.* ii. 3. This and the following letter, together with a fragment of *Reg.* ii. 45, occur in section II.

dispersi suffraganei sunt, hoc obedientie munus iniunximus, ut tam per se quam per coadiutores suos hoc Romane ecclesie decretum^f uniuerso clero studiosius inconculcaret et inuiolabiliter tenendum proponeret. Tibi quoque, cui plurimus Constantiensis episcopii^g clerus et populus amplissime^h dilatatus, ob eandem causam speciales litteras cudere bulla nostra impressasⁱ collibuit, quarum fultus auctoritate tutius animosiusque preceptis nostris obtemperaresⁱ et de sanctuario Domini symoniacam heresim et fedam libidinose contagionis pollutionem expelleres. Apostolica namque beati Pauli prepollet auctoritas qua, fornicatores et adulteros cum ceteris sceleratis^j connumerans, diffinitam sue iussionis sententiam subicit: 'cum eiusmodi nec cibum capere'.^{k2} Preterea uniuersus catholice ecclesie cetus aut uirgines sunt aut continentis aut coniuges. Quicumque ergo extra hos tres ordines reperitur, inter filios ecclesie^l siue intra christiane religionis limites^m non numeratur. Vnde et nos,ⁿ si uel extremum laicum pellicui adherentem liquido cognouerimus, hunc uelut precisum a corpore dominico membrum donec peniteat condigne a sacramentis altaris arcemus. Quomodo ergo sanctorum sacramentorum distributor uel minister esse debet,^o qui nulla ratione potest esse uel particeps? Sed illa beati pape Leonis nos impulit auctoritas, qui subdiaconis ineundi^p conubii licentiam prorsus abstulit;³ quod decretum beati^q pape^r Leonis posteriores sancte Romane ecclesie pontifices, maxime doctor eximius Gregorius,⁴ ita pro lege^s sanxerunt ut deinceps tribus his ordinibus ecclesiasticis, sacerdotibus leuitis et subdiaconibus, uincula coniugalia omnino sint prohibita. Cum autem hec omnia tibi obseruanda pastoralis prouidentia transmitteremus, tu, non sursum cor sed deorsum in terra ponens,⁵ predictis ordinibus frena libidinis, sicut accepimus, laxasti, ut qui mulierculis se iunxerant in flagitio persisterent, et qui necdum duxerant tua interdicta non timerent. O impudentiam, o audaciam singularem, uidelicet episcopum sedis apostolice decreta contempnere, precepta sanctorum patrum conuellere, immo uero preceptis contraria ac fidei christiane repugnantia de superiori loco et de cathedra pontificali subiectis ingerere. Quapropter tibi apostolica auctoritate

^f debitum WH ^g ecclesiae F ^h latissime H ⁱ obtemperantes WH; obtemperans ZC
^l om. ecclesie WHZC ^j excommunicatis F ^k sumere HFS
^l om. ineundi WZC ^m terminos ZC ⁿ om. et nos F ^o potest F
^p om. ineundi WZC ^q om. beati W ^r om. pape VS ^s om. pro lege W; lege H; ea lege ZC

far flung, that both by himself and through his coadjutors he should impress this decree of the Roman church with all zeal upon his whole clergy and insist that it should be inviolably observed. We also thought fit to write a special letter,¹ sealed with our seal, concerning this matter to you as ruler of the numerous clergy of the see of Constance and of its widely dispersed people, so that upheld by its authority you might the more safely and boldly obey our commands by driving out from the Lord's sanctuary the simoniac heresy and the foul defilement of polluting lust. For the apostolic authority of St. Paul is decisive when, including fornicators and adulterers with other vicious men, he went on to make this clear and final prohibition: 'not even to eat with such a one'.² Moreover the whole company of the catholic church are either virgins or chaste or married. Whoever stands outside these three orders is not numbered amongst the sons of the church or within the bounds of the Christian religion. Thus, if we know for a certainty that even the least of laymen is companying with a mistress, we rightly debar him from the sacraments of the altar until he repents, as a member severed from the Lord's body. This being so, how can a man be a dispenser or minister of the holy sacraments, when he can on no account be even a partaker of them? (The ruling of the blessed Pope Leo is binding upon us, by which he absolutely withheld from subdeacons the liberty to marry;³ and subsequent popes of the holy Roman church, especially the distinguished doctor Gregory,⁴ have so established the blessed Pope Leo's decree as law that thereafter the bonds of marriage are altogether forbidden to the three ecclesiastical orders of priests, deacons, and subdeacons.)

Yet when we passed on all these things for you to observe by your pastoral oversight, you, setting your heart not on things above but on the earth below,⁵ relaxed the reins of lust, as we have heard, to all these orders, allowing those who had joined themselves to women to continue in their shame and those who had not taken women to have no fear of your prohibition. O the impudence! O the unparalleled insolence! that a bishop should despise the decrees of the apostolic see, should set at naught the precepts of the holy fathers, and in truth should impose upon his subjects from his lofty place and from his episcopal chair things contrary to these precepts and opposed to the Christian faith! We accordingly

¹ See no. 7.

³ Pope Leo I, *Ep.* xiv. 4, *P.L.* liv. 672-3.

⁴ Pope Gregory I.

² Cf. 1 Cor. 5: 11.

⁵ Cf. Col. 3: 1-2.

precipimus,^t ut ad proximam synodum nostram prima ebdomada^u quadragesime^{v1} te presentem exhibeas, tam de hac inobedientia et sedis apostolice contemptu quam de omnibus que tibi obiciuntur^w canonice responsurus.

10

To the clergy and laity of the diocese of Constance: Gregory condemns Bishop Otto's disobedience and releases them from their own duty of obedience to him until he obeys the apostolic see
(1075, late)*

Gregorius episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei clericis et laicis, maioribus et minoribus, in Constantiensi episcopatu consistentibus, christianam legem diligentibus,^b salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Misimus fratri nostro episcopo uestro^c Ottoni litteras exhortatorias,² per quas pro nostri necessitate officii apostolica auctoritate iniunximus illi ut symoniacam heresim de ecclesia sua penitus excluderet et castitatem clericorum studiose predicandam susciperet et firmiter tenendam episcopali uigilantia^d inculcasset. Nam sic eam nobis euangelice et apostolice littere, autenticarum synodorum decreta et eximiorum doctorum precepta^e insinuant, ut eam dissimulare et negligere sine magno anime nostre et populi christiani detrimento^f non possimus. Sed episcopus uester neque beati Petri^g reuerentia precepti neque^h officii sui sollicitudine attractus, ut nobis relatum est, que paterne suaseramus perficereⁱ curauit, et, ut non solum inobedientie uerum etiam rebellionis offensam contraheret, quemadmodum accepimus, palam clericis suis iussioni nostre immo beati Petri omnino^j

^t mandamus WHZC ^u prime ebdomade V; proximae H ^v om. quadragesime V ^w obediunt W; obediuntur H

10 ^a om. episcopus WHZC ^b defendentibus WHZC ^c Misimus ad uos episcopo uestro confratri nostro WZC; Misimus episcopo uestro fratri nostro H ^d diligentia H ^e om. precepta WZC ^f periculo WHZC
^g add apostoli WHZC ^h nec nostri precepti nec ZC ⁱ add non V
^j om. omnino F; omnia H

* For the date and circumstances, see Additional Note, pp. 160-1.

J.L. 4971. G.P. ii, pt. 1, p. 128, no. 18. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fo. 253^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (V); Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fos. 185^v-186^r, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fos.

command you by apostolic authority to present yourself at our next council in the first week of Lent,¹ to answer canonically respecting both this disobedience and contempt of the apostolic see, and all the charges that have been laid against you.

To the clergy and laity of the diocese of Constance

(1075, late)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clerks and laymen, greater and lesser, in the diocese of Constance, who love the law of Christ, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We sent to Otto, our brother and your bishop, an admonitory letter² in which as our office obliges us we charged him by apostolic authority that he should utterly exclude the simoniac heresy from his church, and that he should uphold the chastity of the clergy by zealous preaching and insist with episcopal vigilance upon its being steadfastly maintained. For the words of the gospels and of the apostles, the decrees of authoritative councils, and the precepts of distinguished doctors so commend it to us that we cannot disregard and neglect it without great harm to our own soul and to the people of Christ. But your bishop has been guided neither by reverence for St. Peter's precept nor by the duty of his own office; for as we have been told he has not been at pains to carry out our fatherly exhortations. Instead, that he might incur the guilt not only of disobedience but also of rebellion, as we have heard he has openly tolerated in his clergy things altogether repugnant to our command or rather St. Peter's—that those who had women might

132^v-133^r, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fo. 95^{r-v}, twelfth cent. Wolfenbüttel, HZg.-Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 19, fos. 44^v-45^v, twelfth cent. (W). Hanover Collection: Hanover, Niedersächs. Landesbibl. XI. 671, no. 18, fos. 45^r-46^r, sixteenth cent. (H). Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fo. 105^{r-v}, eleventh cent. (F). Sélestat, Bibl. municip. 13, fos. 41^v-42^v, eleventh cent. (S). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, pp. 104-5, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fos. 60^v-61^r, twelfth cent. (C). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 38, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 492-3. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 427. *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist.* ii, no. 143, cols. 143-4. *Ep. coll.* no. 9, pp. 529-31.

¹ 14-22 Feb. 1076.

² No. 8.

contraria permisit ita ut qui mulierculas habuerant retinerent et qui non habebant^k illicita temeritate^l subintroducerent. Quod ut audiuius moleste ferentes, secundam ei scripsimus epistolam,¹ indignationis ei nostre motus ostendentes^m et idem preceptumⁿ iterato acrius inculcantes, quin etiam ipsum ad synodum Romanam que prima proxime quadragesime ebdomada futura est aduocauimus,² ut pro se rationem reddat et inobedientie causas, si rationabiles habuerit, in audientia totius conuentus^o exponat.

Hec ideo, filii^p karissimi, uobis innotescimus ut anime uestre saluti consulamus. Si enim beato Petro et sancte sedi apostolice fronte aperta^q repugnans et contumax esse uoluerit,^r liquido manifestum est quia qui matrem uel patrem inhonorat nullam a fidelibus patris et matris filiis iure obedientiam exigere aut querere debeat. Indignum est enim ut qui magistro detrectat subesse, magister auditoribus postulet preesse.^s Quapropter omnibus,^t sicut prediximus, maioribus atque minoribus Deo et beato Petro adherentibus apostolica auctoritate precipimus, si in obduratione sua persistere uoluerit, nullam ei obedientie reuerentiam exhibeatis. Neque id anime uestre perniciem esse putetis. Nam si, ut totiens iam prediximus, preceptis apostolicis uoluerit esse contrarius, ab omni illius subiectionis iugo beati Petri auctoritate absoluimus ita ut, si etiam sacramenti obligatione quilibet ei fuerit obstrictus, quam diu Deo omnipotenti et sedi apostolice rebellis extiterit, nulla ei fidelitatis exhibitione fiat obnoxius. Non enim cuilibet persone contra creatorem suum, qui cunctis preponendus est, aliquis debet obedire, sed debemus contra Deum superbienti resistere ut, saltem hac necessitate coactus,^u ad uiam iusticie addiscat redire. Quanti enim periculi quanteque a christiana lege sit alienationis obedientiam maxime apostolice sedi non exhibere, ex dictis beati Samuelis prophete potestis cognoscere, que sanctissimus papa Gregorius in ultimo^v libro *Moralium* procurauit exponere.^w Vt autem ea sint nobis in promptu, scripta transmisimus, quatinus indubitanter sciatis nos uobis nouam non dicere^x sed antiquam sanctorum patrum doctrinam proplare:

Hinc Samuel ait: 'Melior est obedientia quam uictime, et auscultare magis quam offerre adypem arietum; quoniam quasi peccatum ariolandi

^k om. retinerent et qui non habebant WHZC ^l add alias ZC ^m indignationis eius nostri motus ostendentes W; indignationem ei nostri motus indicantes ZC ⁿ om. preceptum F ^o sinodi W; om. conuentus H; ecclesiae ZC ^p fratres V ^q om. fronte aperta WZC; om. aperta H

keep them, and that those who did not have them might commit the unlawful brazenness of taking them. When we heard of it we were deeply angered and wrote him a second letter,¹ making clear to him the depth of our indignation and insisting still more sharply upon our command. At the same time we also summoned him to the Roman council called for the first week of next Lent,² in order that he may give an account of himself and explain in the hearing of the whole assembly the grounds for his disobedience, if he has reasonable ones.

Dearest sons, we make these things known to you in order that we may promote the salvation of your souls. For if he is determined to be brazenly hostile and unyielding to St. Peter and to the holy and apostolic see, it is clearly evident that a man who does not honour his mother or father should rightfully neither expect nor ask their faithful sons to yield obedience to himself. For it is unfitting that a man who refuses to be under a master should himself seek to stand as a master over disciples. Accordingly, as we have already said, by apostolic authority we charge all of you, both greater and lesser, who stand by God and St. Peter, that if he is determined to continue in his obduracy you should show him neither respect nor obedience. Nor need you think this a danger to your souls. For if, as we have often said already, he is determined to resist apostolic precepts, we so absolve you by St. Peter's authority from every yoke of subjection to him that, even if any of you is bound to him by the obligation of an oath, for so long as he is a rebel against God and the apostolic see you are bound to pay him no fealty. For a man should obey no one before his Creator, who must be placed before all others; but we should resist whoever waxes proud against God so that, driven at least by this constraint, he may learn to turn back to the path of righteousness. For how very dangerous it is, and how far removed from the law of Christ, not to be obedient, especially to the apostolic see, you may learn from the words of blessed Samuel the prophet which the most holy Pope Gregory undertook to expound in the last book of his *Morals*. In order that we may have them before us we are setting them down in writing; you may thus know beyond doubt that we are addressing no new teaching to you, but are rehearsing the ancient teaching of the holy fathers:

Hence Samuel says: 'To obey is better than sacrifices and to hearken than to offer the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft,

^r studuerit WHS ^s om. Indignum est . . . postulet preesse F ^t om. omnibus WHZC ^u compulsus F ^v om. ultimo F ^w explanare WHFSZC ^x superducere ZC

est repugnare, et quasi scelus ydolatrie nolle acquiescere'.¹ Obedientia quippe uictimis iure preponitur, quia per uictimas aliena caro, per obedientiam uero uoluntas^y propria mactatur. Tanto igitur quisque Deum citius placat quanto ante eius oculos, repressa^z arbitrii sua superbia, gladio precepti se immolat. Quo contra ariolandi peccatum inobedientia dicitur ut quanta sit uirtus^{aa} obedientie demonstratur. Ex aduerso igitur melius ostenditur quid de eius laude sentiatur. Si enim 'quasi ariolandi peccatum est repugnare et quasi scelus^{bb} ydolatrie nolle acquiescere', sola est que fidei meritum possidet, qua sine quisque conuincitur infidelis, etiam si fidelis esse uideatur.²

11

To all the clergy and laity of Germany: Gregory urges them to resist bishops who tolerate clerical marriage and concubinage
(1075, late)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei omnibus clericis et laicis in regno Teutonicorum constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Audiuimus quod quidam episcoporum apud uos commorantium ut sacerdotes et diaconi et subdiaconi mulieribus commisceantur aut consentiant aut negligant. His precipimus uos nullomodo obedire uel illorum preceptis consentire, sicut ipsi apostolice sedis preceptis non obediunt neque auctoritati sanctorum patrum consentiunt. Testante diuina^a scriptura, facientes et consentientes par pena complectitur.³ Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui ultra spem, qui ultra meritum miseretur et consolatur nos in omni^b tribulatione nostra, aperiat cor uestrum in lege sua et confirmet uos in preceptis suis ut, auctoritate beati Petri^c a cunctis peccatis absolutos, uos ad celeste regnum perducatur regnatos. Amen.

^y om. uoluntas WHZC ^z repraehensa H ^{aa} quanti sit uirtus WH;
quanta sint uires ZC ^{bb} om. scelus HZC
11 ^a sancta F ^b om. omni F ^c add apostoli F

* For the date and circumstances, see Additional Note, pp. 160-1. The fact that this letter survives only in two sources perhaps indicates that it did not circulate widely in Germany.

J.L. 4902. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fo. 254^r, twelfth cent.; Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fo. 186^v, twelfth cent. Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 133^r, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fo.

and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.'¹ Now obedience is rightly placed before sacrifices, because by sacrifices we put to death flesh which is not our own, but by obedience our own will. A man pleases God the more readily in proportion as he curbs his own pride of will and sacrifices himself before God's eyes by the sword of his precept. Disobedience, on the other hand, is likened to the sin of witchcraft in order that it may appear how great is the virtue of obedience: by contrasting them it may the more clearly be seen how highly we should praise it. For if 'rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry', only obedience has the reward of faith, since without it a man is proved to be unfaithful even though he appear to be faithful.²

To all the clergy and laity of Germany (1075, late)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the clergy and laity of the kingdom of Germany, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have heard that certain of the bishops who dwell in your parts either condone, or fail to take due notice of, the keeping of women by priests, deacons, and subdeacons. We charge you in no way to obey these bishops or to follow their precepts, even as they themselves do not obey the commands of the apostolic see or heed the authority of the holy fathers. Divine scripture testifies that an equal punishment is due to those who commit an evil and to those who assent to it.³ May the almighty and merciful God, who beyond our hope and our deserving pities and comforts us in all our tribulation, so open your heart in his law and confirm you in his precepts that, being absolved by the authority of St. Peter from all your sins, he may bring you to reign in his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

94^{r-v}, twelfth cent. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fo. 106^{r-v}, eleventh cent. (F). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 41, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 495-6. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 428-9. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 125-6.⁴ *Ep. coll.* no. 10, p. 532.

¹ 1 Reg. (1 Sam.) 15: 22-3.

² Pope Gregory I, *Moralium*, xxv. 28, P.L. lxxvi. 765.

³ Cf. Rom. 1: 32.

⁴ 'Ex codice 562. monasterii S. Germani de pratis' (Baluze). It is made up from fragments of this letter and *Reg.* ii 45, 11 Jan. 1075, pp. 182-5.

*To the abbots and superiors of religious houses in France: Gregory appeals to them to renew payment of the taxes which their houses owe to the Roman see, and nominates Bishop Hugh of Die to be the collector (1075)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei omnibus abbatibus et praelatis tam monachorum quam et canonicorum per Gallias constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Fraternitatem uestram, dilectissimi fratres, latere minime credimus quasdam aecclesiarum uestrarum beato Petro et nobis annuos census persoluere ex praecedentium patrum institutionibus debere. Sed quia quidam uestrum partim neglegentia partim uero tenaci induratione haec hactenus minus plene quam oporteret egerunt, hos ut emendari et debita soluere studeant, omnes autem ut apostolico praecepto: 'Cui uectigal uectigal, cui tributum tributum',¹ optemperetis commonemus. Vnusquisque enim non quod suum est sed quod alterius querat,² quoniam si digne redarguitur qui prout oportet propria non largitur, qua sententia dignus est qui nec aliena rapere nec debita metuit retinere, dicente Domino: 'Quae uultis ut faciant uobis, haec facite et uos illis',³ et: 'Quod tibi non uis, alii non feceris.'⁴ Nunc igitur, quia dilectum filium nostrum Hugonem Diensem episcopum ob ecclesiasticae utilitatis diuersa negotia in Gallias uices nostras exequuturum mittimus, et quia nemini potius credere debemus quem in omnibus a nobis sibi iniunctis fideliter egisse comperimus, quae nobis ex ecclesiis uestris specialiter debetis uos illi ad nos perferenda persoluere ac de retentis satisfacere iubemus.

* Gregory here lays claim to the taxes (*census*) which were owed by many religious houses to the Roman see in return for privileges granted by earlier popes. For a similar claim by Pope Urban II, cf. his *Epp.* lxxxix, xc (1093), *P.L.* cli. 368-70. These popes' letters indicate that, until the compilation of the *Liber censuum* of 1192, the papacy had no sufficient record of the amounts of such taxes or of those who owed them. Hugh, bishop of Die (1074-82) and archbishop of Lyons (1082-1106), became Gregory's standing legate in France. Gregory first mentioned him as being active 'in legatione nostra' at the Lent council of 1076: *Reg.* iii. 10a, p. 269. If Gregory referred to Hugh's activities in *Reg.* ii. 56, 4 Mar. 1075, pp. 209-10, and ii. 64, 25 Mar. 1075, p. 219, their results are not likely to have been known to Gregory until fairly late in 1075; this indicates the *terminus a quo* of the present letter.

J.L. 4849. MS.: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl.

To the abbots and superiors of religious houses in France (1075)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all abbots and superiors of monks and canons throughout France, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We are sure, dearest brothers, that you are by no means unaware that according to the decrees of the fathers of former times some of your churches should pay an annual tax to St. Peter and to ourself. But since some of you, partly from carelessness but partly from stubborn obstinacy, have hitherto fulfilled their obligation less completely than they should, we admonish them to see to it that they accept correction and pay their dues, and all of you to obey the Apostle's command: 'Pay revenue to whom revenue is due, taxes to whom taxes are due.'¹ Let everyone seek not his own good but his neighbour's;² for if a man deserves reproof for not bestowing his own goods as is right, of what condemnation is he worthy who has not hesitated to seize what does not belong to him or to keep back what he should pay; whereas our Lord says: 'Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them',³ and: 'What you do not wish for yourself, do not do to others.'⁴ We have sent our beloved son Bishop Hugh of Die to France to attend on our behalf to various matters of importance for the church. There is no one in whom we may more fully trust, for we have found that he has faithfully performed all the duties that we have laid upon him; we therefore charge you to pay to him, so that he may bring to us, whatever each of you owes in respect of your churches, and to make good anything that you may have been keeping back.

Phillipps 1870, fo. 96^v, eleventh cent.⁵ Printed: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 412-13. *Ep. coll.* no. 6, p. 526.

¹ Cf. Rom. 13: 7.

² Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 24.

³ Cf. Matt. 7: 12.

⁴ Not in this form a saying of Christ, but cf. Tobit 4: 16 (15) and *Doctrina apostolorum, The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot (London, 1891) p. 225.

⁵ This letter appears in the left-hand margin of the folio, in the same hand as the rest. Approximately 4 mm. of the left-hand side of the text have been cut away; I have taken the missing words of the letter from the *M.G.H.* edition, which does not sufficiently indicate the condition of the MS.

To Bishop Henry of Trent: Gregory reproves him for failing to reply to a message and protests the justice of his own excommunication of Henry IV. He urges the bishop to send knights for the service of St. Peter

(1076, Mar.-July)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei fratri et coepiscopo Tridentino Heinrico^{a1} salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Miramur fraternitatis tue prudentiam uerba nostra neglexisse² ut secundum ea nullum decreueris dare responsum, maxime cum post sinodalem sententiam in Heinricum regem prolatam dilectio tua minime differre debuerit. Ad cuius nimirum sententiae promulgationem nos iusticie zelo impulsos et non aliqua commotione^b iniurie concitatos manum exercuisse neque sollertiam tuam ignorare neque aliquem sane mentis hominem putamus posse ambigere. Quod tamen si in dubium cuiquam deueniret, constat eius rei rationem prius ex nobis fore scrutandam quam in illum preiudicium factum temere esse credendum. Verum utcumque sese opinio habeat factumue interpretetur, illud procul dubio clementia diuina sperantes promittimus: festum beati Petri³ non prius transeundum quam in cunctorum noticia certissime clareat illum iustissime esse excommunicatum. Et inde fraternitatem tuam uolumus atque^c monemus ut certos nos studeat facere utrum^d Deo an hominibus magis elegerit obedire⁴ utrumue iustitie obtemperando fidem Deo et sancte Romane ecclesie

^a om. Heinrico ZC ^b promotione W ^c om. uolumus atque ZC
^d utrumque W

* This letter survives only in letter collections which give no clue to its date. It could be the sequel either to Gregory's first excommunication of Henry in Feb. 1076: *Reg. iii. 10a*, pp. 268-71, or to his second in Mar. 1080: *Reg. vii. 14a*, pp. 483-7. The later date was proposed by J. Haller, *Das Papsttum. Idee und Wirklichkeit*, ii (2nd edn., Darmstadt, 1962), 610, and accepted by F. Baethgen, 'Zur Tribur-Frage', *D.A.* iv (1940), 395, n. 4. Haller pointed to the similarity between Gregory's assertion in his letter that the justice of Henry's excommunication would be made plain before the 'festum beati Petri', and the familiar tradition, generally associated with the year 1080, that Gregory predicted Henry's death or deposition before St. Peter's Day: Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ix, *M.G.H. L. de L.* i. 616; Beno, *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae*, i. 7, *M.G.H. L. de L.* ii. 371; cf. Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chron. a. 1080*, *M.G.H. Scr.* vi. 364. But Bonizo and Beno did not precisely date their stories, and only a similar

To Bishop Henry of Trent

(1076, Mar.-July)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his brother and fellow bishop Henry of Trent,¹ greeting and apostolic blessing.

We are surprised that you should have so disregarded our message² that you have decided to make no reply to it; for particularly after our conciliar sentence against King Henry you should certainly not have delayed to answer. We believe that neither you nor anyone of sound mind could doubt that we were brought to pass this sentence because we were driven to it by zeal for righteousness, not because we were aroused by some merely personal wrong. If anyone should still be in doubt about this, he ought to find out from us the truth of the matter before rashly believing that an injustice was done to the king. But whatever men think and however they may construe what has happened, with unwavering trust in God's mercy we make this prophecy: the feast of St. Peter³ will not have passed before it is quite certainly made known to all men that the king was most justly excommunicated. We therefore desire and admonish you to assure us without fail whether you choose to obey God rather than men,⁴ and whether you are minded to keep faith with God and the holy Roman church by obeying

tale in Sigebert, not a very reliable authority, has led them to be widely assigned to 1080; in any case Gregory's letter is more guardedly expressed than this tradition. Baethgen also argued that Gregory's request for knights to be sent 'ad seruitium beati Petri' fitted 1080 better than the beginning of the struggle between Gregory and Henry. But the case for the more widely accepted date of 1076 remains convincing. Against Baethgen's last point, in ?Apr. 1076 Gregory told the Patavine leader Wifred that he would approach the *fideles sancti Petri* about aid for Milan which may have comprised not only money but also military reinforcements recruited as in this letter: *Reg. iii. 15*, p. 277. Moreover, this letter exactly illustrates the considerations which led Gregory to circulate no. 14 in the summer of 1076.

J.L. 4997. *G.P.* i, p. 402, no. 5. MSS.: Wolfenbüttel, Hzg.-Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 22, fos. 47^v-48^r, twelfth cent. (W). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, pp. 115-16, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fos. 65^v-66^r, twelfth cent. (C). Printed: *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist.* ii, no. 152, cols. 155-6; Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.* no. 50, pp. 109-10. Ughelli, *Ital. sac.* v. 593-4. Hahn, *Coll. mon.* i. 116-17. *Ep. coll.* no. 13, pp. 534-5.

¹ 1068-82.

² No letter or other record of Gregory's approach survives.

³ i.e. the feast of St. Peter *ad uincula* (1 Aug.).

⁴ Cf. Acts 5: 29.

obseruare, quam filiis iniquitatis herendo conculcare censuerit. Rogamus etiam atque inuitamus ut ad seruicium beati Petri pro posse tuo milites mittere studeas, eosque si decreueris mittere Mathilde¹ filie nostre notificare procures, cuius ope conducti securi possint ad nos et sine impedimento, fauente Domino, peruenire.

14

*To all the faithful in Germany: in answer to those who doubt the justice of his excommunication of Henry IV Gregory sets out in detail the grounds of his sentence (1076, summer)**

Gregorius episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei omnibus episcopis ducibus comitibus ceterisque fidelibus^b in regno Theutonicorum christianam fidem defendentibus^c salutem et apostolicam^d benedictionem.^e

Audiuimus quosdam inter uos^f de excommunicatione quam in regem fecimus dubitare ac querere utrum iuste excommunicatus sit et si nostra sententia ex auctoritate legalis censure ea qua debuit deliberatione processerit.^g Quapropter qualiter ad^h excommunicandum illum adducti sumus, prout uerius potuimus

^a om. episcopus WHZCXY ^b om. fidelibus WHZCXY ^c diligentibus F
^d om. apostolicam L ^e om. Gregorius episcopus . . .
apostolicam benedictionem M ^f Audiuimus inter uos quosdam ZCXY
^g progressa est LPSN; congressa sit WH; progressa sit MF; egressa sit ZCXY
^h om. qualiter ad WH; om. qualiter F

* This is amongst the most important of all Gregory's letters, and the extensive MS. attestation in many kinds of source indicates that it circulated widely. Its purpose was to insist that Gregory's deposition and excommunication of Henry IV at his Lent council of 1076 were both canonically correct and fully called for by the king's misconduct since his accession. Many bishops, in particular, who had supported Henry at Worms in Jan. 1076 when he called upon Gregory to step down from the papacy soon began to show hesitation. By vindicating his own actions Gregory sought to rally the German princes and people to his cause, and to ease the way for them to respond. This letter may be compared with *Reg. iv. 1*, 25 July 1076, pp. 289–92, which appears to have been written after it and which echoes some of its themes.

J.L. 4999. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fos. 259^v–260^v, twelfth cent. (V); Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fos. 191^r–192^r, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 137^{r-v}, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fos. 102^v–105^r, twelfth cent. Bruno, *Sax. bell.*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibl.

righteousness rather than to despise them by cleaving to the children of iniquity. We also ask and summon you to the best of your ability to send knights for the service of St. Peter. If you decide to send them you should inform our daughter Matilda;¹ for by her help they can have safe conduct and, if God wills, they can reach us in safety.

To all the faithful in Germany (1076, summer)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all bishops, dukes, counts, and other faithful men in the kingdom of Germany who are defending the Christian religion, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have heard that some of your countrymen have doubts about the excommunication which we have placed upon the king: they question whether he was excommunicated justly and whether our sentence proceeded from due deliberation and had the sanction of lawful authority. We have accordingly been at pains to set forth to the eyes and minds of all as truthfully as we could, upon the

1323, fos. 23^v–25^r, c. 1500 (L). *Annalista Saxo*: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11851, fos. 176^r–177^r, twelfth cent. (P). Wolfenbüttel, Hgz.–Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 10, fos. 37^r–38^r, twelfth cent. (W). Hanover Collection: Hanover, Niedersächs. Landesbibl. XI. 671, no. 7, fos. 28^r–30^v, sixteenth cent. (H). Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebeh. lib.*: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl. Rastatt 27, fos. 42^r–44^r, twelfth cent. (M). Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fos. 113^v–115^r, eleventh cent. (F). Sélestat, Bibl. municip. 13, fos. 58^v–59^v, eleventh cent. (S). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, pp. 107–9, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fos. 61^v–63^r, twelfth cent. (C); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. 4594, fos. 44^r–45^r, twelfth cent. (X); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 611, fos. 31^r–32^v, twelfth cent. (Y). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita, capp. 77–8*, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 517–21. Bruno, *Sax. bell. cap. 72*, edd. Lohmann and Schmale, pp. 288–96. *Annalista Saxo*, a. 1076, *M.G.H. Scr. vi.* 708–9. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron. ii*, *M.G.H. Scr. viii.* 439–40. *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist. ii*, no. 146, cols. 146–9. *Ep. coll.* no. 14, pp. 535–40. Holder-Egger, *N.A.* xxxi (1906), 186–8 (N).² Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebeh. lib. cap. 28*, *M.G.H. L. de L. i.* 359–61. Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, i, *M.G.H. L. de L. iii.* 326–8.³

¹ Countess Matilda of Tuscany.

² Holder-Egger edited this letter from a MS. of c. 1080–1100 of which part survived in the cover of a MS. of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae in Euangelia* which was in the University Library at Königsberg (now Kaliningrad): I have been unable to discover anything about its subsequent fortunes. The letter preceded the apologia of an unnamed German prelate, perhaps Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, for his conduct between Oct. 1076 and the summer of 1077.

³ This letter is also briefly quoted by Frutolf of Michaelsberg, *Ekkehardi chronicon uniuersale*, *M.G.H. Scr. vi.* 202.

teste consciencia nostra, oculis et intellectibus omniumⁱ patefacere curauimus, non tam ut singulas causas, que heu! nimium note sunt, quasi nostro clamore proiciamus in publicum, quam ut eorum opinionibus satisfaciamus qui putant nos spiritalem gladium temere et magis motu animi nostri quam diuino metu et iusticie zelo arripuisse.

Cum adhuc in diaconatus officio positi essemus, perlata ad nos de regis actionibus sinistra et multa inhonesta fama, propter imperialem dignitatem et reuerentiam patris et matris eius necnon^j propter spem ac desiderium correctionis sue sepe eum per litteras et nuncios^k admonuimus ut a prauitate sua desisteret et, memor clarissimi generis ac dignitatis sue, uitam suam moribus quibus regem et futurum, Deo donante, imperatorem deceret institueret.^l Postquam autem ad pontificatus apicem^m licet indigni uenimus et illius etas pariter cresceretⁿ et iniquitas, intelligentes Deum omnipotentem tanto districtius de manu nostra animam illius requisitum quanto nobis ad increpandum illum pre cunctis libertas data fuisset et auctoritas, multo sollicitius eum modis omnibus 'arguendo obsecrando increpando'¹ ad emendationem uite sue hortati sumus. Qui cum sepe nobis deuotas^o salutationes et litteras² mitteret, excusans se^p tum ex etate quod fluxa esset et fragilis³ tum quod ab his in quorum manibus curia erat multociens sibi male suasum atque consultum sit, monita nostra de die in diem se promptissime suscepturum uerbis quidem promisit, ceterum re et exaggeratione culparum penitus conculcauit.

Inter hec quosdam familiares suos, quorum consiliis et machinationibus episcopatus et multa monasteria inductis per precium lupis pro pastoribus symoniaca heresi fedauerat, ad penitentiam uocauimus, quatinus et bona ecclesiarum que per interuentum tam scelerati commercii sacrilega manu susceperant uenerabilibus locis ad que pertinerent, cum adhuc locus esset emendandi, redderent,^q et ipsi de perpetrata iniquitate per lamenta penitudinis Deo satisfacerent. Quos dum ad hec exequenda datas

ⁱ om. omnium *W* ^j om. propter imperialem . . . eius necnon *L*
^k om. et nuncios *ZCXY* ^l desisteret *WH* ^m officium *VM*; ad pontificatum *F* ⁿ crescere *WH*; creuit *F*; crescere coepit *ZCXY* ^o om. deuotas *ZCXY* ^p om. excusans se *WH* ^q om. uenerabilibus locis . . . emendandi, redderent *W*; om. redderent *P*

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. 4: 2.

² *Reg.* i. 29a, Aug.-Sept. 1073, pp. 47-9.

testimony of our conscience, how we were brought to excommunicate him. We have done so not so much to noise abroad as it were by the sound of our own voice the several reasons which, alas! are all too well known, as, rather, to satisfy the misgivings of those who think that we seized the spiritual sword rashly and more from the prompting of our own passions than from fear of God and zeal for righteousness.

While we still exercised the office of deacon, there reached us ill and most shameful tidings of the king's behaviour; on account of the imperial dignity and out of respect for his father and mother, and also on account of our hope and desire for his correction, we frequently admonished him by letters and by messengers to cease from his wickedness and, mindful of his illustrious family and rank, to shape his life in ways which befitted a king and, if God so disposed, an emperor-to-be. After we, though unworthy, succeeded to the papal office, his wickedness increased together with his years. Knowing that Almighty God would require his soul of our hand the more stringently because freedom and authority to reprove him were given to us before all other men, we urged him the more anxiously to amend his life, in every way 'convincing, rebuking, exhorting'¹ him. He often sent us cordial letters of greeting,² making excuses for himself on the grounds of his youth because such a time of life was frail and weak,³ and of his having again and again been badly advised and counselled by those who predominated in his court; however, while he made verbal promises that he would each day most readily heed our warnings, he utterly trampled upon them in what he did and by the multiplication of his offences.

In the meantime we summoned to do penance some of his courtiers, by whose counsels and devices he had polluted with the simoniac heresy the bishoprics and the many monasteries in which, for a price, wolves had been established instead of shepherds. Our intention was that while there was yet scope for amendment they might restore the ecclesiastical property which they had sacrilegiously received through their most pernicious trafficking to the venerable places to which it belonged, and that they might themselves make satisfaction to God by tears of repentance for the evils which they had committed. When we knew that they scorned

³ Cf. Sallust, *Catilina*, 1. 4; Gregory also used this phrase in *Reg.* iv. 28, 28 June 1077, p. 345, and vi. 13, 15 Dec. 1078, p. 417, as well as in no. 65 below.

inducias spernere et in consueta nequicia pertinaciter stare cognouimus, sicut dignum erat sacrilegos et ministros ac membra diaboli a communione et corpore totius ecclesie separauimus, et regem ut eos a domo sua, a consiliis, et omni communione sua sicut excommunicatos^r expelleret admonuimus.^s

Interim uero, ingrauescente contra regem Saxonum causa, cum uires et presidia regni ex maxima parte a se deficere uelle conspiceret,^t iterum direxit nobis epistolam supplicem et omni humilitate plenam,¹ in qua omnipotenti Deo ac beato Petro ac nobis ualde se culpabilem reddens^u preces etiam obtulit ut quod ex culpa sua in ecclesiasticis causis contra canonicam iusticiam^v et decreta sanctorum patrum deliquisset,^w nostra apostolica prouidentia et auctoritate corrigere studeremus, atque in eo suam nobis per omnia obedientiam consensum^x et fidele promisit adiutorium. Hoc idem etiam postea a confratribus et legatis nostris Huberto Prenestino episcopo et Geraldo Ostiensi episcopo quos ad illum misimus^y ad penitentiam susceptus, in illorum manus per sacratas stolas quas in collo tenebant repromittendo confirmauit.² Deinde post aliquot tempus commisso cum Saxonibus prelio³ rex pro uictoria quam adeptus est tales Deo grates et uictimas obtulit ut uota que de emendatione sua fecerat continuo frangeret, et nichil eorum que nobis promiserat attendens excommunicatos in suam familiaritatem et communionem reciperet et ecclesias in eam quam consueuerat confusionem traheret.

Qua de re graui dolore percussi, quamquam post contempta celestis regis beneficia pene omnis spes correctionis eius nobis ablata sit, adhuc tamen animum eius temptandum fore decreuimus, magis cupientes eum apostolicam mansuetudinem audire quam^z experiri seueritatem. Itaque misimus ei commonitorias epistolas ut meminerit quid et cui promiserit,^{aa} ne credat se posse fallere Deum cuius quanto prolixior est patientia tanto seuerior est cum iudicare ceperit ira, ne inhonoret Deum honorantem se, ne potentiam suam ad Dei contemptum et apostolicam temptet extendere contumeliam; sciens quoniam 'superbis Deus resistit,

^r om. sicut excommunicatos P ^s om. the rest of the letter except the last sentence W ^t uideret LP ^u uidens P ^v om. iustitiam P
^w factum esset LPSN; factum fuisset HZCXY ^x consilium HZCXY
^y om. quos ad illum misimus X ^z After this word almost the whole of N is lost by mutilation ^{aa} om. quid et cui promiserit V

¹ Lost; cf. the final sentence of Reg. i. 29a.

the pause which they were allowed to do these things and that they obstinately continued in their accustomed wickedness, we duly cut them off, as sacrilegious and as ministers and members of the devil, from the communion and body of the whole church, and we warned the king to drive them as excommunicates from his household, from his counsels, and from all association with himself.

However, the Saxon cause in the meantime waxed mightily against the king. Seeing that the strength and resources of the kingdom were for the most part likely to desert him, he again sent us a suppliant letter full of all humility,¹ in which he acknowledged himself to be deeply guilty in the sight of Almighty God, of St. Peter, and of ourself. He also besought us to be zealous in correcting by our apostolic provision and authority whatever he had done wrong through his own fault in ecclesiastical matters against canonical righteousness and the decrees of the holy fathers; and in this he promised us his entire obedience, concord, and faithful aid. He was, furthermore, afterwards admitted to penance by our brothers and legates whom we sent to him, Bishop Hubert of Palestrina and Bishop Gerald of Ostia, solemnly confirming his promises into their hands by the holy stoles which they wore about their necks.² But after some time the king fought a battle with the Saxons.³ The only thank-offerings which he presented to God for the victory which he obtained were that he straightway broke the promises of amendment which he had made. Paying no heed to what he had promised us he took the excommunicates back into his household and society and dragged his churches into their accustomed confusion.

What happened struck us with deep grief; but although after his contempt for the blessings of the King of Heaven almost all hope of his amendment was taken away from us, we decided that we should still put his disposition to the test, for we desired that he should hear the call of apostolic mercy rather than that he should experience apostolic severity. We therefore sent him a warning letter, urging him to remember what he had promised and to whom: he should not believe that he could deceive the God whose wrath when he begins to judge is as stern as his long-suffering is abundant; nor should he dishonour God by honouring himself, nor should he try to enlarge his own power in contempt of God and in despite of his apostle St. Peter; he should remember that 'God

² At Nürnberg, soon after Easter 1074; Gregory's legates were Cardinal-bishops Hubert of Palestrina (1073-82) and Gerald of Ostia (1067-77).

³ At Homburg-on-the-Unstrut, 9 June 1075.

humilibus autem dat gratiam.¹ Preterea misimus ad eum tres religiosos uiros, suos utique fideles,² per quos eum secreto monuimus ut penitentiam ageret de sceleribus suis, que quidem horrenda dictu sunt pluribus autem nota et in multis partibus^{bb} diuulgata; propter que eum non solum excommunicari usque ad condignam satisfactionem sed ab omni honore regni absque^{cc} spe recuperationis debere destitui,^{dd} diuinarum et humanarum legum testatur et iubet^{ee} auctoritas. Postremo nisi excommunicatos a sua participatione diuideret nos nichil aliud de eo iudicare aut decernere^{ff} posse nisi quod, separatus ab ecclesia, in excommunicatorum consortio foret cum quibus ipse potius quam cum Christo partem habere delegeret.^{gg} Sane si nostra monita suscipere et uitam suam corrigere uellet, testem Deum inuocauimus, et uocamus, quantum nos de eius salute et honore gauderemus, quanta caritate eum in gremio sancte ecclesie amplecteremur, utpote eum qui, princeps populi constitutus⁴ et amplissimi regni gubernacula tenens, catholice pacis et iustitie defensor esse deberet.

Verum quanti ipse scripta aut per legatos missa nostra uerba fecerit eius facta declarant. Qui, indigne ferens se a quoquam reprehendi aut corripui, non solum a perpetratis criminibus^{hh} reuocari ad emendationem non potuit sed, ampliori conscientie sue furore arreptus, non prius cessauit donec episcopos pene omnes in Italia, in Teutonicis uero partibus quodquod potuit, circa fidem Christi naufragare fecit, dum eos debitam beato Petro et apostolice sedi obedientiam et honorem a domino nostro Ihesu Christo concessum abnegare coegit.ⁱⁱ

Cum igitur iniquitatem eius ad summum prodisse uidimus, pro his uidelicet causis, primum quod ab eorum communione qui pro sacrilegio et reatu symoniace heresis excommunicati sunt se abstinere noluit, deinde quod pro criminosis actibus uite sue penitentiam non dico suscipere sed nec promittere uoluit, mentita ea fide^{jj} quam in manus legatorum nostrorum promiserat, necnon

^{bb} add terrae ZCXY ^{cc} add omni ZCXY ^{dd} institui V ^{ee} om.
et iubet LP ^{ff} om. aut decernere P; aut diuidere H ^{gg} elegit LP;
delegit F; elegerit HSZCXY ^{hh} om. criminibus LPHSZCXY ⁱⁱ om.
dum eos . . . abnegare coegit F ^{jj} ei penitentia V; penitentia MF; om.
fide H

¹ Reg. iii. 10, 8 Dec. 1075, pp. 263-7. Cf. 1 Pet. 5: 5.

² Radbod, Adelpreth, and Gotteschalk: Reg. iii. 10, p. 267.

resists the proud but gives grace to the humble'.¹ We also sent to him three religious men, faithful followers of his own,² through whom we secretly admonished him to do penance for his sins which, shameful to say, were known to most men and noised abroad through many parts; for the authority of divine and human laws enjoined and commanded that on account of them he should not only be excommunicated until he had made due satisfaction but that he should be deprived of his entire dignity as king without hope of recovery. Finally unless he excluded the excommunicates from associating with him we could come to no other judgement or decision about him than that he should be separated from the church and share the company of the excommunicates with whom he had chosen to have his part rather than with Christ.³ However, should he wish to heed our warnings and amend his life, we called, and still call, God to witness how greatly we would rejoice for his salvation and honour, and with how much love we would embrace him in the bosom of holy church as one whom, being set as a prince over the people⁴ and having the rule of a most far-flung kingdom, it behoves to be the upholder of catholic peace and righteousness.

Yet how much heed he paid to our words whether as written or as spoken by our envoys, his own deeds proclaim. He scorned that anyone should restrain or reprove him; not only would he not be recalled to repentance from the misdeeds which he had committed, but he was seized by a still greater fury of mind: he did not pause until he had made shipwreck regarding the faith of Christ of almost all the Italian bishops and of as many in Germany as he could, compelling them to contradict their due obedience to St. Peter and the apostolic see and the office which was given them by our Lord Jesus Christ.⁵

We therefore saw that his iniquity had now increased to the full. For the following reasons, first because he would not keep himself from the society of men who had been excommunicated for the sacrilege and crime of the simoniac heresy, secondly because he would not even promise, let alone perform, penance for the guilty deeds of his own life (for the faith which he promised into the hands of our legates was a feigned one), and thirdly because he had not

³ Cf. Acts 8: 21.

⁴ Cf. Isa. 3: 7.

⁵ The assemblies of bishops took place at Worms (24 Jan. 1076) and at Piacenza soon afterwards.

quod corpus Christi id est unitatem sancte^{kk} ecclesie scindere non expauit—pro his, inquam, culpis synodali eum iudicio excommunicauimus,^l ut quem mites non potuimus uel seueri ad uiam salutis Deo adiuuante^{ll} reuocare ualeamus, aut si, quod absit, nec districtionis quidem censuram pertimuerit nostra saltem anima negligentie aut timoris discrimini^{mm} non succumbat.

Si quis igitur hanc sententiam iniuste uel irrationabiliter prolatam esse putauerit, si talis est ut sacris regulis intelligentie sensum prebereⁿⁿ uelit, nobiscum inde agat et, non quod nos sed quod diuina auctoritas doceat, quod decernat, quod consona sanctorum patrum uoce^{oo} iudicet patienter audiens, acquiescat. Nos tamen non estimamus quemquam fidelium^{pp} qui ecclesiastica statuta nouerit hoc errore teneri, ut non hoc, etsi publice non audeat affirmare, uel in corde suo recte factum esse perhibeat. Quamquam etsi nos, quod Deus auertat, non satis de graui causa aut minus ordinate eum huiusmodi uinculo ligauerimus, sicut sancti patres asserunt, non idcirco spernenda esset sententia, sed absolutio cum omni humilitate querenda.

Vos autem, dilectissimi, qui iusticiam Dei non pro regia indignatione^{qq} nec pro aliquo periculo deserere uoluistis, fatuitatem eorum qui de execratione et mendacio adnuntiabuntur^{rr} in summatione^{ss} paruipendentes,^{tt} uiriliter state et confortamini³ in Domino, scientes quod illius partem defenditis qui insuperabilis rex et semper^{uu} magnificus triumphator iudicaturus est uiuos et mortuos,⁴ reddens unicuique secundum opus suum.⁵ De cuius multimoda retributione et uos certi esse poteritis, si usque in finem fideles et inconcussi in eius ueritate perstiteritis. Propter quod et nos incessanter pro uobis^{vv} rogamus Deum, ut det uobis uirtutem corroborari per Spiritum sanctum⁶ in nomine eius, et conuertat cor regis ad penitentiam,⁷ ut et ipse aliquando cognoscat nos et uos multo uerius amare eum quam qui nunc suis iniquitatibus obsecuntur et fauent. Quodsi Deo inspirante^{ww} uoluerit respiscere, quicquid contra nos molitur semper tamen nos ad recipiendum eum in sanctam communionem, prout uestra caritas nobis consuluerit, paratos inueniet.

^{kk} om. sancte VMF ^{ll} om. Deo adiuuante F ^{mm} magnitudini F
ⁿⁿ add non LP ^{oo} consona uox sanctorum patrum LPZCXY ^{pp} om.
 quemquam fidelium H ^{qq} dignitate H ^{rr} om. adnuntiabuntur LP
^{ss} om. in summatione F ^{tt} execrantes F ^{uu} om. semper LHFZCXY
^{vv} om. pro uobis F ^{ww} donante W

feared to rend the body of Christ, that is, the unity of holy church—for these faults, I say, we now excommunicated him by a conciliar sentence:¹ since we could not recall him to the way of salvation by being merciful we tried, with God's help, to do so by being severe. Thus if, which heaven forbid, he should not fear even this punitive sanction, our own soul, at least, would not be subject to the reproach of negligence or fear.

Should anyone think that this sentence was passed unreasonably or unjustly, then supposing him to be ready to give due assent to the true interpretation of the holy laws, let him consider the matter with us. Patiently hearing what not we but divine authority teaches, decrees, and judges by the unanimous opinion of the holy fathers, let him yield his approval. But we do not think that any of the faithful who knows the ecclesiastical decrees can in truth be so far in the grip of error that, even though he dares not affirm so much in public, he does not in his heart of hearts acknowledge that what has been done was done rightly. And, indeed, even if, which God forbid, we did impose upon the king such a sanction as we imposed without sufficient reason or beyond the due course of law, as the holy fathers insist our sentence should not, accordingly, be ignored: he should with all humility seek absolution from it.

As for you, dearly beloved, who have not been minded to desert the righteousness of God in face of the king's anger or of any danger but have despised the foolishness of those who for their cursing and lies will be proclaimed fitted for destruction,² stand firm and be strong³ in the Lord, knowing that you defend the cause of one who as an invincible king and ever-glorious conqueror will come to judge the quick and the dead,⁴ making recompense to each as his works deserve.⁵ You, too, may be sure of his manifold rewards if you stand firm to the end, faithful and unshaken in his truth. We in our turn pray to God unceasingly for you that he may grant you power to be strengthened by the Holy Spirit⁶ in his name and that he may turn the king's heart to penitence;⁷ thus the king also may at last know that we and you love him far more truly than those who are now compliant and favourable to his sins. If by God's grace he should be minded to repent, no matter what he may attempt against us he will nevertheless always find us ready, according as you may advise us, to receive him back into the fellowship of the church.

¹ Reg. iii. 10a, pp. 270-1.

² Cf. Ps. 58: 13-14 (59: 12-13).

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 16: 13.

⁴ 2 Tim. 4: 1.

⁵ Cf. Rev. 2: 23.

⁶ Cf. Eph. 3: 16.

⁷ Cf. Ecclus. 8: 3 (2).

15

To all the faithful in the Roman empire: Gregory adds a postscript to an earlier letter, warning against Henry IV's deceit and forbidding anyone to absolve the king without consulting himself (1076), 29 Aug.*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei [omnibus in Christo fratribus, episcopis abbatibus sacerdotibus ducibus et principibus atque militibus omnibusque christianam fidem et beati Petri honorem reuera diligentibus in Romano imperio habitantibus,]^a salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Postquam fraternitati uestrae epistolam direximus quae ita incipit: 'Gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo', a fidelibus sanctae ecclesiae accepimus quod rex summopere procuret nos ab inuicem seiungere suaque fraude decipere, modo per spirituales modo per saeculares personas. Proinde dubitamus ne forte ex nostris fratribus minus cauti pro licentia quam dedimus decipiantur. Et ideo ex parte beati Petri apostolorum principis praecipimus ut nullus eum praesumat a uinculo anathematis absoluere quousque illius satisfactio et penitentia per idoneos uestros nobis fuerit renuntiata, ut simul decernentes per legatos nostros quod aequum fuerit ac Deo placitum, omni fraude remota, apostolica auctoritate statuamus. Vos autem diligenter studete eam promissionem eamque securitatem ab illo accipere ut non uideamur pro columbae simplicitate serpentis prudentiam¹ negligere. Quodsi inter hec, quod non optamus, morte praeuentus fuerit, non dubitet uestra fraternitas quam uera penitentia ueraque satisfactio promeretur absolutionis medicinam impendere.

Data Tiburis^b iiii kal. Septembris.

^a eisdem omnibus *F*, referring back to *Reg. iv. 1* as on fo. 115^r, which is here quoted in square brackets ^b Triburis *F*

* In his earlier letter, *Reg. iv. 1*, 25 July 1076, pp. 289–92, Gregory urged his followers to do everything in their power to bring Henry to true penitence. The gradual hardening of Gregory's attitude towards Henry which the present letter suggests became explicit in *Reg. iv. 3*, 3 Sept. 1076, pp. 297–300, where Gregory spoke of the possibility of a new election to the kingship should Henry not repent.

To all the faithful in the Roman empire

(1076), 29 Aug.

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, [to all his brothers in Christ, bishops, abbots, priests, dukes, princes, and knights, and all living in the Roman empire who in truth love the Christian faith and the honour of St. Peter,] greeting and apostolic blessing.

After we sent you the letter which begins thus: 'We give thanks to Almighty God', we learned from faithful members of holy church that the king is doing all in his power to divide us from each other and to deceive us by his falsity, sometimes through spiritual and sometimes through secular persons. We are therefore anxious lest perchance some of the less prudent of our brothers may be misled by the indulgence that we have shown. So on behalf of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, we ordain that no one shall dare to free him from the bond of excommunication until tidings of his satisfaction and penance have been brought to us by suitable messengers. Then we may at once decide through our legates, by apostolic authority, leaving no room for deceit, what is just and pleasing to God. You on your part should take every care to receive such assurance and such security from him that we may not seem to have neglected the wisdom of the serpent for the innocence of the dove.¹ If, in the meanwhile, though we do not wish it, he should be overtaken by death, you, my brothers, should not hesitate to dispense the medicine of absolution which true penance and true satisfaction deserve.

Tivoli, 29 August.

J.L. 5001. MS.: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Phillipps 1870, fo. 116^r, eleventh cent. (*F*). Printed: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron. ii, M.G.H. Scr. viii. 442. Ep. coll. no. 15*, pp. 540–1.

¹ Cf. Matt. 10: 16.

16

*To King William I of England: Gregory describes to him the scandalous life of Bishop Juhel of Dol and urges him to help with his expulsion; Gregory has himself consecrated a successor for his see (1076, after 27 Sept.)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei excellentissimo filio W.^a glorioso regi Anglorum¹ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Compertum esse celsitudini tuae non dubitamus quod dictus episcopus Dolensis ecclesiae, quae Britannicae provinciae principalis est sedes, suae salutis immemor et sanctorum canonum decreta conculcans, eandem ecclesiam per simoniacam haeresim impudenter inuaserit et prolixo iam tempore oppresserit uiolenter. Datis namque comiti Alano² copiosis muneribus, quae^b usque hodie ad probamentum prius^c nequitiae in propatulo extant, non per ostium in ouile^d Christi sed ut fur et latro aliunde irrepsit.³ Qui etiam nec hoc scelere contentus iniquitatem super iniquitatem apposuit et, quasi simoniacum esse parum et pro nihilo deputaret, nicolaita quoque fieri festinauit. Nam in ipso tam perniciose adepto episcopatu nuptiis publice celebratis scortum potius quam sponsam ducere non erubuit, ex qua et filios procreauit; ut qui iam spiritum suum animarum corruptori^e per simoniaca commercia prostituerat,^f per foedae libidinis incestum corpus suum ita in contumeliam diabolo consecraret; et sic in eo nullus locus superesset Conditori quem intus exteriusque obligatum totum sibi aduersarius non uendicasset. Nec tamen huc usque conatus malitiae substitit, sed etiam atrocissimum facinus turpissimumque flagitium horrendo etiam sacrilegio cumulauit. Nam adultas ex illicito matrimonio filias, praediis ecclesiae et redditibus nomine dotis collatis atque alienatis, scelere immanissimo mariauit. His iniquitatibus coopertus, eandem tamen ecclesiam dilaceratam dissipatamque, si liceat, incubare molitur. Quibus de

^a om. W. B ^b quo B ^c sic BT; ?prioris ^d ouili B
^e corruptorem B ^f prostituat B

* In autumn 1076 William was campaigning in Brittany against the rebellious Ralph, earl of Norfolk, who had established himself in the castle of Dol. Gregory sought to secure William's concurrence in his plan to depose Bishop Juhel (c. 1039-76) and to replace him by Ivo (Euenus), abbot of Saint-Melaine, Rennes. In early Oct., before this letter can have arrived, King Philip I of France

To King William I of England (1076, after 27 Sept.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most excellent son William, the renowned king of England,¹ greeting and apostolic blessing.

We do not doubt that you well know how the so-called bishop of the church of Dol, the principal see of the province of Brittany, being heedless of his salvation and trampling upon the decrees of the holy canons, has shamelessly invaded that church by way of the simoniac heresy and has already for a very long time violently oppressed it. For he gave Count Alan² numerous gifts which remain to this day for all to see as a proof of his wickedness from the beginning, and did not enter Christ's sheepfold by the door but crept in by some other way like a thief and a robber.³ He was not content even with this crime but heaped iniquity upon iniquity: as though he counted it little or nothing to be a simoniac he hastened also to become a nicolaita. For in the very bishopric which he had so destructively obtained he was not ashamed to enter openly into marriage and to take a harlot rather than a wife, by whom he then also begot children, so that he who had already prostituted his soul to the debaucher of souls by his simoniacal trafficking might likewise dedicate his body in shame to the devil by his lewd and foul lust; thus there might be no place left in him for the Creator which the adversary did not claim as being altogether bound to himself both within and without.

Yet his malicious endeavours did not stop short even at this point, but he crowned a most frightful crime and a most shameful disgrace by also adding an abominable sacrilege. For by a monstrous outrage he married off the grown-up daughters of his illicit marriage, bestowing and alienating church lands and revenues by way of their dowries. Covered with these iniquities he is trying, if he is allowed, to get a grip on the church of Dol, torn and ravaged though it is. For these reasons you know that he has already been

moved to the relief of Dol and forced William to withdraw. Ivo succeeded to the see and ruled it until his death in 1081.

J.L. 5005. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. franç. 22322, pp. 29-30, seventeenth cent. (B). Printed: Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus nouus anecdotorum*, iii. 871-2 (T); a revision of Martène, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum collectio noua*, i. 57-8. Morice, *Mémoires*, i. 442-3. *Ep. coll.* no. 16, pp. 541-2.

¹ King of England (1066-87); duke of Normandy (1035-87).

² Alanus III, count of Brittany (1008-40).

³ Cf. John 10: 1-2.

causis celsitudo tua nouerit illum iam beati Petri apostoli spiculo perfossum et nisi sceleris^g resipuerit anathemate mortifero esse damnatum. Quapropter paterna caritate te ammonere et causam breuiter exponere studuimus, ne fortasse per ignorantiam tam scelesto homini tandiu in tenebris suis iacenti ulterius auxilium praebeas neue sceleris eius te participem facias; sed sedi apostolicae nostrisque monitis modeste parendo illum a te repellas, uel etiam ut tandem aliquando sibi consulat atque ad remedium paenitentiae confugiat blande suadendo, si poteris, inducas. Nam tales in malo perseuerantes fouere et adiuuare nihil est aliud quam iram Domini contra se prouocare. Nos uero supradictae ecclesiae afflictionem diutius non ferentes, Deo inspirante, uirum uita^h probabilem et compertae religionis inibi ordinauimus et consecrauimus, uidelicet S. Melanii abbatem; qui cum ob alias causas quas explicare prolixum est ad nos uenisset, pontificatus onus ex insperato subire compulsus est. De quo confidimus in Domino quia si, ut desideramus litterisque nostris multipliciter implorare curauimus,ⁱ principum terrae bonorum uirorum gratiam et studia habere meruerit, Domino cooperante, sub beati Petri patrocinio ecclesiam in melius restaurabit.

17

*To his supporters in Germany: Gregory announces that he is coming to Germany and hopes to reach Mantua by 8 January; he asks them to prepare to receive him (1076, Dec.)**

Gregorius episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei archiepiscopis episcopis ducibus comitibus nec non maioribus atque minoribus in regno Teutonicorum constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Nos^b indigni et inutiles principis apostolorum serui statuimus

^g sic BT ^h uitae BT 17 ^a om. episcopus WHZC ^b add et C

* At his negotiations with the German princes in Oct. 1076 at Tribur-Oppenheim Henry IV was compelled to seek a reconciliation with Gregory; the princes determined to invite Gregory to a *Reichstag* at Augsburg on 2 Feb., and to renounce Henry's lordship if he did not secure his release from excommunication. The two sides sent envoys to Gregory, who resolved to travel to Germany. This and the following letters announced his intention; Gregory was especially concerned to secure an escort from Mantua across the Alps to Augsburg. For the circulation of these letters in Saxony, cf. the Saxons' letter to

pierced by the dart of St. Peter the apostle, and that unless he repents of his crime he is condemned to a death-dealing anathema.

We have accordingly been at pains to warn you with fatherly charity and briefly to set forth his case, lest perchance you should in ignorance further afford help to so wicked a man while he lies in his own darkness, and lest you should make yourself a partaker of his offence. Rather, humbly obeying the warnings of the apostolic see and of ourself you should drive him from you, and also, if you can, by careful persuasion induce him at last to take some thought for himself and to seek refuge in the medicine of penance. For to comfort and help such men while they persist in evil is certainly to provoke the wrath of God against ourselves.

We for our part will no longer tolerate the affliction of this church. Moved by God we have appointed and consecrated for it a man of worthy life and proven religion, the abbot of Saint-Melaine, who when he came to us for other reasons too long to explain was altogether unexpectedly compelled to shoulder the burden of the episcopate. We trust in the Lord concerning him that, if as we ourselves desire and have been at pains many times to implore in our lettersⁱ he is granted the favour and help of the princes and good men of the land, he will with God's help and under St. Peter's protection restore the church to a better condition.

To his supporters in Germany

(1076, Dec.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the archbishops, bishops, dukes, and counts, and to both greater and lesser men in the kingdom of Germany, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We, an unworthy and unprofitable servant of the prince of the

Gregory of Apr. 1078 in Bruno, *Sax. bell. cap.* 108, edd. Lohmann and Schmale, p. 356.

J.L. 5013. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fo. 261^r, twelfth cent. (V); Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fo. 192^v, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 138^r, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fo. 103^v, twelfth cent. Wolfenbüttel, HZg.-Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 12, fo. 38^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (W). Hanover Collection: Hanover, Niedersächs. Landesbibl. XI. 671, no. 8 bis, fo. 32^v, sixteenth cent. (H). Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. 201, fo. 171^v, thirteenth cent. (U). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsbibl. 283, p. 110, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fo. 63^r, twelfth cent. (C). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita, cap.* 83, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 523-4. *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist.* ii, no. 147, col. 149. *Ep. coll.* no. 17, pp. 542-3.

ⁱ *Reg.* iv. 4-5, 27 Sept. 1076, pp. 300-3, with or soon after which this letter must have been written.

ad uos, diuina auxiliante clementia, uenire et, postponentes pene^c omnium fidelium nostrorum consilia, ita profectioem nostram maturare ut VI^d Idus Ianuarii uelimus Mantue esse,^e ea^f quidem uoluntate et desiderio ut fiducia probate fidei^g uestre^h quequeⁱ aspera et si necesse fuerit ipsam sanguinis effusionem pro libertate sancte ecclesie et salute imperii pura et sincera intentione subire non dubitemus. Vestri igitur studii sit eos de susceptione^j et seruicio nostro premonere quos prudentia uestra id posse et nobis debere cognouerit. Sit etiam ita studii uestri per partes uestras pacem firmare ut intentionis nostre propositum nichil possit impedire.^k Quod et quantas colluctationes cum nunciis regis habuerimus et quibus rationibus dictis eius^l obuiauimus, quicquid his litteris deesse uidetur^m latores earum plenius indicabunt. Quibus sicut de his que per eosⁿ beato Petro et nobis promisistis indubitanter credimus, ita uos de his que ex nostra uobis parte dixerint^o credere uolumus.

18

*To all the faithful in Germany: Gregory further seeks German support for his journey to Augsburg (1076, Dec.)**

Gregorius episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei omnibus archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus ducibus marchionibus comitibus omnibusque christianam et beati Petri apostolorum principis^b fidem et doctrinam defendentibus et obseruantibus in omni regno Teutonicorum^c salutem et^d beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli benedictionem omniumque peccatorum absolutionem.

Ego qualiscumque sacerdos, apostolorum principis seruus,

^c om. pene WZC ^d VII H ^e uelimus esse W; apud uos uelimus esse ZC ^f om. ea WH; nostra ZC ^g spei V ^h om. uestre ZC
ⁱ quecumque W; quicquid ZC ^j ereptione WHU; exceptione ZC
^k sit nihil quod impedire possit U ^l eorum WHUZC ^m in uno quicquid deest uidetur litteris W; immo quicquid de his deesse uidetur litteris H ⁿ om. per eos WHZC ^o add certissime WHUZC

18 ^a om. episcopus V ^b om. apostolorum principis VF ^c om. in omni regno Teutonicorum V; add habitantibus HUF ^d habentibus fidem W

* J.L. 5014. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fo. 261^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (V); Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fo. 192^v, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 138^f, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl.

apostles, have decided with the help of God's mercy to come to you and, disregarding the counsels of almost all our advisers, so to hasten our journey that on 8 January we hope to be in Mantua. For it is our purpose and desire that, trusting in your proven fidelity, we should not hesitate with pure and upright zeal to undergo any hardships and if need be even the shedding of our blood for the liberty of holy church and for the salvation of the empire. You therefore for your part should forewarn those whom you know to be able and obliged to help us that they should be ready to receive and serve us. You yourselves should also so diligently make peace throughout your country that nothing may hinder the purpose upon which we have settled.

About the many and great debates which we have had with the king's envoys and the arguments by which we have resisted his words, and whatever else may seem to be omitted from this letter, its bearers will more fully inform you. As we unhesitatingly trust in what you have promised through them to St. Peter and ourself, so we would have you trust in what they have to say on our own behalf.

To all the faithful in Germany (1076, Dec.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, dukes, marquises, counts, and to all in the whole kingdom of Germany who are defending and keeping the faith and teaching of Christ and of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, greeting and the blessing of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, also the absolution of all their sins.

I such as I am, a priest and servant of the prince of the apostles,

492, fos. 103^v-104^r, twelfth cent. Wolfenbüttel, Hgz.-Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 11, fo. 38^r, twelfth cent. (W). Hanover Collection: Hanover, Niedersächs. Landesbibl. XI. 671, no. 8, fo. 32^r, sixteenth cent. (H). Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. 201, fo. 171^v, thirteenth cent. (U). Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fo. 117^v, eleventh cent. (F). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, pp. 109-10, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fo. 63^r, twelfth cent. (C). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 83, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 524. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 444. *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist.* ii, no. 146 bis, col. 149. *Ep. coll.* no. 18, pp. 543-4.

contra uoluntatem et consilium Romanorum, confidens de misericordia omnipotentis^e Dei et de uestra fide catholica, uenio ad uos, paratus propter honorem Dei^f et salutem animarum uestrarum mortem subire, sicut Christus^g pro nobis animam suam posuit. In hoc enim positi sumus^h ut per multas tribulationes tendamus et perueniamus ad regnum Dei.ⁱ Vos autem, fratres mei karissimi et desiderantissimi,² summopere curate ut uos^j possim Deo adiuuante adire uobisque in omnibus prodesse. Benedicat uos^k ex cuius gratia^l mihi dictum est ad corpus beati Petri in die ordinationis mee:³ 'Quodcumque benedixeris benedictum erit, et quodcumque solueris super terram erit solutum et in celis.'⁴ Amen.^m

19

To all the faithful in Germany: Gregory explains his delay in coming to Germany, during which he has met the penitent king and restored him to communion. He speaks of the wickness of the Lombard bishops, and of his continuing desire to come to Germany (1077, Feb.–Mar.)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectissimis in Christo fratribus et filiis, archiepiscopis episcopis ducibus comitibus caeterisque principibus cum omni populo regni Theuthonicorum christianam fidem et religionem defendentibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Sicut in prioribus literis et legatorum uerbis uobis significauimus,⁵ intelligentes quod digne Deo defensores iustitiae uos in uera oboedientia et apostolici principatus reuerentia exhibuistis, in uestra fide et consiliis fiducialiter spem ponentes, contra uoluntatem pene omnium fidelium nostrorum, excepta carissima et fidelissima beati Petri filia uidelicet Mathilde, iter ad uos non

^e om. omnipotentis WZC ^f om. Dei V ^g om. Christus V ^h om. sicut Christus . . . positi sumus WHUZC ⁱ ad requiem WZC; om. Dei H
^j om. uos V ^k add. ille ZC ^l parte F ^m om. Amen VHF

* Together with *Reg.* iv. 12, late Jan. 1077, pp. 311–14, this letter provides Gregory's account of his absolution of Henry IV on 28 Jan. 1077. After Tribur-Oppenheim Henry had at first withdrawn to Speyer, but he decided to travel to Italy and seek reconciliation with the pope apart from the princes. Because of the princes' failure to provide an escort across the Alps Henry met Gregory

against the will and advice of the Romans but trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and in your catholic faith, am coming to you, ready to suffer death for the honour of God and the salvation of your souls, even as Christ laid down his life for us. For we are so placed that through many tribulations we must strive for and attain to the kingdom of God.¹ For your part, my brothers whom I love and long for,² see to it by all means that I may with God's help come to you and profit you in all things. May he bless you by whose grace it was said to me at the body of St. Peter on the day of my ordination:³ 'Whatsoever you bless shall be blessed, and whatsoever you loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven.'⁴ Amen.

To all the faithful in Germany (1077, Feb.–Mar.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved brothers and sons in Christ the archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and other princes, together with all the people of the kingdom of Germany who are defending the Christian faith and religion, greeting and apostolic blessing.

As we have intimated to you in earlier letters and by the words of our envoys,⁵ because we know that, moved by true obedience and reverence for apostolic sovereignty, you have shown yourselves in a manner worthy of God to be defenders of righteousness and because we confidently repose our hope upon your loyalty and counsels, we have set out on a journey to you beset by many dangers as well as difficulties, against the wish of almost all our advisers except Matilda, that most dear and faithful daughter of

at Canossa, a castle of Countess Matilda of Tuscany. Gregory afterwards remained in north Italy and returned to Rome in June.

J.L. 5019. MS.: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fos. 118^v–119^r, eleventh cent. Printed: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 445–6. *Ep. coll.* no. 20, pp. 545–7.

¹ Cf. Acts 14: 21.

² Cf. Phil. 4: 1.

³ 29 or 30 June 1073.

⁴ A free citation of the Eucharistic Prayer of the order for episcopal ordinations: cf. *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), p. 152. Ordinations of all Roman clergy were performed in St. Peter's.

⁵ Cf. nos. 17 and 18.

solum inter multa incommoda sed et pericula aggressi sumus. Et peruenisse quidem potuissemus, si ducatum eo tempore, eo loco quo constitutum erat ex uestra parte habuissemus. Cum autem ex ipsa suspensione nostrae profectionis regi in Italiam properanti ad nos perueniendi daretur occasio, uicti eius humilitate et multimoda penitudinis exhibitioe, ab anathematis uinculo absolutum in gratiam communionis eum recepimus, de cetero nichil secum statuantes nisi quod ad cautelam et honorem omnium uestrum fore putauiamus.

Cumque Langobardorum episcopi totius negocii summam ad communem conuentum et prudentiae uestrae consultationem reseruatam esse cognoscerent, nec de suis culpis ea quam sperabant impunitate absolutionem consequi potuissent, quantam superbiam quantosque maliciae conatus contra nos adorsi sint ad dicendum quidem triste, ad audiendum est abhominabile, cum illi qui in aecclesia Dei columpnae esse debuerunt non modo in compage corporis Christi nullum locum teneant sed pertinaciter impugnatores et quantum ad se destructores existant. De rege uero, ut in his quae nobis promisit simpliciter aut obedienter ambulauerit non multum letari possumus, praesertim cum ex eius praesentia pessimi quique contra nos et apostolicam sedem plus audaciae quam terroris pro perpetrata iniquitate habeant.

Inter hec uestra consilia expectantes tandem per filium nostrum Rapotonem,¹ quem ad uos misimus, hoc uos uelle et postulare cognouimus, si quomodo ad partes uestras transire possimus, atque id ut cautius fieri possit cum regis consilio et adiutorio agere studeamus. Nos itaque, sicut uobis mandauimus, uestrae uoluntati atque consiliis in omnibus secundum beneplacitum Dei satisfacere cupientes, id ipsum per nuncios nostros cum rege statuere atque coaptare operam damus. Verum quo animo ipse nobis et uobis in hac causa consentire debeat, ante missionem huius legationis, quoniam rex a nobis longe distabat, praenosceri non potuimus, sed mox ut cognouerimus uobis intimare non tardabimus.

Scitote igitur quoniam haec est uoluntas et desiderium nostrum, ut uel consensu regis uel si eo nolente fieri possit ad uos pro communi utilitate et salute omnium uestrum pertranseamus. Quod si, peccatis et prauorum studiis obstantibus, fieri nequiuerit,

¹ Perhaps the same Radbod as Gregory referred to in *Reg.* iii. 10, 8 Dec. 1075, p. 267. Cf. p. 38 n. 2 above.

St. Peter. We indeed might well have arrived, if we had received an escort from you at the appointed time and place. But the delay of our departure gave the king, as he hastened to Italy, a chance of reaching us. We were overcome by his humility and the manifold tokens of his repentance, and we freed him from the bond of excommunication and restored him to the grace of communion; but we made no other arrangements with him save such as we thought would be for the safety and honour of you all.

When the Lombard bishops learnt that a settlement of the whole question had been reserved for a general convention and for your deliberation, and when they could not secure absolution for their sins with the impunity that they hoped for, the excess of pride and of wicked endeavours with which they rose up against us is sad to relate and shocking to hear: these men who should be pillars in the church of God not only retain no place in the structure of Christ's body but are constantly its attackers and would-be destroyers. As for the king, we cannot greatly rejoice that he should do nothing more than obediently walk in the ways which he has promised us; particularly because by reason of his presence certain most wicked men show boldness rather than fear towards us and the apostolic see for the wickedness which they have committed.

Meanwhile as we awaited your counsels we at length learnt through our son Radbod,¹ whom we sent to you, that you wished us to find means of somehow coming to your country, and that you asked us to endeavour to act with the king's advice and help so that we might do so the more safely. We therefore, desiring as we have told you to fulfil your wishes and counsels in all respects according to God's good pleasure, are endeavouring to make the necessary plans and arrangements with the king through our envoys. How far he may agree with us and you in this matter we are unable to foretell before the completion of this embassy, for the king is far distant from us; but as soon as we know we shall not delay to inform you.

You may be assured, then, that our will and desire is, whether with the king's agreement or if it were still possible even against his will, to travel to you for the common good and for the salvation of you all. If the sins and designs of wicked men hinder us so that this cannot be, I shall though absent continually beseech Almighty God with steadfast prayers that he may confirm your hearts and

absens tamen omnipotentem Deum obnixis semper orabo precibus ut corda uestra et fidem in omni gratia et uirtute confirmet, et ita in omnibus uestra consilia et facta dirigat ut libertatem christiana religionis indefessa uirtute defendere, et ea quae ad statum et gloriam nobilissimi regni uestri Deo dignissima et uobis utilissima sunt prouidere possitis et exequi. Vos autem in proposito defendendae iustitiae quod pro nomine Christi et aeterna retributione incepistis ita persistite ut ad coronam tam sancti tam Deo placiti certaminis, Deo donante, pertingere ualeatis.

Plura uobis per scripta misissemus, nisi quod tales ad uos nuncios direximus quibus indubitanter credere potestis, in quorum ore quidquid in epistola minus continetur et pro uobis uel ad uos cor nostrum habet posuimus. Amen.

20

(To Archbishop Hildolf of Cologne): Gregory exhorts him to restore the vill of Klotten to the monastery of St. Nicholas, Brauweiler (1077, Jan.-June)*

Non eget, o fili, Deus offerri quicquam ex iniustitia sibi, quia, ut legimus, sic ei fiunt uictimae ex rapina quomodo si mactet quis filium in patris praesentia.¹ Patratorem quidem multorum bonorum agnouimus fratrem nostrum Annonem archiepiscopum. Sed tamen in hac parte minime defendendus est non errasse, dum quod beato Nicolao praecepit sanctae genitrici Dei gratum holocaustum aestimauit, dicente Domino per prophetam: 'Quia ego Dominus diligens iudicium, et odio habens rapinam in holocausto.'² Nec fas est a fidelibus credi, matrem discrepare a uoluntate filii; dum id prorsus constet utrisque proprium atque commune, eadem

^a holocaustum O

* Klotten, on the Moselle, was given to the monastery of Brauweiler, her family burial-place, by Queen Richeza of Poland, daughter of its founder, Palsgrave Ezzo of Lorraine (died 1034). Richeza herself desired to be buried at Brauweiler. However, Archbishop Anno of Cologne (1056-75) sought to undermine Ezzo's family who were his political rivals in the Rhineland. In 1063, when Richeza's body was brought for burial, he caused it to be placed in the church of St. Mary *ad Gradus*, in Cologne, which he had himself founded in 1057. At the same time he transferred the ownership of Klotten from Brauweiler to St. Mary's. Abbot Wolfhelm of Brauweiler (1065-91) began a long struggle to recover it, which continued into the time of Archbishop Hildolf (1076-8) when he appealed directly to Gregory.

faith in every grace and virtue, and that he may so direct your counsels and deeds in all things that you may defend the liberty of the Christian religion with unwearied valour, and that you may both seek and accomplish all that is most worthy of God and beneficial to yourselves for the welfare and glory of your most illustrious kingdom. May you so continue in the course of defending righteousness upon which you have embarked for the name of Christ and for an eternal reward that by the gift of God you may eventually attain to the crown in a contest which is so holy and pleasing to him.

We would have written more to you had we not sent to you such envoys as you may without hesitation believe. We have committed to their words such things as are not contained in this letter and are in our heart to support and guide you. Amen.

(To Archbishop Hildolf of Cologne) (1077, Jan.-June)

My son, God did not prescribe that anything should be offered to him from the fruits of unrighteousness, for as we read, if sacrifices are offered to him from the spoils of robbery it is as if someone should immolate a son in his father's presence.¹ We indeed know our brother Archbishop Anno to have been a doer of many good deeds. But in one respect he can by no means be acquitted of wrongdoing—I mean when he considered what he seized from St. Nicholas to be an acceptable offering to the holy Mother of God; because the Lord says through his prophet: 'For I the Lord love judgement; I hate robbery for burnt offering.'² Nor is it rightly to be believed by the faithful that the Mother should differ from the will of the Son, when it is in truth their common property both

The date of this fragment is determined by Conrad's statement in Wolfhelm's *Life* that Gregory wrote 'tunc forte consistentem in confinibus Alpium', i.e. after Canossa: *cap.* 14, ed. Wilmans, p. 187. The *Life* was written at Brauweiler between 1110 and 1123; no MS. of it survives.

J.L. 5043. MS.: none. Printed: Conrad, *Vita Wolfhelmi abbatis Brunwilarensis*, ed. Surlius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, ii. 787 (O); ed. Wilmans, *cap.* 14, *M.G.H. Scr.* xii. 187-8. *Ep. coll.* no. 22, p. 548.

¹ Cf. *Ecclus.* 34: 24 (20).

² *Isa.* 61: 8.

uelle et eadem nolle.¹ At tu, ne defendendo iniustitiam uidearis offendere Deum, tolle de medio quod, alias licet bonus, hic male consultus commisit episcopus Anno, ne et illius detrimentum sit coronae et tibi occasio culpae.

21

*To the Christians of Narbonne, Gascony, and Spain:
Gregory commends his legate, Bishop Amatus of Oléron
(1077, c. 28 June)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, regibus, principibus, clericis quoque ac laicis, in Narbonensi Gallia, Guasconia, Hispaniaque regione, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Dilectissimi fratres et filii, prudentiae uestrae manifestissime notum est, quod Romana ecclesia hanc consuetudinem habuit ab ipsis suae fundacionis primordiis, ut ad omnes partes quae christianae religionis titulo praenotantur suos legatos mitteret; quatinus ea quae gubernator et rector eiusdem Romanae ecclesiae per suam praesentiam expedire non praeualet, uice sua legatis concessa, monita salutis ac morum honestatem per eos cunctis per orbem terrarum constitutis ecclesiis nunciaret, easque apostolica doctrina in omnibus quae sacrae religioni conueniunt diligenter instrueret. Proinde horum presentium portitorem, uenerabilem confratrem nostrum A. episcopum, ad partes uestras dirigimus ut, quae ibi uicia eradicanda sunt a fundamento euulsis, plantaria uirtutum Deo auctore sollerti uigilantia plantare procuret. Quem sicut nostram immo beati Petri presentiam uos suscipere apostolica auctoritate iubemus; ac sic pro reuerentia apostolicae sedis cuius nuncius est, uos in omnibus sibi^a obedire atque eum audire mandamus ut propriam faciem nostram seu nostrae uiuae uocis

^a Erasure and gap of 22 mm. B

* Amatus, bishop of Oléron (1073–89), was Gregory's standing legate in southern France from 1077. This letter is of especial interest as a statement of Gregory's view of the history and authority of papal legates. It was written with, or soon after, Gregory's letter to the kings and magnates of Spain: *Reg.* iv. 28, 28 June 1077, pp. 547–8.

seuerally and together to will and not to will the same things.¹ But as for you, in order that you should not seem to offend God by defending unrighteousness, you should undo what Bishop Anno, though he was otherwise a good man, in this case did ill-advisedly, so that it may neither detract from his heavenly crown nor be for you a cause of guilt.

*To the Christians of Narbonne, Gascony, and Spain
(1077, c. 28 June)*

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, kings, princes, both clerks and laymen, in Narbonne, Gascony, and the region of Spain, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Most beloved brothers and sons, you very well know that the Roman church from the very earliest days of its foundation has had the custom of dispatching its legates to all regions which are distinguished by the name of the Christian religion. Thus, matters which the governor and ruler of the Roman church cannot manage to deal with by his own presence he can entrust on his behalf to legates, and through them proclaim the precepts of salvation and integrity of life to all the churches established throughout the world; and he can diligently instruct them by apostolic doctrine in all matters which belong to our holy religion. We are accordingly sending to your parts the bearer of this letter, our venerable brother Bishop Amatus, in order that whatever errors should there be eradicated he may utterly root out, and that by God's grace he may attend with careful vigilance to planting the seed-beds of the virtues. We charge you by apostolic authority to receive him as though we, or rather St. Peter, were present; out of reverence for the apostolic see whose messenger he is, we charge you to obey and heed him in all things as though you saw our own face or

J.L. 5042. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 3839A, fos. 146^v–147^r, twelfth cent. (B). Printed: Marca, *Dissertationes de concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, ed. Baluze, ii. 185.² *Ep. coll.* no. 21, pp. 547–8.

¹ Cf. Sallust, *Catilina*, 20. 4.

² Baluze described the letter as copied 'ex uetusto codice MS. S. Albini Andegauensis'.

oracula. Scriptum est enim: 'Qui uos audit, me audit'.¹ Agite itaque prudenter ac religiose; et sic uos oboedientes Deo et sancto Petro in omnibus exhibite, quatinus, ipso apostolorum principe interueniente, utriusque uitae gloriam et felicitatem consequi mereamini.

22

*To the clergy and people of Tours: Gregory informs them that he has restored Archbishop Ralph to his episcopal and priestly office and provides for legates to visit Tours and hear complaints against him (1078, after 9 Mar.)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei clero et populo Turonensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.^a

Archiepiscopi uestri diligenter causam discutientes, intelleximus non legali accusatione eum ab officio suspensum fuisse, praesertim cum eadem causa ante praesentiam antecessoris nostri uenerandae memoriae pape Alexandri² discussa et determinata fuerit. Quapropter apostolica auctoritate episcopale et sacerdotale officium sibi reddidimus. Verum quia aliqui uestrum contra eum adhuc submurmurant et eadem infamia uigilat, decreuimus legatum nostrum R.³ cum legato Diensis episcopi⁴ ad uos dirigere, quatenus certam et meram ueritatem huius rei a uobis percipiant. Vnde interdicimus ex parte beati Petri apostolorum principis ut nullus uestrum^b contra eum dubium testimonium aut quod canonicè possit improbari proferre praesumat, sed quod uidit et audiuit et certissimum habet ueraciter dicat. Nam si aliter praesumptum fuerit, et testis falsitatis damnabitur et causa illa ulterius in perpetuum non discutietur.

^a The address of this letter also appears in Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 110^b

^b nostrum B

* This letter was evidently written with or soon after Gregory's letter to Bishop Hugh of Die after the Lent council of 1078 regarding a number of French bishops: *Reg. v. 17*, 9 Mar. 1078, pp. 378-80; it repeats his directions in it about Archbishop Ralph of Tours. Ralph was suspended as a consequence of the council of Poitiers in Jan. 1078; see Hugh of Die's letter to Gregory: *R.H.F. xiv*, no. 80, pp. 615-16.

Not in J.L. MS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch., lat. med. aeui 5, fo. 9^v,

actually heard us speaking. For it is written: 'He who hears you hears me.'¹ Act, then, prudently and in good conscience. So show yourselves obedient in all things to God and to St. Peter that, by the intervention of the prince of the apostles himself, you may deserve to obtain glory and felicity both in this life and in the next.

To the clergy and people of Tours (1078, after 9 Mar.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clergy and people of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.

After a careful investigation of the case of your archbishop we have discovered that he was not suspended from office by due process of law, especially since his case had been tried and settled before our predecessor of respected memory, Pope Alexander.² We have accordingly by apostolic authority restored to him his episcopal and priestly office. But because some of you are still murmuring against him and ill report remains current, we have decided to send to you our legate Roger³ with an envoy of the bishop of Die,⁴ in order that they may learn from you the plain and simple truth of this matter. Therefore, on behalf of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, we forbid any of you to dare to bring against him questionable testimony or anything that can be canonically impugned; rather, let each say truthfully what he has seen and heard and is altogether sure about. For if anyone should dare to do otherwise he will stand condemned as a false witness, and this case will never at any time be further discussed.

c. 1100 (B). Printed: Morin, *R.B.* xlviii (1936) no. 10, pp. 126-7. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 9, p. 71.

¹ Luke 10: 16.

² Alexander II (1061-73).

³ Roger, subdeacon of the Roman church: cf. *Reg. v. 20*, 24 Apr. 1074, pp. 383-4.

⁴ Hugh.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory reminds him of his favourable reception when he came to Rome and communicates his plans to send to his region legates for whom he desires his help
(1078, summer)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. Turonensium uenerabili archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.¹

Specialem^a quandam fiduciam, frater dilecte, mater tua sancta Romana aeclesia in fraternitate tua habere promeruit, quippe quam affabiliter et quanta dilectione cum ad se uenisti te susceperit, quam paterne te correxerit, potest et debet prudentia tua recordari, immo haec sic fixa et sic detecta ut euelli et caligari nullo modo possint, ante oculos cordis semper habere; ac ideo decet te ut fructum debitae reuerentiae in omnibus quibus tuo auxilio indiguerit sibi prudenter et ex fide exhibeas, ut talium fructuum flagranti odore mater tua intellegat qua dilectione sibi adhaereas. Recordari debes et uales, frater, cum a nobis recesseris, nos iam ad partes tuas legatos destinasse, quorum unum fore domnum abbatem Cluniacensem,² nisi necessarium obstaculum impediret, disposueramus. Verum longe aliter euenit quam excogitaueramus,^b et multorum hereticorum heresis sole clarius detecta mutare sententiam super legatis extorsit. Vnde nobis uisum est domnum Hugonem Diensem episcopum, ac Hubertum sanctae Romanae aeclesiae et nostrum dilectum filium,³ cum his quoque domnum Wicardum Bisontiensem clericum,⁴ ad partes tuas mittere et uicem curae nostrae illis iniungere. Qui conuocatis ex uobis qui ad aeclesiastica negotia tractanda idonei noscuntur una uobiscum diligenti examinatione perquirant, et inquisitis quibuscumque potuerint iuste determinationis finem imponant. Quod si contigerit aliquam partem spiritu superbiae ductam nolle oboedire iustitiae, ei parti quae iustitiam habet fauere uos uolumus et praecipimus, rebellem autem aeclesiastica censura arceri apostolica auctoritate

^a Speciale B ^b excogitauerimus B

* Gregory refers to Ralph's visit to Rome in 1074: cf. no. 3 above, and *Reg.* ii. 19, 15 Nov. 1074, pp. 151-2.

Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aevi 5, fos. 8v-9r, c. 1100 (B). Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fos. 109v-110r, seventeenth cent.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours (1078, summer)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Ralph, the venerable archbishop of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.¹

Beloved brother, your mother the holy Roman church has deserved to enjoy your very special confidence. For in truth you can and should remember how kindly and with how great love she received you when you came to her, and how paternally she corrected you; indeed, you should always keep these things so steadfast and unveiled in the forefront of your mind that they may in no way be eradicated or obscured. It is proper for you so prudently and faithfully to show her the fruits of due reverence in whatever way she may need your help, that by the good savour of these fruits your mother may know how lovingly you cleave to her.

You should and surely do remember, brother, that when you left us we had already determined, unless an unavoidable obstacle prevented us, to send legates to your parts, one of whom would be the lord abbot of Cluny.² Matters in fact worked out quite otherwise than we planned, and the error of many heretics, exposed more clearly than daylight, forced us to change our plan as regards our legates. It consequently seemed good for us to send to your parts and to commission on our behalf the lord Hugh, bishop of Die, and Hubert, a beloved son of the Roman church and of ourself,³ and with them also the lord Wighard, a clerk of Besançon.⁴ When they have gathered together those of you whom it is fitting to summon for the discussion of church business, they are to make diligent inquiry in concert with you and, having made inquiry of whomever they can, they are to bring the affair to an end in a just manner. Should it happen that either side is so led by the spirit of pride that it will not obey righteousness, we desire and command you to uphold the side which exhibits righteousness, and we command by apostolic authority that the disobedient party should be

Printed: Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931-2), no. 6, pp. 38-40. Morin, *R.B.* xlviii (1936), no. 6, pp. 123-4. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 10, pp. 72-3.

¹ For the date see Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich*, p. 109, n. 116.

² Hugh (1049-1109).

³ Subdeacon of the Roman church.

⁴ Perhaps the Wighard, *decanus* of Notre-Dame and Saint-Paul, Besançon, mentioned in *M.G.H. Dipl.* vi, no. 196 (1067), pp. 253-4.

praecipimus. Preterea si contigerit aliquo impedimento interueniente praedictos legatos ibi simul esse non posse, eis autem qui fuerint, etiamsi unus tantum, similiter ac si simul essent fraternitatem tuam cauere atque ut mihi si praesens essem oboedire praedicta auctoritate monemus. Vnde praedicto Huberto quem in Britanniam praemisimus cum ad fraternitatem tuam uenire contigerit in praedictis ut mihi cauere, in praedictis ut mihi oboedire ammonemus et nobis commissa auctoritate iubemus. Si qua uero sibi fuerint necessaria ut homini qui a Roma usque ad Britanniam elaborauerit et a Britannia usque Romam, si Deus dederit, modis elaborat uenire, caritas tua sibi impertiri nostri causa et amore non dubitet, ut ex filii intelligatur dilectione quanto matrem amplectaris amore.

24

To Bishop Hugh of Langres: Gregory rebukes him for his part in excommunicating Count Robert of Flanders without the authority of himself or his standing legate, Bishop Hugh of Die, to whom he orders him to explain his action; Gregory further warns him not to hinder pilgrims to Rome
(1078, c. 25 Nov.)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei H. Lingonensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Peruenit ad aures nostras quod tu et Hubertus huius aecclisae legatus Rodbertum Flandrensium comitem excommunicastis. Vnde mirari satis nequeo quod tale aliquid sine praecepto meo et uicarii mei consensu, Diensis uidelicet episcopi, quia aliter fieri a uobis non debuit, facere praesumpsistis, praecipue cum in talibus aut illis partibus uobis nullas uices meas concesserim. Quapropter apostolica auctoritate tibi praecipio ut ad Diensem episcopum uenias et cur hoc ausus sis facere in ueritate sibi aperias, quatinus Deo largiente quod iustum sibi uisum fuerit super hac tua culpa

* This letter was written with, or soon after, *Reg.* vi. 7, 25 Nov. 1078, pp. 407-8, in which Gregory charged Hugh of Die to inquire into the excommunication of Count Robert of Flanders (1071-93) by his legate, Hubert, subdeacon of the Roman church, and Bishop Hugh of Langres (c. 1065-85). See also *Reg.* vii. 1, 23 Sept. 1079, pp. 459-60: this suggests a possible alternative date for

constrained by ecclesiastical censure. If, furthermore, it should happen that by reason of some hindrance the legates whom we have named cannot be present together, we warn you by apostolic authority to obey whoever may be present, even though only one, as if all of them were there, and to show obedience as you would to myself if I were to hand. We accordingly warn and charge you by the authority committed to us that, whenever Hubert whom we have sent to Brittany reaches you, you heed and obey him as you would myself in the matters to which I have referred.

Seeing that he has laboriously journeyed from Rome to Brittany and now if God pleases is likewise returning from Brittany to Rome, should he stand in any need let your charity not hesitate to supply him as a service of love to ourself, so that your care for the son may make clear with how much love you embrace the mother.

To Bishop Hugh of Langres (1078, c. 25 Nov.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Bishop Hugh of Langres, greeting and apostolic blessing.

It has come to our ears that you and Hubert, legate of the Roman church, have excommunicated Count Robert of Flanders. I am beyond measure astonished that you should have dared to do such a thing without my own order and the consent of my vicar, the bishop of Die; for otherwise you had no right to act as you did, particularly as I have given you no authority to act on my behalf in such matters or in those parts. I therefore charge you by apostolic authority to go to the bishop of Die and tell him truthfully why you have dared to do this, so that by God's help he may determine what seems to him just as regards this offence of yours.

the present letter, and Gregory's similarly worded rebuke to Hubert for the presumption of ignoring his standing legate tells in its favour. But the lack of an express reference in *Reg.* vii. 1 to Count Robert's excommunication makes a date following *Reg.* vi. 7 more likely; further, Gregory may have delayed his complaint to Hubert because he expected Hubert's early return to Rome: cf. *Reg.* vii. 1, p. 458.

J.L. 5087. MSS.: Saint-Omer, Bibl. municip. 188, fo. 86^r, twelfth cent. Boulogne, Bibl. municip. 72, fo. 271^r, twelfth cent. Printed: Duchet, *Additions et corrections*, p. 14. Loewenfeld, *N.A.* vii (1882), 161.

decernat. Monemus quoque te et monendo praecipimus ut peregrinis ad limina apostolorum uenientibus uel redeuntibus nullam omnino iniuriam facere uel fieri in partibus tuis permittas, unde iam multas contra te querimonias audiuimus, si gratiam Dei et sanctorum apostolorum et nostram benedictionem et dilectionem habere desideras.

25

To the supporters of both parties in Germany: Gregory announces his intention, following his November council at Rome, to send legates in order either to establish peace or to punish those who foster division, and forbids anyone to resist their work
(1078, late Nov.)*

Gregorius episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei omnibus archiepiscopis et episcopis^b in Teutonico atque in Saxonico^c regno commorantibus omnibusque principibus,^d cunctis etiam maioribus atque minoribus qui non sunt excommunicati et^e obedire uoluerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quoniam ex lite et dissensione que tandiu inter uos sunt^f maximum in sancta ecclesia periculum, maximum undique inter uos detrimentum^g fieri cottidie^h cognoscimus, idcirco uisum est nobis, uisum estⁱ et fratribus nostris in concilio congregatis, summo desiderio estuare,^j summa ope elaborare pro uiribus quatinus idonei nuntii^k tam religione quam scientia pollentes e latere sedis apostolice ad partes uestras mitterentur,^l qui religiosos episcopos, laicos, etiam pacis amatores et iustitie in partibus uestris commorantes ad hoc opus ydoneos congregarent, qui, Domini gratia preeunte, die et loco ab illis statuto tam ipsi quam

^a om. episcopus LP ^b om. et episcopis T ^c om. atque in Saxonico
F^d om. omnibusque principibus V ^e om. omnibusque principibus . . .
excommunicati et; add si F ^f om. que tandiu inter uos sunt; add uestra
P^g om. maximum undique . . . uos detrimentum P ^h om. cottidie V
ⁱ om. uisum est VF ^j om. summo desiderio estuare P ^k legati VF
^l mitteremus VT

* On 15 Mar. 1077, as a sequel to Canossa, the German princes met at Forchheim and elected Duke Rudolf of Swabia as anti-king. Thereafter Gregory sought to arbitrate between Henry IV and Rudolf into whose parties Germany was divided. At his Nov. council in 1078 envoys of both kings promised that his

We also both warn and charge you to permit neither yourself nor others in your parts in any way to harm pilgrims travelling to and from the threshold of the apostles—for we have already heard many complaints against you on this score—if you would have the favour of God and the holy apostles, and our own blessing and love.

To the supporters of both parties in Germany
(1078, late Nov.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the archbishops and bishops living in the German and the Saxon kingdoms and to all the princes, also to all both greater and lesser who are not excommunicated and who are disposed to obey, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We know that from the dispute and discord which have for so long prevailed amongst you there daily arise grave danger to holy church and grave harm to you on all sides. It has therefore seemed good to us, as it has also seemed good to our brothers assembled in council, to make every endeavour and to labour to the limit of our resources by sending to your parts on behalf of the apostolic see suitable legates, outstanding for religion as for knowledge. Their task will be to gather together the religious bishops, laymen, and lovers of peace and righteousness who live in your parts and are suitable for such a work. By the help of God's grace, at a time and place which they decide, together with others whom we must still

legates should suffer no hindrance: *Reg. vi. 5b*, 19 Nov. 1078, pp. 400–1. Gregory thereafter sent the present letter in which he reiterated the decrees of his Lent council of 1078, renewed in Nov.: *Reg. v. 14a*, pp. 370–1. For the dispatch of Gregory's legates, Peter of Albano and Ulrich of Padua, cf. nos. 27 and 31 below.

J.L. 5106. MSS.: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 336, fo. 265^v, twelfth cent. (V); Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 12, fo. 196^r, twelfth cent.; Admont, Stiftsbibl. 24, fo. 141^r, twelfth cent.; Melk, Stiftsbibl. 492, fo. 110^r, twelfth cent. Trier, Bistumsarch. Abt. 95, 93, fo. 62^r, eleventh cent. (T). Bruno, *Sax. bell.*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. 1323, fos. 47^v–48^r, c. 1500 (L). *Annalista Saxo*: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11851, fo. 183^v, twelfth cent. (P). Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fo. 122^r, eleventh cent. (F). Printed: Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 105, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 537–8. Bruno, *Sax. bell. cap.* 118, edd. Lohmann and Schmale, pp. 382–4. *Annalista Saxo*, a. 1080, *M.G.H. Scr.* vi. 717. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 449–50. *Ep. coll.* no. 25, pp. 550–1.

quos ipsis adhuc iungere debemus aut pacem componant aut ueritate precognita super illos qui sunt tanti discidii causa canonicam censuram exercent. Verum quoniam nonnullos, diabolico instinctu confectos, iniquitatis sue facibus ignitos, cupiditate inductos, discordiam potius quam pacem fieri et uidere desiderantes fore non ignoramus, statuimus in hac synodo ad hanc eandem formam^m sicut et in preterita, ut nulla umquam persona alicuius potentie uel dignitatis, siue magna siue parua, siue princeps siue subiectus, aliqua presumptione presumat legatis nostris obsistere, et postquam ad uos peruenerint de componenda pace contraire, nec postea contra interdictum illorum alter in alterum audeat insurgere, sed usque ad diem ab illis statutam firmam pacem omnes sine ulla occasioneⁿ et fraude obseruent. Quicumque autem hec statuta^o nostra ulla presumptione uiolare temptauerint, anathematis uinculo eos ligamus et^p non solum in spiritu uerum etiam in corpore et in omni prosperitate huius uite apostolica auctoritate innodamus et uictoriam eis in armis auferimus, ut uel sic saltem confundantur et duplici contritione conterantur.

26

To the Anti-king Rudolf and his followers in Saxony: Gregory encourages them to be steadfast in their adversities and instructs them concerning the see of Magdeburg
(1079, late Feb.)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. regi omnibusque secum in regno Saxonum commanentibus, tam episcopis quam ducibus et comitibus necnon maioribus et minoribus, peccatorum absolutionem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum Veritas ipsa dicat omnium qui propter iusticiam persecutionem paciuntur regnum esse celorum,ⁱ et Apostolus clamet

^m om. ad hanc eandem formam P ⁿ sine contradictione F ^o instituta
TPF ^p om. eos ligamus et F

* As a sequel to Gregory's council in 1078 the Saxons wrote a letter to him—the fourth of a series of five which Bruno preserves (out of their probable order) in the *Sax. bell.*—complaining about Gregory's long hesitation over the German crown, and about the devastation of Germany: *cap.* 112, cf. *cap.* 108, 114–15, 110. The first part of this letter should be read in their light. The second part relates to the see of Magdeburg, vacant by the death of Archbishop Werner after

associate with them, the legates would be charged either to establish peace or else after finding out the truth to pass canonical sentence upon those who are the cause of this great division. As we know that some, led astray by the devil's promptings, kindled by the torches of his wickedness, and misled by covetousness, long to create and to see discord rather than peace, we have decreed in this council in the same terms as at our last, that no person at all of whatever power or dignity, great or small, prince or subject, should by any boldness dare to resist our legates and work against them after they have reached you to establish peace. Nor thereafter let anyone dare to rise up against his neighbour in defiance of their prohibition, but until the day which they appoint let all men keep unbroken peace without any pretence or deceit. If any should venture to infringe these statutes of ours by their boldness we bind them by the chain of excommunication; by apostolic authority we do so not only in their soul but also in their body and in respect of every success of this life, and we take from them victory in arms, so that by this means at least they may be confounded and consumed by the destruction of both body and soul.

To the Anti-king Rudolf and his followers in Saxony
(1079, late Feb.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to King Rudolf and all his supporters in the kingdom of Saxony, bishops, dukes, and counts, both greater men and lesser, absolution from their sins and apostolic blessing.

Since the Truth himself says that the kingdom of heaven belongs to all who suffer persecution for righteousness's sake,¹ and the

the battle of Mellrichstadt (7 Aug. 1078). According to the *Annalista Saxo* its clergy wished one of their own number, Gunther, to succeed: *a.* 1079, *M.G.H. Scr.* vi. 716–17.

J.L. 5108. MSS.: Wolfenbüttel, Hgz.-Aug. Bibl. Helmstedt 1024, no. 23, fo. 48^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (*W*). Bruno, *Sax. bell.*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. 1323, fos. 48^v-49^r, c. 1500 (*L*). *Annalista Saxo*: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11851, fo. 184^r, twelfth cent. (*P*). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, p. 116, twelfth cent. (*Z*); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fo. 66^r, twelfth cent. (*C*). Printed: *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corpus hist.* ii, no. 153, col. 156; Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.* no. 59, pp. 125–6. Hahn, *Coll. mon.* i. 117–19. *Ep. coll.* no. 27, pp. 553–4. Bruno, *Sax. bell. cap.* 120, edd. Lohmann and Schmale, pp. 384–6. *Annalista Saxo*, *a.* 1080, *M.G.H. Scr.* vi. 717–18.

¹ Cf. Matt. 5: 10.

neminem nisi qui legitime certauerit posse coronari,¹ nolite, filii mei, in hoc qui uos iam multo tempore exagitat bellico furore deficere; nolite per ullius fallentis persone mendacia de nostro fideli adiutorio dubitare; sed magis magisque pro tuenda ueritate ecclesiastica, pro defendenda uestre nobilitatis libertate,^a labori iam citius^b finiendo incumbite et ex aduerso ascendendo uos et corpora uestra quasi murum pro domo Dei^c opponere² satagite. Quicquam iam in duabus sinodi nostre conuentionibus de rege R. et de Heinrico statutum sit, quidque ibi de pace et concordia regni etiam cum iuramentis sit diffinitum, per litteras nostras et per legatos uestros^d nisi forte capti sint apertissime potestis agnoscere;³ et si quid adhuc remanserit per episcopos Metensem⁴ et Patauiensem⁵ et abbatem Augustensem⁶ qui nobiscum finem rei prestando morantur cum ad uos ipsi peruenerint quasi in promptu habetis audire. Postremo hoc uos ignorare nolumus, quia omni qua oportet instantia tum orationis nostre assiduitate tum officii nostri grauitate et prospiciendo consulere et consulendo prospicere uestre necessitati non dubitamus.

Audiuimus^f de uestro archiepiscopatu Magdeburgensi indisciplinatam quorundam eiusdem ecclesie filiorum pro acquirendo seculari habitu^g et honore obortam fuisse contentionem et eorundem, quod^h etiam erubescendo dicimus, bonam et conuenientem ad hoc opus non esse conuersationem. Quos modis omnibus ex preceptoⁱ Dei omnipotentis et sancti Petri et nostro ne sibi in locum damnationis culmen arripiant regiminis prohibete et Dei dignum dispensatorem prout ius postulat et ordo cum nostra uoluntate et apostolica benedictione et communi omnium bonorum tam clericorum quam laicorum electione disponite. Vos enim ipsi nostis quod in constituendis episcopis neglecta sanctorum patrum instituta hunc qui modo funditur sanguinem genuerunt, et adhuc nisi prouideantur peiores prioribus errores fouendo parturiunt.

^a liberalitate W ^b om. iam citius W ^c Israel LP ^d nostros W
^e Papyensem ZC ^f This paragraph is lacking in LP ^g ambitu W
^h qui W ⁱ excepto W

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. 2: 5.

² Cf. Ezek. 13: 5.

³ Cf. the Lent and Nov. councils of 1078: *Reg. v. 144*, pp. 368-73, vi. 5b, pp. 400-1, 403; also no. 25.

⁴ Hermann (1073-90).

⁵ Altmann (1065-91). For the presence at the Lent council 1079, of Bishops Altmann of Passau and Hermann of Metz, see Bernold, *Ann. a. 1079, M.G.H.*

Apostle declares that no one can be crowned except he strive lawfully,¹ do not be disheartened, my sons, in the storm of war which has now for so long assailed you; do not because of the lies of any deceitful man have doubts about our faithfulness in helping you. Devote yourselves more and more to safeguarding Christian truth and to defending the liberty of your noble race by a labour which must now very soon have an end, and rising superior to your misfortunes zealously set yourselves and your bodies as a wall for the house of God.² What has already been decided about King Rudolf and Henry in two meetings of our council and what was established there upon oath concerning the peace and concord of the kingdom you can fully learn from our letters and your envoys, unless perchance they were captured;³ if anything remains still unsettled you will hear more definitely about it from the bishops of Metz⁴ and Passau⁵ and the abbot of Reichenau,⁶ who are remaining with us to await the outcome of the matter, when they come to you. Finally we would have you know that we do not waver in considering and providing for your needs with all due urgency, both by our zealous prayers and by the authority of our office.

With regard to your archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, we have heard that a disorderly strife has arisen amongst some of the clergy of Magdeburg who would seize its worldly trappings and honour, and—we speak the words with shame—that their manner of life is not good and fitting for such a responsibility. By command of Almighty God, of St. Peter, and of ourself you must by all means forbid them to grasp the highest office for themselves to their own damnation; and, as right and order require, you should provide a steward who is pleasing to God with our consent and apostolic blessing and after public election by all good men, both clergy and lay. For you yourselves know that it was neglect of the rulings of the holy fathers in appointing bishops which led to this present bloodshed and that, unless these rulings are respected, the outcome will be a multiplication of evils still worse than the former ones.

Scr. v. 316. The *Codex Udalrici* refers instead to Bishop Ulrich of Padua (1064-80); cf. no. 31.

⁶ Abbot Ekkehard of Reichenau (*Augia*) (1071-88) is intended: cf. *Reg. vi. 18*, 14 Feb. 1079, pp. 429-30. The text refers in error to Augsburg (*Augusta*).

27

*To the Anti-king Rudolf and his German supporters: Gregory explains the difficulty of his negotiations with Henry IV and gives more detailed counsel about the see of Magdeburg (1079, Mar.-Apr.)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. regi et omnibus secum christianam religionem defendentibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quod regnum Theutonicorum, hactenus inter omnia mundi regna nobilissimum, iam uideo incendiis cedibus et rapinis deuastari confundi et annullari, quam magnus exinde cordi meo dolor insideat, quam continuus in uisceribus meis me gemitus afficiat, testis est ille solus qui omnium hominum corda scrutatur¹ et probat. Deferuntur enim mihi iam sepius legationes H.,² cum per proprios nuncios tum per cognatos et aliarum terrarum principes et affines, modo omnem oboedientiam promittendo, modo per uaria ingenia sollicitando id a me summo conamine cupientes efficere quo me ad uotum suum suis partibus ualeant inclinare. Verum quia hinc inde et Romana grauitas et apostolica mansuetudo me per mediam iusticiae uiam incedere cogit, omnibus quibus possum modis hoc oportet intendere, quomodo ueram a falsa iusticiam, perfectam a ficta oboedientiam iudicio sancti Spiritus ualeam discernere et rato ordine ad finem usque perducere. Haec uero et alia, si propitio Deo ad uos sani perueniunt, legati mei³ melius quam hae litterae uiua uoce testificabuntur et docebunt.^a

Audiui quidem a legato meo B.⁴ metropolim Magdeburgensem iamdiu esse uiduatam⁵ et adhuc peruersa quorundam contentione ne desponsari possit fuisse turbatam. His modis omnibus ex praecepto Dei omnipotentis et sancti Petri et meo ne praeualeant resistite, et domui Dei dignum dispensatorem per ostium⁶ introducere

^a *The remainder of the letter survives only in T*

* Following closely upon no. 26 this letter deals further with the same topics. J.L. 5107. MSS.: Trier, Bistumsarch. Abt. 95, 93, fo. 62^r, eleventh cent. (T). Bruno, *Sax. bell.*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. 1323, fo. 48^{r-v}, c. 1500. *Annalista Saxo*: Paris, Bibl. nat. 11851, fos. 183^v-184^r, twelfth cent. Printed: *Ep. coll.* no. 26, pp. 552-3. Bruno, *Sax. bell. cap.* 119, edd. Lohmann and Schmale, p. 384. *Annalista Saxo*, a. 1080, *M.G.H. Scr.* vi. 717.

To the Anti-king Rudolf and his German supporters (1079, Mar.-Apr.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to King Rudolf and all who with him are defending the Christian religion, greeting and apostolic blessing.

He alone who searches and tries the hearts of all men¹ is witness of the great grief which dwells in my heart and of the continual sorrow which vexes my inmost self, because I see the kingdom of Germany, hitherto the most glorious of all the kingdoms of the world, now wasted, ravaged, and destroyed by fire, slaughter, and rapine. Messages have been repeatedly brought to me from Henry,² sometimes by his own envoys and sometimes by his kinsmen or by princes of other lands or by his neighbours, now promising full obedience and now trying to inveigle me by various devices, in their pertinacious attempts to get from me some concession by which, as he desires, they could bend me to his side. But because Roman gravity on the one hand and apostolic mercy on the other compel me to proceed by the middle way of righteousness, I must by all means in my power see to it that, by the judgement of the Holy Spirit, I can distinguish true righteousness from false and perfect obedience from feigned, and continue in the proper course until the end. These and other matters my legates,³ if by God's mercy they reach you safe and sound, will testify and explain more satisfactorily by word of mouth than I can set down in this letter.

Now I have heard from my legate Bernard⁴ that the metropolitan see of Magdeburg has for long been vacant,⁵ and that it is still troubled by the wicked strife of men who would prevent its being duly filled. By the commandment of God, St. Peter, and myself you should resist these men by all means lest they should have their way, and by the common consent and choice of all religious men—archbishops and bishops, clerks and laymen—you should take steps to bring in by the door⁶ a worthy steward over the house of

¹ Cf. Rom. 8: 27.

² Henry IV.

³ Probably Cardinal Peter of Albano (1072-89) and Bishop Ulrich of Padua, sent to Germany after the Lent Council of Feb. 1079; but cf. no. 26.

⁴ Abbot Bernard of Saint-Victor, Marseilles (1064-79).

⁵ By the death of Archbishop Werner.

⁶ Cf. John 10: 1.

cum communi omnium religiosorum tam archiepiscoporum quam episcoporum nec non etiam clericorum et laicorum consensu et electione procurate. Quodsi meis uultis adquiescere consiliis, audio enim inter uos esse quosdam boni testimonii uiros, A. scilicet Goslariensem decanum,¹ G. Bertaldi ducis filium,² H. Sigifridi comitis filium,³ quorum unum me praecipiente et consentiente eligite et in archiepiscopum praenominatae aeclesiae ordinate. Si uero in his tribus qui dignus sit non poterit inueniri, in contritione cordis orando et ieiunando ad Deum conuertimini, rogantes ut, sua reuelante gratia, persona quae huic negotio sit conueniens possit ostendi, hoc proculdubio scientes, quia sicut illum qui ambitu saecularis potentiae inordinate intrauerit, uinculo excommunicationis alligabo, ita quoque eum qui canonicè intronizatus fuerit a peccatis absoluo et apostolica benedictione benedico.

28

*To the monks of Monte Cassino: Gregory reproves their carelessness in allowing the men of Prince Jordan of Capua to rob them of money deposited with them, and places their church under an interdict (1079, Apr.)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis in Christo filiis sancti Benedicti monachis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Audiuimus, quod sine grauissimo dolore dicere non possumus, quosdam homines a Iordano^a principe suggestione diaboli missos secretarium uestrum intrasse et quaedam commissa

^a Iordane M

* This and the following letter relate to an incident in which men of Prince Jordan of Capua (1078-90), in whose principality Monte Cassino lay, took from the monastic church money deposited there by Bishop Dodo of Grosseto (Roselle) (c. 1060-c. 1079). In M the following explanatory note is added:

Hoc autem accidit pro Rosellano episcopo. Nam idem episcopus non paruam pecuniam huic commendauerat loco. Iordanus autem princeps missis militibus praecepit ut eandem sibi deferrent pecuniam. Fratres autem ad haec, 'Pecuniam quae sancto Benedicto credita est nos alicui uiuencium minime damus, sed eam super corpus eius ponimus: inde qui praesumpserit auferat.' Milites autem tollentes thesaurum de altario ad principem deferunt. Quo

God. If you would follow my advice, I hear that there are amongst you certain men of good report, I mean A. dean of Goslar,¹ Gebhard son of Duke Berthold,² and Hartwig son of Count Siegfried:³ elect one of them by my command and sanction, and consecrate him to be archbishop of the vacant church. But if none of these three be found worthy, you should turn to God in humbleness of heart, praying and fasting, and asking that his grace may so enlighten you that a person who is fitted for this task may be made known. You may be quite sure that, just as I shall bind by the chain of excommunication anyone who climbs in against due order by the devices of worldly power, so I also absolve from his sins and confer an apostolic blessing upon him who shall be canonically enthroned.

To the monks of Monte Cassino (1079, Apr.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons in Christ, the monks of St. Benedict, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have heard tidings of which we cannot speak without the deepest sadness, that men sent at the devil's prompting by Prince Jordan have entered your sanctuary and with unheard-of boldness

accepto statim idem princeps tanti auctor sceleris lumen amisit et usque ad mortem ita permansit.

Cf. *Chronica Mon. Casinensis*, iii. 46, *M.G.H. Scr.* vii. 736; *Reg.* vi. 5b, 18 Nov. 1078, p. 403, and vi. 37, 21 Apr. 1079, pp. 453-4; in the second of these letters Gregory referred to Jordan's sacrilegious action as having occurred 'nouissime'. Gregory no doubt regarded the interdict as in part a punitive measure against the prince and his men, for it deprived them of the intercessory support which, to the eleventh-century mind, was an essential service of monks to temporal rulers and lords. Its effect would in his view be similar to the sanction expressed at the end of no. 25 above and elsewhere in his letters.

J.L. 5129. *I.P.* viii, p. 148, no. 117. MS.: Monte Cassino, Archivio abbaziale, *Petri Diaconi Registrum*, no. 34, fo. 21^v, twelfth cent. (M). Printed: Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Casinensis*, i. 149. Tosti, *Storia della badia di Montecassino*, i. 427-8. *Ep. coll.* no. 29, pp. 555-6.

¹ Unknown.

² Gebhard, son of Berthold I of Zähringen, duke of Carinthia (1061-77); later bishop of Constance (1084-1110).

³ Hartwig, archbishop of Magdeburg (1079-1102), son of Count Siegfried of Spanheim.

uobis inaudita temeritate detulisse. In quo facto nimiae negligenciae et acriter ulciscendae timiditatis uos et abbatem uestrum¹ arguere possumus. Et grauius aduersum uos commoueri deberemus nisi ea qua uos semper caritate dileximus detineremur. Siquidem tolerabilius nobis uideretur uillas et castella sancti Benedicti in praedam et direpcionem dari quam ut sanctus locus et per totam, ut credimus, christianitatem famosus et uenerabilis tante ignominie periculo subiaceret. Quapropter, huius temeritatis noxam inultam esse non ferentes, praesertim cum locum uestrum uiolatum esse et exemplo huius facinoris deteriora posse uobis contingere perpendamus, ammonemus ut diuinum officium in ecclesia beati Benedicti non faciatis, sed altaria omnia que intus sunt detegentes quantum sit huiusmodi uiolacionis periculum quosque cognoscere faciatis. Si enim in ecclesia sancti Petri humano sanguine respersa diuinum officium non sine diligenti reconciliatione celebratur,² multo magis istud quod in ecclesia beati Benedicti perniciosius commissum est competenti indiget expiacione. Vos itaque omnipotentem Dominum instanter deprecamini ut tristiciae mentis nostrae dignetur super hac re nobis consolacionem impendere, et ad reparandam in omni uestram^a dignitatem modis quibus decet nos instruere.

29

To the monks of Monte Cassino: Gregory raises the interdict which he had placed upon their church and desires their prayers
(1079, Apr.)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei uenerabili congregacioni Casinensis cenobii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Nuper, dilectissimi fratres, nos uiolencia sacrilegii huic reuerentissimo loco illata compulsi uestrae ecclesiae officium ob tantum facinus irrogatum interdiximus. Verum quia ascensionis Domini sollempnitas³ toto uenerabilis orbe nunc imminet, nolentes iam

^a uestrae M

* J.L. 5130. I.P. viii, p. 148, no. 118. MS.: Monte Cassino, Archivio abbaziale, *Petri Diaconi Registrum*, no. 35, fo. 21^v, twelfth cent. Printed: Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis*, i. 149. Tosti, *Storia della badia di Montecassino*, i. 428. *Ep. coll.* no. 30, pp. 556-7.

have made off with things which were entrusted to you. As regards this deed we must reprove you and your abbot¹ for great carelessness and for fearfulness to punish it severely. We should be still more seriously aroused against you were we not held back by the charity with which we have always loved you. For it would seem to us more tolerable that St. Benedict's estates and fortresses should be given over to plunder and pillage than that a holy place which is famous and held in honour, as we believe, through the whole of Christendom, should be exposed to the risk of so great an outrage. We cannot, therefore, allow an offence of such boldness to pass unavenged, especially when we consider that your house has been invaded and that the example of this crime may cause worse things to happen to you. We charge you not to hold divine service in the church of St. Benedict but to strip all the altars in it, and so make known to those whom it concerns how great is the peril of such a profanation. For if, when St. Peter's church was besprinkled with human blood divine service was not performed until there had been a careful purification,² how much more does such an outrage as this, performed so sacrilegiously in the church of St. Benedict, call for proper expiation. Do you therefore earnestly beseech Almighty God that he will mercifully grant us relief from our sorrow of mind over this matter, and that he will guide us in fully restoring your honour by whatever means are appropriate.

To the monks of Monte Cassino (1079, Apr.)*

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable congregation of the monastery of Cassino, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Recently, most beloved brethren, we were compelled by the sacrilegious violence which was used against this most venerable place to lay an interdict upon the services of your church by reason of the great outrage of which it was the victim. However because the festival of the Lord's Ascension,³ which is honoured in all the

¹ Desiderius (1058-86).

² St. Peter's, Rome. The incident referred to is not otherwise known.

³ 2 May 1079.

propter alicuius scelus in tanto festo tam religiosum locum officio pietatis carere, decreuimus et uos et eundem locum interdicto absoluere. Quapropter apostolica mansuetudine ducti reddimus et ecclesiae ministerium cultumque religionis et deuocioni uestrae licenciam celebrandi. Volumus eciam atque rogamus caritatem uestram ut nostri memores pro nobis preces fundatis ad Dominum, pro statu quoque sanctae Romane ecclesiae rectori rerum cotidie supplicetis, nec non tam pro inimicis quam eciam pro amicis dilectionis affectu omnipotentem Dominum deprecari sedulo memineritis et studeatis; nec non et pro illo¹ qui tam sanctissimum locum toto mundo famosum uiolauit preces effundite, ut Deus det illi cor penitens et sic eum ad se conuertat ut in hac uita et futura mereatur gratiam Dei optinere.

30

To Bishop Hugh of Die: Gregory instructs him, as his standing legate, regarding various matters with which he is to concern himself (1079, Apr.-May)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri Hugoni Diensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quod diuina clementia pacem ecclesiae tuae restituit, sciat fraternitas tua nos haud aliter quam de nostra aut sanctae Romanae ecclesiae tranquillitate et profectu gaudere.² Et hoc in mente tua semper maneat fixum quod omnipotens Deus, cui fideliter famulari toto cordis affectu anniteris, et temporalem tibi pacem competenter conciliabit et sempiternam meritis tuis bonus remunerator retribuet.

De discordia uero quam inter Lugdunensem archiepiscopum³ et abbatem Cluniacensem⁴ significasti, nouerit dilectio tua nos non parum grauari sed, quoniam inter religiosos iurgia sunt, multum profecto dolere.⁵ Quippe quorum concordia multis prodesse

* J.L. 5147. MS.: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fo. 101^r, eleventh cent. Printed: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 421. *Ep. coll.* no. 32, pp. 559-61.

¹ Jordan of Capua.

² Nothing is known of Hugh's dealings in his own diocese at this time.

world, is now at hand and because we are indeed unwilling that at this great feast so sacred a place should on account of anyone's offence be denied the performance of worship, we have decided to free both you and your monastery from the interdict. Accordingly, inspired by apostolic clemency we restore to your church the ministry and service of religion, and to yourselves the right to officiate. We also desire and ask you to be mindful of us and to pray for us to the Lord, and also to intercede daily to the ruler of all things for the well-being of the holy Roman church. Will you always continue diligently to pray with loving devotion to the Almighty Lord not only for your enemies but for your friends as well. Also you should offer your prayers for him who has invaded so holy and world-famous a place,¹ that God may give him a contrite heart and so turn him to himself that he may deserve to have God's grace in this life and in the next.

To Bishop Hugh of Die (1079, Apr.-May)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ Bishop Hugh of Die, greeting and apostolic blessing.

You may be sure that we rejoice because God's mercy has restored peace to your church no less than we should rejoice for the quiet and benefit of ourself or of the holy Roman church.² And let it always remain firmly established in your mind that Almighty God, whom you have sought to serve faithfully with all the love of your heart, will both secure for you a sufficiency of this world's peace and, as one who gives ample recompense, will also reward you with eternal peace according to your merits.

Now concerning the strife of which you have told us between the archbishop of Lyons³ and the abbot of Cluny,⁴ you may be sure that we are in no small way distressed but indeed greatly grieve that there should be contention between these religious men.⁵ In truth, just as concord between them could and would

³ Gebuin (1077-82).

⁴ Hugh.

⁵ The genesis of this quarrel, which arose from complaints by the church of Mâcon about Cluny's invasion of their temporal rights and in which the archbishop supported Mâcon, is also illustrated by *Reg.* vi. 33, 14 Apr. 1079, pp. 446-7; the present letter was probably written soon after it. See Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 51-3.

poterat et debuerat, non dubium est quin de eorum dissensione plurimis oriatur et futura sit grauis perniciēs. Vnde fraternitatem tuam uigilare oportet et curare necesse est religiosos tibi uiros adhibere et ita praefatos ex parte nostra super concordia conuenire. Denique quicumque illorum iustitiae secundum consilia uestra non adqueuerit, nulli sit ambiguum quod nos in eum grauer, omnis personae acceptione postposita, commouebimur.

Quia uero in partibus praeordinatis concilium celebrare non potuistis utiliter,¹ competens arbitramur ut aptum locum diligentia uestra inueniat ubi synodo congregata Remensis archiepiscopi² causa diligenter examinetur. Et quidem si idonei accusatores et testes inuenti fuerint quod obicitur ei canonice comprobantes, quam iustitia dictauerit sententiam dare absque hesitatione uos uolumus. Alioquin si tales personae fuerint quae recipi rationabiliter nequeant, quoniam turpis de eo fama non solum Galliam uerum etiam fere totam repleuit Italiam, sex episcopis quorum uita non notetur infamia assumptis sibi, si potest excuset se, et sic purgatus cum pace in aeclesia sua et propria dignitate remaneat.

Preterea eum³ quem per saecularem potestatem, id est regiam inuestituram, Cabilonensem aeclesiam intrasse significastis, ab omni regimine et spe ipsius aeclesiae alienum esse, apostolica auctoritate decernimus. Quodsi post huius nostrae interdictionis sententiam ad huius regiminis dignitatem aspirauerit, quid beati Petri gladius ualeat sine dubio experietur et in perpetuum nulla sibi aeclesiastici regiminis fiducia relinquetur. Ad comprimendum etiam multorum conatus illicitos qui obstinatis animis non timent Deum postponere et superbiam suam propalare, diabolum imitantes qui, non contentus sibi concessis, dum illicite nititur ad altiora et quod habebat iuste amisit, uolumus uos in omnibus conciliis uestris uice nostra omnes illos excommunicare quicumque apostolicae sedis decreto super hac re synodaliter constituto obuiare praesumpserit et de manu alicuius layci inuestituram aeclesiarum susceperit,⁴ ut his saltim terroribus a spe ambitionis suae reducti non aliunde ut fures et latrones ad ouile dominicum

¹ i.e. the proposed council of Troyes.

² Manasses I (1069-80).

³ Uncertain, but possibly the Frotger who witnessed a royal charter of 1085 as bishop of Châlon(-sur-Saône): *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908), no. 113, pp. 285-7; cf. *G.C.* iv. 886-7.

⁴ Besides the lost decree of Gregory's Lent council in 1075 he legislated against lay investiture in Nov. 1078: *Reg.* vi. 5b, p. 403.

benefit many, so there is no doubt that serious harm may and will arise to very many people from their disagreement. So you should be vigilant and careful to associate with yourself other religious men and by this means call them together on our behalf to bring about a settlement. But should either of them not yield to righteousness according to your counsels, let no one doubt that, putting aside all respect of persons, we shall be gravely angered against him.

Because you could not conveniently hold a council where it had been intended,¹ we think it requisite that you should find a suitable place for holding another council at which the case of the archbishop of Rheims² may be carefully investigated. If suitable accusers and witnesses can be found to provide canonical proof of the allegations against him, we desire you without hesitation to pass the sentence which righteousness requires. If on the other hand they turn out to be such persons as cannot rightly be heard, since an evil report of him has filled not only France but also almost all of Italy let him associate with himself six bishops whose lives are untainted by ill repute and, if he is able, absolve himself; thus purged let him remain peacefully in his church and episcopal office.

Next, as for the man³ who, as you have informed us, has invaded the church of Châlon by means of the temporal power, that is by royal investiture, we decree by apostolic authority that he is deprived of all rule over and claim to this church. If after this sentence of ours prohibiting him he should still aspire to this office and dignity he will undoubtedly feel the full force of St. Peter's sword and for the future all hope of office in the church will be denied him. Furthermore, to curb the lawless endeavours of the many who with obstinate minds do not fear to ignore God and exhibit their own pride, thereby imitating the devil who, not content with what had been given him, snatched lawlessly at higher things and justly lost what he had, we wish you at all your councils which you hold on our behalf to excommunicate all who dare to ignore the decree of the apostolic see on this matter which was enacted by our council, and who receive the investiture of churches from the hand of any layman.⁴ By these sanctions, at least, we would recall them from the prompting of their own ambition so that they do not like thieves and robbers climb into the Lord's sheepfold by another way; we would instead have men summoned

ascendant, sed ex habitatione religiosorum uirorum inuitati, ut boni et idonei pastores per ostium ingrediantur.¹

Admonemus etiam ut uiscera pietatis tuae dolor et calamitas Linguonensis aeccliesiae penetret, et una cum fratre nostro Lugdunensi archiepiscopo modis quibus ualeatis, tantis eius periculis consulatis, illud principaliter perficientes ut in decanum qui fere omnia illius aeccliesiae officia pessimis studiis arripuit iustam sententiam detis, et officia illa per religiosos et competentes uiros pure deinceps administrentur.²

31

To Cardinal Peter of Albano and Bishop Ulrich of Padua: Gregory intimates that he has heard complaints about their conduct as legates, and counsels them about their dealings with Henry IV and with others in Germany

(1079, July–Oct.)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis in Christo fratribus et coepiscopis Petro Albanensi et Odelrico Patauensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Sunt multi, quibus tamen non credimus, qui de legatione uestra murmurare incipiunt, suspicantes uos aliter uelle incedere quam a nobis praeceptum est, et alterum uestrum nimis simpliciter, alterum uero non adeo simpliciter acturum esse causantur.³ Quapropter diligentissima circumspectione cauendum est uobis ut utramque suspicionem possitis extinguere. Quod ita facile cum Dei adiutorio proueniet, si praecepta nostra ante mentis oculos

* Gregory sent these two legates to Germany after his Lent council in 1079 to endeavour to determine which of the two kings truly and which only apparently fulfilled the demands of righteousness (*iustitia*): cf. nos. 25–6 above. For their journey, see *Reg.* vi. 38, 16 June 1079, pp. 454–5; Berthold, *Ann. a.* 1079, *M.G.H. Scr.* v. 318–22. At Whitsun Henry IV received them at Regensburg, and eventually it was agreed that a conference of both parties should take place at Würzburg on 15 Aug. to discuss peace. But the legates' meeting with Henry seems so to have aroused the suspicions of Rudolf and the Saxons that their party did not come. The legates declined Henry's suggestion that they should therefore declare themselves against Rudolf. They returned to Rome in or soon after Oct. with their mission unaccomplished.

Gregory's statement in this letter that Abbot Ekkehard of Reichenau had been captured 'nuper' may indicate a date in July for this letter (Giesebrecht,

from the dwelling of the righteous who may enter by the door like good and worthy shepherds.¹

Finally we urge you to allow the affliction and adversity of the church of Langres to excite your compassion and, in concert with our brother the archbishop of Lyons, to do everything possible to help it in its great perils. Above all you should see that you pass just sentence upon the dean who by the basest arts has seized almost all the offices of this church, and that these offices may for the future be blamelessly administered by religious and suitable men.²

To Cardinal Peter of Albano and Bishop Ulrich of Padua
(1079, July–Oct.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brothers in Christ and fellow bishops Peter of Albano and Ulrich of Padua, greeting and apostolic blessing.

There are some who are—although without convincing us—beginning to complain of your conduct as legates: they imagine that you are minded to act otherwise than we commissioned you, alleging that one of you is likely to behave all too guilelessly but the second by no means so guilelessly.³ You should accordingly maintain the utmost vigilance if possible to quench either suspicion. With God's help this will easily happen if you always keep

Meyer von Knonau), or in July–Aug. (Miccoli). But *nuper* would permit a lapse of some weeks or even months, and any date up to that of *Reg.* vii. 3 is possible (Jaffé, Fliche): cf. note 3 below.

J.L. 5137. *G.P.* ii, pt. 1, p. 32, no. 14, and *ibid.*, p. 156, no. 24. MS.: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fos. 122^r–123^r, eleventh cent. (F). Printed: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 450–1. *Ep. coll.* no. 31, pp. 557–9.

¹ Cf. John 10: 1–2.

² Nothing further is known about these matters.

³ Gregory refers to the possibility of his legates having acted against their instructions in *Reg.* vii. 3, 1 Oct. 1079, p. 462. Henry IV's diploma of 23 July 1079 for the church of Padua suggests that Ulrich may have used his position as legate to secure the king's confirmation of his church's privileges: *M.G.H. Dipl.* vi, no. 312, pp. 410–12. Cf. Berthold's statement that the legates came to Würzburg 'muneribus . . . corrupti' (*Ann. a.* 1079, *M.G.H. Scr.* v. 321).

semper teneatis et nichil aliud praesumatis efficere nisi quod nos uobis noscitur non modo nudis uerbis uerum etiam litteris inculcando mandasse.

Volumus autem ut de causa regum uel regni, siue etiam de Treuirensi¹ uel Coloniensi² et Augustensi³ electis, uel de omnibus istis qui inuestituram per manum laicam acceperunt, nullum praesumatis exercere iudicium, summumque uobis studium sit, si rex adqueuerit uobis de statuendo colloquio et pace firmanda in regno et de restituendis episcopis in sedibus suis, et hec eadem cito ad nos aut per uos ipsos aut per certos legatos annunciare ut tot et tales personas possimus illuc ad constitutum tempus dirigere qui ad tantum negocium determinandum ualeant una uobiscum Deo auxiliante sufficere.

Interim uero sic uos utrique parti communes et ab omni suspicionis neuo, quantum in uobis est, cum diuinae gratiae adiutorio exhibete immunes, ut iustitiae semper et nullomodo partibus faueatis sicut habetis formam nostram, qui uidelicet, postquam iudicium tanti huius negocii in manu beati Petri commissum est, nichil aliud uobis testibus intendimus nisi ut per iustitiae semitam incedamus. Ad nullam partem sinceritatem apostolicae discretionis infleximus, nullis promissionibus aut terroribus cessimus, nec aliud umquam Deo protegente acturos nos esse confidimus.⁴

Preterea specialiter uobis de abbate Augiense iniungimus, qui nuper ad apostolorum limina ueniens non solum captus est sed etiam in loco eius quidam est tyrannice subrogatus, ut ea bona sua quibus exspoliatus est, expulso inuasore illo, restitui faciatis.⁵ Qui tamen, postquam de his quae perdidit fuerit pleniter inuestitus, si quid contra illum habet aliquis,^a paratus erit in nostro iudicio respondere; non enim debet ab alio aliquo iudicari qui in apostolica sede scitur a memet consecratus.⁶ Et certe grauis fuit praesumptio manum in eum ponere qui tanto erat priuilegio munitus. Quodsi

^a aliquid *F*

¹ Egilbert (1079-1101), nominated 6 Jan. 1079.

² Sigewin (1079-89), nominated after Christmas 1078.

³ Siegfried II (1077-96), invested 8 Sept. 1077.

⁴ This paragraph, except the first two words, is quoted without significant variation by Paul of Bernried, *Greg. VII uita*, cap. 103, *Pont. Rom. uitae*, ed. Watterich, i. 536.

⁵ In 1079 Abbot Ekkehard of Reichenau was taken prisoner at Borgo San Donnino, near Parma; Henry IV installed as abbot in his place Ulrich, abbot

our commands clearly before your mind's eye and venture to do nothing save what we are known to have charged you with, not only in our verbal instructions but also by letter.

It is our will that you should venture to pass no judgement in the matter of the kings or the kingdom, nor again concerning the bishops-elect of Trier,¹ Cologne,² and Augsburg,³ nor concerning all those who have received investiture at lay hands. You should make every endeavour to see whether the king will agree with you about holding a conference and establishing peace in the kingdom and about restoring bishops to their sees, and you should speedily inform us about these matters either in person or by reliable messengers, in order that we may dispatch there at the appointed time sufficient suitable persons who may with God's help settle this great matter in concert with us.

Meanwhile, then, show yourselves so well disposed towards either side and as far as in you lies with the help of God's grace so free from any taint of mistrust, that you may always promote righteousness and in no way partisan interests; thereby you will be following our own example, for, as you are witnesses, after judgement in this great matter was entrusted to the hand of St. Peter we have had no other purpose than to walk in the path of righteousness. We have not deviated from the integrity of apostolic judgement towards either side nor have we given way to any promises or threats, and we trust that, under God's protection, we shall never act otherwise.⁴

We further specially charge you concerning the abbot of Reichenau. Not only was he himself taken captive as he was not long since coming to the threshold of the apostles, but another was high-handedly thrust into his place. See that you cause the invader to be expelled and the possessions of which the abbot has been deprived to be restored.⁵ If, after he has been fully invested with the possession of what he has lost, anyone has a complaint against him, he must be ready to answer before our own judgement; for anyone who is known to have been consecrated by me at the apostolic see must not be judged by anyone else:⁶ it was indeed a grave presumption to lay hands upon one protected by so great a privilege. If in

of St. Gall and later patriarch of Aquileia (1086-1121): *Casuum sancti Galli continuatio ii*, *M.G.H. Scr. ii.* 157.

⁶ Cf. *Reg. i.* 82, 6 May 1074, pp. 117-18; Berthold, *Ann. a.* 1074, *M.G.H. Scr. v.* 276.

inuasor ille contra interdictum nostrum praedicto fratri sua restituere contempserit, confestim in eum uelut in rebellem et inuasorem ex auctoritate apostolica sententiam excommunicationis intendite. Quidquid autem agitis uel quidquid uobis contigerit litteris semper mandare et frequenter ad nos mittere procurate.

Omnipotens et misericors Deus, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, meritis beatae Dei genitricis Mariae dominae nostrae et beatorum apostolorum suorum Petri et Pauli, ab omni malo uos defendere et in omnem ueritatem inducere dignetur, quatinus quidquid agitis secundum timorem Dei et utilitatem sanctae ecclesiae feliciter^b peragatis.

Inter omnia studiosissime Wormacensis episcopi mementote qui, cum esset diu ab ecclesia sua expulsus et ob id Romam ueniret ut auxilium apostolicae sedis adquireret, non solum nichil sibi profuit sed modo etiam peius incurrit.¹ Interim uos salutamus et rogamus ut sitis memores nostri memoris uestri apud Deum.

32

To the faithful of Italy and Germany: Gregory forbids them to accept the ministrations of unchaste clergy and enjoins obedience to the papacy (1079)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei per totum Italicum regnum et Teutonicorum debitam sancto Petro obedientiam exhibentibus salutem et^a apostolicam benedictionem.

Si qui sunt presbiteri uel diaconi uel subdiaconi^b qui iaceant in crimine fornicationis, interdicimus eis ex parte omnipotentis Dei et auctoritate sancti Petri introitum aecclesiae usque dum peniteant et emendent. Si qui uero in peccato suo perseuerare

^b fideliter; feliciter *interlined above F* 32 ^a om. salutem et LM
^b presbiteri diaconi *with a short space and erasure between these words K*

* This letter has hitherto been known only from fragments, and is printed in its entirety for the first time. The only indication of its date is its position in Berthold and Marianus Scottus.

J.L. 5109. MSS.: Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl. 27, fo. 202^v, eleventh cent. (K). Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur. Plut. 16. 15, fo. 6^v, eleventh cent. (L). Printed: Mansi, xx. 433-4. *Ep. coll.* no. 28, pp. 554-5. Fragments of this letter appear as follows: (i) Berthold, *Ann. a.* 1079: MS.: Sarnen, Kollegsbiibl. Muri-Sarnen

defiance of our order the intruder will not restore our brother's possessions to him, you should forthwith by apostolic authority issue a sentence of excommunication against him as a rebel and intruder. But whatever you do or whatever may happen to you see that you always keep us informed by letters and communicate often with us.

May the almighty and merciful God, from whom all good things come, by the merits of our Lady Mary the blessed Mother of God and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul vouchsafe to keep you from all evil and guide you into all truth, so that whatever you undertake you may happily accomplish according to the fear of God and the welfare of holy church.

In the midst of all these things remember most assiduously the bishop of Worms who, after he had been for long an exile from his church and therefore came to Rome to secure the help of the apostolic see, not only has gained no benefit for himself but now has fallen into still worse trouble.¹ Meanwhile we greet you and ask you to be mindful before God of us who are mindful of you.

To the faithful of Italy and Germany (1079)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all who show due obedience to St. Peter throughout the whole kingdom of Italy and of Germany greeting and apostolic blessing.

As for priests, deacons, and subdeacons who are guilty of the crime of fornication, on behalf of Almighty God and by the authority of St. Peter we forbid them entry into the church until they repent and amend their ways. Should any prefer to remain in

10, fo. 138^r, twelfth cent.² Printed: *M.G.H. Scr.* v. 317 (Si qui sunt . . . oratio in peccatum). (ii) Marianus Scottus, *Chron. a.* 1079: MS.: Rome, Vatican Library, Palatino-Vaticanus 830, fo. 166^r, eleventh cent. (M). Printed: *M.G.H. Scr.* v. 561 (Gregorius episcopus . . . benedictionibus uestris). (iii) Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Tractatus in psalmum X*: MS.: Reichersberg, Stiftsbibl. 1, fo. 106^r, twelfth cent. (R). Printed: *M.G.H. L. de L.* iii. 417-18 (Si qui sunt . . . obedire contempnit). Cf. *Epistola ad Innocentium papam*, *M.G.H. L. de L.* iii. 215.

¹ Adalbert (1070-1107), expelled from his see in 1074. He was captured after the battle of Mellrichstadt on 7 Aug. 1078 and taken before the king, but he later escaped: Bruno, *Sax. bell. cap.* 96, edd. Lohmann and Schmale, p. 340; *De unit. eccles. cons.* ii. 16, *M.G.H. L. de L.* ii. 231-2.

² I am most grateful to Dr. G. Tangl for sending me a photograph of this fragment.

maluerint, nullus uestrum officium eorum auscultare^c praesumat; quia benedictio illis uertitur in maledictionem et oratio in peccatum, testante Domino per prophetam: 'Maledicam', inquit, 'benedictionibus uestris.'¹ Qui uero huic saluberrimo praecepto obedire noluerit idolatriae peccatum incurrit, testante Samuhele et beato Gregorio astruente: 'Peccatum enim ariolandi est repugnare^d et scelus idolatriae nolle^e acquiescere.'² Peccatum ergo paganitatis incurrit quisquis, dum Christianum se asserit, sedi apostolicae obedire contempnit. Vos queso apostolicis praeceptis obedite ut ad hereditatem celestis regni mereamini peruenire.

33

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory informs him that he has released the bearer of the letter from excommunication and restored him to his office, commending him to the archbishop's care (1079)*

G. seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri R. Turonensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Visis fraternitatis tuae litteris quibus praesentium litterarum^a post longum et communem patriae suae errorem sententiam apostolicae sedis non sine condigna paenitentia recognouisse significasti, precibus tuis assensum praebuimus, ita ut paenitentia iniuncta ab excommunicatione absolueremus et officium quo se suspenderat sibi redderemus, si tamen aliud crimen unde ab officio arceri debeat sibi non contradicit, etsi in promissionibus quibus se obligauit, uidelicet sanctae Romanae aecclesiae praeceptis obedire, perseuerauerit. Vnde uolumus ut, quia gratiam et amorem apostolicae sedis consecutus est, consequatur deinceps tuae dilectionis augmentum et ad suum^b suorumque filiorum exhortationis documentum, tanto quidem diligentius quanto regnum illud a praedicationibus expers et ad deteriora procliue esse dinoscitur; quatinus et ipse de his quae ad episcopalem pertinent

^c audire LR ^d om. repugnare L; non obedire R ^e nulli L
33 ^a Some such word as portitorem seems to be missing ^b suam BD

* In all probability the bearer was Bishop Silvester of Rennes (1076-96), suspended from office for simony at the council of Poitiers in Jan. 1078 and restored over a year later: *R.H.F.* xiv. 615; *G.C.* xiv. 745.

their sin let none of you dare to hear their offices. For their blessing is made a curse and their prayer a sin, as the Lord testifies through the prophet who says: 'I will curse your blessings.'¹ Anyone who will not obey this most healthful precept falls into the sin of idolatry, as Samuel witnessed and St. Gregory confirmed: 'For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as the offence of idolatry.'² Therefore anyone falls into the sin of heathenism who, while claiming that he is a Christian, disdains to obey the apostolic see. I beseech you, obey our apostolic precepts so that you may attain to your inheritance in the heavenly kingdom.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours

(1079)

Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Archbishop Ralph of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have seen your letter in which you assure us that, after the prolonged and general error of his countrymen, [the bearer] of this present letter has accepted the judgement of the apostolic see together with the appropriate penance. We have consented to your request by assigning him a penance and freeing him from excommunication, and by restoring him to the office from which he had brought about his own suspension; subject always to his not condemning himself by another crime deserving forfeiture of office and to his persevering in the promises by which he bound himself that he will obey the commands of the holy Roman church. We therefore desire that, because he has received the pardon and love of the apostolic see, he may henceforth receive the increase of your own favour and the guidance of your teaching for himself and for his children; they should be the more assiduously given as his kingdom is notoriously destitute of preaching and liable to lapse into evil ways. By this means he may be instructed in the duties of

Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aeu 5, fo. 8^v, c. 1100, (B). Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 109^v, seventeenth cent. (D). Printed: Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931-2), no. 10, p. 42. Morin, *R.B.* xlvi (1936), no. 4, p. 122. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 14, pp. 75-6.

¹ Mal. 2: 2.

² Cf. 1 Reg. (1 Sam.) 15: 23; Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, xxxv. 28, *P.L.* lxxvi. 765. Cf. no. 10 above.

sollicitudinem informetur et talentum tibi creditum in discussione diuini examinis tibi duplicetur. Quod autem tibi litteras non misimus, non negligentiae nostrae sed, ut uidemur recordari, legatorum festinantiae potes ascribere.

34

*To Abbot Anselm of Bec: Gregory encourages him to persist in prayer for himself and for the church, and asks him to remedy a complaint against one of his monks (c. 1079)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei Anselmo uenerabili abbati Beccensi¹ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quoniam fructuum tuorum bonus odor ad nos usque redoluit, quam dignas grates Deo referimus et te in Christi dilectione ex corde amplectimur, credentes pro certo tuorum studiorum exemplis aecclesiam Dei in melius promoueri et tuis similibusque tibi precibus etiam ab instantibus periculis Christi subueniente misericordia posse eripi. Nosti, frater: si iusti apud Deum praeuauit oratio, quid iustorum?² Praeualebit equidem, immo impetrabit sine dubio quod petierit.³ Ipsius etiam ueritatis auctoritate cogimur hoc confiteri: 'Pulsate', inquit, 'et aperietur uobis, petite et accipietis.'⁴ Pulsate simpliciter, petite simpliciter, haec etiam quae sibi placeant. Simplex est ostium, simplex dator; uult peti simplicia et quae sibi conueniant. Hoc modo aperietur, hoc modo accipietis, hoc modo iustorum exaudietur oratio. Vnde uolumus tuam tuorumque fraternitatem assidue Deum orare ut aecclesiam suam et nos qui ei licet indigni praesidemus ab instantibus hereticorum oppressionibus eripiat et illos errore dimisso ad uiam ueritatis reducat.

Querimoniam apud nos fecit quidam peregrinus de quodam conuerso tuo. 'Iustus Dominus et iusticias dilexit, aequitatem

* J.L. 5149. MSS.: London, Lambeth Pal. 59, no. 111, fo. 53^{r-v}, early twelfth cent. London, Lambeth Pal. 224, fos. 120^v-121^r, early twelfth cent. (A). Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 2478, fo. 44^{r-v}, twelfth cent. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 14762, fo. 88^{r-v}, twelfth cent. Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 135, fo. 41^{r-v}, twelfth cent. Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 299, fos. 73^r-74^v, late twelfth cent. (B). Printed: Labbe and Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia*, x. 410. *Ep.* ii. 31, *S. Anselmi opera*, ed. Gerberon, p. 353. *Ep. coll.* no. 33, pp. 561-2. *Ep.* 102, *S. Anselmi opera*, ed. Schmitt, iii. 235.

episcopal care, while when God examines your own stewardship you may receive back doubled the talent which is committed to you.

That we have sent you no letter you should put down not to neglect on our part but, as we think it right to mention, to the haste of the messengers.

To Abbot Anselm of Bec

(c. 1079)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Anselm, the venerable abbot of Bec,¹ greeting and apostolic blessing.

Because the sweet savour of your good works has reached so far as ourself we give due thanks to God and we cordially embrace you in the love of Christ, confidently believing that by the example of your endeavours the church of God has been led onwards in virtue and that by the prayers of you and those like you she may by the help of Christ's mercy also be delivered from the perils which beset her. Consider, brother: if the prayer of one righteous man availed with God, what shall that of many righteous do?² It will assuredly avail, nay, will without doubt obtain what it desires.³ We are bound to affirm this upon the warrant of the Truth himself: 'Knock', he says, 'and it shall be opened to you; ask and you shall receive.'⁴ Knock in simplicity, ask in simplicity, even for things which may please him. The door is simple, the giver is simple; he desires to be asked for simple things and for things which may beseem him. In this way it shall be opened, in this way you shall receive, in this way the prayer of righteous men shall be heard. So we wish you and your brothers to pray to God continually that he may deliver his church and ourself who, unworthy though we be, have the care of her, from the menacing attacks of heretics, and that he may put away their error and restore them to the way of truth.

A pilgrim has made a complaint to us about one of your monks. 'The Lord is righteous and he loves righteous deeds; his face looks

¹ Abbot of Bec (1078-93); archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109).

² Cf. Jas. 5: 16.

³ Cf. 2 Reg. (2 Sam.) 19: 38.

⁴ Cf. Matt. 7: 7.

uidit uultus eius.¹ Imitare Dominum tuum, imitare magistrum a quo habes doctrinam uitae. Praecipimus et nos ut ei iusticiam facias coram Huberto² dilecto filio nostro et, ut intelleximus, amico tuo.

35

*To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory asks him to investigate complaints made to him by Bishop Quiriacus of Nantes against Abbot William of Saint-Florent and Bishop Silvester of Rennes (1073-9, July)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri R. Turonensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Dilectissimus confrater noster Q. Nannetensis episcopus³ queritur quod abbas monasterii sancti Florentii⁴ partem diocesis suae iniuste sibi auferat et alteri episcopatu subdere praesumat. Redonensem etiam episcopum nichilominus de diocesi sua iniuriam maximam intulisse innotuit, et de aliis qui bona aecclesiae suae in Andegauensi episcopatu retinent; uolumus te diligenter operam dare quatenus ipse de his omnibus per te apostolica auctoritate fultum plenam iustitiam consequatur.

36

To Abbot Bartholomew of Marmoutier: Gregory confirms the gifts of Bishop Quiriacus of Nantes to Marmoutier (1073-9, July)†

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei B. uenerabili abbati⁵ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quicquid confrater noster Q. Namnetensis episcopus⁶ per scriptum monasterio uestro contulit nos priuilegio apostolicae

^a Hugone AB

* Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aevi 5, fo. 9^r, c. 1100. Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 110^r, seventeenth cent. Printed: Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931-2), no. 5, p. 38. Morin, *R.B.* xlviii (1936), no. 7, pp. 124-5. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v. no. 11, p. 73.

upon equity.¹ Copy your Lord, copy the Master from whom you have the doctrine of life. We, also, charge you to do what is righteous regarding him before Hubert² our beloved son and, as we understand, your friend.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours (1073-9, July)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Archbishop Ralph of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Our most beloved brother Bishop Quiriacus of Nantes³ complains that the abbot of the monastery of Saint-Florent⁴ has unjustly taken away from him a part of his diocese and has dared to make it subject to another see. He has made complaints to us that the bishop of Rennes, too, has no less done the gravest wrong to his diocese, and about others who have seized his church's property in the diocese of Angers. We wish you to make diligent inquiry so that he may obtain full justice regarding all these matters through you, acting with the sanction of apostolic authority.

To Abbot Bartholomew of Marmoutier (1073-9, July)

Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable Abbot Bartholomew,⁵ greeting and apostolic blessing.

We confirm both to you and to your successors by a privilege of the apostolic see whatever our brother Bishop Quiriacus of Nantes⁶

† Not in J.L. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. Baluze 77, fo. 133, 1713, (Q).⁷ Printed: Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 12, pp. 73-4.

¹ Cf. Ps. 10 (11): 8.

² Subdeacon, frequently Gregory's legate to the Anglo-Norman kingdom.

³ 1060-30 July 1079.

⁴ Abbot William (1070-1118) of Saint-Florent-lès-Saumur (dioc. Angers).

⁵ Abbot Bartholomew (1064-83) of Marmoutier (dioc. Tours).

⁶ Cf. his charter of 1075 founding and giving to Marmoutier the priory of Henor: Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire de Bretagne*, v. 443-4.

⁷ This folio consists of a copy made by Baluze of material stated to be 'Ex chartulario Britannico Majoris monasterii Turonensis', fo. 16.

sedis confirmauimus tam tibi^a quam successoribus tuis,^b et per eandem auctoritatem monasterium uestrum, salua iustitia eiusdem episcopi, omnia uobis ab eo collata in perpetuum tenere atque possidere sancimus.

37

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory assures him of his esteem and of his willingness to help the church of Tours. In order to settle the matter of Count Fulk of Anjou he is awaiting the arrival of Abbot Hugh of Cluny who will act as his legate in consultation with the archbishop and with Bishop Hugh of Die
(1078-9)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo R. confratri et coepiscopo Turonensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Visis dilectionis tuae litteris manifeste intelleximus quae sit tibi deuotio et qui amor erga matrem tuam sanctam Romanam aecclesiam. Doluisti enim atque compassus es eidem matri tuae ac nobis, non utcumque sed ut caritas exigit et sanctum membrum decet amplecti suum uenerabile caput, prout litterae ipsae testantur; et quia iuste ac digne doluisti, concessit tibi Deus inde cito uenire ad gaudium. Quapropter certus esto, quod pro hac digna iustaque deuotione quam sancto pectore geris, a Romana aecclesia et nobis eam uicissitudinem semper omnibus diebus uitae nostrae habebis, ut in omnibus aecclesiae tuae honori prouidere semper simus parati, et ad quascumque ipsius utilitates nostrum auxilium imploraueris, impromptos nos ad succurrendum siue subueniendum aecclesiae tuae uel tibi habere minime poteris. De caetero de causa comitis Fulconis quia ad uotum tuae fraternitatis minime ad praesens forsitan respondemus, non miretur religio tua seu aliquo modo perturbetur; praestolamur enim Cluniacensem abbatem ad nos in proximo peruenturum, propiciante Domino, cui omne negotium uestrum superimponere decreuimus, ut ipse communicato tecum atque cum Diensi

^a sibi in the text, corrected to tibi in the margin Q

^b suis in the text, corrected to tuis in the margin Q

* For the excommunication of Count Fulk cf. no. 3 above.

has given to your monastery by written grant, and by the same authority we lay down that, saving the bishop's jurisdiction, your monastery shall have and possess in perpetuity all that he has given you.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours

(1078-9)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved in Christ, Ralph, his brother and fellow bishop of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Having seen your letter we clearly apprehend what devotion and love you have towards your mother the holy Roman church. For you have been sorrowful and afflicted for your mother and for us not in small measure but, as your letter itself testifies, according to the demands of charity and as a holy member should embrace her venerable head. Because you have been rightly and duly sorrowful God has granted you to pass quickly from sorrow to joy. You may accordingly be assured that in return for the right and proper love which you bear in a holy heart you will always, for all the days of our life, have this return from the Roman church and from ourselves, that in all things we shall ever be ready to provide for the honour of your church. For whatever of its necessities you may ask our help you will find us in no way slack to help and to succour your church and yourself.

For the rest, do not wonder or be in any way disturbed that for the present we happen to make no answer to your request in the affair of Count Fulk. For we are awaiting the abbot of Cluny who, with God's favour, will soon come to us, and we have decided to place your whole business upon his shoulders: with due regard for righteousness, after taking counsel with you and the bishop of

Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aevi 5, fo. 9^{r-v}, c. 1100. Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 110^{r-v}, seventeenth cent. Printed: Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931-2), no. 7, pp. 40-1. Morin, *R.B.* xlvi (1936), no. 8, p. 125. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 13, pp. 74-5.

episcopo iusticia salua consilio quod melius fuerit inde diffiniat, ita tamen ut aecclesia tua ab infestationibus eiusdem comitis refrigerio pociatur.

38

*To Bishop Landeric of Mâcon: Gregory reproves him for declining to obey his legate Cardinal Peter of Albano when he confirmed Cluny's privileges, charges him to show that he accepts them, and urges him to maintain peace with Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1080, early Mar.)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri Landrico Matisconensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Mirari ualde compellimur quomodo fraternitas tua, persuasione clericorum sicut audiuius, in confirmatione priuilegiorum Cluniensis ecclesiae episcopo Albanensi legationem nostram ferenti inobediens extiterit, praesertim cum etiamsi aliquid, quod non credimus, inconsultius tibi irrogare uoluisset, quidquid esset pro reuerentia apostolicae sedis ferre decuisset. Itaque propter bonam uitam et pastorem uigilantiam qua circa ecclesiam tibi commissam desudas, hanc culpam supportantes, praecipimus tibi quatenus, uocatis de melioribus monachis Cluniensis ecclesiae, ad communem locum inter Matisconem et Cluniacum uenias, ut in praesentia illorum praedictum priuilegium confirmes, et sic in episcopali officio restitutus adiuuante Domino populum tuum ualeas consolari. De caetero fraternitatem tuam paterno affectu quo eam amplectimur admonemus ne improbitati uel leuitati clericorum tuorum ulterius credulus existas, sed meis, qui te non tua diligo, potius quam illorum consiliis acquiescas. Quod si feceris scias profecto quod nos ecclesiam tibi commissam praeiudicium sustinere nullatenus patiemur. Interim autem sine omni inquietudine et discordia uos et abbas Cluniensis pacifice

* This letter adumbrates the turn subsequently taken by the quarrel between Cluny and the church of Mâcon, of which no. 30 above concerns the beginning. Archbishop Gebuin of Lyons and Bishop Landeric took certain steps in infringement of Cluny's privileges, and Abbot Hugh appealed to Rome. Gregory dispatched Cardinal Peter of Albano to Cluny where he fully upheld the monks and condemned the bishops. The bishops continued to resist, and in this letter

Die, he is to decide what shall be for the best, so that your church may obtain relief from the count's attacks.

To Bishop Landeric of Mâcon (1080, early Mar.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Bishop Landeric of Mâcon, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We cannot but marvel greatly that, as we have heard at the prompting of your clerks, you have shown yourself disobedient to the bishop of Albano when he was acting as our legate to confirm the privileges of the church of Cluny. We marvel especially because even if, as we do not believe, he had wanted to impose something upon you ill-advisedly, you should have accepted whatever it was out of respect for the apostolic see. On account of your good life and of the pastoral vigilance with which you labour for the church which is committed to you we bear with your fault; but we charge you that you go to a public place between Mâcon and Cluny to which some of the graver monks of the church of Cluny shall also be summoned, and in their presence you are to confirm Cluny's privileges. Thus you may be restored to the episcopal office and, with God's help, be a consolation to your people. For the rest we warn you, with the fatherly affection in which we hold you, that you should never again be deceived by the impudence and irresponsibility of your clerks, but that you follow my counsels, not theirs; for I love you, not just your possessions. If you do this you may assuredly know that we shall never allow the church which is committed to you to suffer any loss. In the meanwhile, without any murmuring and discord, let you and the abbot of Cluny

Gregory insists upon his legate's rulings, leaving the matter for final settlement by Bishop Hugh of Die or if necessary by himself at Rome. The attack upon Archbishop Warmund of Vienne (1077-81) took place after, at Abbot Hugh's invitation, he carried out ordinations at Cluny in order to demonstrate its exemption: see *Charta Petri Albanensis episcopi et cardinalis Romani de immunitate Cluniaci*, in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, cols. 511-14. For a discussion of the whole quarrel see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 51-7.

J.L. 5182. MS.: none. Printed: *Bullarium Cluniacense*, p. 21. Severt, *Chronologia historica*, ii. 113-14. *Ep. coll.* no. 37, pp. 564-5.

maneatis, donec coram uicario Diensi episcopo huiusmodi lis religiosarum personarum consilio terminetur, aut, si illud non potuerit fieri, nos utraque parte uocata et causa diligenter discussa, auxiliante gratia Dei, finem congruum imponere ualeamus. Clerici autem qui spiritu superbiae ducti contra legatum nostrum Albanensem episcopum turbam fecerunt et archiepiscopum Viennensem a Cluniaco reuertentem ablatis rebus suis contumeliose inuaserunt, apud Cluniacum nudis pedibus ante altare sancti Petri satisfaciant, et sic emendatis moribus absoluantur.

39

Allocution in praise of Cluny (1080, early Mar.)*

Domnus ac beatissimus papa Gregorius VII anno pontificatus sui septimo in basilica Lateranensi quae et Constantiniana dicitur in honore Saluatoris et beati Iohannis Baptiste consilium generale celebrans, indicto cunctis silentio, surrexit et dixit^a:

Noueritis, fratres et consacerdotes nostri, immo tota^b haec sancta synodus cognoscat et sciat, quia cum ultra montes multa sint monasteria ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli^c nobiliter et religiose fundata, inter omnia quoddam^d in illis partibus habetur, quod quasi peculiare et proprium beato Petro et huic aecclesiae speciali iure adheret, Cluniaticum uidelicet, ad honorem et tutelam huius sanctae et apostolicae sedis ab ipsis primordiis principaliter adsignatum, et faciente^e diuina clementia sub religiosis et sanctis abbatibus ad id usque dignitatis et religionis peruenit, ut ceteris monasteriis, quamuis multis antiquioribus, quantum ipse cognosco, in Dei seruitio et spiritali feruore praecellat, et nullum in terra illa quod ego sciam huic omnino ualeat adaequari. Nullus enim abbas

^a add in hunc modum B ^b om. tota B ^c om. Petri et Pauli B
^d add monasterium quod B ^e fauente B

* This allocution illustrates the procedure of Gregory's Lent and Nov. councils at the Lateran. It contains his own vindication at Rome of the immunity and exemption of Cluny, the challenge to which by the archbishop of Lyons and the bishop of Mâcon was the subject of no. 38.

J.L. 7 Mar. 1080. MSS.: Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 1208, fos. 125^v-126^v, twelfth cent. (V).¹ Paris, Bibl. nat. Moreau 283, fos. 39^v-40^r, copy made in 1773

behave peaceably until this dispute is settled before our vicar the bishop of Die with the counsel of religious persons, or, if this cannot happen, until we ourselves can summon both parties and having thoroughly examined the matter can with the help of God's grace bring it to a proper conclusion. As for the clerks who, led by the spirit of pride, made a tumult against our legate the bishop of Albano and plundered and shamefully attacked the archbishop of Vienne as he was returning from Cluny, let them make satisfaction barefooted before the altar of St. Peter at Cluny, and so when they have mended their ways let them be absolved.

Allocution in praise of Cluny (1080, early Mar.)

The most blessed lord Pope Gregory VII held a general council during the seventh year of his pontificate in the Lateran basilica of our Saviour and St. John the Baptist, which is also called the basilica of Constantine. In the course of it he rose and called all to silence, and said:

Our brothers and fellow priests, you know, indeed all this holy council knows and understands, that, although there are many monasteries beyond the mountains which have been nobly and religiously founded to the honour of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, there is one amongst the others in those parts which belongs to St. Peter and to this church by an especial right as a peculiar possession—I mean Cluny, which from the very first was principally given over to the honour and protection of this holy and apostolic see. By God's mercy it has come to such a height of excellence and religion under its religious and holy abbots that it surpasses all other monasteries, even much older ones, as I well know, in the service of God and in spiritual fervour. I know of no other in that part of the world to which it can at all be compared. For there has never been an abbot of it who was not

from a lost fifteenth-cent. copy, (B).² Printed: Baronius, *Annales eccles.* xi. 551-2. *Bullarium Cluniacense*, pp. 21-2. Duckett, *Charters and Records*, ii. 206-8. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 272-3.

¹ With the rubric 'Decretum domni Gregorii pape de Clunicensi monasterio'.

² For a description of this transcript made by Lambert de Barive, see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, p. 271, n. 1.

umquam ibi fuit qui sanctus non fuisset. Quod abbates et monachi huius semper aecclesiae filii in nullo degeneres^f extiterunt, nec curuauerunt genua sua ante Bahal nec Bahalim,¹ nec Geroboam,^{g2} sed huius sanctae Romanae sedis libertatem dignitatemque imitantes,^h quam ab origine traxerunt, nobiliter sibi per successionis seriem auctoritatem seruauere. Non enim alicui umquamⁱ alienae uel terrenae potestati colla subdiderunt, in sola beati Petri et huius aecclesiae subiectione defensioneque^j permanentes. Et idcirco uolumus atque apostolica auctoritate firmamus et contradicimus,^k ut nulla umquam persona, parua uel magna, siue potestas aliqua, non archiepiscopus, non episcopus, nullus regum, ducum, marchionum, principum, comitum, nec etiam aliquis legatus meus, supra illum locum et monasterium umquam buccam suam aperiat aliquamue exerceat potestatem. Verum iuxta tenorem priuilegii nostri³ et antecessorum nostrorum auctoritatem, et libertatis immunitatem sibi ab hac sede concessam integram perpetuamque omnino possideat, ut tantummodo sub alis apostolicis ab omni aestu et turbine inpugnationis respiret, et in gremio huius sanctae^l aecclesiae, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli in perpetuum dulcissime quiescat.

Et ita uertens se dominus papa ad dextram partem^m sinodalis conuentus, percunctatus est eos dicens: 'Placet ita uobis? laudatis?' Responderunt: 'Placet, laudamus.' Vertens se iterum in sinistram eodem modo interrogauit.ⁿ Eodem quoque modo responsum est a sancto conuentu: 'Placet, laudamus.' Post haec uerba stando in throno pontificali perorata dominus papa assedit.^o

^f degeneres V ^g ne hieroboam *underscoped with dots to indicate an uncertain reading B*
^h *The first two syllables made deliberately illegible and underscoped with dots B* ⁱ om. umquam B ^j om. defensioneque B
^k contendimus B ^l add matris B ^m om. partem B ⁿ eodem interrogatum V ^o om. the last sentence B

¹ Cf. 3 Reg. (1 Kgs.) 19: 18.

² Cf. 3 Reg. (1 Kgs.) 12: 25-33.

³ For Gregory's privilege of 1075, see Santifaller, *Q.F.* no. 107, pp. 95-100.

a saint; its abbots and monks have never in any way dishonoured their sonship of this church nor bowed the knee to Baal¹ and the Baalim [like] Jeroboam.² They have always copied the liberty and dignity of this holy Roman see which they have enjoyed from the beginning, and from generation to generation they have nobly preserved for themselves its authority. For they have never bent their necks before any outsider or earthly power, but they have remained under the exclusive obedience and protection of St. Peter and this church. We accordingly will and by apostolic authority we affirm and lay down that no person whatsoever, small nor great, and no power whatsoever, no archbishop nor bishop, no king, duke, marquis, prince, count, nor even any legate of mine, may ever open his mouth nor exercise any power against this place and monastery. According to the terms of our privilege³ and the authority of our predecessors, it is altogether to possess fully and perpetually the immunity and liberty which have been granted to it by this see. Covered by apostolic wings and by them alone, it is to breathe freely, away from all commotion and from every attacking storm. It is to enjoy perpetual and pleasant peace in the bosom of this holy church, to the honour of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

So the pope turned to the right side of the council and asked them, 'Does this please you? do you approve?' They answered, 'It pleases us, we approve.' He turned to the left and asked again in the same way. The holy council gave the same answer, 'It pleases us, we approve.' After these words which he spoke standing at the papal throne, the lord pope took his seat.

To the clergy, vicomte, and people of Narbonne: Gregory urges them to obey their archbishop and to pay due heed to papal censures
(1080, before 23 Dec.)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei clero, vicecomiti Aymerico,¹ nec non uniuerso populo Narbonensi.

Apostolicam benedictionem libenter mandaremus si in apostolicae sedis reatum incurrisse uos non cognosceremus. Verum, ubi ab eadem uos resipuisse excommunicatione cognouerimus et archiepiscopalem patri uestro Dalmatio obedientiam exhibere, benedictionem beati Petri mandabimus. Sicut nouit prudentia uestra, inimicus humani generis ecclesiam uestram malis et simoniacis pastoribus inuasam quasi ius proprium longo tempore possedit. Sed condolentes necessitati ac periculo uestro, bonum et legalem pastorem uobis praeficiendum censuimus, non aliunde sed per ostium, id est per Christum, intrantem.² Qui enim aliter, id est sine Christo, ingrediuntur, fures sunt et latrones, ad hoc constituti, ut gregem dominicum mactent et perdant.³ Hic itaque, apostolicae sedis benedictione et auctoritate confirmatus, per exemplum laudandae conuersationis suae et documentum praedicationis quidquid culpa et iniuria malorum pontificum inter uos commissum est, Deo auxiliante, poterit corrigere uosque bonus pastor summo pastori deuotissime commendare. Admonemus itaque prudentiam uestram ut eum quem legaliter ecclesia Romana uobis constituit honeste et cum beneuolentia recipiatis et ei sicut spirituali patri et archiepiscopo obedientiam et reuerentiam impendatis, memores dominici sermonis fideles suos commendantis: 'Qui uos audit, me audit; et qui uos spernit, me spernit.'⁴ Neque enim uos ignorare uoluimus quod si quis uestrum, quod non speramus, obedientiam sibi contradixerit, iram Dei et uindictam beati Petri ad periculum suum prouocabit; et sententiam

* This letter was written before *Reg.* viii. 16, 23 Dec. 1080, pp. 537-8, in which Gregory referred to his own nominee for the see of Narbonne, Archbishop Dalmatius (1081-96), as having been accepted by the people though not yet put into possession of the see: cf. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, ii. 254 n. 4. Gregory's concern for the see was a long-standing one. He had taken measures against Archbishop Wifred (c. 1019-79): *Reg.* iii. 10a, 14-20 Feb. 1076, p. 269; v. 14a, 27 Feb.-3 Mar. 1078, p. 370; vi. 17a, 11 Feb. 1079, p. 429. In 1079 Bishop Peter of Rodez (1046-79) simoniacally obtained the see, and he was

To the clergy, vicomte, and people of Narbonne
(1080, before 23 Dec.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clergy, to vicomte Aymeric,¹ and also to the whole people of Narbonne.

We would gladly have sent our apostolic blessing, did we not know that you have incurred guilt against the apostolic see. When we learn that you have been restored from your excommunication and that you are showing such obedience to your father Dalmatius as is due to your archbishop, we shall send you St. Peter's blessing. As you know, the enemy of the human race has for long possessed your church as if it were his own property, for it has been invaded by wicked and simoniacal shepherds. But because we are troubled by your plight and danger, we have thought it good to set over you a good and lawful shepherd entering in not by another way but by the door, that is, by Christ;² for those who enter otherwise, that is, apart from Christ, are thieves and robbers appointed to the end that they should destroy and disperse the Lord's flock.³ Thus, strengthened by the blessing and authority of the apostolic see, with God's help he will be able by the example of a praiseworthy life and by the pattern of his preaching to set right whatever wrong has been done amongst you by the fault and evildoing of wicked bishops, and as a good shepherd to commit you most faithfully to the Chief Shepherd.

Therefore we charge you to receive honestly and with a good will him whom the Roman church has lawfully appointed for you, and to pay him obedience and reverence as befits your spiritual father and archbishop, remembering the Lord's saying when he commended his disciples: 'He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me.'⁴ Nor would we have you ignorant that if any of you, which we hope will not be the case, should refuse him obedience, he will call down the wrath of God and the punishment of St. Peter to his own destruction, and we shall confirm by

condemned at the council of Toulouse (1079), probably held by the legates Bishops Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oléron: cf. Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich*, p. 114. Gregory deposed and excommunicated Peter at his Lent council in 1080, and nominated Dalmatius: *Reg.* vii. 14a, 7 Mar. 1080, p. 481; cf. *Reg.* viii. 16.

J.L. 5192. MS.: none. Printed: Catel, *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc*, 782-3. Labbe and Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia*, x. 410-11. *Ep. coll.* no. 35, pp. 563-4. The text is that of Labbe and Cossart.

¹ Vicomte of Narbonne (c. 1080-1105/6).

² Cf. John 10: 10.

³ Cf. John 10: 1.

⁴ Luke 10: 16.

excommunicationis in Tolosa synodo a legatis nostris promulgatam apostolica auctoritate confirmabimus. Qui uero obediens fuerit, gratia et benedictione eiusdem apostolicae sedis gaudebit.

41

To Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne: Gregory rebukes him for his connivance at clerical unchastity, orders him to remedy the disorders of his church, and summons him to his Lent council (1080, late)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei H. Teruanensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, si decretis apostolicae sedis scienter non resistit.

Clamor et querimonia filiorum aecclesiae tuae peruenit ad aures nostras te contra decreta nostra immo sanctorumque patrum consensisse fornicationi clericorum, addentes etiam quod pueri illorum qui nolunt consentire huic iniquitati interdici bap-tismum et mortuis sepulturam. Quod nos graue ferentes auctoritate apostolorum Petri et Pauli tibi praecipimus, ut hoc ita a te emendetur ut amplius ex hac re querela ad nos non ueniat. Insuper tibi praecipimus ut ad synodum quam Deo auctore in prima ebdomada quadragesimae celebraturi sumus¹ omni occasione postposita uenias.

42

To the monks of la Grasse: Gregory assures them that he gave his legate Richard no permanent dominion over them but only authority to reform them on his behalf, and charges them to obey Archbishop Dalmatius of Narbonne (1081)†

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei omnibus fratribus in monasterio sanctae Mariae Vrbionensi constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

De controuersia que inter uos et consacerdotem nostrum

* This letter was probably written some time after Gregory's letter to Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne (1078/9-81): *Reg.* vii. 16, 26 Mar. 1080, pp. 489-91; a comparison of their salutations, in the light of the additional sentence printed

apostolic authority the sentence of excommunication which our legates published at the council of Toulouse. But whoever is obedient will rejoice in the favour and blessing of the apostolic see.

To Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne (1080, late)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne, greeting and apostolic blessing, if he does not knowingly resist the decrees of the apostolic see.

A cry and complaint of the sons of your church has reached our ears that, contrary to our own decrees and those of the holy fathers, you have been consenting to fornication by the clergy and that in addition you forbid baptism to the children, and burial to the dead, of those who will not tolerate such an iniquity. We regard this matter most seriously and by the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul we charge you so to put it right that no further complaint about it reaches us. Furthermore we charge you that, laying aside every excuse, you come to the council which under God's guidance we shall hold during the first week of Lent.¹

To the monks of la Grasse (1081)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the brethren living in the monastery of Sainte-Marie, la Grasse, greeting and apostolic blessing.

With God's help we shall put a final end to the dispute which

on p. 491, suggests that sufficient time had elapsed for Hubert to clear himself of an earlier accusation of simony.

J.L. 5188. MSS: Saint-Omer, Bibl. municip. 188, fos. 86^v-87^r, twelfth cent. Boulogne, Bibl. municip. 72, fo. 272^r, twelfth cent. Printed: Duchet, *Additions et corrections*, pp. 14-15. Loewenfeld, *N.A.* vii (1882), 162.

† On 18 Apr. 1081 Gregory entrusted the monastery of Sainte-Marie, la Grasse, for reform to Richard, abbot of Saint-Victor, Marseilles (1079-1108) and papal legate, together with that of Montmajour, 'quae ad huius sedis defensionem pertinere proprii iuris eius esse noscuntur, iamdudum secularium monachorum culpa a religionis tramite deuiasse intelleximus': Santifaller, *Q.F.* no. 198, pp. 229-31. For Archbishop Dalmatius, cf. no. 40 above; he was abbot of la Grasse from c. 1069 and retained this office for several years after he became archbishop of Narbonne. At his Lent council in 1081 Gregory again confirmed the deposition of the simoniacal Archbishop Peter: *Reg.* viii. 20a, p. 544.

J.L. 5223. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 933, fo. 110^v, eleventh cent.² Printed: *B.É.C.* xxxv (1874), 433-4.

¹ 21-7 Feb. 1081.

² This MS. is a *Rituale ad usum monasterii sanctae Mariae Crassensis*.

R. orta est, Deo auxiliante, certum finem componemus, ita ut nullam contra eum murmurationis occasionem habeatis. Certum siquidem sit uobis nos nullam in monasterio uestro praedicto legato nostro R. contra libertatem aecclesiae uestrae dominationem dedisse, sed hoc sibi concessisse ut, si uos ab monastica discederetis religione, liceret ei uice nostra corrigere. De cetero admonemus et apostolica auctoritate praecipimus ut confratri nostro Dalmatio archiepiscopo debitam solitamque impendatis obediētiam et eum benigne et honeste suscipientes in patrem et abbatem habeatis ut, sicut ante episcopalem ordinationem subditi sibi fuistis, ita deinceps regimini et magisterio suo subdamini. Cum autem, Deo annuente, archiepiscopatum suum habuerit in pace, ipse ad nos ueniet adducens quosdam ex uobis, et aecclesia uestra ad honorem et uestram libertatem ordinabitur.

43

*To Abbot Peter of Fucecchio and Prior Rudolf of Camaldoli: Gregory explains why he cannot accede to their request that he absolve Ughiccio the son of Bulgarelli (?1081)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei P. abbati Ficeclensi et R. praeposito Campomaldi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Petiuit religio uestra quatinus Vgicionem Bulgarelli filium de reatu suo non resipiscentem neque culpam suam confitentem sic absoluamus. Vos autem satis nouistis quia carum ipsum habere usque ad hoc graue facinus suum soliti fuimus, et certe ultra caeteros sui ordinis principes Tusciae antehac eum dileximus, eo quod ipse more patris sui bonos defendere et religionem in potestate sua plantare prae caeteris studuit. Vnde si quomodo rationabiliter postulationi uestrae possemus annuere, profectum propter praedictam bonitatem suam et preces uxoris suae, tum propter petitiones uestras eum libenter absolueremus. Verum

* Gregory writes to the heads of two Tuscan monasteries. San Salvatore, Fucecchio, was in the diocese of Lucca. Rudolf was prior of San Salvatore, Camaldoli (dioc. Arezzo), a hermit community founded by St. Romuald of Ravenna (c. 950–1027), the constitution of which was later settled by Pope Alexander II, *Ep. lxxxix* (1072), *P.L.* cxlvi. 1373–5. Rudolf appears as prior in charters dating from 1074 to 1087: *Regesto di Camaldoli*, ed. L. Schiaparelli and F. Baldasseroni, i (Regesta chartarum Italiae, ii, Rome, 1907), 159–218. Camaldoli

has arisen between you and our fellow priest Richard, so that you may have no occasion for complaint against him. You may rest assured that we gave Richard, our legate, no dominion over your monastery which infringes the liberty of your church, but gave him this authority, that if you had fallen away from monastic devotion he might correct matters on our behalf. Furthermore we warn and by apostolic authority command that you show proper and customary obedience to our brother Archbishop Dalmatius, and that, receiving him readily and as is fitting, you acknowledge him as father and abbot: as you were subject to him before his episcopal consecration, so you should thereafter be subject to his rule and authority. So soon as, by God's help, he holds his archiepiscopal see in peace, he will himself come to us bringing some of your number, and your church's affairs will be ordered as befits your honour and liberty.

To Abbot Peter of Fucecchio and Prior Rudolf of Camaldoli (?1081)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Abbot Peter of Fucecchio and Prior Rudolf of Camaldoli, greeting and apostolic blessing.

You have asked us to absolve Ughiccio the son of Bulgarelli, although he has neither repented of his guilt nor confessed his fault. Now you well know that before this great outrage of his we used to hold him dear; indeed, we previously loved him above the other Tuscan princes of his rank because, following his father's example, he strove more than they to defend good men and to establish religion in his lands. If, therefore, we could by any means properly agree to your request we would indeed gladly absolve him, on account both of his own past goodness and his wife's prayers and of your own requests. But neither reason nor the

was called Campus Maldoli after Count Maldolus who in 1012 gave buildings and land to its founder.

Ughiccio, son of Count William Bulgarelli, of the Cadolingi family, was excommunicated at Gregory's Lent council in 1078 for invading the property of the church of Lucca: *Reg. v. 14a*, p. 371. He was also implicated in the expulsion from his see in Oct. 1080 of the staunchly Gregorian Bishop Anselm II of Lucca (1073–86): cf. E. Kittel, 'Der Kampf um die Reform des Domkapitels in Lucca', *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931), pp. 233–7.

J.L. 5219. I.P. iii, p. 482, no. 3. MS.: Rome, Vatican Library, Barberinus lat. 538, fos. 58^v–59^r, c. 1100, (V). Printed: Thaner, *N.A.* iv (1878), 402–3.

neque ratio aut consuetudo sanctae aecclesiae hoc habet neque sanctorum patrum nos ad hoc inducit exemplum, ut iuste et canonicè excommunicatus culpam suam non agnoscens nec ex corde ueniam petens mereatur absolui. Nisi enim quis ex intimo corde penitens reatum suum confiteatur, inutilis est absolutio nec dicenda nisi deceptio. Quod autem ipse comes ad malitiae suae defensionem se iniuste et ob alicuius gratiam dicit excommunicatum, perpendat et ex sanctorum patrum sententiis diligenter inquirat quid de conspiratoribus ipsi statuerint, et cum se in sacrilega conspiratione Lucensium fuisse meminerit, desinat ad augmentum^a mali flagitium suum maximeque defendere. Adhuc enim quod non minus est graue, quia episcopum Lucensem legaliter et canonicè ordinatum de aecclesia sua expelli consensit uel permisit, merito in se anathematis gladium prouocauit. Enimuero nollemus nos ullam uel minimam personam pro qua Christus sanguinem suum fudit non dictante iustitia excommunicare, si sciremus ob id oportere nos aut exilium subire aut usque ad sanguinis effusionem deuenire. Permaxime^b autem ut^c praefatus comes ad paenitentiam sicut Christianum oportet de tanto facinore conuerteretur, optaremus profecto grande incommodum uel infirmitatem personae nostrae accidere. Proinde sanctitatem uestram inuitamus atque rogamus ut specialiter pro eo ad Dominum preces effundere cotidie memineritis, quatinus diuina pietas cor et mentem illius uisitet, compungat, et ad penitentiam conuertat, ut de culpis suis resipiscens gemens et indulgentiam poscens in reliquum per bonorum operum exercitia in membris sanctae aecclesiae digne possit connumerari.

44

*To Bishop Hugh of Die and Abbot Richard of Marseilles: Gregory instructs them to settle a dispute between the clergy of Dax and their opponents about certain churches (1081-2)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei V. Diensi episcopo et R. cardinali et abbati¹ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Aquensis archidiaconus A. queritur quod archiepiscopus

^a suum *erased V* ^b Permaxime *V* ^c aut *V*

* J.L. 5241. MS.: none. Printed: *R.H.F.* xiv. 186.² *Ep. coll.* no. 43, p. 570.

custom of holy church allows this, nor does the example of the holy fathers afford a precedent for absolving one who has been justly and canonically excommunicated, who does not acknowledge his fault, and who does not seek pardon with his whole heart. For unless a man repents in his inmost heart and confesses his guilt, his absolution is without effect and only fit to be called a deception. Since the count himself defends his own wickedness by saying that he was excommunicated unjustly and to curry someone else's favour, let him consider and diligently inquire from the writings of the holy fathers what they have laid down on the subject of plotters; let him remember that he was involved in the sacrilegious plot of the citizens of Lucca, and cease to aggravate his wickedness by striving to defend his outrage. In addition he deservedly called forth the sword of anathema against himself for a no less serious matter, because he encouraged or allowed the lawfully and canonically instituted bishop of Lucca to be driven from his church. We of a truth are not willing to excommunicate against the dictates of righteousness any person, however insignificant, for whom Christ shed his blood, even if we knew that we ourselves must therefore either suffer exile or be placed in danger of bloodshed. Rather, in order that the count should be persuaded to do penance as befits a Christian for so great a crime, we would gladly choose that some great misfortune or harm should happen to our own self. Therefore we urge and beseech you to remember especially to pour out your prayers daily for him to the Lord, imploring God's mercy to visit, soften, and turn to penitence his heart and mind, so that repenting, bewailing, and asking pardon for his sins he may in the future by his performance of good works prove worthy to be reckoned amongst the members of holy church.

To Bishop Hugh of Die and Abbot Richard of Marseilles
(1081-2)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Bishop Hugh of Die and Richard, cardinal and abbot,¹ greeting and apostolic blessing.

Arnald, archdeacon of Dax, complains that Archbishop

¹ Of Saint-Victor, Marseilles.

² The letter is from a document entitled 'Controuersia de limitibus Aquensis et Olorensis episcopatum', described as 'ex collectaneis Baluzii in Biblioth. nat. Paris. nunc primum edita': *ibid.*, p. 183.

W.¹ et A. legatus noster² nec non episcopus Vasantensis³ insurgunt aduersus ecclesiam suam et ecclesias quasdam eiusdem episcopatus sui auferunt et uiolenter inuadunt. Ausciensis quoque archiepiscopus et Amatus episcopus literis suis nobis significauere^a ab Aquensibus easdem ecclesias proprietati Olorensis ecclesiae ab antiquo tempore pertinuisse. Vnde fraternitati uestrae iniungimus ut, si potestis ambo, sin autem unus in competenti loco eorum negotium audiat atque, canonicis rationibus diligenter utrimque perscrutatis, Deo placentem et iustitiae congruum finem imponat.

45

*To Count Robert of Flanders: Gregory warns him to have no more to do with the promotion of a simoniacal clerk named Lambert to the see of Thérouanne (1082)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. glorioso Flandrensium comiti salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Notum tibi esse non dubitamus quantum nos hactenus nobilitatem tuam dilexerimus, cuius^a industriam inter ceteros Franciae principes satis honesta fama commendabat. Vnde quia bonis studiis tuis congratulamur, cum contraria de te referuntur multum profecto dolemus. Audiuimus nuper te cuidam clerico sacrilegio Lamberto, qui publice Taruanensem episcopatum mercatus est, contra uoluntatem clericorum illi ecclesiae imposito imo ab eis omnino iam pridem repudiato assensisse, eique adiutorium et potestatem ecclesiam inuadendi praestitisse. De qualibus ipsa Veritas dicit: 'Qui non intrat per ostium in ouile ouium sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro',⁴ et beatus papa Leo: 'Non habeatur inter episcopos qui non fuerit a clero electus et a populo expetitus.'⁵ Oportet ergo prudentiam tuam diuinae maiestatis omnipotentiam et distractionem prae oculis incessanter habere, nulliusque mortalium gratiam uel timorem illi praeferre cui et uitam et salutem et honorem tuum non ambigis te debere. Ergo

^a Some words appear to be lacking 45 ^a cui G.

* In 1082 Lambert was intruded into the see of Thérouanne in succession to Bishop Hubert (cf. no. 41 above) by Count Robert I of Flanders and King Philip I of France (1060-1108): cf. Simon, *Gesta abbatum sancti Bertini Sithiensium*, ii. 53, *M.G.H. Scr.* xiii. 646.

William,¹ our legate Amatus,² and the bishop of Bazas³ are assailing his church and are seizing and forcibly invading some churches of his diocese. The archbishop of Auch and Bishop Amatus have also informed us in their letters . . . by the men of Dax that these churches have belonged from ancient times to the church of Oléron. We therefore charge you that if possible both of you, but if not one, should hear their dispute in a convenient place and, after carefully weighing the canonical arguments on both sides, should make a settlement which is pleasing to God and according to righteousness.

To Count Robert of Flanders

(1082)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Robert, the renowned count of Flanders, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have no doubt that you know how much we have hitherto loved you whose zeal a most honest report has singled out amongst the other princes of France. Just because we applaud your good works, we greatly grieve when we hear adverse things of you. We have heard that you have recently shown approval of a sacrilegious clerk, one Lambert, who publicly bought the see of Thérouanne, who was forced upon that church against the clergy's will, and who, indeed, has long since been utterly rejected by them; and that you have provided him with help and resources to invade the church. It is of such as he that the Truth himself says: 'He who does not enter the sheepfold by the door but climbs in by another way, that man is a thief and a robber';⁴ and that the blessed Pope Leo says: 'Let him not be numbered among the bishops who is not elected by the clergy and desired by the people.'⁵ You should accordingly keep ever before your eyes the omnipotence and severity of God's majesty, and you should not place the fear or favour of any mortal man before him to whom, as you well know, you owe your life, safety, and honour.

J.L. 5242. MS.: none. Printed: *G.C. x, Instrumenta ecclesiae Boloniensis*, no. 1, cols. 393-5 (G).⁶ *Ep. coll.* no. 40, pp. 567-8.

¹ William of Auch (1068-96).

² Bishop of Oléron.

³ Raymond (1057-84).

⁴ John 10: 1.

⁵ Pope Leo I; cf. *Ep.* clxvii, *P.L.* liv. 1203.

⁶ This letter and nos. 46-7 are said to be copied 'ex schedis Martenii'.

quia te audiimus admonitu fidelitatis quam regi Philippo feceras ad id periculose esse inductum, ex parte omnipotentis Dei praecipimus ut, si praedictus Lambertus tam nefariis modis ad episcopatum prorupit, nullatenus ei sacerdotalem obedientiam uel reuerentiam exhibeas, sed a male mercata et inuasa sede alienum et extorrem facere praefatis clericis amminiculando procures. Non enim te decet aestimare illa te adiuratione ad tam grauissimum scelus adstringi, quia perniciosius est illum per quem iuratur quam cui iuratur, et Deum quam hominem offendere. Simul ipse satis perpendis quia plus debetur animae quam corpori, et tunc profecto fidelitas perspicue magis seruatur iubenti quando salus animae eius corporeis commodis et iniquis praelata iussis magis attenditur. Age ergo ut non pro homine supplicium sed pro Dei timore expectare debeas praemium; atque sic praedictis clericis qui promotioni illius libere ex parte Dei contradixerunt opitulari eosque defendere procures, ut quanto te gratia diuina altius sublimauit, tanto magis et bonis fiduciam et prauis terrorem praebeas, ceterisque principibus te imitabilem reddas.

Plumbeo sigillo idcirco signari literas istas nolimus, ne si forte caperentur ab impiis eodem sigillo posset falsitatis quippiam fieri.

46

*To the clergy and people of the church of Théroutanne, and especially Count Robert of Flanders: Gregory blames them for their part in promoting Lambert to the see of Théroutanne and urges them to seek his expulsion (1082)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei clero et populo Taruanensis ecclesiae, praecipueque nobili comiti R., salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, si obdierint.^a

Sicut aliis literis misimus, non ignorat solertia tua nos iamdudum te satis diligere propterea quod te bonis studiis inter ceteros Franciae principes, fama ferente, audiimus eminere. Nam potioris

^a obierint G

* This letter, which was evidently written soon after no. 45, reinforces its pleas and arguments. The change from the plural in the address to the singular

We have heard that it was under colour of the fealty which you have performed to King Philip that, to your peril, you were persuaded to do this. We therefore charge you in the name of Almighty God that, if this Lambert has seized the episcopate by such wicked means, you show him nothing whatever of the obedience and reverence which are due to a priest, but that you support the local clergy by ensuring that he is deprived of and excluded from the see which he has so evilly bought and invaded. For you should not think that your oath of fealty binds you to perform so heinous a crime: it is more perilous to offend him by whom we swear than him to whom we swear, that is, God rather than man. You should likewise well consider that we owe a greater debt to the soul than to the body, so that a man certainly the better keeps fealty to a superior when he attends first to the salvation of his own soul, preferring it to bodily goods and wrongful orders. Act, then, with an eye not to the punishment which men can inflict, but to the reward which follows from fearing God; and be zealous to help and support the clerks who on God's behalf have boldly resisted Lambert's promotion. Thus the higher God's grace has raised you up, the more you may inspire confidence in good men and terror in the wicked, and make yourself a model for other princes.

We would not allow this letter to be sealed with a leaden seal, lest if perchance it were captured by the ungodly some forgery might be attempted by using the seal.

To the clergy and people of the church of Théroutanne, and especially Count Robert of Flanders. (1082)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clergy and people of the church of Théroutanne, and especially to the excellent Count Robert, greeting and apostolic blessing, if they are obedient.

As we have said in another letter, you are not ignorant that we have for long greatly loved you on account of the reports which we heard of your pre-eminence in good works amongst the other

in the letter indicates that separate copies were prepared for the count and for the clergy and people.

J.L. 5250. MS.: none. Printed: G.C. x, *Instrumenta ecclesiae Boloniensis*, no. 2, col. 395 (G). *Ep. coll.* no. 41, pp. 568-9.

erga te dilectionis habendae causa nobis haec extitit, quia te christianae religionis amatorem ecclesiasticaeque disciplinae et honoris suffragatorem ac defensorem in quibusdam cognouimus. Vnde cum a solita probitate contraria forte audiuimus, quantum doleamus prudentia tua satis perpendit. Nuper uero de te quoddam nobis innotuit, quod, sicut a priscis moribus tuis alienum, ita quoque penitus credere uisum fuit indignum, uidelicet quod contradicentibus Taruanensis ecclesiae clericis renitentibusque, tua protectione auxilioque fretus, quidam Lambertus illius ecclesiae sedem inuaserit. Qui publice simoniacus, aperte^b diuini muneris emptor, quanto se in tali negotio turpiorem et impudentiorem ostendit, tanto tuum non fauorem sed zelum, non opem sed repulsionem experiri debuit. Verum quia obstante rege, sub specie timoris ne peierares, ad id mali inductus fuisse diceris, idcirco iam pridem et nunc literis te admonere censuimus quatinus, uanum timorem abiiciendo, quod iure metuendum uidetur attenderes. Nouerit ergo prudentia tua fidelitatem terreno domino tunc non recte seruari cum coelestis Domini et Creatoris gratia per illam probatur offendi, et si corpori multo amplius animae, si mortali homini multo maxime sempiterno Deo fidem et deuotionem deberi. Proinde tam nobilitati tuae quam et praefatae ecclesiae clero et populo ex parte beati Petri praecipimus ut praedicto Lamberto nullam episcopalem reuerentiam exhibeatis, sed ipsum uelut furem et latronem existimantes ab inuasa sede propellere, fautoresque ipsius donec resipuerint cohibere procuretis. Quod si se praedictus inuasor ferre praeiudicium dixerit et de re sua non ita esse^c ut dicitur, se posse probare existimauerit, audientiam legati nostri Diensis immo Lugdunensis archiepiscopi¹ petat, quatenus per competentem illius discussionem iustumque iudicium obtinere quod postulat aequitas ualeat.

^b a parte G ^c esset G

¹ Hugh's translation from Die to Lyons, evidently very recent, took place in 1082.

princes of France. For we had this reason for showing the greater love towards you, that we knew you to be in many ways a lover of the Christian religion and a supporter and defender of the church's discipline and honour. So when we chanced to hear of things which were contrary to your usual uprightness, you will readily appreciate how grieved we were. For we recently had tidings of you which seemed as foreign to your former ways as they were also altogether shameful to believe: that in spite of the protests and remonstrations of the clergy of the church of Th rouanne, a certain Lambert supported by your protection and aid invaded the see of this church. He is notoriously a simoniac and openly a purchaser of the gift of God. The baser and the more shameless he has shown himself in this traffic, the more he should have experienced your anger and resistance, not your favour and help. Now you may say that you were brought to do this evil since the king opposed you, and from fear lest you should therefore perjure yourself. But both formerly and now in our letter we have thought fit to warn you to cast aside vain fear and give heed to what you should rightly dread. Thus you will be well aware that fealty to an earthly lord is not rightly observed when we manifestly offend the grace of the heavenly Lord and Creator, and that if we owe faith and devotion in respect of the body and to mortal men we owe them much more in respect of the soul and to the eternal God.

So on behalf of St. Peter we command both you and the clergy and people of the church of Th rouanne that you show this Lambert no reverence as a bishop but that, holding him to be a thief and a robber, you see that you drive him from the see which he has invaded and harry his supporters until they repent. Should this intruder say that he is suffering an injustice and should he think that he can prove what is reported of him to be untrue, let him seek a hearing of our legate the bishop of Die—or rather the archbishop of Lyons,¹ so that by proper trial and just judgement at his hands he may duly receive what justice demands.

47

*To Count Robert of Flanders: Gregory again urges him to rid the church of Théroouanne of Lambert, and to restore certain clerks whom he has sent into exile (1082-3)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. glorioso Flandrensium comiti dilecto in Christo filio salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Iam saepius excellentiae tuae scripsimus super causa clericorum Taruanensis ecclesiae E. praepositi,¹ S. decani,² I. diaconi³ et reliquorum quos, malignorum mortiferis suggestionibus, bonis propriis priuatos in exilium pro obedientia apostolica detrusisti, ut eos ad integrum sicut iustum est restaurares, et illum haereticum L. depositum et excommunicatum amplius non sustentares sed magis ecclesiam captiuatam de eius tyrannide et oppressione liberares. Quod quia, sicut illi adhuc lacrymabiliter conqueruntur, nondum pleniter peregristi, crebris querimoniis eorum fatigati adhuc nobilitati tuae mandamus et ex parte Dei et apostolorum principis praecipimus ut ecclesiam de praedicto antichristi membro eripias, clericisque praefatis sua omnia clementer restituas, et gratiam tuam pristinam eis habere permittas, ut Deus omnipotens tibi suam gratiam hic et in futuro saeculo tribuat, et beatus Petrus ad cuius praesentiam confugium fecerunt ianuas coeli post huius uitae felicem terminum tibi aperiat.

* The background of this letter is supplied by *Reg.* ix. 35, pp. 623-4, which Gregory dispatched simultaneously to the bishops and magnates of Flanders. Lambert had been excommunicated by Gregory's legates Archbishop Hugh of Lyons and Bishop Amatus of Oléron at the council of Meaux (Oct. 1082) but had defied the sentence by securing consecration at the hands of suspended bishops. With the support of Count Robert he had violently entered his church and the count had condemned the clerks who opposed him to banishment and forfeiture of goods. In the present letter Gregory called for their restoration and for the count to abandon Lambert.

For the later course of the affair, the chronology of which is very uncertain, cf. *Reg.* ix. 13, pp. 591-2, ix. 31, pp. 617-18, ix. 33-4, pp. 619-22, ix. 36, pp. 628-9.

J.L. 5247. MS.: none. Printed: *G.C. x, Instrumenta ecclesiae Boloniensis*, no. 3, cols. 395-6. *Ep. coll.* no. 42, pp. 569-70.

¹ The 'Arnulfus (Ernulfus) Morinorum archidiaconus et ecclesiae b. Audomari praepositus' referred to in Hariulf, *Vita S. Arnulfi Suessonenensis episcopi*, *R.H.F.* xiv. 59; cf. *Reg.* ix. 35, p. 623.

To Count Robert of Flanders

(1082-3)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Robert, the renowned count of Flanders, his beloved son in Christ, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have already written to you very often about the matter of the clerks of the church of Théroouanne—of the provost E.,¹ the dean S.,² the deacon I.,³ and the others whom by the deadly suggestions of wicked men you have sent into exile and deprived of their property on account of their obedience to the apostolic see. We have urged you fully to restore them as is right and no longer to support the heretic Lambert who has been deposed and excommunicated, but rather to free the captive church from his tyranny and oppression. The clerks are still miserably complaining that you have not yet fully done so, and we are wearied by their frequent complaints. Therefore we charge you and on behalf of God and of the prince of apostles we command you, that you deliver the church from this member of Antichrist, that you graciously restore to the clerks all their property, and that you vouchsafe your favour to them as of old. Then Almighty God may grant you his grace here and in the world to come, and St. Peter in whose presence they have taken refuge may open to you the gates of heaven when you have happily completed this present life.

² Unknown.

³ Perhaps the Ingelrannus, canon of Saint-Omer, of *Reg.* ix. 33, p. 620, cf. *Reg.* ix. 35, p. 623.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory reproves him for delaying to consecrate Bishop Hoel of le Mans from fear of Count Fulk of Anjou and urges him to perform his duty
(1082)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. uenerabili Turonensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Audiuimus quod Cenomanensi electo, cuius consecratio ad ius tuae ecclesiae pertinet, consecrari per te cupienti tua fraternitas mundani timoris intuitu imponere manum renuerit, metuens scilicet ne propter hoc comes Andegauensis offenderetur; quae res a sacerdotali, praecipue pontificali, sublimitate quam procul esse debeat beatus Gregorius in septimo libro *Moralium* de ueritate loquens id quod de iustitia nihilominus intelligi conueniat his uerbis ostendit: 'Iste namque ueritatem iam libenter defendere appetit, sed tamen in ipso suo appetitu trepidus indignationem potestatis humanae pertimescit, cumque in terra hominem contra ueritatem pauet, eiusdem ueritatis iram coelitus sustinet.'¹ Proinde prudentiam tuam monemus et apostolica auctoritate praecipimus ut praelibatum electum consecrare nisi canonica ratio contradicat, postposita saecularis offensionis occasione, non ulterius recuses aut negligas. Denique potius tibi timendum est ne, si magis paori quam iustitiae obsequi deliberaueris, et ille sicut aequum fuerit ab alio consecretur, et Turonensis ecclesia per tuam segnitiem, quod absit, honoris sui detrimentum sentire incipiat.

* After the death on 1 Dec. 1081 of Bishop Arnald of le Mans (1066–81) Hoel was elected bishop with the support of William I of England: Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. eccles.* iv. 11, ed. le Prévost, ii. 248–50. Count Fulk of Anjou prohibited his consecration by Archbishop Ralph of Tours; in this letter Gregory urged the archbishop to proceed with it. Ralph could not comply (cf. no. 52 below), so Hoel was consecrated on 21 Apr. 1085 by Archbishop William of Rouen. Hoel died in 1096.

J.L. 5226. MS.: Angers, Bibl. municip. 368, fo. 1^r, eleventh cent. Printed: Delisle, *B.É.C.* 6th ser. i (1865), 559. *Ann. iur. pont.* x, no. 55, cols. 417–18.

¹ *Moralia*, vii. 26, P.L. lxxv. 783.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours

(1082)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Ralph, the venerable archbishop of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have heard that from worldly fear you have refused to lay hands upon the bishop-elect of le Mans, who wishes to be consecrated by you and whose consecration is the right of your church, because you are afraid of antagonizing the count of Anjou by your action. How far such a thing should be from the high office of a priest and particularly a bishop St. Gregory declares in these words from the seventh book of his *Morals* concerning truth—for what he says no less holds good concerning righteousness: 'See, here is a man who would now gladly defend truth, but he is fearful in his own heart and dreads the wrath of human power; while upon earth he resists the truth through fear of man, he incurs from heaven the anger of the truth which he resists.' We therefore urge and by apostolic authority command you that you put aside the pretext of giving worldly offence, and that unless some canonical reason forbids it you no longer refuse or delay to consecrate the bishop-elect. For your real terror should be that, if you decided to be the servant of fear rather than righteousness, he might, as would be just, be consecrated by someone else; and that by reason of your neglect the church of Tours would, which heaven forbid, begin to find that its honour was suffering diminution.

49

*To Hugh and the other clerks of Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers: Gregory insists upon his legates' earlier rulings in the clerks' dispute with the monastery of Sainte-Croix, Poitiers, about their respective rights (1082)**

Gregorius episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Hugoni et caeteris sanctae Radegundis clericis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Peruenit ad audientiam nostram quod, apostolicae sedis auctoritate calcata, priuilegia sanctae Radegundis monasterio sanctae Crucis ab antiquo concessa infringere conemini, dum neque debitum clericalis officii pensum praefato monasterio reuerenter, ut decet et priuilegiorum scripta testantur, exhibetis, et ecclesiam beatae Radegundis cum ordinationibus suis absque abbatisae licentia et auctoritate tenere uelitis. Quam litem inter uos^a et abbatissam anno priore legati nostri, priuilegiorum tenore diligenter perspecto, episcoporum qui aderant iudicio canonice data sententia deciderunt, scilicet ut concessione et auctoritate abbatisae sanctae Crucis, sicut firmiter in priuilegiis cautum est, sanctae Radegundis ecclesia cum suis ordinationibus omni uenialitate et spe quaestus procul remota, a uobis teneatur, et utrique ecclesiae competens seruitium persoluatur, ut neque uos ius ecclesiae sanctae Crucis nullatenus imminuatis, aut abbatissa aliquid uos cogat quod canonum auctoritate respuere ualeatis. Qua definitione uos contentos esse oportere iudicamus, et ut neutrius partis transgressione conuellatur, beati Petri auctoritate uehementer prohibemus quod, si deinceps de causa ulla ad nos proclamatio peruenerit, noueritis procul dubio ut obedientiae contemptores grauiore censura faciendos, et eos potissimum qui rectorum sedis apostolicae priuilegiorum auctoritatem uiolare ausu temerario moliuntur. Valet.

^a eos *M*

* Gregory refers to the settlement made by his legates Bishops Amatus of Oléron and Hugh of Die at the council of Saintes (1081): *R.H.F.* xiv, no. 4, p. 767; *Ann. iur. pont.* x, 413-14.

J.L. 5227. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. Moreau 31, p. 73, eighteenth cent. (*M*).¹ Printed: *Anal. iur. pont.* x, no. 51, col. 413. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta pont. Rom. ined.* i, no. 53, p. 52.

To Hugh and the other clerks of Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers (1082)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Hugh and the other clerks of Sainte-Radegonde, greeting and apostolic blessing.

It has reached our hearing that, trampling upon the authority of the apostolic see, you have attempted to infringe the privileges regarding Sainte-Radegonde which were anciently granted to the monastery of Sainte-Croix. For you have not reverently performed at this monastery the clerical duties to which you are bound in a fitting manner and as the terms of the privileges lay down, and you have sought to hold the church of Sainte-Radegonde with its offices without the abbess's licence and authority. Last year our legates carefully examined the contents of the privileges and, after the bishops who were present had canonically passed judgement, they composed the dispute between you and the abbess thus: by the permission and authority of the abbess of Sainte-Croix and as it is firmly stipulated in the privileges, putting aside all greed and hope of gain you are to hold the church of Sainte-Radegonde with its offices and you are to render proper service to both churches. Thus you are in no way to diminish the rights of the church of Sainte-Croix, while the abbess may not compel you to do anything which you can refuse by canonical authority. We think it right that you should rest content with this ruling, and in order that it may not be overthrown by the fault of either party we firmly lay down by St. Peter's authority that if in the future any complaint about the matter should reach us, you may know beyond doubt that those who refuse to be obedient will merit a grave penalty, and those most of all who rashly seek to violate the authority of the rightful privileges of the apostolic see. Farewell.

¹ A MS. note follows: 'Cette charte a été extraite de l'abbaye de Ste Croix de Poitiers, et transcrite sur une copie de l'écriture du 12 siècle. Elle se trouve encore dans le rouleau en parchemin connu dans cette abbaye sous le nom de Testament de Ste Radegonde.'

50

To Abbot Richard of Marseilles: Gregory rebukes his legate because he has excommunicated monks of Moissac who had taken over the church of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, after they have obeyed the abbot of Cluny's command to withdraw from it (? 1082)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. uenerabili sanctae Romanae aecclisiae cardinali et abbati Massiliensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Peruenit ad nos quod monachos illos qui aecclisiam sancti Saturnini non sine licencia proprii abbatis acceperant ac deinde compellente eos iussu maioris abbatis Cluniacensis eandem dimiserant, tua fraternitas illos postea quam satisficientes exierint excommunicauit. Quod si ita est non parum de prudentia tua miramur. Vnde uolumus atque praecipimus ut tam illos ab excommunicationis uinculo soluas quam et de cetero ne tam leuiter in religiosos uiros huiusmodi sententiam feras summopere cauere procures. Quid est enim aliud quam auctoritati derogari, indiscrete uel temere in quasque honestas personas auctoritatis licentia uti? Quod ut de futuro uigilanter attendas solliciteque prouideas, iterum iterumque monemus.

* The incidents to which this letter refers happened in the course of attempts by Bishop Isarnus of Toulouse (1071-1105) to reform the ancient suburban church of Saint-Sernin. In 1082 these attempts culminated in his expulsion of the canons and their replacement by monks from the Cluniac monastery of Moissac, under the authority of their abbot, Hunald (1072-95). Abbot Hugh of Cluny appears to have had no foreknowledge of the plan and to have responded favourably to Gregory's request that he secure the withdrawal of the monks of Moissac. For a fuller discussion, see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 113-18.

J.L. 5239. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8625, fo. 37^r, twelfth cent. Printed: Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vii. 127. *Ep. coll.* no. 39, p. 566.

To Abbot Richard of Marseilles (? 1082)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable Richard, cardinal of the holy Roman church and abbot of Marseilles, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We have heard a report concerning the monks who took over the church of Saint-Sernin with the consent of their own abbot but later left it when they were so ordered by their superior the abbot of Cluny, that you have excommunicated them after they had made satisfaction and gone away. If this is so we wonder greatly concerning your prudence. We will and command that you release them from the bond of excommunication, and also that in future you take every precaution not so lightly to pass a sentence of this kind against religious men. To exercise authority intemperately or rashly against men of good report must assuredly detract from its force. We insistently warn you that for the future you keep this truth clearly in mind and that you carefully act upon it.

*To the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of France [and Germany]: Gregory reproves them because they have not helped the Roman church in her necessity and summons them to his November council at Rome (1083, summer)**

G. episcopus^a seruus seruorum Dei archiepiscopis episcopis et abbatibus^b in Gallia^c constitutis, qui in gremio sanctae Romanae ecclesiae permanere uidentur, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quantas tribulationum angustias et persecutionum procillas ac pondera periculorum uniuersalis mater sancta Romana ecclesia temporibus istis perpressa sit quia credi uix potest ex maiori parte latet scientiam uestram. Ad haec^d quoque^e quid consolationis^f quidue suffragii per uos suos filios debitae compassionis perceperit, uos ipsi cognoscitis. Quod enim sine dolore uix possumus uel reminisci, ita caritas pene cunctorum^g circa eam refrixit^h ut haec tempora per euangelium praesignata quodam modo specialiter uideantur ubi dicitur: 'Quoniam abundauit iniquitas refrigescet caritas multorum.'ⁱ Vnde quid aliud dixerim, nisi quod uos qui aut segniter neglexistisⁱ aut pauide refugistis matri uestrae in tanta pressura solatiari nomine filiorum indignos et caritatis uisceribus alienos uos ostendistis? Quem uero pudorem uel potius quantum dolorem quisquis est sanae mentis non sentiat, cum consideret persecutores christianae religionis tanta factionis conspiratione sic omnimodis annisibus non solum res suas profundendo sed etiam se ipsos morti tradendo ad explendam animi atrocitatem huc usque desudasse, neminem autem uel uix paucissimos iustitiae fautores aut corporis laborem subire aut rerum dispendia pati aut de suis bonis opem matri^j ecclesiae ferre curauisse. Verum

^a om. episcopus ZC ^b et abbatibus illegible in K, where the text is here uncertain
^c Teutonico regno K ^d hoc K ^e quamque V
^f consilii ZC ^g multorum ZC ^h refrigescit ZC ⁱ nexglexistis V
^j add suae ZC

* This letter has hitherto been known only from the *Codex Udalrici*; the present text is based directly on the form in which it circulated in France and Germany. It contains a summons to Gregory's Nov. council of 1083 and may have been dispatched at the same time as *Reg. ix. 29*, pp. 612-13 (but for the difficulties which this last letter presents, see Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, ii.

To the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of France [and Germany] (1083, summer)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of France who seem to remain in the bosom of the holy Roman church, greeting and apostolic blessing.

It is largely hidden from your knowledge, for it is almost past belief, how severe are the straits of distress, the storms of persecution, and the burdens of danger which the mother of us all, the holy Roman church, has endured in these times. And what comfort and what help she has received through you, her sons, as the due return of your sympathy, you in your own hearts know. For, as we can hardly even call to mind without sorrow, the love of almost all men towards her has grown so cold that these times of ours seem to have been after a manner specially foretold in the gospel where it is said: 'Because wickedness is multiplied most men's love will grow cold.'¹ So what else am I to say but that you who have either slothfully neglected or else cravenly shunned to bring your mother relief in such distress show yourselves undeserving of the name of sons and strangers to the promptings of love? What shame, or rather how much grief, must anyone of sound mind not feel, when he sees how the assailants of the Christian religion, in such partisan concord, have hitherto laboured to effect their frightful purposes by all manner of exertions, not only lavishing their goods but also giving themselves up to death; while no one, or at most only a very few upholders of righteousness, have cared to undertake active service, or to suffer the loss of their possessions, or to bring help to their mother the church at cost to themselves.

27, n. 1, 418, n. 4). For the Nov. council and for a complaint about Henry IV's obstructiveness, see *Reg. ix. 35a*, pp. 627-8, which also summarizes the Roman view of Henry's *persecutio* of the papacy since his second excommunication at the Lent council of 1080.

J.L. 5259. MSS.: Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 1974, fo. 121^{r-v}, eleventh cent. (V). Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl. 27, fo. 203^v, eleventh cent. (K). *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl, Stiftsarch. 283, pp. 116-17, twelfth cent. (Z); Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 398, fo. 66^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (C). Printed: *Codex Udalrici*: Eccard, *Corp. hist.* ii, no. 154, cols. 156-7; Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.* no. 58, pp. 123-5. *Ep. coll.* no. 23, pp. 548-50.

¹ Matt. 24: 12.

utcumque uestra fraternitas sese habuerit, 'benedictus Deus et pater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra',¹ qui nos ab aduersariorum manibus et persecutorum uiolentia protegens, hactenus in manu nostra iustitiam secundum testimonium conscientiae nostrae defendit atque potentiae suae uigore humanae infirmitatis imbecillitatem nostram corroborans, ad iniquitatem peruerti nos nullis promissionum blandiciis,^k nullis uexationum^l terroribus sinit. Ipsi ergo immensas gratias referimus qui nos infractos hucusque in pressurae tempestate conseruans ad quandam spem tranquillitatis sic liberis incessibus duxit, ut non nos contra principalem iustitiae intentionem egisse aut propria conscientia aut religiosorum uirorum^m qui nouerunt examinatio reprehendat.

De caetero, fratres, ut causa iurgiorum et discordia quae inter apostolicam sedem et regnum iamdudum agitur, annuente Domino, communi diligentiaⁿ ualeat congruum finem^o sortiri, uos ad sinodum quam in medio Nouembri celebrare disposuimus praesentium litterarum conuocatione ex parte beati Petri apostolorum principis praecipientes inuitamus. Hoc etiam uestram fraternitatem^b scire uolumus quia, ut secure et ad nos uenire et in uestram patriam^q Deo protegente possitis redire, fideles nostri a maioribus qui nunc erant^r in curia Heinrici dicti regis iuramento securitatem receperunt. Desideramus enim una uobiscum tractare, diuino fulti^s auxilio,^t qualiter possimus pacem Dei^u firmare atque ad gremium^v matris ecclesiae scismaticos uia regia incedendo^{wz} reuocare.

^k blandimentis K ^l uexantium ZC ^m om. uirorum ZC ⁿ om. communi diligentia ZC
^o om. finem K ^p The rest of the text is lacking in K ^q potentiam ZC ^r sunt ZC ^s iudicio deleted C
^t officio deleted and iudicio interlined above Z ^u om. Dei ZC ^v add sanctae ZC ^w om. uia regia incedendo; add Deo auxiliante ZC

¹ 2 Cor. 1: 3-4.

² Cf. Num. 21: 22. The phrase 'pacem Dei' in the Vatican MS. interestingly synchronizes with the spreading into Germany of the French 'pax Dei': cf. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, no. 46 (Feb. 1970), esp. pp. 64-5. In the collection of 32 canons drawn up in the south of France soon after Gregory's death and wrongly ascribed to him, which is preserved in the *Liber Tarraconensis*, Gregory was represented as legislating for the Peace of God at one of his Roman councils: see canon xiv as printed in Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta pont. Rom. ined.* ii, no. 161, p. 126.

But however the matter may stand with you, 'blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our afflictions',¹ who by protecting us from the hands of our enemies and from the violence of our persecutors has until now, as our conscience testifies, defended righteousness by the work of our hands, and who by strengthening the weakness of our human infirmity by the energy of his power has not allowed us at all to be led away into wickedness by any enticing promises nor by any hostile threats. Therefore we return our thanks without number to him who so far has kept us unharmed from the attacking storm, and has so led us by the way of liberty towards the hope of calm that neither our own conscience nor the scrutiny of religious men who know us well accuses us of having acted contrary to the overruling purposes of righteousness.

Finally, brothers, in order that, if the Lord is willing, a fit conclusion may by our common diligence be reached to the disputes and discord which have for long been rife between the apostolic see and the kingdom, we summon and call you by this letter on behalf of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, to a council which we plan to hold in the middle of November. We would have you know that our envoys have received from the leading men at the court of Henry the so-called king a sworn guarantee that you may come to us in safety and, with God's protection, return to your own country. For, supported by divine help, we desire to take counsel with you about how we may establish the peace of God and how we may recall those in schism to travel by the royal way² to the bosom of their mother the church.

*To the canons of Saint-Martin, Tours: Gregory exhorts them to return to Archbishop Ralph's obedience and to heed the directions of Gregory's legates, while they should avoid the excommunicated Count Fulk (1082-3)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei canonicis sancti Martini Turonensis.

Quia legatis nostris et archiepiscopo uestro uos non obedire sed insuper eum expulisse audiuius et ab eis uos esse excommunicatos ob culpam uestram didicimus, iccirco salutem et apostolicam benedictionem mittere uobis ausi non fuimus; cuius rei uos indignos existere, profecto plus uobis ipsi dolemus. Nam si animarum uestrarum curam gereretis, omnino nec illud praesumere nec post flagitium tamdiu in impenitudine manere consilium haberetis. Quapropter paterna uos alloquutione monentes ex parte beati Petri praecipimus ut de tanto facinore digne satisficientes praedictum fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum ad ecclesiam suam cum honore reducere procuretis, ac deinceps ei paternalem sicut decet^a reuerentiam exhibentes obedire nullatenus detrectetis. Praecipimus etiam uobis ut res tam ipsius archiepiscopi quam canonicorum sancti Mauricii in integrum restituis, atque legatis nostris de cetero debitam obedientiam exhibentes, et ab ipso comite excommunicato Fulcone et ab omnibus excommunicatis uos custodire uigilanter studeatis. Quod si nec his etiam mandatis salubribus obedire uolueritis, sententiam anathematis in uos confirmantes apostolice ultioni uos subiacere decernimus.

^a add oboedientiam et M

* This letter was written with *Reg.* ix. 24, pp. 605-7, and illustrates the growing tension between the archbishop and the count which followed their difference over Bishop Hoel of le Mans: no. 48 above. In 1082 Archbishop Ralph was driven from his see at the instance of King Philip I by Count Fulk, who was supported by the canons of Saint-Martin, Tours. The ultimate cause of this most obscure happening appears to have been the king's displeasure at Bishop Hugh of Die's translation to the primatial see of Lyons: Ralph was expelled because of his past collaboration with the standing legate, and the canons of Saint-Maurice, Tours, were loyal to their archbishop. The bishops of the province of Lyons excommunicated the count: *R.H.F.* xiv, no. 11, pp. 673-4.

To the canons of Saint-Martin, Tours (1082-3)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the canons of Saint-Martin, Tours.

Because we have heard that you have not obeyed our legates and your archbishop but rather have driven the archbishop out, and because we have learnt that for your fault you have been excommunicated by them, we have not ventured to send you our greeting and apostolic blessing. That you do not deserve them indeed grieves us more than it grieves you. For if you cared for your own souls you would surely have seen to it that you neither dared to do what you did nor remained for so long impenitent after the outrage. Therefore we address a fatherly warning to you, and on behalf of St. Peter we command you, to make due satisfaction for so great a crime and to take steps to restore our brother the archbishop with honour to his church. For the future you must not in any way fail to show him the reverence due to a father nor to obey him. We also command you to restore in full the property of the archbishop and of the canons of Saint-Maurice, for the future to pay due reverence to our legates, and to be vigilant and zealous to keep yourselves away from the excommunicate Count Fulk and from all excommunicates. If you will not obey even these healthful mandates, we confirm the sentence of anathema against you and decree that you are subject to apostolic punishment.

The legates who are referred to were Archbishop Hugh of Lyons and Bishop Amatus of Oléron.

J.L. 5232. MS.: Angers, Bibl. municip. 368, fo. 1^r, twelfth cent. Printed: Mabillon, *Annales ordinis sancti Benedicti*, v. 176 (M). *Ep. coll.* no. 38, pp. 565-6.

53

To Archbishop Hugh of Lyons: Gregory strongly condemns the imprisonment of Bishop Odo of Bayeux by King William I of England (1082-3)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri H. Lugdunensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Ad notitiam tuam peruenisse non dubitamus qualiter Anglorum rex in fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Baiocensem contra fas et honestum ausus est manum mittere eumque contra regiam modestiam reuerentiamque sacerdotalem impudenter captum et impudentius adhuc in custodia . . .

54

To all the faithful: Gregory sets forth the plight of the church and appeals for help against her enemies (1084, July-Nov.)†

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei omnibus in Christo fidelibus apostolicam sedem reuera diligentibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Peruenit, fratres karissimi, peruenit ut estimamus ad notitiam uestram quia nostro tempore innouatum est quod in psalmis inquirendo dicitur: 'Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes conuenerunt in unum aduersus Dominum et aduersus christum eius.'¹ Principes

* This fragment should be read with Gregory's far milder letter to William himself about the same matter: *Reg.* ix. 37, pp. 630-1. According to the E version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* William seized his half-brother Bishop Odo I of Bayeux (1049-97), who was also earl of Kent, in 1082; he seems to have been still a captive at the king's death in 1087. The reasons for his arrest are not clear, but Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury spoke of his sending money to Rome and recruiting knights for an expedition to go there: Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, vii. 8, ed. A. le Prévost, iii (Paris, 1845), 188-92; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, iii. 277, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (London, Rolls Series, 1889), 334. Odo may have planned to intervene at Rome in Gregory's defence; while William would not tolerate the recruiting in England of knights upon whose service he relied.

J.L. 5253. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. 1458, fo. 161^r, twelfth cent. Printed: *Ep. coll.* no. 44, pp. 570-1.

To Archbishop Hugh of Lyons (1082-3)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We do not doubt that you have heard how the king of England has dared to lay hands upon our brother and fellow bishop of Bayeux against what is lawful and right, and against proper kingly restraint and the respect which is due to the priesthood has shamelessly captured him and, yet more shamelessly, still [holds him] captive. . . .

To all the faithful (1084, July-Nov.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful in Christ who verily love the apostolic see, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Dearest brothers, we think it must assuredly have struck you that in our times the psalmist's question and answer have found renewed meaning: 'Why do the nations rage, and the peoples plot vain things? The kings of the earth stand up and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed.'¹ For

† After Gregory had been forced to withdraw with the Normans from Rome to Salerno in July 1084 he held a council at which he renewed his excommunication of Henry IV and the Anti-pope Clement III, whom Henry had nominated at Brixen in 1080 and who crowned him emperor at Rome on 31 Mar. 1084. Gregory prepared this letter for general circulation and dispatched it by his legates—by Cardinal Odo of Ostia to Germany, by Cardinal Peter of Albano and Prince Gisulf of Salerno to France, and by Abbot Jarento of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon, to Portugal: Bernold, *Chron. a.* 1084, *M.G.H. Scr.* v. 441; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 464. For the very probable suggestion that *Reg.* viii. 23, pp. 565-7, may have embodied Gregory's instructions for the legates to France at this time, see Borino, 'Può il Reg. Vat. 2 (Registro di Gregorio VII) essere il registro della cancellaria?', ii, *S.G.* v (1956), 399-401. Odo of Ostia arrived in Germany by Christmas 1084.

J.L. 5271. MS.: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1870, fo. 131^{r-v}, eleventh cent. Printed: Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.* ii, *M.G.H. Scr.* viii. 464-5. *Ep. coll.* no. 46, pp. 572-5.

¹ Ps. 2: 1-2.

enim gentium et principes sacerdotum cum magna multitudine conuenerunt in unum aduersus Christum, omnipotentis Dei filium, et aduersus apostolum eius Petrum, ut christianam religionem extinguerent et hereticam prauitatem propagarent. Sed Deo miserante illos qui confidunt in Domino nullo terrore nullaque crudelitate uel mundanae gloriae promissione ad suam potuerunt deflectere impietatem. Pro nulla quippe alia qualibet ratione contra nos inique conspirantes manus erexerunt nisi quia periculum sanctae ecclesiae nolimus silentio praeterire et his qui eandem sponsam Dei non erubescunt in seruitutem redigere. In omnibus enim terris licet etiam pauperculis mulierculis suae patriae lege suaque uoluntate uirum accipere legitime; sanctae uero ecclesiae, quae est sponsa Dei et mater nostra, non licet secundum impiorum uotum et detestabilem consuetudinem diuina lege propriaque uoluntate suo sponso legaliter in terris adherere. Non enim pati debemus ut filii sanctae ecclesiae hereticis, adulteris, et inuasoribus quasi patribus subiciantur atque ab eis uelut adulterina infamia notentur. Hinc multa mala, diuersa pericula, et inaudita crudelitatis scelera qualiter sint exorta a nostris legatis luce clarius ueraque relatione potestis addiscere, et si reuera doletis et contristamini de ruina christianae religionis et confusione eique uultis manum praebere adiutorii, intrinsecus certo tacti dolore, ab eisdem instrui satis potestis. Sunt enim beato Petro fidelissimi et inter primos domus eius unusquisque in suo ordine adnumerati, qui nullo terrore nullaque temporalium rerum promissione potuerunt in aliquo ab eius fidelitate et defensione auelli et a gremio sanctae matris ecclesiae separari.

Sed quia, sicut nouit uestra fraternitas, licet indigno et peccatori diuinitus per prophetam dicitur: 'Super montem excelsum' et reliqua,¹ et iterum: 'Clama, ne cesses',² uelim nolim, omni postposita uerecundia, timore quoque uel alicuius terreno amore, euangelizo, clamo, clamo, et iterum clamo³ et adnuncio uobis quia christiana religio et uera fides quam filius Dei de caelo ueniens per patres nostros nos docuit in secularem uersa prauam consuetudinem, heu pro dolor! ad nichilum pene deuenit et, immutato antiquo colore, cecidit non solum in diaboli uerum etiam

¹ Isa. 57: 7.

² Isa. 58: 1; cf. *Reg.* vii. 14a, 7 Mar. 1080, p. 483.

³ Gregory may have had in mind Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Ezechielem*, i, *Homil.* xi. 5, P.L. lxxvi. 907-8. (I am grateful to Dr. B. Smalley for this suggestion.)

the princes of the nations and the princes of the priests have indeed taken counsel together with a vast throng against Christ, the Son of Almighty God, and against his apostle Peter, to destroy the Christian religion and to spread their depraved heresy. But by God's mercy there is no fear or cruelty, nor any promise of worldly glory, by which they can pervert to their own ungodliness those who trust in the Lord. They have wickedly conspired and lifted up their hands against us for absolutely no reason whatsoever save that we would not silently disregard the danger which beset holy church nor the men who did not scruple to reduce to slavery the bride of Christ. For in every land even the poorest and least of women are allowed to take a husband according to the law of their country and to their own good pleasure; yet the will of godless men and an abominable custom do not allow holy church, which is the bride of Christ and our mother, lawfully to cleave to her spouse in all lands according to divine law and her own good pleasure. We may not allow the sons of holy church to be made subject to heretics, adulterers, and intruders as though such men were their fathers, nor to be stigmatized through them as by the reproach of adulterous birth. What numerous evils, what various dangers, and what unheard-of crimes of cruelty have arisen from such a state of affairs you may learn more clearly than daylight from the true report of our legates: if you truly grieve and sorrow for the destruction and confounding of the Christian religion and are willing to bring it a helping hand because you are inwardly touched by true compunction, you may receive full instructions from them. For they are most faithful servants of St. Peter and, each of them in his own order, they are amongst the leading men of his household; no fear or promise of temporal goods could in any way turn them from his loyalty and service nor separate them from the bosom of holy mother church.

Because, as you well know, God spoke to me, unworthy and a sinner though I am, through the prophet's words: 'Upon a high mountain' and so on,¹ and again: 'Cry aloud, spare not',² whether I wish to or not, laying aside all reluctance, fear, and earthly love of anyone, I preach, I cry, cry, and cry again,³ and I proclaim to you that the Christian religion and the true faith which the Son of God who came down from heaven taught us through the fathers, have been turned into the evil custom of this world and, shame to say! have almost been brought to naught. Their ancient character has so changed that they have been reduced to a laughing-stock not

in Iudeorum Sarracenorum atque paganorum derisionem. Illi enim leges suas, licet hoc tempore ad nullam animarum salutem utiles, nullisque miraculis, sicut lex nostra aeterni regis frequenti attestazione, clarificatas et corroboratas, prout credunt observant. Nos autem seculi inebriati amore et uana decepti ambitione, omni religione et honestate cupiditati atque superbiae postpositis, exleges et quasi fatui uidemur, quia praesentis uitae et futurae salutem et honorem sicut patres nostri non habemus nec etiam sicut oportet speramus. Et si sunt aliqui licet rarissimi qui Deum timeant, pro se utcumque non pro communi fratrum salute decertant prompta uoluntate. Qui uel quot sunt qui pro timore uel amore omnipotentis Dei, in quo uiuimus, mouemur, et sumus,¹ tantum desudent uel usque ad mortem laborent, quantum seculares milites pro dominis suis uel etiam pro amicis et subditis? Ecce multa milia hominum secularium pro dominis suis cotidie currunt in mortem; pro caelesti uero Deo et redemptore nostro non solum in mortem non currunt, uerum etiam quorundam hominum inimicitias subire contempnunt. Et si sunt aliqui, immo Deo miserante sunt licet perpaucissimi, qui in faciem impiis usque ad mortem resistere pro amore christianae legis contendunt, non solum a fratribus ut dignum est non adiuuantur sed etiam imprudentes et minus discreti ut dementes habentur.

Sed quia hec et his similia specialiter imminent nobis ut uobis, indicemus quatenus Deo largiente uicia possimus a cordibus fratrum auellere et uirtutes in eis plantare. Rogamus et obsecramus in domino Ihesu, qui nos sua morte redemit, ut tribulationes et angustias quas patimur ab inimicis christianae religionis, cur et qualiter patiamur diligenter inuestigando intelligatis. Ex quo enim dispositione diuina mater aecclesia in trono apostolico me ualde indignum et Deo teste inuitum collocauit, summopere procurauit ut sancta aecclesia, sponsa Dei, domina et mater nostra, ad proprium rediens decus libera, casta, et catholica permaneret. Sed quia hosti antiquo hec omnino displicent, armat contra nos membra sua ut omnia in contrarium uerteret. Ideo in nos immo in apostolicam sedem tanta fecit, quanta facere a tempore Constantini Magni imperatoris nequiuit. Nec ualde mirum, quia quanto plus

¹ Cf. Acts 17: 28.

only of the devil but also of Jews, Saracens, and pagans. For these men, so far as faith is given them, observe their own laws, even though in this age they are of no avail for the salvation of souls and are not given lustre and confirmation by such miracles as those by which the Eternal King frequently gives his testimony to our law. We, on the other hand, are so drunk with love of this world, we are so deceived by empty ambition, and we so subordinate religion and honour to greed and pride, that we seem to be without law and like fools; for we do not possess our fathers' uprightness and honour regarding this life and the life to come, nor do we even hope for them as we ought. If there are some, however pitifully few, who fear God, they have a ready will to contend only for themselves, not for the general salvation of their fellows. Who are the men, or how many are they, who exert themselves and toil to the death for the fear or love of Almighty God, in whom we live and move and have our being,¹ as do secular knights for their lords or even for their friends and clients? Lo! many thousands of secular men go daily to their death for their lords; but for the God of heaven and our Redeemer they not only do not go to their death but they also refuse to face the hostility of certain men. And if there are some—for by God's mercy there are some, though very few—who for love of Christ's law are determined to stand firm to the death in the face of the ungodly, they are not only not helped as is proper by their fellows but they are also considered to be foolish and of unsound judgement as if they were out of their minds.

But since these things and others like them especially threaten us as they threaten you, we shall briefly show how, by God's grace, we may tear out the vices from our brothers' hearts and plant virtues in them. We ask and beseech you in the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us by his death, to consider diligently and to understand why and how we should suffer the distresses and afflictions which we suffer at the hands of the enemies of the Christian religion. Ever since by God's providence mother church set me upon the apostolic throne, deeply unworthy and, as God is my witness, unwilling though I was, my greatest concern has been that holy church, the bride of Christ, our lady and mother, should return to her true glory and stand free, chaste, and catholic. But because this entirely displeased the ancient enemy he has armed his members against us in order to turn everything upside down. He has accordingly done such things against us, or rather against the apostolic see, as he has not been able to do from the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great. And truly it is no wonder, for the

antichristi tempus appropinquat tanto amplius christianam religionem extinguere decertat.

Nunc autem, fratres mei karissimi, diligenter quae uobis dico audite. Omnes qui in toto orbe christiano censentur nomine et christianam fidem uere cognoscunt, sciunt et credunt beatum Petrum, apostolorum principem, esse omnium christianorum patrem et primum post Christum pastorem, sanctamque Romanam aecclesiam omnium aecclesiarum matrem et magistram. Si ergo hoc creditis et indubitanter tenetis, rogo uos et praecipio ego, qualiscumque frater et indignus magister uester, per omnipotentem Deum, adiuuate et succurrite praedicto patri uestro et matri, si per eos absolutionem omnium peccatorum et benedictionem atque gratiam in hoc seculo et in futuro habere desideratis.

Omnipotens Deus, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, mentem uestram semper illuminet eamque sua dilectione ac proximi fecundet, ut mereamini praefatum patrem uestrum et matrem certa deuotione debitores uobis facere et ad eorum societatem sine uerecundia peruenire. Amen.

55

To all the faithful: Gregory sets forth the misfortunes of the Roman church (? 1084)*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei omnibus qui christiana fide censentur et beati apostolorum principis sedem aecclesiarum omnium matrem recognoscunt salutem et absolutionem omnium peccatorum per benedictionem et merita beati Petri et Pauli principum apostolorum.

Notum uobis fieri uolumus, fratres karissimi, quia sancta Romana aecclesia, communis mater, omnium gentium magistra et domina, non solum splendore sanctae religionis uniuersum mundum illuminauit sed etiam multis indigentibus per diversas partes terrae necessaria pietate distribuit. Modo uero peccatis non tantum nostris sed etiam multarum gentium exigentibus, et in religione frigit et terrenas opes maiori ex parte amisit.¹ Nonnulli enim imperatores reges et principes aliorumque ordinum

* J.L. 5273. MS.: Angers, Bibl. municip. 368, folio inserted inside back cover, eleventh cent. Printed: *B.É.C.*, 6th ser. i (1865), 560. *Anal. iur. pont.* x, no. 57, col. 418.

nearer the time of Antichrist approaches the more violently he strives to destroy the Christian religion.

So now, my dearly beloved brothers, listen carefully to what I say to you. All who in the whole world bear the name of Christian and truly understand the Christian faith know and believe that St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, is the father of all Christians and their first shepherd after Christ, and that the holy Roman church is the mother and mistress of all the churches. If, then, you believe and unshakably hold this, such as I am, your brother and unworthy master, I ask and command you by Almighty God to help and succour your father and mother, if through them you would have the absolution of all your sins, and blessing and grace in this world and in the world to come.

May Almighty God, from whom all good things come, always enlighten your minds and make them fruitful in love of himself and of your neighbour, that you may by your unwavering devotion make your father and mother your debtors and that you may attain to their fellowship free from shame. Amen.

To all the faithful

(? 1084)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all who are reckoned as Christians and who acknowledge the see of the blessed prince of apostles to be the mother of all the churches, greeting and the absolution of all their sins by the blessing and merits of St. Peter and St. Paul, the princes of the apostles.

Dearest brothers, we would have you consider that the holy Roman church, our universal mother, the mistress and lady of all peoples, has not only enlightened the whole world by the lustre of her holy religion but also by her mercy has ministered necessities to many who were in need in different parts of the world. But now, by reason not only of our own sins but also of many peoples', she has both grown cold in religion and in large part she has lost her worldly substance.¹ For many—emperors, kings, princes, and other

¹ The reference may well be to the apostasy of numerous members of the curia, including thirteen cardinals, in 1084.

personae misera cupiditate capti, maternam maledictionem incurrere non timentes, eius possessiones inuaserunt, distraxerunt, et in proprios usus redegerunt; qui etiam gladio anathematis percussi et more infelicis Iudae sacrilegii uinculo strangulati, ne ad penitentiam redirent, disipuerunt. Hinc igitur inopia, deuastationes, latrocinia, rapinae contra ipsum aecclesiae caput, beatum uidelicet Petrum, et in eius quasi uisceribus exorte sunt. Proinde propria eius aecclesia et beati Pauli quae illorum¹ . . .

56

*To Count Hoel of Brittany: Gregory urges him to restore and safeguard the possessions of the monastery of Sainte-Croix, Quimperlé (1073-84)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus^a seruorum Dei Hoelo glorioso principi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Sicut relatione quorundam didicimus, pater tuus diuino amore accensus monasterium sanctae Crucis nonnullis bonis ditauit, quae si aliquis auferre uel minuere praesumit non paruae negligentiae poteris arguere et animas patris et matris minus diligere. Quapropter si quid a te uel ab aliquo de his quae praedicto monasterio oblata sunt subreptum esse atque alienatum cognoscis, uolumus immo ex parte Dei et sancti Petri praecipimus omni diligentia te recuperare atque ad utilitatem eiusdem uenerabilis loci modis omnibus tueri atque defendere. Quod si feceris animabus parentum permaxime uideris proficere et tibi apud Deum maximum lucrum et in saeculum bonam famam optinere. Si enim hoc unicuique aecclesiae debes, multo magis circa salutem huius quam pater tuus dilexit et cui diuina prouidentia fratrem tuum carnalem uoluit prouidere oportet te inuigilare.

^a *om. seruus E*

* Sainte-Croix, Quimperlé, was founded in 1029 by Alan Cagnart, count of Cornouailles (d. 1058), husband of Judith, daughter of Count Judhael of Nantes. This letter is written to their son Count Hoel II of Brittany (1066-84), formerly count of Cornouailles.

J.L. 5265. MSS.: London, Brit. Mus. Egerton 2802, fo. 150^{r-v}, twelfth cent. (E).² Paris, Bibl. nat. Baluze 41, fo. 19^{r-v}, seventeenth cent. Paris, Bibl. nat. Baluze 74, fo. 24^r, c. 1700. Printed: Loewenfeld, *N.A.* vii (1882), 163. *Cartulaire*

ranks of men—made captive by their wretched greed and not fearing to incur their mother's curse, have invaded her possessions, rent them asunder, and plundered them for their own uses. Even when they were smitten by the sword of excommunication and strangled like unhappy Judas by the rope of their sacrilege, they were so foolish that they did not return to penance. Hence arose scarcity, ravagings, robberies, and rapines, against the very head of the church, St. Peter himself, and as it were in his own bowels. Thus his own church and St. Paul's which¹ . . .

To Count Hoel of Brittany (1073-84)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the renowned prince Hoel, greeting and apostolic blessing.

As we have learnt from certain men's report, your father was inspired by love of God to endow with many goods the monastery of Sainte-Croix. Should anyone dare to steal or to violate them you may accuse him of no small disrespect and of insufficient concern for the souls of your father and mother. Wherefore if you know that you or anyone else have seized or alienated anything that has been offered to this monastery, we will, or rather we command on behalf of God and of Saint Peter, that you restore it with all diligence, and that you in every way guard and protect it for the benefit of this venerable place. If you do so you will manifestly bring the greatest advantage to your parents' souls and win for yourself exceeding riches with God and a good report in this world. For if you have such a duty to every church, how much more should you be watchful for the safety of one which your father loved and for which by divine providence your own brother desired to make provision.

de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé, ed. Maître and de Berthou, no. 127, pp. 284-5.

¹ This incomplete sentence perhaps alludes to Henry IV's attacks upon the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul-without-the-Walls: cf. *Reg.* ix. 35a, pp. 627-8.

² Cartulary of Sainte-Croix, Quimperlé. For permission to print the text of this and the following letter I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum.

57

To Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain, king of Ireland, and all the Irish: Gregory proclaims the authority of the vicars of St. Peter and encourages the Irish to have recourse to it

(1074–84), 24 or 25 Feb.*

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei Terdeluacho inclito regi Hiberniae archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus proceribus omnibusque christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Per orbem uniuersum domini Ihesu doctrina refulsit, quoniam is qui de thalamo suo tanquam sponsus exiuit tabernaculum suum in sole constituit, et nemo est qui caloris eius fulgorem effugere possit.¹ Huius auctoritas sanctam aecclesiam in solida petra fundauit et beato Petro a petra uenerabile nomen habenti eius iura commisit; quam etiam super omnia mundi regna constituit, cui principatus et potestates et quicquid in seculo^a sublime^b uidetur esse subiecit, illo Ysaiae completo oraculo: 'Venient', inquit, 'ad te qui detrahebant tibi et adorabunt uestigia pedum tuorum.'² Beato igitur Petro eiusque uicariis, inter quos dispensatio diuina nostram quoque sortem annumerari disposuit, orbis uniuersus obedientiam similiter et reuerentiam debet, quam mente deuota sanctae Romanae aecclesiae exhibere reminiscimini. Vos autem ut karissimos filios exhortamur iustitiam exercere, catholicam aecclesiae pacem tueri et diligere, ipsamque diligentes ulnis caritatis uobis adiungere. Siqua uero negotia penes uos

^a caelo L

^b sullime C

* Toirdhealbhach (Turlough), king of Munster, was able in 1073 to establish his authority over Meath and Connaught. Although he failed to secure the submission of the North he remained until his death in 1086 the most powerful Irish ruler since the death in 1014 of his ancestor Brian Boru. The date of the letter raises a problem. Gregory is not known to have been at Sutri on 24–5 Feb. in any year of his reign. But if Marino—some 15 km. distant from the Lateran—is the correct reading, any year in which he was then at Rome is possible, i.e. 1074–6, 1078–84; 24 or 25 Feb. 1076 and 24 Feb. 1083 are the most likely dates.

J.L. 5059. MSS.: London, Brit. Mus. Cotton Claudius A.I, fo. 38^r, c. 1200 (C). London, Brit. Mus. addit. 4791, fo. 152^r, seventeenth cent.³ London, Brit. Mus. Sloane 1449, fo. 42^r, seventeenth cent.⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 611, fo. 5^v, seventeenth cent. (L). Dublin, Trinity College, 578, p. 9,

To Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain, king of Ireland, and all the Irish
(1074–84), 24 or 25 Feb.

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Toirdhealbhach, the illustrious king of Ireland, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, magnates, and to all Christians who dwell in Ireland, greeting and apostolic blessing.

The teaching of the Lord Jesus has shone through all the world; for he who has come forth from his chamber like a bridegroom has set his tabernacle in the sun, and there is no one who may escape from the brightness of its heat.¹ His authority founded the holy church upon a solid rock and committed her government to St. Peter who owed his venerable name to the rock. He also set her over all the kingdoms of the world and made subject to her principalities and powers and whatsoever in the world is seen to be exalted, thus fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy: 'They shall come to you who despised you', he says, 'and shall bow down at your feet.'² Therefore to St. Peter and to his vicars, amongst whom divine providence has appointed that our lot should also be numbered, the whole world owes obedience and likewise reverence: these things you should remember to show the holy Roman church with a faithful mind. Thus we exhort you as most dear sons to perform righteousness, to keep and love the catholic peace of the church, and loving it to bind it to you with the arms of charity. Should any

seventeenth cent.⁵ Printed: Ussher, *Veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge*, no. 29, pp. 75–6.⁶ Gwynn, *S.G.* iii. 115. *Pontificia Hibernica*, ed. Sheehy, no. 2, pp. 7–8.

¹ Cf. Ps. 18: 6–7 (19: 4–6).

² Cf. Isa. 60: 14.

³ Stated to be taken 'ex MS. Bibliothecae Cottonianae'.

⁴ Stated to have been 'copied out of a booke of Sir Robert Cottons'.

⁵ This text, in Ussher's hand, is stated by him to be 'ex MS. Bibliothecae Cottonianae'.

⁶ Ussher says that he had seen copies of this letter appended to MSS. of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in Cambridge University Library and in Cotton's Library: p. 138. It is hard to understand this statement, for all the surviving copies appear to stem from C. I can trace no other MS. of it.

emerserint quae nostro digna uideantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete, et quod iuste postulaueritis Deo auxiliante impetrabitis.

Data Sutrii^c vi kal. Mar.

58

*To Bishop Altmann of Passau: Gregory answers an inquiry about the orders of sinful clergy (1073-85)**

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri A. Patauiensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Interrogauit nos religio uestra de sacerdotibus in fornicationem lapsis aliisque criminibus irretitis, consulens quidnam de illorum gradu foret censendum . . .

59

To Bishop Altmann of Passau: Gregory urges him and his followers to promote the liberty of the church (1073-85)†

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri A. Patauiensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quia te credo sincero corde amare pro Deo sancte ecclesie honorem et libertatem, uolo et precipio ut summopere cum clericis his uel laicis qui ad hoc apti uidentur procures ut sponsa Christi amplius non habeatur ancilla . . .

^c Marino interlined above in the same hand C; add Marina L

* This letter may have been written in connection with Altmann's council of Dec. 1075: *Vita Altmanni*, cap. 11, *M.G.H. Scr.* xii. 232-3.

J.L. 5275. *G.P.* i, p. 169, no. 31. MSS.: *Vita Altmanni*: Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 13, fo. 88^v, twelfth cent.; Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. lat. 18526b, fos. 234^v-235^r, fifteenth cent. Printed: *Vita Altmanni*, cap. 30, *M.G.H. Scr.* xii. 238. *Ep. coll.* no. 47, p. 575.

† J.L. 5274. *G.P.* i, p. 169, no. 32. MSS.: *Vita Altmanni*: Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 13, fo. 88^v, twelfth cent.; Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. lat. 18526b, fo. 235^r, fifteenth cent. Printed: *Vita Altmanni*, cap. 30, *M.G.H. Scr.* xii. 238. *Ep. coll.* no. 48, p. 575.

matters of business arise among you which seem to call for our aid, be sure straightway to have recourse to us, and whatever you rightly ask you will with God's help obtain.

Sutri, 24 or 25 Feb.

To Bishop Altmann of Passau (1073-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Bishop Altmann of Passau, greeting and apostolic blessing.

You inquired of us about priests who have fallen into fornication and who have become ensnared in other sins, asking what should be thought about their orders . . .

To Bishop Altmann of Passau (1073-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Bishop Altmann of Passau, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Because I believe that with an upright heart and for the sake of God you love the honour and liberty of holy church, I desire and charge you that, together with these clergy or with such laity as seem proper for the task, you do all possible to see that the bride of Christ is no longer treated as a slave . . .

60

To Bishop Altmann of Passau: Gregory gives his ruling about certain priests who were unwittingly ordained by an excommunicated bishop (1073-85)*

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilecto in Christo fratri Patauensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Praesentium latores ad nos uenientes se ab episcopo excommunicato tamen id nescientes presbyteros esse ordinatos confessi sunt. Qua de re nos nuper in litteris quas fraternitati tuae remisimus non plene respondimus. Super hoc itaque dirigimus ut, si eos tunc temporis nesciuisse praefatum episcopum excommunicationi^a subiaceri constiterit et cetera quae ex eorum uita et moribus perquirenda sunt non impederint, gradu presbyteratus fungi misericorditer permittas per manus impositionem, et Spiritus Sancti gratiam quam habere non potuerunt alterius praesumptione obtineant ex nostra deuotione.

61

To the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Angers: Gregory charges them to settle certain complaints of the abbot of Vendôme concerning his property (1073-85)†

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei fratribus et coepiscopis Turonensi et Andegauensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Admonemus atque praecipimus fraternitati uestrae ut plenam iustitiam faciatis Vindocinensi abbati de ecclesia Ripere,¹ unde queritur, et de Maziaco,² et ita studeatis clamoribus suis finem imponere ut de cetero necesse non habeat propterea ad apostolicam sedem recurrere uel nos fatigare.

^a excommunicationi V

* The letter is almost certainly addressed to Altmann of Passau, but might possibly be to Ulrich of Padua. It may be a sequel to no. 58 above, or else to *Reg.* ix. 10, 1081, p. 587 or the letters referred to in it.

Not in J.L. *I.P.* vii, pt. 1, pp. 158-9, no. 5. MS.: Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. 2198, fo. 19^v, c. 1100 (V). Printed: Krause, *N.A.* xvii (1891-2), 296.

To Bishop Altmann of Passau (1073-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ the bishop of Passau, greeting and apostolic blessing.

The bearers of this letter came to us and acknowledged that they were ordained priests by a bishop who was excommunicated, though they were ignorant of this. In the letter which we formerly sent you we did not fully deal with this circumstance. We therefore rule that, if it is the case that they were at the time unaware of the bishop's excommunication and if after due inquiry no other impediment is discovered concerning their life and morals, you may out of mercy admit them to exercise the order of priesthood by the laying on of hands. Thus by our faith they may receive the gift of the Holy Spirit which they could not have by reason of the bishop's audacity.

To the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Angers (1073-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his brothers and fellow bishops of Tours and Angers, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We urge and charge you to do full justice for the abbot of Vendôme concerning the church of Rivière,¹ about which he has complained, and concerning Mazé,² and so endeavour to put an end to his complaints that for the future he may have no need to resort to the apostolic see with regard to them, or to trouble us.

† Gregory writes to Archbishop Ralph of Tours and Bishop Eusebius (1047-81) or Geoffrey (1081-93) of Angers; the abbot of Vendôme is Odericus (1046-82) or David (1083-5).

J.L. 5285. MS.: Angers, Bibl. municip. 368, fo. 1^r, eleventh cent. Printed: Delisle, *B.É.C.* 6th ser. i (1865), 560. *Ann. iur. pont.* x, no. 56, col. 418.

¹ Indre-et-Loire; cf. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Métais, 4 vols. (Paris, 1893-7), no. 399 (c. 1040-5), ii. 150-3.

² Maine-et-Loire; cf. *ibid.*, no. 1 (1007-50), i. 5; no. 36 (1040), i. 66; no. 38 (c. 1056-60), i. 81; no. 44 (1006-40), i. 95-7; no. 80 (1046-9), i. 150-1; no. 146 (1061), i. 258, for the earlier history of Vendôme's proprietorship.

62

To Abbot Albert: Gregory acknowledges his devotion and assures him of his help; he leaves the settlement of a request to the abbot's discretion (1073-85)*

Gregorius papa seruus seruorum Dei Alberto abbati salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.^a

Deuotionem uestram circa apostolatam nostrum litterae uestrae prodiderunt. Vnde si uobis umquam quicquam nostri adiutorii fuerit necesse, sperate nos libenter impendere. Illud uero quod dixistis relinimus in uestra uoluntate. Valete.

63

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours: Gregory charges him to investigate a problem regarding a marriage (1073-85)†

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei R. Turonensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Miles iste, harum scilicet portitor litterarum, apud apostolicam sedem conquestus est quod male sibi sociata consanguinea ex iudicio sui episcopi dimissa, coniugem quam sibi per legem coniunxerat sine legali iudicio perdidit.^a Quapropter super hoc fraternitatem tuam caritate apostolica conuenimus ut cum Pictauesi episcopo¹ colloquium habeas, et nostra apostolica auctoritate ei praecipias ut hoc quod iniuste actum est iuste emendare procuret, sciens quia si res aliter quam debeat agatur, a sede apostolica inultum nullomodo relinquetur.

^a The sign ✠ precedes the salutation P 63 ^a perdidit B

* The abbot cannot be identified; since the MS. formerly belonged to the dukes of Milan he may well have been from north Italy.

J.L. 5286. MS.: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 275, fo. 142^v, eleventh cent. (P). Printed: Loewenfeld, *Epist. pont. Rom. ined.* no. 119, p. 58.

† Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aevi 5, fo. 8^r, c. 1100, (B). Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 109^r, seventeenth cent. Printed:

To Abbot Albert (1073-85)

Gregory, pope, servant of the servants of God, to Abbot Albert, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Your letter proves your devotion towards our apostolic office. Therefore if you ever stand in need of any help from us you may be sure that we will gladly provide it. As for the matter that you mention, we leave it to your discretion. Farewell.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours (1073-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Archbishop Ralph of Tours, greeting and apostolic blessing.

This knight, the bearer of this letter, has complained to the apostolic see that, having put away by judgement of his bishop a kinswoman whom he had wrongfully joined to him, he has lost without lawful judgement the wife whom he had lawfully married. We therefore request you with apostolic charity regarding this matter that you confer with the bishop of Poitiers¹ and charge him by our apostolic authority to see to it that he justly puts right what he has done unjustly, knowing that if this matter is dealt with otherwise than is proper it will by no means be left unavenged by the apostolic see.

Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931-2), no. 8, p. 41. Morin, *R.B.* xlvi (1936), no. 3, p. 121. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 18, pp. 80-1.

¹ Isembert (1047-86).

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*To Archbishop Ralph of Tours and Bishop Eusebius (or Geoffrey) of Angers: Gregory attempts to bring about a settlement in a long-standing dispute between the monasteries of Marmoutier and Redon (1073-85)**

G. episcopus seruus seruorum Dei dilectis in Christo fratribus et coepiscopis Turonensi et Andecauensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Discordia Maioris monasterii¹ et Rotonensis² diu protracta nec adhuc ad finem perducta multotiens aures nostras fatigauit.³ Vnde uolumus ut fraternitas uestra rationes utriusque partis diligenter inquirat, et si potest certum ac legitimum finem imponat. Quod si apud uos fieri non potest, procurate nobis rescribere ueritatem et iusticiam ipsius negotii, et utrumque abbatem uel eorum idoneos nuntios nobis transmitters.

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To King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon: Gregory encourages him to continue the exemplary character of his kingship, and commends to him Bishop Raymond of Roda (1076-85)†

Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei Sancio glorioso regi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Gratias omnipotenti Deo referimus quod in administratione desuper tibi data iuste et rationabiliter incedis, adeo ut spiritales et religiosi uiri famam bonitatis tuae ad noticiam nostram reportent, gaudium nobis et maximam de bonis et bene inceptis studiis tuis fiduciam ministrantes. Illud enim est quod desideranter esurimus atque sitimus, ut Christiana gens eos habeat reges qui Deum ueraciter timeant et magis diuinum honorem quam suum

* Not in J.L. MSS.: Budapest, Bibl. nat. Széch. lat. med. aevi 5, fo. 8^v, c. 1100. Paris, Bibl. nat. Duchesne 4, fo. 109^v, seventeenth cent. Printed: Ramackers, *Q.F.I.A.B.* xxiii (1931-2), no. 9, p. 41. Morin, *R.B.* xlviii (1936), no. 5, p. 123. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 19, p. 81.

† King Sancho Ramirez (1063-94) had made his kingdom a papal fief in 1068. Bishop Raymond of Roda was elected in 1076 or 1078; the date of his journey to Rome is not known.

To Archbishop Ralph of Tours and Bishop Eusebius (or Geoffrey) of Angers (1073-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his brothers in Christ and fellow bishops of Tours and Angers, greeting and apostolic blessing.

The dispute between Marmoutier¹ and Redon,² long drawn out and not yet brought to an end, has many times wearied our ears.³ We therefore desire you to make thorough inquiry into the cases of both sides and if possible to make a final and just settlement. If it is not possible to do so before yourselves, see to it that you prepare us a written account of the truth and justice of this affair, and send to us both abbots or their competent envoys.

To King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon (1076-85)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the renowned King Sancho, greeting and apostolic blessing.

We offer thanks to Almighty God because you walk justly and rightly in the stewardship which you have been given from above, so that spiritual and religious men bring to our knowledge a good report of you, affording us joy and all confidence in the good endeavours which you have so well begun. For it is just what we eagerly hunger and thirst for, that Christendom should have kings who in truth fear God, and who choose his honour rather than

Not in J.L. MS.: Lérida, Archivo de la Catedral, Archiuum Rotense, Roda Cartulary, no. 16, p. 32, twelfth cent. Printed: Kehr, 'Papsturkunden in Katalanien, ii', *Abh. Gött.* xviii, pt. 2 (1926), no. 13, pp. 271-2.

The text which follows is Kehr's.

¹ Dioc. Tours.

² Saint-Sauveur, Redon (dioc. Vannes).

³ Cf. Ramackers, *P.U.F.* v, no. 7, pp. 69-70; *R.H.F.* xiv. 152-3. The dispute was not finally resolved until 1111-12.

et iusticiae quam rerum temporalium amorem diligant. Sed quia diuino testimonio perseuerantia commendatur,¹ studeat deuotio tua non solum in his que de te dicuntur bonis perseuerare sed de uirtute in uirtutem bene incedendo mentem ad altiora semper erigere. Quantis enim calamitatibus mundus iste pulsetur, quot et quantis regibus, quot principibus, postremo quot millibus hominum mentiatur, uides. Cuius gloriam uanam utique et fragilem² si contempseris et officium tibi commissum laudabiliter perages, et Deum tibi propiciatorem et clementissimum facies. Et quia humana uita momentanea est et fugitiua,³ necessarium tibi est ut diem mortis cotidie ante oculos ponas et tanto in amore et seruitio Dei crescas quanto ipsius districti iudicis sine intermissione iudicio appropinquas, quatenus cum ante presentiam eius ueneris, non districtum sed misericordem eum sentire merearis. Hunc autem karissimum confratrem nostrum Raimundum reuera tibi fidelissimum dilectionis tue intuitu honorifice recepimus. Quem nobilitati tue commendantes rogamus, ut ipse deinceps pro caritate nostra augmentum dilectionis et auxilii tui et qui ad nos uenit apud te semper sibi proficiat.

¹ Cf. Matt. 10: 22; 24: 13.

² Cf. Sallust, *Catilina*, 1. 4.

³ Possibly a reference to Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermo* lvi. 3, *P.L.* xxxix. 1852.

their own and the love of his righteousness rather than that of worldly goods. But because perseverance is urged upon us by divine testimony,¹ you ought not only to continue in the good works for which men praise you but also to go on from virtue to virtue and ever to lift up your mind to higher things. For you see by how many disasters this world is shaken, and by how many great kings, princes, and men in their thousands it is deceived. If you despise its vain and passing glory² and laudably fulfil the office committed to you, you will make God the more favourable and merciful towards you. And because the life of man is short and passing,³ it is needful that you should regularly set the day of your death before your eyes, and ever increase in the love and service of God as you continually draw nearer to the judgement of so strict a judge; then, when you come before his presence, you will deserve to find him not severe but merciful.

Because of your love we have honourably received our most dear brother Raymond, who is indeed a most faithful servant of yours. We commend him to you and ask that as a return for our love he, having come to us, may henceforth always enjoy the increase of your favour and help towards him.