

1987

instruā nūm pueri est p posse nro matremcedere?
 ⁊ psonas illi in maximo honore ⁊ reuerentia hanc
 bre puerum? exadon it fieri pōit diligenter
 uerābunt. Hec ⁊ q̄ alia p̄fati domus expedire
 crediderim? inuicti nri magistro. J. archidiacono
 iussit ⁊ magistro. O. dīco. secuti inuenerunt? ut
 noli ea fidele exponant? ⁊ sup hui nob gñm nrm
 exponant. Ep̄ola ita gñm ad canonem malhore.
 plebs de sempiterna illa ei h̄ q̄ est inuino qd
 fuit dilecti filii hui canonici ⁊ filii de mal
 tona. sāt. p̄fata in dīo cū dī bñdictōe ⁊ sua.
 dā hanc dī dī faculat? sedm suā mām in
 ministrant? solebant p̄fidi? sūt filios nros h̄zōs
 nos cognati p̄fata instruat ⁊ doctrina q̄ p̄orui. q̄
 noui. ad amōe dūmū intrate. ⁊. alluere. Vu
 tam effiacia meā sollicitudinē sequeret? s̄ in
 uiribz cognat omnino clesitudo. ita ut me optime
 carat uelamina extendo hinc mignare ex hac
 uita. in longo tempore amana ⁊ trisola. It̄ qm aū
 uos uoce nūra alioq̄ n̄ p̄no? hac cedula attenti
 p̄fati possunt admoñe si delicto. quatinus p̄ dī
 amore ⁊ salute aīay nray diligenti qm huiusq̄

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ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> , Antwerp, Brussels, etc., 1643-
B7RL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> .
BL	London, British Library.
Bodl.	Oxford, Bodleian Library.
CC	<i>Corpus Christianorum</i> .
Cheney and Cheney	<i>The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales</i> , ed. C. R. and M. G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967).
Cheney, <i>Innocent III and England</i>	C. R. Cheney, <i>Pope Innocent III and England</i> (Päpste und Papsttum, ed. G. Denzler et al., ix, Stuttgart, 1976).
Cheney, 'Papal Privileges'	C. R. Cheney, 'Papal Privileges for Gilbertine Houses', <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> , xxi (1946), 39-58, cited from the revised edition in Cheney, <i>Medieval Texts and Studies</i> (Oxford, 1973), pp. 39-65.
Councils and Synods, i	<i>Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church</i> , i, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (2 parts, Oxford, 1981).
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. A. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, et al. (15 vols., Paris, 1907-53).
Danelaw Charters	<i>Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from Various Collections</i> , ed. F. M. Stenton (British Academy, London, 1920).
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (66 vols., London, 1885-1901; repr. 22 vols., Oxford, 1921-2).
EEA i-iii	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i> , i, <i>Lincoln 1067-1185</i> , ed. D. M. Smith, ii-iii, <i>Canterbury 1162-1205</i> , ed. C. R. Cheney, B. Jones and E. John (British Academy, London, 1980, 1986).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
EYC	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , i-iii, ed. W. Farrer, Edinburgh, 1914-16; iv-xii, ed. C. T. Clay

EXEMPLARIA EPISTOLARVM DE CANONIZATIONE
SANCTI GILBERTI

Exemplaria epistolarum a diuersis personis ad diuersas editarum quibus beati G(ileberti) sanctitas et magnificentia operum eius merito commendata est et probata, in unam seriem congegimus, ut ex hiis liqueat quam ordinate, quam ueraciter et discrete gloria eius et ueneratio in sancta ecclesia decreta est celebranda.

[1] *Epistola Philippi notarii ad prelatos Anglie*¹

Domini et amicis in Christo karissimis omnibus ecclesiarum prelati per Angliam constituti, Philippus domini pape nuncius et notarius, eternam in Domino salutem.

Eos quos apud se habet suprema diuinitas in celis honores, congruum est ut humana infirmitas ducat in terris commendabiles: quatinus dum eorum dignis uenerationibus insistimus, piis intercessionibus fulciamur. Hinc est quod cum pie recordationis magister G(ilebertus) de Sempingham in presenti uita sanctissime conuersatus fuerit, et post mortem multis, ut accepimus, illustratur² miraculis, fraternitatem uestram rogamus attentius et exhortamur in Domino ut, de tantis beneficiis gratias agentes, ipsius glorie pariter congratulemini eiusque uestigiis inherentes sanctorum consortio digni inueniamini. Cumque aliqui ex uobis a fratribus ordinis ipsius ad indagacionem miraculorum faciendam fuerint inuitati, monemus et ex parte domini pape iniungimus ut cum omni deuotione et prompta uoluntate eorum inquisitioni intendatis, quatinus ad diuinum honorem rerum ueritas perspecta tam domino pape quam sacrosancte Romane ecclesie possit per uos euidentius declarari.

Letter 1 *Lc* * uel conuiscat s.l. *Lc*¹

¹ On Master Philip, papal subdeacon, notary, and messenger, see C. R. Cheney in *EHR* lxviii (1948), 342-50; Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, pp. 243-6; *Concilia and Synods*, i, ii, 1074. He came to England in Apr. 1200 to raise money for the Crusade; this letter was written before the first inquiry (9 Jan. 1201), probably late 1200.

LETTERS CONCERNING THE
CANONIZATION

COPIES OF THE LETTERS CONCERNING THE
CANONIZATION OF ST GILBERT

We have collected together into one sequence copies of the letters from various persons, addressed to a variety of recipients. By these letters the sanctity of blessed Gilbert, and the greatness of his works, are rightfully commended and proved. Our purpose is to make plain by what orderly procedure, how truly and wisely, it was decreed that his glory and reverence should be celebrated in Holy Church.

[1] *Letter of Philip, notary, to the prelates of England*¹

To the lords and dearest friends in Christ all the prelates appointed to churches throughout England, Philip, nuncio and notary of the lord pope, sends everlasting salvation in Our Lord.

It is only fitting that human frailty should consider praiseworthy upon earth those whom the Deity above honours in His presence in heaven; thus while we strive to venerate them appropriately we may be supported by their pious intercessions. Since therefore Master Gilbert of Sempingham of holy memory lived a most saintly life here on earth and, we have heard, is being made famous after his death by many miracles, we most particularly ask you our brethren and urge you in the Lord's name, that, acknowledging such great benefits with gratitude and rejoicing in this man's glory, you may by following in his footsteps be found worthy to share in the fellowship of the saints. And because some of you have been asked by brethren of the Order to carry out an investigation into this man's miracles, we caution and instruct you on behalf of our lord pope to make your enquiry into them reverently and promptly, so that to God's honour you can openly demonstrate the clear truth of these matters both to the lord pope and to the sacred church of Rome.

[2] *Epistola H(uberti) Cantuariensis archiepiscopi de inquisitione miraculorum facienda*

Hubertus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas, dilectis filiis de Swineshead, de Bruna,^a de Croxtona abbatibus,¹ salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

Audiuimus et letati sumus quod ad tumbam viri venerabilis magistri G(ileberti) de Semp(ingham) frequentius fuit miracula et in testimonium sanctitatis vite ipsius multa ibidem | preclara diuinitus patrantur. Que si ita sunt ut fama refert, ad laudem Dei et fidei nostre firmiter ea fieri non est dubitandum. Vnde, quia ad officii nostri sollicitudinem spectare dinoscitur opera Dei reuelare que in prouincia nostra in diebus nostris tam gloriose sunt facta, discretioni uestre, de qua plene confidimus, significamus quatinus ad locum sepulchri eiusdem sancti viri pariter accedentes diligenter et solcite, tam per eos qui curati dicuntur⁴ quam per eorum testes fideles, de generibus morborum et diuturnitate et curationum ueritate et de opinione eorundem inquiratis, et cum miraculorum serie tam nobis quam domino pape inquisitionem inde rescribatis ueritatem.

[3] *Epistola abbatum ad archiepiscopum de inquisitione facta*

Reuerendo domino et patri H(uberto), Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et totius Anglie primati, de Swineshead, de Bruna,^a de Croxtona, abbates¹ salutem, et tam deuotam quam debitam reuerentiam.

Ad mandatum uestrum per litteras uestras ad nos directum accedentes ad domum de Sempingham, inuenimus plures tam uiros quam mulieres, tam religiosos quam seculares, per merita uenerabilis uiri magistri G(ileberti) de Sempingham a uariis langoribus ut asserabant curatos. De quibus omnibus ut sanctitatem uestram sicut iussistis | certificaremus, tam eos qui curati sunt quam eorum testes fideles de ueritate morborum et curationum necnon et opinione eorum presito prius sacramento, diligenter

Letter 2 *LcOd* ^a ins. et *Od* ^b dicuntur *LcOd*, uel sunt s.l. *Lc*¹
Letter 3 *LcOd* ^c ins. et *Od*

¹ William, abbot of Swineshead (Lincs., Cistercian), who occurs in 1202 and after 1209 and was later abbot of Furness; the abbot of Bourne (Lincs., Augustinian), probably Henry (see p. 172, n. 1); Adam, abbot of Croxton Kerial (Leics., Premonstratensian).

[2] *Letter from H(ubert) archbishop of Canterbury concerning the enquiry to be made into the miracles*

Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, to his beloved sons the abbots of Swineshead, Bourne, and Croxton,¹ greeting, grace and blessing.

We have heard with great joy that miracles are taking place very often at the tomb of the holy man Master G(ilebert) of Sempingham and that by divine inspiration many wonderful things are performed there in evidence of that man's holy life. If these things are what report suggests, they must undoubtedly be happening so that God may be praised and our faith strengthened. It is well known that it is the responsibility of our office to bring to light those works of God which have been so wonderfully accomplished in our province during our lifetime. Therefore we instruct you, in whose discernment we have full trust, that you should travel together to the place of this holy man's burial and investigate most carefully, on the evidence both of those who are said to be cured and also of reliable witnesses, the different types and length of illness, and the truth of their cure, and general opinion about them; you should send an account both to us and the lord pope of the facts you have discovered, together with a list of miracles.

[3] *Letter from the abbots to the archbishop concerning their enquiry*

To their reverend lord and father H(ubert), by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, the abbots of Swineshead, Bourne, and Croxton¹ send greetings and all devoted and proper reverence.

According to your mandate sent to us in your letter we came to the house of Sempingham, and found many people, men as well as women, religious as well as seculars, who said that they had been cured of various illnesses through the merits of the venerable Master G(ilebert) of Sempingham. So that we might inform your holiness about all these matters as you commanded, we questioned carefully upon oath both those who have been cured and reliable witnesses of these events as to the truth of their illnesses and of who occurs in 1202 and 1221. See *Heads*, pp. 144, 153, 194. This letter is calendared in *EE4* iii, no. 607.

examinauimus, et horum omnium seriem, sicut subscripta est et sigillis nostris munita, inquisiuius, eamque paternitati vestre presenti scripto comprehensam transmisimus.^a

Domnus prior R(ogerus) ordinis de Sempingham, in animam suam iuratus, dixit se uidisse ad preces magistri G(gilberti) dum adhuc uiueret uentum ualidum et tempestuosum subito mutatum, cum transiturus esset Humbriam, et ea parte celi qua uoluit flasse secundum.¹ Idem dixit quod, cum graui morbo relinqueretur a medicis desperatus, ad eius imperium, ut credit, euasit mortis periculum. Idem adhuc dixit quod accepit a Radulfo Bidun canonico de Osenei,² multis coram positus, quod idem R(adulfus) per quosdam predicti magistri pedules qui ei dati sunt, a diuturno pedum necnon et manuum dolore intolerabili liberatus est. Hec eadem testantur plures alii uiri religiosi.

Secuntur quedam aliorum miraculorum aetates que ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et collegiis^b eius cum celebriori examine discussa sunt, unde ea hic ponere non est necesse. Post descripta autem tunc ibi inuenta miracula, hoc subiunxerunt memorati inquisitores in fine litterarum:

Hec de multis in presentia nostra a fidelibus uiris et honestis personis iuratis et examinatis excipientes, et multa alia proposita et proponenda pre sui numerositate intermittentes, tam excellentie sanctitatis uestre quam coepiscoporum uestrorum notitie ceterorumque uirorum ecclesiasticorum audientie, per mandatum uestrum incitati, dignum duximus significare, sigillis nostris apensis, credentes ea sufficere debere ad manifestationem gratie et glorie memorato magistro G(gilberto) diuinitus collate, cum et ipsi uiderimus uiam eius ualde comendabilem, et in lucrandis Deo animabus et sancte religionis institutione, amplificatione et gubernatione admirabilem.

Vos igitur de cetero prouidebitis, Domino prosperante, quod preclara Domini lucerna amodo sub medio diu non lateat, sed super candelabrum posita tanto lucidius effulgeat quanto radiantibus signis clarius choruscet.³ Nam nos que a tot et tantis tam

^a transmissimus *Od* ^b *Corrected from collegis in Lc (def. Od)* ^c subiunxerunt *Od*

¹ See pp. 110-13.

² See pp. 98-9.

³ Cf. Matt. 5: 15; Luke 11: 33.

their cures and also their reputation. We have drawn up a report containing the whole sequence of them, as follows below, authenticated with our seals; and this we have sent to you, our father, included in the present document.

Lord R(ogers), prior of the order of Sempingham, swore by his soul and declared that he himself had seen, while Master G(gilbert) was still living, a strong and stormy wind, when he was about to cross the Humber, veer at his prayers and blow from the direction he wished; then after Gilbert had crossed over the earlier storm returned.¹ The same man said that when the doctors gave him up as a hopeless case of a serious disease he believes he escaped the danger of death because of Gilbert's influence. He said, moreover, that he heard from Ralph Bidun, canon of Osney,² before many witnesses that he, R(alph), had obtained relief from daily and unendurable pain in both feet and hands by means of some slippers belonging to the Master which were given to him. Many other religious testify to these same facts.

There follow sworn statements about other miracles which were examined by the archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues at the formal enquiry, so that it is not necessary to put them down here. Having described the miracles which they discovered on that occasion, the above-mentioned investigators added this at the end of their letter.

We have selected these cases from the many examples submitted upon oath by reliable and truthful people examined in our presence, and we have put on one side many others which were, and are yet to be, adduced, because there are just too many of them. Spurred on by your mandate, we considered it important to make these events known to your holiness as well as to bring them to the notice of your fellow bishops and to the ears of other churchmen. We have attached our seals to this in the belief that it must sufficiently reveal the grace and fame given to the same Master G(gilbert) by divine favour, and because we ourselves have seen that this man's life was worthy of high praise and remarkable for the souls which he won for God and for the foundation, development, and organization of a holy religious rule.

Moreover, as the Lord prospers your undertakings you will surely take care that His famous candle is not long hidden from henceforth under a bushel, but is put on a candlestick so that it shines the more brightly as it gleams more brilliantly with shining miracles.³ We do not dare to keep silent in future about what we

uiris quam mulieribus prescito sacramento accepimus, de cetero tacere non audemus. Vigeat et ualeat sanctitas uestra in Domino.

Testimonia aliorum

Ego Arcadius, abbas de Barling, huic inquisitioni apud Sempingham | facte interfui et sigillum meum appendi.

Ego Walterus, prior de Chikesand, huic inquisitioni interfui et sigillum meum appendi.

Ego, R(ogerus), prior de Kime, huic inquisitioni similiter interfui.¹

Nos uero omnes, scilicet de Brinna, de Croxtuna,^a de Barlinga abbates, de Kima, de Swinesheued, de Chikesand,^a de Cateleia priores,² in animas nostras iurati, dicimus nos apud Sempingham, .ix. die Ianuarii, uidisse et audisse suprascriptos uiros iuratos protestari coram nobis magnalia Dei per uenerabilis uiri Gilberti merita prouenisse, sicut suprascripta sunt.

[4] *Epistola abbatum ad papam de miraculis*

Reuerentissimo domino et patri Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, de Swinesheued, de Brinna, de Croxtuna, de Barling abbates, de Kima, de Chikesand, de Cateleia priores, salutem et deuotum in omnibus famulatum.

Cum nemo possit ambigere sanctitatem uestram glorie Dei et sancte ecclesie, cui Deo auctore presideatis, profectui et magnifice cente congratulari, cuius gloriam et honorem omni studio queritis, diligitis et amplificatis, dignum duximus serenitati uestre insinuare quantum Deus in finibus nostris hac etate suam extulerit ecclesiam, quantum operatus sit | salutem in medio terre nostre per uirum uenerabilem et Deo dignum magistrum G(gilbertum) de Sempingham, ut cum mirabilia opera Domini ad apostolicam peruenirent^b noticiam, perhenem de cetero sorciantur memoriam, et sancte Romane ecclesie approbata auctoritate indubitata obtineant fidei firmitatem.

Ex mandato itaque uenerabilis patris nostri Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi hec plenius nosse desiderantis accedentes ad

^a ins. et *Od*

Letter 4 *Lc/Od*

^b perueniunt *Lc*

¹ Roger occurs as prior of Kyme (Lincs, Augustinian) in the late 12th c. and 1202 (*Heads*, p. 169).

have heard from so many men and women of high standing speaking upon oath. May your holiness prosper and be strong in the Lord.

The evidence of the others

I, Achardus, abbot of Barlings, was present at this enquiry carried out at Sempingham and have attached my seal.

I, Walter, prior of Chicksands, was present at this enquiry and have attached my seal.

I, R(oger), prior of Kyme, was also present at this enquiry.¹

Thus we all, that is the abbots of Bourne, Croxton, and Barlings and the priors of Kyme, Swineshead, Chicksands, and Catley,² having sworn on our souls, declare that on 9 January at Sempingham we all saw and heard these men declare on oath in our presence that God's miracles as they are described above took place through the merits of the venerable Gilbert.

[4] *Letter from the abbots to the pope concerning miracles*

To our most revered lord and father Innocent, by God's grace supreme pontiff, the abbots of Swineshead, Bourne, Croxton, and Barlings and priors of Kyme, Chicksands, and Catley send greetings and their devoted service in all matters.

No one can doubt that your holiness rejoices in the splendid increase in the glory of God and of His holy Church, over which you preside on His authority, with utter zeal you seek, love, and enlarge the church's honour and glory. We have thought it proper to make known to your serenity how greatly God has exalted His Church in our country in our days, and how great a salvation He has brought to the midst of our land by means of the venerable and godly Master G(gilbert) of Sempingham. Then, when the Lord's wondrous deeds receive the pope's attention, they may in future obtain an everlasting memorial and, sanctioned by the authority of the holy church of Rome, secure the indisputable status of faith.

According to the mandate of our venerable father Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who wished to find out more about these events, we came to the house of Sempingham, and found there

² Presumably, as below, it was the abbot of Swineshead, not the prior, who was the witness. For the abbots and priors see p. 200 and p. 204 n. 1; Achardus or Akartus was abbot of Barlings (Lincs, Premonstratensian), Walter of Chicksands (Beds, Gilbertine), and possibly 'B.' of Catley (*Heads*, pp. 192, 201-2).

domum de Sempringham, inuenimus ibi plures tam uiros quam mulieres *et cetera ut supra*....

In fine sic: hec de multis excipientes quoniam omnia, pre sui numerositate et immensitate, presentibus litteris comprehendere nequeunt, uestram omni supplicatione et deuotione moneamus et exoramus in Domino sanctitatem, ut fratrum ordinis illius quem^b uir ille Deo plenus instituit et fundauit, scriptis et nuntiis omnia fideliter et diligenter exprimentibus fidem adhibeatis, eorumque petitionibus assistatis, que ad laudem Dei omnipotentis et sancte universalis ecclesie decus et utilitatem, necnon et laudabilis ordinis illius qui nouella patris plantatio est, in quo infinite anime salue facte sunt per ipsum, indissolubile firmamentum spectare dinoscuntur. Vt enim nostrum iudicium suggeramus, cum uiro prenominato^c et semper | nominando nichil defuerit de meritis sanctitatis, liquidum est quod sanctorum meritum debitis premiis non sit defraudatus. Vnde, cum tam manifestis indiis eius sanctitudo et beatitudo declaratur, rectum arbitramur ut per gratiam uestram merita eius celebrentur et suffragia petantur in terris, cui per gratiam Dei tanta premia credimus collata in celis.

[5] *Epistola magistri R(ogeri) et capituli ordinis de Sempringham ad dominum papam*

Reuerentissimo domino et patri Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, Rogerus, humilis minister, tam deuotus quam debitus sue sanctitatis seruus, totumque capitulum ordinis de Sempringham, salutem et omnem reuerentiam, uitamque longeuam et felicitatem eternam.

Gloriam Dei et ecclesie decus, pater karissime, sicut prohibere uel imminuere sanctitas uestra nouit esse sacrilegum, sic ea non querere uel augmentare nolle torporis et negligencie filiorum scimus estimare^d delictum. Si enim uoce psalmiste tocies mone-mur afferre Domino gloriam et honorem, afferre gloriam nomini eius, si censura legali^e edicto diuino honorare patrem et matrem iubemur,¹ que culpa est oblatam Deo gloriam subtrahere, quanti reatus paratum^f a Deo parentum honorem non suscipere! Cum ergo

^a *Lc. mg. refers back to p. 200* ^b quem *Winterbottom*; quam *Lc. Od* ^c prenomi-
nato *Lc. Od*; nominato *Lc.*

^d *Litter 5 Lc. Od* ^e *Perhaps estimari (Winterbottom)* ^f *Perhaps inseri et (Winterbottom)*

¹ Ps. 28 (29): 2; Exod. 20: 12.

many persons, both men and women *and so on, as written above [pp. 200–2]*.

At the end: Out of so many we have concentrated on these cases because as a whole they are too numerous and long to be included in our present letter. With humble devotion we ask your holiness and urge you in the Lord's name to give credence to the letters and envoys most carefully describing all these matters, sent by brethren of the Order which that godly man both instituted and founded; and to grant their petitions, which we know redound to the praise of Almighty God, the honour and advantage of Holy Church Universal, and also the unshakable strengthening of this praiseworthy order, which is our Father's new foundation and in which countless souls have been saved by him. We should add that in our judgement this man, whose name we have given before and must constantly repeat, lacked none of the attributes of holiness, and so has obviously not been deprived of the rewards attendant upon his holy merits. Since there are so many clear indications of his holiness and blessedness, we consider it only just that the merits of a man who we believe has received such great rewards in heaven through God's favour should be celebrated and his intercession sought upon earth through yours.

[5] *Letter from Master R(oger) and the chapter of the Order of Sempringham to the pope*

To our most revered lord and father Innocent, by God's grace pope, Roger the humble servant and both devoted and proper slave of his holiness, and the whole chapter of the Order of Sempringham send greetings and all reverence, wishing him a long life and everlasting joy.

Dearest father, just as your holiness knows that it is sacrilege to obstruct or diminish God's glory and the Church's honour, so we know that not wishing to search them out and increase them counts as the sin of laziness and negligence in his children. For if we are told so frequently by the psalmist 'to give unto the Lord glory and honour, give unto the Lord the glory due unto the Lord name',¹ if we are commanded by the judgement of the law and divine decree to honour our father and mother, what a sin it is to detract from the glory offered to God, what an offence not to pay the honour enjoined by God as due to our parents! Therefore,

f. 118^r preceptis diuinis astringimur 'annuntiare inter | gentes gloriam eius, in omnibus populis mirabilia eius',¹ contemptus criminemur si que a Deo manifestata^a sunt nobis, vestre excellentie et aliis pandere negligamus. Glorificauit se ipsum Deus pater, honorificauit matrem nostram, ecclesiam suam, pre oculis nostris per quemdam filium suum patrem nostrum (Gilebertum) de Sempringham, cuius opera mirifica, quia Deum omnium opificem ex quo sunt commendant,^b uos quoque hominum patrem credimus leificatura, iuxta illud: 'filius sapiens leificat patrem';² uenerabilem quoque matrem nostram sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, cui Deo auctore presideatis, non minus reddent iocundam: hec enim pia mater nostra, sicut de filiorum cui semper studet gaudet multiplicatione, ita de eorum magnificentia gloriatur.

Hinc est quod non priuatam gloriam nostram, Deus scit, queritantes, sed Dei et sanctorum gracie aggratulantes, ea que de memorato patre nostro nouimus, que ad laudem Dei sunt, diuino timore et amore ducti, ex consilio magnorum et autenticorum uirorum uestre duximus proponere sanctitati ut, cum ad apostolicam et sancte Romane ecclesie peruenerint notitiam, laus Dei et exultatio ecclesie non modicum inde sumat incrementum. Verum ne prolixitas orationis et dicendi | facultas epistolarem modum excedant si in presenti pagina textus uite ipsius et signorum tam in uita quam post mortem factorum comprehendantur, ea in aliis scriptis, sigillis et testimoniis tam nostris quam aliorum Anglicane ecclesie prelatorum munitis, plenius explicamus, quorum ueritati in uerbo^c Domini et in animam nostram iurati attestamur. Preter illa namque que per eum operatus est Deus miracula, que sunt manifeste sanctitatis inditita, talem nouimus eius a puero conuersionem, ita preter modernam humane uite consuetudinem scimus eum uixisse, quod tota ipsius uita magnum mundo apparuit miraculum. Sed et manifesti labores ipsius, non solum in construendis monasteriis, sed etiam in fundandis et sustentandis pauperum et infirmorum mansionibus, non sine magne admirationis uirtute clarescunt. Sane, si signa queruntur curationum, multa sunt que uidimus, plura que audiuius, et innumera que neglectui tradita ignoramus. Que autem scimus hec testamur, et que nouimus ecce coram Deo et

^a manifestata *Forcille*; manifesta *LeOd*
^c *Perhaps* uerbum (*Winterton*)

^b uel mirificauit s. l. *Le¹*; mirificauit *Od*

¹ Ps. 104 (103): 1-2.

² Prov. 15: 20.

since God's commandments oblige us 'to proclaim his glory among the nations and his wondrous works among all people',¹ we fear to incur the accusation of contempt if we fail to display to your excellency and to other men those works made manifest to ourselves by God. Before our very eyes God our father has brought glory upon Himself and has honoured our mother, His Church, by means of one of His sons, our father, Gilbert of Sempringham. His wonderful works, because they exalt God, maker of all, from whom they come, will, we believe, also bring joy to you as the father of men, according to the saying 'a wise son maketh a glad father';² moreover, these achievements will make our venerable mother the holy Roman church, over which by God's authority you preside, equally joyful, for as our holy mother always looks to and rejoices in the increase of her sons, so she in turn takes pride in their greatness.

God knows, we do not seek glory for ourselves, but we give thanks to the grace of God and His saints. And so, swayed by the fear and love of God and advised by great men of authority, we have decided to lay before your holiness what we have learnt about our same father which tends to God's praise, that when it reaches the attention of the pope and the holy Roman church, God's praise and the rejoicing of His Church may receive from it no small increase. But if we included in our present account the details of his career and the miracles performed both in his lifetime and since his death, our lengthy phrases and fluent speech would overrun a letter's bounds. Thus we describe these matters more fully in other letters and in evidence authenticated by our seals and those of other prelates of the English church. That these are true we confirm with a solemn oath upon the Lord's word and on our soul. For as well as those miracles—clear signs of holiness—which God performed by his means, such was the way of life we know he led from childhood on, so differently (as we know) did he live from the modern custom, that this man's entire life appeared to the world like a great miracle. What is more, his well-known achievements, not only building monasteries but also founding and maintaining houses for the poor and infirm, is famous and a source of great inspiration. If examples of his cures are sought, there are many that we have seen, even more that we have heard about, and countless numbers about which through neglect we know nothing. But what we know we testify to, and behold, we declare before God and

uobis, uniuersorum patre et pastore, quia non mentimur.^a Ad tumham eius ceci uident, claudi ambulat, muti loquuntur, paralytics restaurantur, febricitantes frigescent, ydopici detumescent, surdi audiunt, demoniaci liberantur,¹ et alia morborum genera |

f. 119^r

curantur, que alibi expressa hic non memorantur.

Cum ergo tam sancte uixerit, tot et tantis sanctitatis indiciiis claruerit, quis non auderet sanctum illum estimare, quis non sanctum Dei gaudeat proclamare? Sed quoniam nonnisi per apostolice sedis conuentionem fas est alicuius nomen sanctum predicare, uestrum qui estis lux mundi, sal terre, uicarius Petri immo Christi flagitamus consilium,² petimus assensum, obsecramus in Domino misericordiam, ut ad laudem et profectum fidei tam preclara Domini lucerna erigatur super candelabrum, ut qui ingrediuntur lumen uideant, tam preciosa margarita a lutea gleba sub qua obruitur effodiatur ut possint inde negotiari³ qui sponsi prestolantur aduentum, et memoratum uirum de loco quo iacet humatus erectum in eminentiori condiri et canonizatum sanctorum cathalogo conscribi iubere dignemini, quatinus in diebus uestris, sicut in aliorum retro Romanorum pontificum temporibus, ecclesia Dei qui tantam uobis optulit occasionem sullimetur, honorificetur, debitam gratiam et gloriam consequatur. Nos autem memoriam uestri et dominorum cardinalium faciemus semper in orationibus nostris, nomenque uestrum martirologio nostro insertum die depositionis uestre quotannis in perpetuum celebrabimus, pro spiritus uestri^b commendatione | per omnia facientes sicut pro prelato ordinis nostri defuncto.

Ad hec sanctitati uestre uice nostra insinuanda dilectos fratres nostros presentium baiulos cum hac testificationis nostre pagina ceterisque scriptis et negociis nostris expediendis, ad sedem apostolicam destinamus, uiros quantum expeti sumus fide dignos et probate religionis, quos petimus per clementiam Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli uestra pia paternitas habeat commendatos, eorumque iustis postulationibus, que ad religionis profectum fiunt, grato assensu annuere dignetur.

^a *Something is wrong with this sentence, we give what is clearly the general sense* ^b nostri
Lc

¹ Cf. Matt. 11: 5.

² Cf. Matt. 5: 13-14; St Bernard, *De consideratione*, iv, 7, 23 (*Opera*, iv, 466); pp. 148-9.

³ Cf. Luke 11: 33; Matt. 13: 46.

before you, the father and shepherd of us all, that what we say is true. At this man's tomb the blind see, the lame walk, the dumb speak, the paralysed are restored, the fevered grow cool, the dropsical lose their swelling, the deaf hear, those possessed with devils are set free,¹ and other kinds of illness are cured which, because they are described elsewhere, are not recorded here.

Since he lived such a virtuous life and was distinguished by so many great signs of holiness, who then would dare not reckon him holy, who would not rejoice to proclaim him God's saint? But because it is only lawful to call someone holy with the approval of the Holy See, we beg your advice, you who are 'the light of the world, the salt of the earth', the vicar of Peter or rather of Christ;² we ask your approval, we beg for your mercy in the Lord that, for the glory and advantage of our faith, the Lord's candle which shines so brightly may be lifted 'on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light': that a pearl of such great price³ may be plucked from the muddy field where it lies buried so that those who await the coming of the bridegroom may traffic with it: that you may give orders for this man to be taken from where he lies buried and interred in a more eminent place, and that when he has been canonized you may deign to order him to be entered in the lists of saints. Thus has God offered you so great an opportunity that in your days, just as in those of other previous Roman popes, His Church may be exalted and honoured, securing the grace and glory which rightly belong to it. For our part we shall always remember you and the lords cardinals in our prayers. When we have placed your name in our martyrology, we shall celebrate it on the day of your death every year in perpetuity, and perform all rites for the commendation of your soul as for a deceased prelate of our Order.

To recommend our findings to your holiness on our behalf, we are sending to the Holy See our dearly beloved brethren who carry our letter together with this account of our evidence and other documents and business to be dealt with. These men so far as we have experience of them are trustworthy and of proved religious life, and we ask through the mercy of God and the most blessed Apostles Peter and Paul that you, holy father, may accept their credentials, and may favour with your gracious approval their just requests, which are made for the advancement of the religious life.

[6] *Littere testimoniales H(uberti) archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ad dominum papam Innocentium*¹

Sanctissimo patri ac domino Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, H(ubertus), diuina permissione Cantuariensis ecclesie minister humilis, totius Anglie primas, salutem et debitam patri ac domino in omnibus reuerentiam.

Dum periculose presumat taciturnitas humana suppressere quod dignatur deitas reuelare, dignum credo ut reuelatam hominibus Dei gloriam ad salutem credentium ecclesia faciat manifestam. Sane quanti meriti fuerit uir uenerabilis magister G(ilebertus), primus ordinis de Sempingham institutor et fundator, quantumque per eum fuerit religio propagata, ad uestram, pater, credo notitiam uel saltem audientiam peruenisse. Scio utique ut hiis que de eo uidi et notaui dum uiueret perhibeam testimonium ueritatis, quod sancte conuersationis fuit, quod cultum religionis summo opere propagare studuit, adeo ut incredibilem multitudinem religiosarum feminarum et fratrum ordinis quem instituit reliquerit moriens, cum ante eum nullus ordinis illius, immo nec etiam ordo ipse fuisset inuentus. Scio quoque quod et adhuc floret et mirabiliter propagatur ab eo inchodata et instituta religio, adeo quod meritis ipsius et miraculo hoc censeant omnes adscribendum.

Nec in hoc solum eiusdem sancti uiri merita propalat Deus, sed et in multis et magnis miraculis que per eum, ut pro certo didici, dignatus est operari. Attamen cum rumor miraculorum eius ad me primo peruenisset, nolui statim fidem fame adhibere, sed religiosis et discretis uiris de partibus illis scripsi, scilicet de Bruna, de Swinesheued, de Croxtuna, de Barlinga abbatibus, et de Kyma et de Chikessand et de Cateleia prioribus, ut ipsi ad locum sepulchri eiusdem sancti uiri pariter accedentes diligenter et solliciti, tam per eos qui curati dicebantur quam per eorum testes fideles, de morborum et curationum ueritate, et de opinione eorumdem inquirerent, et cum miraculorum serie tam uobis, pater, quam mihi inquisitam inde rescriberent ueritatem. | Ipsi autem, mandatum meum fideliter executi, in eadem forma mihi super hoc rescripserunt in qua ab eisdem uestre scribitur sanctitati.

Letter 6 *LcOd*

¹ Also in *EEA* iii, no. 608.

[6] *Testimonial letter from H(ubert) archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Innocent*¹

To his most holy father and lord Innocent, by God's grace pope, H(ubert), by divine permission the humble servant of the church of Canterbury, primate of all England, sends greetings and that reverence in all matters due to a father and lord.

Since only at their peril do men venture silently to conceal what God is pleased to disclose, I consider it right that the Church should proclaim God's glory, which has been revealed to men for the salvation of believers. Now I am sure, father, that news has come to your attention, or at least to your hearing, of the great virtues of the holy man Master Gilbert, who first began and founded the Order of Sempingham, and of how greatly the religious life has spread through him. I know assuredly that I must testify truthfully to what I observed about him and observed while he was alive: his conduct was saintly, and he devoted enormous energy to spreading the practice of religion, with the result that when he died he left an amazing number of religious women and brethren in the Order which he began. Before him there had been no one belonging to that Order, or rather the Order itself had not even been established. I know also that the religious rule he founded and organized is still flourishing and spreading so wonderfully that everyone considers it a miracle and attributes it to his merits.

God displays the virtues of this holy man not by this alone, but also by the many great miracles which He has seen fit to perform, to my certain knowledge, by his means. However, when the rumour of his miracles first reached me, I was unwilling to trust common talk straight away, but wrote to religious and discerning men of those parts, namely to the abbots of Bourne, Swineshead, Croxton, and Barlings and the priors of Kyme, Chicksands, and Catley. I instructed them to meet together at the place of this holy man's burial and thoroughly and carefully to inquire into the truth of the illnesses and the cures, and opinion concerning them, both from those who were said to be healed and also from reliable witnesses; I asked them to reply both to you, father, and to me with the facts they had discovered, together with a list of the miracles. These men have faithfully carried out my mandate; they have written to me about this affair in a document identical with that which they have drawn up for your Holiness.

Cum igitur, pater sancte, ad uos pertineat prouideri ne¹ uicerna hec ulterius sub modio abscondatur sed super candelabrum posita luceat omnibus in domo Domini existentibus,² uestre supplico sanctitati quatinus, tot et tantorum religiosorum qui uobis scribunt fidei testimonio comprobato, secundum quod eundem sanctum uirum meruisse et Deo placere noueritis, in negotio illo ad honorem Dei procedatis. Commendo³ autem paternitati uestre presentium latores, G(amelum) et W., fideles et discretos canonicos ordinis de Sempingham, obnixi supplicans quatinus intuitu Dei et nostri eos habere uelit uestra paternitas commendatos. Valeat paternitas uestra in Domino.

[7] *Littere regis testimoniales ad papam*²

Reuerendo domino et patri in Christo I(nnocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, I(ohannes) eadem gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie et Aquitanie, comes Andegauie, salutem et debitam ac deuotam in omnibus reuerentiam.

Ea que uobis dominus Cantuariensis scribit super sanctitate magistri G(ileberti) de Sempingham uera esse credimus, et fama eadem de eo predicat in regno nostro.⁴ Teste me ipso | apud Eboracum .ii. die Martis.⁵

[8] *Epistola archiepiscopi ad episcopos et abbates exhortans eos ad scribendum*

Hubertus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, tocius Anglie primas, uenerabilibus in Christo fratribus W(illelmo) Lundoniensi, E(ustachio) Eliensi,⁶ G(alfrido) Couentrensi, eadem gratia episcopis, et uenerabilibus uiris I(ohanni) Sancti Albani, W(altero) de Waltham et M(artino) de Certeiseia, abbatibus,³ salutem in auctore salutis.

¹ commendo *Lh corr.*; commendando *Lc (and Lh) (cf. p. 334 n. b)*; commendando *Od* Letter 7 *LcOd*
² *Od add.*: Supplicamus igitur paternitati uestre quatinus nuncios fratrum eiusdem ordinis de Sempingham) in his que secundum Deum a uobis postulauerint cum ad uos peruenierint si placeat exaudire et promouere uelitis. Valere.
³ *Od add.*: Similia quoque et ceteri magnates scripserunt domino pape testimonia quorum tenorem huic opusculo longum esset interserere.

Letter 8 *LcOd*

⁴ Eliensi *Brooke*; Eliensis *Lc (def. Od)*

Holy father, it is your duty to see that 'this candle is no longer hidden under a bushel but is placed upon a candlestick to give its light to all that are in the house'.¹ Therefore, when you have tested the evidence submitted to you in good faith by so many distinguished religious, I beg your holiness to act in the affair so as to promote God's honour according to your knowledge of this holy man's deserts and God's will. I also commend to you, father, the bearers of these letters G(amel) and W., who are faithful and prudent canons belonging to the Order of Sempingham, and I earnestly request that for God's sake and our own you may receive them, father, in accordance with our recommendation. Farewell, father, in the Lord.

[7] *Testimonial letter from the king to the pope*²

To his reverend lord and father in Christ I(nnocent), by God's grace pope, J(ohn), by the same grace king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, sends greetings and proper and devout reverence in all things.

We believe that what the archbishop of Canterbury writes to you concerning the holiness of Master Gilbert of Sempingham is true, and it is confirmed by popular opinion about him in our kingdom. Witness myself at York, the second day of March.

[8] *Letter from the archbishop to bishops and abbots urging them to write*

Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, to his venerable brothers in Christ W(illiam) of London, E(ustace) of Ely, G(oeffrey) of Coventry, by the same grace bishops, and to the venerable J(ohn) of St Albans, W(alter) of Waltham, and M(artin) of Chersey, abbots,³ greetings in the author of our salvation.

¹ Luke 11: 33; Matt. 5: 15; etc.

² John's presence at York in early Mar. 1201 is attested by several charters: cf. T. D. Hardy, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, Introduction, *Itinerary of King John* (Record Commission, 1835).

³ William of Sainte-Mere-Eglise, bishop of London 1198/9-1224 (*Fassi*, i. 2); Eustace, bishop of Ely (see p. 170 n. 4); Geoffrey Muschamp, bishop of Coventry 1198-1208; John de Cella, abbot of St Albans 1195-1214; Master Walter of Ghent, abbot of Waltham, 1184-1201 (died 2 May); Master Martin, abbot of Chersey 1197-1226 (*Heads*, pp. 39, 67, 188). This letter is calendared in *EE4* iii, no. 609.

Pro meritis sancti uiri magistri G(ileberti) de Sempingham, quem Deus dignatus est miraculis illustrare apud homines extolendis, domino pape scripsimus in hac forma: Sanctissimo patri et domino I(nnocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, H(ubertus) permissione diuina et *cetera*,^a salutem et *cetera*. Cum periculose pre-sumat taciturnitas humana suppressere et *cetera ut supra*....

Vestram igitur universitatem exoramus quatinus, considerata hac litterarum nostrarum continentia inspectisque religiosorum uirorum scriptis patentibus que uobis super hoc presentium laiores ostendent, in ea forma quam uideritis competere, secundum datam uobis a Deo super hoc intelligentiam, litteras uestras uelitis formare et domino pape per ituros ad eum eosdem nuntios destinare.

[9] *Epistola W(illelmi) Londoniensis episcopi*

Reuerentissimo domino et patri^b I(nnocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, W(illelmus), diuina permissione Londoniensis ecclesie minister, salutem et tam deuotum quam debitum in omnibus obediencie famulatum.

Quoniam ea que Dominus pro dilatanda sui nominis gloria modernis temporibus manifestare dignatus est non sunt digna latere sub modio, sed super candelabrum ponenda,¹ ut lucem ceteris ad augmentum fidei simul et salutis amministrent, licet per se clara satis et gloriosa consistant, oportuum tamen est ut a sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, de qua cetera per orbem terrarum late diffuse fundamentum habent religionis et honestatis, auctoritatem uenerationis accipiant, ut sic a cunctis deuocius et licentius honorentur. Sane quante fuerit uir sanctitatis et innocencie magister G(ilebertus) de Sempingham primus ordinis illius institutor et rector, quantumque tempore suo religionem ordinis illius instituit prouexerit et ampliauerit, ad notitiam sedis Romane iampridem pertinuisse credendum est. Verumptamen quanta miraculorum insignia, sicut a cunctis penes nos publice predicatur, per illius sancti uiri merita, post transitum ipsius frequenter ille qui in sanctis suis semper est mirabilis operatus sit, nec sic euidenter nisi

^a *Le mg. refers back to p. 212*

Letter 9 LcOd ^b domino et patri *Lc*; patri et domino *Lc corr., Od*

¹ Cf. Matt. 5: 15; Luke 11: 33 etc.

Since God has deigned to make him famous for miracles which deserve celebration amongst men, we have written to the lord pope urging the merits of the holy Master Gilbert of Sempingham in this form: To his most holy father and lord I(nnocent), by God's grace pope, Hubert by divine permission *etc.* greetings *etc.* Since only at their peril do men venture silently to conceal *etc. as above*....

When you have thought over the contents of our letter and examined the unsealed letters from the religious about this affair, which the bearers of this document will show you, we beg you all, according to such understanding of this matter as God may have given you, to draw up your own letters, couched in terms you think appropriate, and to send them to the pope by those same messengers who are about to visit him.

[9] *Letter of W(illiam), bishop of London*

To the most revered lord and father I(nnocent), by God's grace pope, W(illiam), by divine permission the servant of the church of London, sends greetings and the devout and proper service of obedience in all matters.

It is wrong that those things which in recent times the Lord has seen fit to reveal for the greater knowledge of His glorious name should be hidden under a bushel; rather they should be placed upon a candlestick,¹ serving to give light to other men to the strengthening both of their faith and of their hope of salvation. Although such manifestations are sufficiently obvious and wonderful in their own right, nevertheless it is appropriate that they be deemed worthy of reverence by the holy Roman church, from whom the other churches spread throughout the world derive the foundation of religion and of their good life. Then all men will accord them greater devotion and authority. Now doubtless it long ago came to the attention of the Roman See that Master Gilbert of Sempingham, the first founder and Master of that Order, was a very holy and upright man; also that during his lifetime he greatly advanced and increased the religious observance of the Order which he founded. However, it is not so easily appreciated, except from the truthful evidence of eminent and religious men, how great are the miraculous signs (that is what everyone here openly proclaims them) which He who through His saints always inspires wonder has often performed through the merits of this holy man

per magnorum et religiosorum uirorum ueridicum testimonium^a eadem constare posse dinoscitur. Vestrum igitur erit, pater reuerende, auditis et pro certo cognitis tot et tantorum uirorum super hac re multiplicatis testimoniis, providere quali | et quanto sit honore dignus in terris, qui ob suorum magnitudinem meritorum habundanter apud Deum honorari creditur in celis.

[10] *Epistola G(alfridi) Couentensis episcopi*

Reuerendo domino et patri sanctissimo (Innocentio), Dei gratia sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici, G(odefredus), diuina permissione Couentensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem et tam deuotam quam debitam reuerentiam.

Inter cetera sullimitatis uestre insignia, que immensa Christi bonitas nobis dignata est exhibere, etiam illud sanctitatis^b uestre titulis non immerito credimus ascribendum, uidelicet quod per merita magistri G(ileberti) de Sempingham, a cuius institutione ordo ille de Sempingham originem sumpsit et fundamentum, crebro et frequenter, ut dicitur, miracula uestris temporibus Deus operatur. Sicut enim ex certa relatione multorum uirorum fide dignorum recepimus, et maxime illorum qui ex parte uenerabilis patris nostri domini Cantuariensis ad inquirendam huius rei ueritatem ad sepulchrum predicti boni uiri missi fuerant, quanta sint apud Deum ipsius merita signorum et uirtutum declarat frequentia. Supplicamus itaque uestre sanctitati deuotissime, quatinus uestra delibaret prouidentia quid super hoc ad honorem Dei et sancte ecclesie fuerit statuendum.

[11] *Epistola I(ohannis) Norwicensis episcopi*¹

f. 123 Reuerendo domino et patri sanctissimo (Innocentio), Dei gratia sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici, I(ohannes), diuina permissione Norwicensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem et tam deuotam quam debitam obedientiam et reuerentiam.

Inter cetera sullimitatis uestre insignia que immensa Christi bonitas nobis dignata est exhibere, etiam illud sanctitatis uestre titulis non immerito credimus ascribendum, uidelicet quod per

^a ueridicum testimonium. *Brooke*: ueridico testimonio. *LcOd* (rightly if we delete per)

Letter to *Lc* (*Od* gives much of the same material, but regards it as the letter of the bishop of Norwich — Letter 11)

^b sanctitatis. *Mynors*: sanctitati. *Lc* (also *Od*: see previous n.)

after his death. Thus, reverend father, when you have heard and verified the substantial evidence on this subject submitted by so many worthy men, it will fall to you to decide what earthly distinction befits a man who, we believe, because of his great merits receives lavish honour before God in heaven.

[10] *Letter of G(eoffrey) bishop of Coventry*

To his revered lord and most holy father (Innocent), by God's grace pope of the holy Roman church, G(eoffrey), by divine permission humble servant of the church of Coventry, sends greetings and both devout and proper reverence.

Among the other signs of your majesty which Christ in His great goodness has seen fit to show us, one which we consider should rightly be added to your holiness's renown is this: that through the merits of Master Gilbert of Sempingham who began the Order of Sempingham, giving it both origin and foundation, in your lifetime God is working miracles time and time again, as it is said. According to what we have heard from the faithful account of many trustworthy men, and especially from those who were sent to this good man's tomb to inquire into the facts of the matter on behalf of our venerable father the archbishop of Canterbury, the frequent occurrence of signs and miracles makes clear that his merits find great favour with God. Thus most devoutly we beg your holiness to consider in your wisdom what decision should be taken about this to further the honour of God and His holy Church.

[11] *Letter of J(ohn) bishop of Norwich*¹

To his revered lord and most holy father (Innocent), by God's grace pope of the holy Roman church, J(ohn), by divine permission humble servant of the church of Norwich, sends greetings, and obedience and reverence both devout and proper.

Among the other signs of your majesty which Christ in His great goodness has seen fit to show us, one which we consider should rightly be added to your holiness's renown is this: that through the

Letter 11 *Lc* (for *Od* see on Letter 10)

¹ John de Grey, bishop of Norwich 1200–14 (*Fasti*, ii. 56).

merita magistri G(ileberti) de Sempringham, a cuius institutione ordo ille de Sempringham originem sumpsit et fundamentum, late in partibus nostris ad honorem sancte ecclesie sancte religionis propagatio^a crescit et augmentatur. Hinc est quod sanctitati vestre duximus supplicandum quatinus nuntios fratrum predicti ordinis de Sempringham in hiis que secundum Deum a vobis postulauerint cum ad vos venerint, si placet, exaudire et promouere velit.

[12] *Epistola G(ileberti) Roffensis episcopi*¹

Reuerentissimo domino et patri in Christo karissimo (Innocentio), Dei gratia sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici, G(ilebertus) diuina miseratione Roffensis ecclesie minister, salutem et tam deuotum quam debitum omnimode subiectionis et obediencie famulatum.

Scio, pater, scio quod in hiis que Dei sunt² delectetur anima uestra, presertim ut in diebus uestris cultus ecclesie sancte crescat et deuotio fidelium augeatur; ea propter, domine, sanctitatem uestram desidero non latere quod in partibus nostris fuit uir quidam nomine Gilebertus, uite quidem sancte, opinionis illese, conuersationis honeste, plurimarum domorum religiosarum fundator egregius que temporibus illius inchoate, de die in diem per gratiam Dei in melius proficiunt et in diuinis obsequiis augmentantur. Nunc autem ipsius merita que gesserat in uita non sinunt defuncti memoriam occulari; sunt etenim ad tumbarum eius, ut publice predicatur, de diuino nutu admiranda miracula, prout de litteris super hoc ad uos missis plenius poteris edoceri. Vnde et ad cumulum ueritatis credite paruitatis mee suffragium ad celsitudinem uestram duxi^b litteratorie transmittendum, ut de tam sancto uerbo et tam manifesto quod sanctitas uestra faciendum decreuerit ordinare dignemini.

Sub eadem forma scripsit abbas de Waltham.

[13] *Littere Bangorensis episcopi*³

Reuerendo domino et patri (Innocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, R(oberus), eiusdem permissione Bangorensis episcopus, salutem et debitam cum omni deuotione subiectionem.

¹ propagatio Foreville; propago Lc (def. Ocl)

Letter 12 Lc

^b duxi Winterton; duxit Lc Letter 13 LcOcl

merits of Master Gilbert of Sempringham who began the Order of Sempringham, giving it both origin and foundation, there has been a great flowering of holy and religious life, which is growing in strength throughout our country to the honour of Holy Church. For this reason we have decided to ask that your holiness may graciously listen to messengers from the brethren of this Order of Sempringham when they come to you, and that you may assist them in those godly requests which they will make of you.

[12] *Letter of G(gilbert) bishop of Rochester*¹

To his most revered lord and dearest father in Christ (Innocent), by God's grace pope of the holy Roman church, G(gilbert), by divine mercy servant of the church of Rochester, sends greetings and the devout and proper service of all submission and obedience.

I am fully aware, father, that your soul delights in the things that are God's² and you are especially concerned that in your lifetime the worship offered by Holy Church should increase and the devotion of the faithful be strengthened. Therefore, my Lord, I desire your holiness to know that there lived in our country a man called Gilbert, who was holy in his manner of living, unblemished in reputation and virtuous in behaviour; he was the distinguished founder of many religious houses, which were begun in his lifetime and are daily by God's grace making great progress and increasing in the service of God. Moreover, the good deeds which he performed while alive do not permit his memory to fade now that he is dead, for according to popular report amazing miracles inspired by God are taking place at his tomb. You will be able to learn more from the letters which have been sent to you about this. On this ground, to add to the body of believed truth, I have thought it right to send your highness my petition in this letter, humbly requesting that on the basis of such holy and indisputable evidence you may give orders for whatever your holiness decides should be done.

The abbot of Waltham has written in the same terms.

[13] *Letter of the bishop of Bangor*³

To the reverend lord and father (Innocent), by God's grace pope, R(oberus), by his same permission bishop of Bangor, sends greetings and proper submission with all devotion.

¹ Gilbert de Glanville, bishop of Rochester (*Faxif.* ii. 76).

³ Robert of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bangor 1197-1212-13.

² Cf. Matt. 22: 21.

Vt felix memorie magistri G(ileberti), quondam prioris de Sempringham, merita ad honorem eius qui in sanctis suis gloriosus est, ad exemplum quoque aliorum in lucem prodeant, et ut ipse

f. 124 condignam meritis in ecclesia Dei uenerationem^a obtineat, excellentie vestre cum aliorum testimonio notificare dignum censui, sicut publica fama predicat et per diuersas Anglie partes notorium habetur, quod ad memoriam ipsius crebro fiunt miracula. Et non solum a populo post ostensa miracula sanctus iudicatur, uerum et dum superstes esset, adeo sancte conuersationis extitit, domibusque religiosis fundandis aliisque piis operibus exercendis tam studiose et efficaciter preter humanas fere vires insudauit, quod adhuc uiuens sanctus Domini habebatur. Intellecta itaque, pater uenerande, huius rei ueritate multorum testimonio, providere uelit sanctitas uestra quatinus is^b quem Deus miraculorum celeritate honorabilem facit inter homines ab hominibus ea qua decet reuerentia honoretur, ut et Domini magnificentia collaudetur in sanctis suis et ipsis in ecclesia Dei honor debitus exhibeatur.^c

[14] *Littere E(ustachii) Eliensis episcopi*

Sanctissimo patri ac domino dilectissimo (Innocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, E(ustachus), diuina miseratione Eliensis ecclesie minister humilis, salutem et omnimode deuotionis obsequium.

Cum spiritus ubi uult spiret et occulta sint Dei iudicia, confidendum est de misericordia eius qui nunquam deest sperantibus in se,¹ quod illi sint ab eo retributionem multiplicem^d recepturi quorum uita et conuersatio perseuerauerit usque in finem apud Deum et homines commendabilis, et honestati religionis exiterit ecclesiastice fructuosa. Vnde quia pro Gileberto de Sempringham, qui dies suos in honestate et in augmentando religionem domus Domini, ut publice creditur, consummauit dignatus est Dominus^e post mortem in miraculis operari, sicut audiuimus et per litteras religiosorum et discretorum uirorum qui melius et plenius quam nos ueritatem inde nouerunt sanctitati uestre nuntiatur, uestre paternitatis providente deuotissime supplicamus quatinus quod

^a ueneratione Lc ^b hiis Lc ^c exhibetur Lc
Letter 14 LcOd ^d dignatus est Dominus Od (the order probably intended by the corrector of Lc); Dominus dignatus est Lc

¹ Cf. John 3: 8; Prov. 30: 5.

In order that the merits of Master Gilbert of happy memory, formerly prior of Sempringham, may be brought to light to honour Him who is glorified through His saints and supply an example for others, and in order that this man may be venerated in God's Church in a way appropriate to his merits, I have judged it meet to inform your excellency, along with the evidence of others, of a matter well known throughout the different regions of England: that frequent miracles are taking place at the tomb of this man. And he is not only considered holy by the people after miracles have been witnessed; even while he was still with us he was so outstandingly holy in his way of life and he laboured so earnestly and strenuously, almost beyond the limits of human strength, founding religious houses and performing other pious works, that whilst still alive he was accounted a saint of the Lord. Thus, venerable father, when you have learned the truth of this matter from the evidence supplied by many men, may your holiness take steps so that he whom God is making worthy of honour amongst men by the fame of his miracles may be accorded all fitting reverence by them; so may the splendour of the Lord be exalted through His saints and due honour be shown them in the Church of God.

[14] *Letter of E(ustace) bishop of Ely*

To his most holy father and dearest lord (Innocent), by God's grace pope, E(ustace), by divine mercy the humble servant of the church of Ely, sends greetings and the service of all devotion.

Since 'the wind bloweth where it listeth' and God's judgements are hidden from us, relying on the mercy of Him Who never fails those who put their trust in Him,¹ we must be confident that those will receive from Him a manifold reward who continue until death in life and behaviour acceptable to God and to men, bearing fruit in the good reputation of the religious life within the Church. According to popular belief Gilbert of Sempringham passed his days in all righteousness, increasing the religious life of the Lord's house. We have heard, and a report is being sent to your holiness in letters from religious and discriminating men who are better and more fully acquainted with the facts of the matter than we, that since his death the Lord has deigned to work miracles on his behalf. For this reason we most respectfully ask, father, that in your wisdom you may take that action over this affair which seems to

uestra discretio uiderit expedire super hoc ad honorem ecclesie et gloriam Dei dignemini providere. Conseruet Dominus uos ecclesie sue sancte per tempora longa.^a

[15] *Epistola Iohannis abbatis Sancti Albani*

Reuerentissimo patri et domino Innocentio, Dei gratia sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici, Iohannes, permissione diuina minister humilis ecclesie sancti Albani, salutem et deuotum totius reuerentie et obediencie famulatum.

Cum immensa bonitas creatoris nulla tempora gratie sue largitate uacua esse permittat, sed in salutem credentium ecclesiam suam nunc ornare miraculis, nunc uelit misericorditer erudire flagellis, iam et uestris dignatur^b temporibus eam copiosa gratie plenitudine preclara sanctorum merita declarando diuinitus illustrare. Iam enim in ecclesia Anglicana per cuiusdam uiri sanctissimi Gileberti nomine merita, qui primus ordinis de Sempingham institutor fuit et rector, miraculorum uirtus et gloria reforescit. Qui quidem uir quante innocentie quanteqque fuit sanctitatis, ad tumbam eius, ut publice predicatur, gloriosissima sanctorum signa locuntur, prout poterit excellentia uestra per litteras super hoc uobis destinatas^c patenter agnoscere. Ego igitur mirabilibus Dei credulus, et uirorum uenerabilium et magnorum qui similiter uobis scribunt exempla secutus, super hac re testimonium coram uobis litteris credidi perhibendum, ut prudentia uestra deliberet qualiter eum honorent homines qui tanta gloria diuinitus honoratur.

Idem mandauerunt de Seley et de Wardon abbates.¹

[16] *Epistola abbatis et conuentus de Kirkstall²*

Reuerentissimo domino suo et patri in Christo dilectissimo Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, deuoti filii sui abbas et conuentus Sancte Marie de Kirkstall, salutem et tam deuotam quam debitam subiectionem et reuerentiam.

Ne preclara Domini lucerna uitio taciurnitatis sub modio obscuritatis diucius lateat,³ paternitatis uestre pietati ea que de

^a *Od addit:* Sub tali et simili forma scripserunt alii episcopi.

Letter 15 *LcOd*

^b dignatur *Wintonholam*; dignata *LcOd*

^c destinatas

nobis *Lc before correction*

Letter 16 *Lc*

¹ Richard abbot of Selby 1195–1214 (*Heads*, pp. 69–70); for Wardon see pp. 170–1.

your discerning mind most likely to enhance the church's honour and the glory of God. May the Lord preserve you over many years for His holy Church.

[15] *Letter of J(ohn) abbot of St Albans*

To his most revered father and lord Innocent, by God's grace pope of the holy Roman church, J(ohn), by divine permission the humble servant of the church of St Albans, sends greetings and the devout service of all reverence and obedience.

Our Creator in His great goodness does not allow any age to be bereft of His generous grace; for the salvation of believers it is His pleasure at one time to adorn His Church with miracles and at another to teach it by the merciful use of His scourge. But now in your lifetime He has seen fit to lighten it in divine fashion with the full abundance of His grace, by asserting the outstanding merits of His saints. For at this present time miracles are flowering once more in the English church in all their strength and beauty, through the merits of a most holy man, named Gilbert, who first founded and ruled the Order of Sempingham. The most wonderful demonstrations of healing at his tomb, which have received public acclaim, testify how guiltless and holy this man's life was; this your excellency may easily ascertain from letters which have been sent to you about the matter. Trusting, therefore, in God's wonders and following the example of the worthy and great men who are writing to you in a similar vein, I judged that I must offer you testimony in a letter. Then in your wisdom you may decide how best men should honour this man so gloriously singled out by God.

The abbots of Selby and Wardon have written in the same terms.¹

[16] *Letter of the abbot and monks of Kirkstall²*

To their most revered lord and dearest father in Christ Innocent, by God's grace pope, his devoted sons the abbot and community of St Mary of Kirkstall send greetings, and submission and reverence both devout and proper.

Lest the Lord's bright candle be longer concealed under the bushel of obscurity by our sinful reticence,³ we have decided to put down for you in this letter what we have heard concerning that

¹ Turginus was abbot of Kirkstall (Yorks, Cistercian) 1192/3–1201/2 (*Heads*, p. 136).

² Cf. Matt. 5: 15; etc.

f. 125^v vere venerabili viro magistro Gileberto, fundatore et institutore ordinis de Sempringham audiuius, presenti scripto significare decreuius. Nouerit siquidem sancta paternitas uestra, sicut a uiris admodum religiosis et ueredicis accepimus, eum tam in uita quam in morte multis et innumerabilibus clariuisse miraculis, ut in claudorum, cecorum et aliarum infirmiarum curatione. Magnam autem religionis propagationem quam, Deo auctore, late per Angliam instituit, quam ex magna parte inspeximus, laudabili ualde religione et uite honestate polleere noueritis indubitanter. Et quoniam singula eiusdem patris et ordinis nec uerbo nec scripto sufficimus explanare, excellentie uestre ea qua possumus deuotione supplicamus quatinus hiis que uenerabiles fratres ordinis de Sempringham uobis de uita predicti et felicis memorie G(ileberti) sub testimonio uirorum proposuerint autentiorum fidem habeatis et eadem incunctanter facere dignemini, quia de Dei misericordia plurimum confidentes certi sumus quod in cathologo sanctorum Dei miseratione et eius efficientibus meritis dignus est canonizari.

Simili modo scripserunt prior et conuentus de Giseburna et magister Columbus, domini pape subdiaconus.¹*

[17] *Littere abbatum de Kyrchestede et de Reusbi?*

f. 126 Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, Th.^b de Kirkestede | et H(u)go de Reuesbi dicti abbates ordinis Cisterciensis, salutem et tam debitam quam deuotam cum omni subiectione reuerentiam.

Quamuis signa que per magistrum G(ilebertum) de Sempringham post ipsius decessum operatus est Dominus, ut multis protestantur, non uiderimus, ex multa tamen confidentia sanctitatis eiusdem prospecta^c dum uiueret, et post mortem circumquaque signis radiantibus lucidius approbata, sed et immensa religionis propagatione per illius, ut credimus, merita cotidie reflorente, confidenter audemus tanti uiri uirtutibus testimonium ueritatis

* Columbus *Le before correction*

Letter 17 *Le*

^b Reading of *Le uncertain* (h. *Lh*)

^c Perhaps perspecta

¹ Roald occurs as prior of Guisborough (Yorks., Augustinian) 1199–1202 (*Heads*, p. 164). Master Columbus occurs as papal subdiacon and proctor for the archbishop of York in cases of 1201 and 1198 × 1204 (Cheney and Cheney, *Innocent III*, nos. 304, 588; cf. Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, pp. 149n., 200n.). He probably made several journeys from Rome to England and was there during the first inquiry into Gilbert's life and miracles in 1201.

truly venerable man Master Gilbert, who founded and instituted the Order of Sempringham. For, holy father, you will know what we have learnt from men of impeccable faith and truthfulness: that this man was famous both in his lifetime and in his death for many, nay countless miracles involving the healing of the lame, the blind, and other infirmities. You will also surely know that the great development in religious observance which, with God's help, he promoted throughout England and which to a large extent we have witnessed, draws its strength from his exemplary and upright religious life. And because we are unable either in speech or in writing to describe every detail concerning our father and his Order, we beg your excellency with all possible sincerity to trust what the venerable brothers of the Order of Sempringham tell you about the life of this Gilbert, of happy memory, on the evidence of reliable men, and to do this without delay. For, relying above all upon the mercy of God, we are sure that through God's pity and his own effective merits he is worthy to be canonized and placed in the list of saints.

The prior and community of Guisborough and Master Columbus,¹ the pope's subdiacon, have written in similar fashion.

[17] *Letter of the abbots of Kirkstede and Revesby?*

To Innocent, pope by God's grace, (Thomas) abbot of Kirkstede and H(u)gh abbot of Revesby, of the Cistercian Order, send greetings and reverence both devout and proper together with complete submission.

We ourselves have not witnessed the miracles which many affirm the Lord has performed by means of Master Gilbert of Sempringham since his death. Nevertheless we derive great assurance from the holiness which was evident while he lived and which since his death has been more clearly established by the radiance of his miracles visible on every hand. Because, moreover, religious observance has spread enormously and in our opinion is flourishing daily through his merits, we are emboldened confidently to offer evidence concerning the truth of this great man's virtues and

¹ The abbot of Kirkstede (Lincs., Cistercian) could have been Richard (occurs from before 1185 to 1199), but was much more probably Thomas (occurs 1202–6: *Heads*, p. 136); the reading of *Le* is far from clear; the abbot of Revesby was Hugh (occurs 1172 to after 1203: *Heads*, p. 140).

perhibere, nostrumque super eo iudicium vestre paternitati suggerere, dignum uidelicet fore maiori de cetero inter homines gloria quem sanctis associatum fides nostra presumit.

Sub eadem forma scripserunt de Bardeneia et de Swineshead abbates et prior et conventus de Bridlingtona.¹

[18] *Littere decani et capituli Lincolnensis ecclesie*

Sanctissimo patri et domino (Innocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, humiles filii sui R(ogerus) decanus et capitulum Lincolnie,² salutem et tam deuotum quam debitum subiectionis et obediencie famulatum.

Scimus, pater sanctissime, quod sanctitatis vestre constantie congaudet universalis ecclesia, que tanti pastoris illustrata exemplo secundum Deum proficit de die in diem; et quia in deuotione fideium et religionis augmento | delectatur anima uestra, ea que

f. 126^v
Deus temporibus uestris ad honorem ecclesie sue operari dignatus est, discretionis uestre dignum duximus notificare. Vidimus utique et nouimus uirum uite uenerabilis magistrum G(ilebertum), ordinis de Sempingham primum fundatorem et institutorem, quantum ad humanum iudicium magne religionis, presbiterum bonum, pudicum, mansuetum et piū. Plura etiam³ construxit monasteria, quedam canonicorum, plura uero feminarum religiosissimarum, que de die in diem proficiunt et incrementum suscipiunt. Audiuimus etiam post pretaxati uiri decessum eius meritis Dominum plura operatum esse miracula. Vestre itaque discretionis erit, secundum potestatem uobis desuper datam, super hoc prout ratio dicauerit et Spiritus Sanctus intinauerit ordinare, ne (quod absit) tanta lucerna sub modio abscondatur, sed super candelabrum posita luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.³ Supplicamus igitur sanctitati uestre ut in cathalago sanctorum eum annumerare et sicut credimus dignum canonizare dignemini gratiose.^b

Letter 18 *LcOd* ^a enim *Od* ^b ne quod ... gratiose *om. Lc*

¹ The abbot of Bardney was either Robert, occurs 1192, or Ralph de Rand, occurs before 1206, deposed 1213/14; Elias, the prior of Bridlington occurs 1200–10 (*Headz*, pp. 27, 154); for Swineshead, see p. 200 n. 1.

² Master Roger of Rolleston was dean of Lincoln c. 1195–1223 (*Fassi*, iii, 10).

³ Cf. Mart. 5: 15; etc.

to submit to you, father, our testimony of him: which is that a man who in our belief has joined the saints will in future deserve greater glory amongst men.

The abbots of Bardney and Swineshead and the prior and community of Bridlington have written in the same terms.

[18] *Letter of the dean and chapter of the church of Lincoln*

To our most holy father and lord (Innocent), by God's grace pope, his humble sons R(oger), dean, and the chapter of Lincoln,² send greetings and the service both devout and proper of submission and obedience.

We know full well, most holy father, that the Universal Church, adorned by the example of so great a pastor, rejoices in your holiness's steadfast character and prospers daily in God's eyes. And because your soul delights in the devotion shown by the faithful and in the increase of religious observance, we think it right to inform your discerning mind of those works which God has designed to perform to the honour of His Church during your lifetime. From the evidence of our own eyes we know that Master Gilbert, that man of venerable life who first founded and organized the Order of Sempingham, was a mighty example of the religious life, as far as mere men may judge, and a good priest, modest, gentle, and pious. In addition he built many monasteries, some for canons but many for the most dedicated women religious; these are flourishing daily and increasing in number. We have also heard that, since the death of this same man, through his merits the Lord has performed many miracles. Thus it will be a matter for your judgement, according to the power bestowed upon you from on high, to act in this affair prompted by reason and guided by the Holy Spirit; to ensure that such a great candle is not hidden under a bushel (God forbid!), but rather is placed upon a candlestick to give light to all who are in the house.³ We ask therefore that your holiness may be pleased to add this man to the list of saints and to canonize him, as we think he deserves.

[19] *Littere A(cardi) abbatis de Barlinga*¹

Reuerendo domino et patri Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, A(cardus) de Barlinga (abbas)^a et eiusdem loci conuentus, salutem et debitam cum omni subiectione reuerentiam.

Auditis signis que per magistrum G(ilbertum) de Sempingham, et in uita et post eius obitum, operatus est Dominus, necnon et multa eiusdem sanctitate perspecta dum uiueret, et immensa religionis propagatione per illius ut credimus merita cotidie reflorente, confidenter audemus tani uiri uirtutibus testimonium perhibere | ueritatis, nostrumque super eo iudicium paternitati uestre suggerere, dignum uidelicet fore maiori de cetero in terris gloria et honore, quem in celis sanctis associatum indubitanter presumimus, ne (quod absit) tanta lucerna sub medio abscondatur, sed potius auctoritate^c uestra super candelabrum posita luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt,² et si excellentie uestre uisum fuerit, tam in letaniis quam in priuatis orationibus locum habeat.

[20] *Littere W(alteri) prioris et conuentus de Kyrkham*³

Sanctissimo domino et patri Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, Walterus humilis prior et conuentus canonicorum de Kirkeham, salutem et omnimodam reuerentiam et obedientiam.

Significamus sanctitati uestre quod magister G(ilbertus) sancte recordationis, dignissimus institutor ordinis de Sempingham et multarum domorum religionis deuotus fundator, sapientia, religione et preclaris uirtutibus in uita sua late clauit, et post obitum suum multis miraculis prefulsit; cuius sanctitati tanto certius testimonium perhibemus quanto uerius, cum uirum uirtutis et sapientie et gratia Dei plenum uidimus et cognouimus, et de miraculis que post obitum eius Deus propter eum operatus est certo relatu satis audiuius. Supplicamus itaque sanctitati uestre ut in catholico logo | sanctorum eum annumerare et, sicut credimus dignum, canonizare dignemini.

Letter 19 *Lc* ^a *Supplied by Brooke* ^b *Perhaps ex (Winterbottom), cf. p. 226*
^c *auctoritate Lh; auctore Lc*
 Letter 20 *Lc*

¹ For Acardus or Akarius see p. 205 n. 2.

² Cf. Matt. 5: 15; etc.

³ This is puzzling, since Andrew seems, on other evidence, to have succeeded Walter

[19] *Letter of A(cardus) abbot of Barlings*¹

To our revered lord and father Innocent, by God's grace pope, A(cardus) of Barlings and the community of this place send greetings and proper reverence with all submission.

We have heard of the miracles which Our Lord has performed by means of Master Gilbert of Sempingham, both during his lifetime and after his death. Because of his great holiness, which was evident while he lived, and the great spread of religious observance which in our opinion is flourishing daily through his merits, we are emboldened confidently to offer evidence concerning the truth of this great man's virtues and to submit to you, father, our testimony of him: which is that a man who we consider has most assuredly joined the saints in heaven will in future deserve greater glory and honour on earth. God forbid that this great candle should be hidden under a bushel; rather, on your authority, may it be placed upon a candlestick to give light to all who are in the house.² And, if your excellency sees fit, may he secure mention both in the litany and in our private devotions.

[20] *Letter of Prior W(alter) and the community of Kyrkham*³

To our most holy lord and father Innocent, by God's grace pope, Walter the humble prior and the community of canons of Kyrkham send greetings and all reverence and obedience.

We inform your holiness that Master Gilbert of holy memory, who was the most worthy originator of the Order of Sempingham and the devout founder of many religious houses, was famous far and wide during his lifetime for wisdom, religious life, and outstanding virtue, and since his death has shone out through many miracles. We offer testimony concerning his holiness all the more confidently because of its truth: we have seen and learnt to our complete satisfaction that he was a virtuous and wise man overflowing with God's grace, and from reliable sources we have heard sufficient information concerning the miracles which God has performed on his account after his death. Thus we ask that your holiness may add him to the list of saints and canonize him as we believe he deserves.

¹ as prior of Kyrkham by 1200 (*Heads*, p. 168); it is just possible that Walter was writing as ex-prior.

[21] *Littere R(ogeri) prioris et conventus de Kyma*¹

Reuerentissimo et karissimo domino Innocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, R(ogerus) prior humilisque conventus canonicorum de Kima, salutem cum debita reuerentia.

Licet prophetam obmutuisse et a bonis quandoque siluisse nouerimus,² impietatis tamen esset negotium si pietatis opera que Dominus per merita uenerabilis uiri G(ileberti) de Sempringham sub oculis nostris operatus est sub silentio deperirent. Excellentie igitur uestre pro certo significamus prefatum uirum uenerabilem G(ilebertum) tam ex propriis redditibus et substantiis que ei de iure cesserant quam etiam nobilium procerum largitione plura construxisse monasteria, in quibus multa floret religio, multasque Deo militantium hactenus accreuit et cotidie accrescit numerus cum propriis meritis, tamen etiam prefati uiri pollens uirtutibus, multas enim uirtutes necdum carne solutus operatus est; qualiter uero uixerit, qualem diuino conspectui se uiuus exhibuerit, miraculorum gloria post ipsius decessum e uestigio declarauit. Que ut succincta breuiate perstringantur, que ipsi uidimus, que etiam a uiris probatissimis accepimus, hec testamur, quia ad eius tumbam ceci uident, claudi ambulanti, ydropici curantur, paralitici redintegrantur, multa morborum genera eliminantur, multi per ipsius merita tam in terra quam in mari opate quietis portui restituntur.³ Et quia nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum,⁴ prefatum uirum uenerabilem dignum gloria arbitramur in terris, quem Dominus radiantibus signis, ut omnes credimus, coronauit in celis.

[22] *Littere G(alfridi) comitis Essexie*⁵

Reuerentissimo patri in Christo et domino Innocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, G(alfridus) filius Petri comes Essexie, salutem et debitum obediencie famulatum.

Ad aures uestras credo peruenisse quante sanctitatis et religionis magister G(ilebertus), qui fundator fuit ordinis de Sempringham et rector exiterit. Crebra namque miracula, ut pro certo

Letter 21 Lc

Letter 22 Lc

¹ See p. 204 n. 1.

² Cf. Matt. II. 5.

³ Cf. Ps. 38. 3 (39. 2).

⁴ Cf. Matt. 5. 15 etc.

⁵ Geoffrey FitzPeter, earl of Essex 1199–1213, chief justiciar 1198–1213.

[21] *Letter of Prior R(ogeri) and the community of Kyme*¹

To our most revered and dearest lord Innocent), by God's grace pope, R(ogeri), prior, and the humble community of canons of Kyme send greetings together with proper reverence.

Although we know that the prophet held his tongue and sometimes kept silence even from good words,² nevertheless it would be scandalous if the pious works which the Lord has performed before our very eyes through the merits of the venerable Gilbert of Sempringham were to perish through our silence. And so we give your excellency our firm assurances that this holy man Gilbert built many monasteries, devoting to this purpose both his own rents and his legally inherited wealth, and also generous contributions from noble men. There is in these houses a great flowering of religious life, and the number of God's warriors has increased greatly up to this present moment and is still growing day by day in proportion to their merits. And yet their strength lies also in Gilbert's virtues, for he performed many pious works before being released from this earthly life. Exactly how well he lived and how he bore himself in the sight of God has been established by the glory of those miracles which followed immediately upon his death. To be brief, we testify to what we ourselves have seen and to what we have heard from men of the highest standing: namely that at his tomb the blind see, the lame walk, the dropical are healed, the paralysed become whole, many types of illness are banished; also through his merits many men both on land and sea reach the haven of peace they so much desire.³ And because no one lights a candle and puts it under a bushel but upon a candlestick,⁴ we consider that this holy man whom we all believe the Lord has crowned with brilliant miracles in heaven is worthy of glory here on earth.

[22] *Letter of G(eoffrey), earl of Essex*⁵

To his most revered father in Christ and lord Innocent), by God's grace pope, G(eoffrey) FitzPeter, earl of Essex, sends greetings and the due service of obedience.

I am sure news has reached you of the great piety and faith shown by Master Gilbert, who founded and ruled the Order of Sempringham. Indeed, according to my certain knowledge and to

didici et fama publica predicat, ad ipsius tumbam ostensa sanctitatem eius et quanta sint eius merita testantur: prout poteritis per litteras uirorum uenerabilium super hoc uobis destinatas^a patenter agnoscere. Vnde paternitati uestre presentium latores G(amelum) et W., canonicos predicti ordinis, commendo,^b devote supplicans quatinus intuitu Dei eos benigne audiatis, et eorum negotium ad honorem Dei et sancte ecclesie promoueatis.

[23] *Rescriptum domini pape ad archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et alios de iterum facienda inquisitione*

f. 128^v Innocentius episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, uenerabilibus fratribus H(uberto) Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et E(ustachio) Eliensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis de Burgo et de Wardona abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.¹

Licet apostolica sedes pastorem in omnibus seruare debeat grauitatem, in hiis tamen que diuini iudicii sunt potius quam humani, tanto cum maiori debet maturitate procedere quanto eisi iudicia Dei semper sunt iusta, eorum tamen cause amplius sunt occulte. Sane multum sumus meritis inequales apostolo, qui sapientie et scientie Dei altitudinem admiratus, 'quam incomprehensibilia sunt' inquit 'iudicia, et inuestigabiles uie eius. Quis enim cognouit sensum Domini aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?'² Vnde cum dilecti filii R(ogerus) prior et conuentus de Sempringham a nobis humiliter postulassent ut sancte recordationis G(ilbertum), qui quondam eorum fuit ordinis institutor, et quem piis operibus floruisse fatentur in uita, certisque tam ante quam post mortem miraculis claruisse, sanctorum ascriberemus cathologo uenerandum, nolimus protinus petitioni eorum annuere, sed et^d de uita et miraculis eius proposuius prius plenius indagare, licet tam karissimi in Christo filii nostri I(ohannis), regis Anglorum illustri, quam uenerabilium fratrum nostrorum Cantuariensis | archiepiscopi et quorundam suffraganeorum ipsius, multorum quoque abbatum et priorum et magnatum prouinite super hiis nobis litteras testimoniales direxissent. Significauit quidem nobis archiepiscopus memoratus quod cum olim fama miraculorum que Dominus ad sepulchrum

^a destinatas uobis *Lc before correction* ^b commendo *Wintrebolom*, commendando *Lc (cf. p. 214 n. d)*

^c Letter 23 *Lc-Od* ^d Eliensi *Foreville*; Eliā *Lc*

^e et om. *Od*

¹ Calendered in Cheney and Cheney, no. 345A.

² Rom. II. 33-4.

the claims of popular report, the frequent miracles displayed at his tomb are witness of his holiness and the richness of his merits. This you may clearly ascertain from letters about the matter which have been sent to you by men who deserve respect. Therefore I commend to you, father, the bearers of this letter G(amel) and W., who are canons of this Order, and I respectfully ask that in God's name you listen favourably to them and advance their business to the honour of God and Holy Church.

[23] *Reply from the pope to the archbishop of Canterbury and others ordering another inquiry*

Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers H(ubert), archbishop of Canterbury, and E(ustace), bishop of Ely, and his beloved sons the abbots of Peterborough and Wardon, greetings and apostolic blessing.¹

Although the Holy See must maintain its pastoral dignity in all matters, nevertheless in those involving divine rather than human judgement it must proceed with all the greater deliberation, since although God's judgements are always just, the reasons for them are better concealed. We are very far from sharing the merits of the apostle who wondered at 'the depth of God's wisdom and knowledge. How unsearchable', he said, 'are His judgements, and His ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?'² It was for this reason that we did not wish to grant their petition immediately, when our dear sons Prior R(oger) and the community of Sempringham humbly asked us to enrol Gilbert of holy memory in the catalogue of saints that he might be held in veneration; this Gilbert was originally the founder of their Order and, according to their account, excelled in pious works during his lifetime and won fame by the well-established miracles he performed both before and after his death. Instead we proposed first to carry out a thorough investigation into this man's life and miracles, even though they had sent us testimonial letters on these points from both our dear son in Christ J(ohn), renowned king of the English, and from our venerable brothers the archbishop of Canterbury and some of his suffragans, and also from many abbots, priors and nobles of the province. The same archbishop told us that when news first reached him of the miracles which Our Lord works repeatedly at that holy man's tomb,

illius sancti uiri frequentius operatur peruenisset ad eum, quibusdam abbatibus et prioribus constitutis in partibus illis scripsit, ut ad sepulchrum eius sancti uiri pariter accedentes tam per eos qui dicebantur fuisse curati quam per testes ydoneos inquirerent de omnibus diligentius ueritatem, et quod inuenirent tam nobis quam ipsi per suas litteras intimarent. Qui tam ab hiis qui curati fuerant quam ab aliis iuramento recepto, multa nobis de miraculis eius per litteras suas expresserunt. Nos autem in tanto iudicio diligentiam curantes omnimodam adhibere discretioni uestre, de qua plene confidimus, per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus quatinus auctoritate nostra suffulti ad locum pariter accedentes triduanum ieiunium toti collegio ipsius ordinis sollempniter indicatis, ut uniuerſi fratres^{f. 129^v} orantes et rogantes ab eo qui est 'uia, ueritas et uita'¹ postulent et implorent aperiri uiam inueniendi super hoc ueritatem ad uitam, ac deinde non solum | per testimonia sed per testes, per famam quoque uulgatam et scripturam auctenticam, de uirtute morum et uirtute signorum, operibus uidelicet et miraculis, certitudinem inquiratis, cunctaque fideliter scribentes sub testimonio sigillorum uestrorum per uiros ydoneos, qui etiam super hiis nobis fidem faciant in presentia nostra iurati, ad sedem apostolicam destinatis, ut per inquisitionem uestram sufficienter instructi ad diuini nominis gloriam et catholice fidei firmanentum securius in ipso negotio procedere ualeamus.

[24] *Littere archiepiscopi et aliorum ad ordinem de die inquisitioni statuto*²

Hubertus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, tocius Anglie primas, E(ustachius) eadem gratia Eliensis episcopus, et abbas de Burgo dilectis sibi in Christo fratri R(ogero) magistro ordinis de Sempringham et toti eiusdem ordinis capitulo, salutem in Domino.

Mandatum domini pape suscepimus ut ad domum de Sempringham pariter accedentes triduanum ieiunium auctoritate suffulti apostolica toti uestri ordinis collegio sollempniter indicamus, quatinus uniuerſi fratres et sorores orantes et rogantes ab eo qui est 'uia, ueritas et uita'¹ postulent et implorent aperiri uiam inueniendi

¹ ins. et sorores *Ord. no doubt rightly*
Letter 24 *LcOd*

² Cf. John 14: 6.

² Calendars in *EEA*, iii, no. 610.

he wrote to certain abbots and priors who hold office in the area instructing them to go together to the holy man's tomb and to find out the truth of all these matters most carefully, both from those who were said to have been cured and from suitable witnesses; they were to relate what they discovered in letters sent both to us and to him. After sworn evidence had been taken both from the people who had been cured and from others, these men gave us in their letters a full description of Gilbert's miracles. Because we are anxious to take every care over a decision of such importance, we are sending you, whose discretion we trust completely, apostolic letters with our instructions: on the strength of our authority, you are to go together to the place and solemnly to declare a three-day fast for the whole community of this Order: that while all the brethren pray and entreat Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life',¹ they shall beg and beseech that the way to discover the living truth in this matter may be revealed. Next you must seek confirmation of his virtuous character and powerful wonders, in other words his deeds and miracles, relying not merely upon statements of evidence but also upon witnesses, popular report, and authentic documents. When you have faithfully written an account of all this and attested it by your seals, you are to send it to the Holy See by suitable messengers, who, after they have taken an oath in our presence, will also submit sworn evidence to us on these points. Then, sufficiently informed by your inquiry, we may be able to proceed more confidently in this affair to the glory of God's name and to the strengthening of the Catholic faith.

[24] *Letter from the archbishop and others to the Order concerning the day appointed for the inquiry*²

Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, E(ustace), by God's grace bishop of Ely, and the abbot of Peterborough to their beloved brother in Christ R(ogert), master of the Order of Sempringham, and the whole chapter of the same Order, greetings in the Lord.

We have received a mandate from the pope to the effect that we are to go together to the house of Sempringham, and on the strength of his apostolic authority solemnly to declare a three-day fast for the whole community of your Order; that while all the brothers and sisters pray and entreat Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life',¹ they shall beg and beseech that the way

f. 130^v super meritis sancte recordationis magistri (Gileberti), institutoris vestri ordinis, veritatem | ac deinde non solum per testimonia sed per testes, per famam quoque vulgatam et scripturam auctenticam, de uirtute morum et uirtute signorum, operibus uidelicet et miraculis, certitudinem inquiramus, cunctaque fideliter conscribentes sub testimonio sigillorum nostrorum per uiros ydoneos, qui fidem etiam super hiis domino pape faciant in presentia eius iurati, ad sedem apostolicam destinemus, ut per inquisitionem nostram sufficienter instructus, ad diuini nominis gloriam et catholice fidei firmentum securius in ipso negotio ab eo possit procedi. Cum igitur prouiderimus quod ad domum uestram de Sempringham proxima quarta feria ante festum sancti Michaelis propter hoc, Domino fauente, pariter accedemus, uobis auctoritate apostolica per duos antecedentes dies, scilicet secundam et tertiam feriam,¹ necnon per ipsam quartam feriam, ut sic triduum compleatur, ieiunium indicimus, ut sic ieiunantes postuleis uiam aperiri super predicti uiri sancti meritis et miraculis ueritatem inueniendi. Mandamus quoque uobis eadem auctoritate et iniungimus quatinus contra eundem terminum uobis de omnibus que necessaria fuerint ad inquisitionem ueritatis, scilicet tam de testibus quam aliis, prouidere curetis, ut cum illic uenerimus expedite^a in negotio procedere ualeamus.

f. 130^v [25] *Littere R(ogeri) prioris et capituli ordinis de Sempringham ad dominum papam commendatiue pro nunciis*

Sanctissimo patri et domino (Innocentio), Dei gratia summo pontifici, R(ogerus) dictus prior ordinis de Sempringham eiusdemque ordinis capitulum, salutem et tam deuotum quam debitum obediencie famulatum.

Ad pedes sanctitatis uestre duos ex canonicis nostris pro urgentissimis negociis nuper destinauimus. Vnde excellentie sanctitatis uestre nec tales nec quantas debemus sed quas sufficimus gratiarum referimus actiones quod ipsos tam benigne suscepistis tamque paterne super negociis nostris pro temporis congruentia exaudistis. Nunc autem pedibus sanctitatis uestre corde et animo prouoluti omni intentione supplicamus quatinus quinque canonicos

^a expedite *Wimberbourn*, expedite *Lc*; expediti (-i after correction) *Od*
Letter 25 *LcOd*

¹ 24-5 Sept. 1201.

may be revealed to discover the truth concerning the merits of Master Gilbert of holy memory, the founder of your Order; and further we are to seek certain confirmation of his virtuous character and powerful wonders, in other words his deeds and miracles, relying not merely upon statements of evidence but also upon witnesses, popular report, and authentic documents; and when we have faithfully written an account of all this and attested it by our seals we are to send it to the Holy See by suitable messengers, who after they have taken an oath in his presence will also submit sworn evidence to the pope on these points. Then, sufficiently informed by our inquiry, he can proceed more confidently in this affair to the glory of God's name and to the strengthening of the Catholic faith. Therefore, since we have arranged to meet for this purpose at your house of Sempringham, God willing, on the Wednesday before the feast of St Michael [26 September] next, acting on papal authority we ask you to fast on the two preceding days (Monday and Tuesday)¹ and also on that Wednesday so that the three days may be made up in this manner; then as you fast you are to pray for a way to be revealed which will uncover the truth about the merits and miracles of this holy man. We also command and instruct you, on the same authority, to take care to have available by this date all that is necessary for an investigation into the facts, both the witnesses themselves and other evidence, so that when we arrive we may proceed to business straight away.

[25] *Letter from Prior R(ogeri) and the chapter of the Order of Sempringham to the pope commending their envoys*

To our most holy father and lord (Innocent), by God's grace pope, R(ogeri), called prior of the Order of Sempringham, and the chapter of the same Order send greetings and the respectful and due service of obedience.

Not long ago we sent two of our canons with matters of the greatest importance to the feet of your holiness; in this connection we return our grateful thanks (in quality and quantity matching our capabilities rather than our obligations) to your excellent holiness for receiving them so kindly and listening to them on our business with such fatherly concern as the time allowed. But now, as we lie prostrate in heart and soul at the feet of your holiness, we earnestly beg you to accept the credentials of our five canons who bear this

nostros presentium baiulos pro negociis nostris ad sedem apostolicam destinatos commendatos habere, tueri atque fouere, et pre omnibus exaudire dignemini. Vt sanctitas uestra ex testimonio paruitatis nostre circa statum ipsorum certior efficiatur, ipsis tamquam uiris sub monastica disciplina penes nos conuersantibus testimonium perhibemus, quod zelum Dei habent, et in agendis et in disponendis negociis sibi commissis fideliter et discrete tamquam Dei timorem habentes se habuerint.

[26] *Rescriptum H(uberti) archiepiscopi et ceterorum ad dominum papam super inquisitione facta*¹

f. 131^r Sanctissimo patri et domino (Innocentio). Dei gratia summo pontifici, H(ubertus), permissione diuina Cantuariensis ecclesie minister humilis, totius Anglie primas, et E(ustachius), eadem gratia Eliensis ecclesie minister, et A(charius) abbas de Burgo,² salutem et obediencie integritatem.

Mandatum sanctitatis uestre nobis et abbati de Warduna directum suscepimus, quo nobis fuit iniunctum ut ad Sempingham pariter accedentes triduannum ieiunium toti collegio ipsius ordinis solemniter indiceremus, ut uniuersi fratres et sorores orantes et rogantes ab eo qui est 'uia, veritas et uita'³ postulent et implorent aperiri uiam inueniendi ueritatem super sanctitate magistri G(ileberti) de Sempingham, ac deinde non solum per testimonia sed per testes, per famam quoque uulgatam et scripturam auctenticam, de uirtute morum et de uirtute signorum, operibus uidelicet et miraculis, certitudinem inquireremus, cunctaque fideliter conscribentes sub testimonio sigillorum nostrorum per uiros idoneos, qui fidem etiam super hiis uobis faciant in presentia uestra iurati, ad sedem apostolicam destinaremus. Quod si non omnes hiis interesse possemus, tres nostrum nichilominus ea exequerentur. Cum autem predictus abbas de Wardona ad generale capitulum Cisterciense⁴ secundum ordinis morem fuisset profectus et ideo predictis exequendis interesse non posset, nos mandatum uestrum¹ prompta uolentes exequi deuotione, apud Sempingham sub ea qua potuit fieri celeritate in propriis personis conuenimus, et triduanum ieiunio secundum formam mandati uestri toti collegio ordinis

¹ Letter 26 *L.Od*

⁴ Cisterciensis *Ld(?)*

¹ Calendered in *EEA*, iii, no. 611.

² See p. 170 n. 4.

³ See p. 236 n. 1.

letter and have been sent to the Holy See on our business; may you protect and encourage them and, above all else, grant them a favourable hearing. In order that our humble witness may inform your holiness about their position, we testify concerning them that they behave in our midst as befits men under monastic discipline, and that they are full of godly zeal, and in performing and transacting the business committed to their charge they have borne themselves honourably and with discretion like God-fearing men.

[26] *Reply from Archbishop H(ubert) and the others to the pope concerning the inquiry which has taken place*¹

To the most holy father and lord (Innocent), by God's grace pope, H(ubert), by divine permission humble servant of the church of Canterbury, primate of all England, and E(ustace), by the same grace servant of the church of Ely, and A(charius), abbot of Peterborough,² send greetings and complete obedience.

We have received your holiness's mandate sent to us and to the abbot of Wardon, in which we were instructed to go together to Sempingham and solemnly to declare a three-day fast for the whole community of this Order; that while all the brethren and sisters prayed and entreated Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life',³ they should beg and beseech that the way might be revealed to discover the truth concerning the holiness of Master Gilbert of Sempingham; and further, we were to seek certain confirmation of his virtuous character and powerful wonders, in other words his deeds and miracles, relying not merely upon statements of evidence but also upon witnesses, popular report, and authentic documents; and when we had faithfully written an account of all this and attested it by our seals we were to send it to the Holy See by suitable messengers, who after they had taken an oath in your presence would also submit sworn evidence to you on these points. If we could not all be present, then at least three of us were to carry out these instructions. But although the abbot of Wardon had set out for the general chapter, according to the custom of the Cistercian Order, and thus could not help fulfil these instructions, as we wished to execute your mandate promptly and reverently we came in person to Sempingham as quickly as possible. When by a solemn pronouncement we had declared and observed the three-day fast for the whole community of the Order

ipsis solemniter indicto et expleto, testes iuratos tam religiosos quam seculares, tam clericos quam laicos, tam viros quam mulieres, super uirtute signorum que per merita ipsius magistri G(gilberti) facta dicuntur diligenter examinauimus. Quorum attestaciones fideliter in scripturam redactas, sub sigillis nostris clausas, uestre paternitati transmittimus.

Licet autem honestas ipsius et conversatio religiosa nobis publice uiderentur innotuisse, uiros tamen religiosos, qui ei multis temporibus familiariter assistere consueuerant, et quos eius secreta conversatio latere non potuit, diligenter requisimus: qui omnes concorditer et constanter testificati sunt quod uita eius sancta fuit et immaculata. Erat enim in abstinentia admirandus, in castitate preclarus, in orationibus peruiigi et deuotus, circa curam gregis sui prouida discretione sollicitus, hortis quibus uacare potuit contemplationi deditus. Sicque in terris positus actionis et contemplationis uices alternabat, ut in scala Iacob angelos nunc ascendentes nunc descendentes imitaretur,¹ cui, quando cum fratribus aut sororibus familiaris fuit collatio, iuxta quod de Samuele legitur, non cecidit de uerbis eius in terram, sed secundum apostoli doctrinam sermo ociosus ex ore eius raro procedebat,² sed qui bonus erat ad edificationem fidei ut daret gratiam audientibus. Licet autem multa uitam eius preclaram reddiderint et commendabilem, hoc tamen precipue eum insigniuit, quod spontaneam eligens pauperatam omnia temporalia sibi a Deo collata sanctionialium quas in unum congregauit et sub regulari disciplina prudenter constituit et uigilanter custodiuit sustentationi deputauit. Cui processu temporis Deus tantam gratiam adauxit quod quatuor canonicas regulares et nouem monasteria sanctionialium construxit:³ in quibus eo tempore quo migravit ad Dominum multos uiros religiosos, mille et quingentas sorores quas adunauerat, Deo iugiter famulantes, preter innumeros antea defunctos, relinquebat. De fama autem uulgata iuxta mandati uestri formam diligenter inquirentes, inuenimus quod sanctitatem uite ipsius et uirtutes signorum fama uicinie plenius attestatur. Inquisitionis igitur a nobis facte seriem et tocus negotii processum uestre paternitati per presentium latores, | qui fidem etiam, ut dicunt, super hiis

f. 132^v

¹ Cf. Gen. 28: 12, cited in a similar context by Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, i. 24; St Bernard, *Epistola* 91 (*Opera*, vii, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochas (Rome, 1974), p. 240); cf. pp. 48-9, 250-1.

² Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 3: 19; Eph. 4: 29.

³ See pp. xxx-xxxi, 54-5, etc.

in accordance with the terms of your mandate, we carefully examined the sworn witnesses—religious as well as secular, clerks as well as layfolk, men as well as women—concerning the power of those miracles which are said to have been performed through the merits of this Master Gilbert. We are sending to you, father, their sworn evidence which has been faithfully copied down and enclosed under our seals.

Although this man's integrity and devout conduct appeared to us to be well known to everyone, nevertheless we questioned carefully the religious who were often more intimately associated with him and from whom his private conduct could not be concealed; all these men have testified unanimously and consistently that his was a holy and chaste life. For his abstinence was wonderful and his chastity exemplary; he was watchful and devout at prayer, scrupulous in looking after his flock carefully and prudently, and, at times which he could set aside, much given to contemplation; thus, while on earth, he filled alternately the active and the contemplative roles, so that he followed the example of the angels upon Jacob's ladder ascending and descending in turn.¹ When he was at ease talking with the brethren or sisters, as we read of Samuel, he 'let none of his words fall to the ground'; following, rather, the apostle's teaching, he rarely spoke anything superfluous but that which, in bestowing grace upon those who heard him, served to strengthen their faith.² But although there were many characteristics which rendered his life remarkable and praiseworthy, this especially marked him out: that in choosing poverty of his own free will, he put aside all the worldly possessions which God had granted him to support the nuns, whom he gathered into a single community, placed wisely under the discipline of a rule and carefully protected. With the passage of time God lavished such grace upon him that he built four houses for regular canons and nine for nuns.³ At the time of his death he left behind him in these establishments in the constant service of God many men in religious orders and 1,500 sisters whom he had brought together, apart from countless others who were already dead. Moreover as we carefully investigated popular report, according to the terms of your mandate, we discovered that opinion in the area fully supports the holiness of this man's life and the power of his miracles. Thus we are sending you, father, an account of the inquiry we have carried out together with a record of all that was done; those who bear this

uobis facere iurati in presentia uestra parati sunt, destinamus, ut quod ad gloriam diuini nominis et honorem sancte ecclesie uobis celitus fuerit inspiratum super negotio preaxato^a sanctitas uestra decernat. Vitam et incolumitatem uestram sibi et ecclesie sue conseruet omnipotens in tempora longiora.

[27] *Rescriptum domini pape ad H(ubertum) Cantuariensem archiepiscopum de canonizatione facta¹*

Innocentius episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum secundum euangelicam ueritatem nemo accendat lucernam et ponat illam sub modio sed super candelabrum, ut omnes qui in domo sunt uideant,² pium pariter et iustum est^b ut quos Deus merito sanctitatis coronat et honorat in celis, nos uenerationis officio laudemus et glorificemus in terris, cum ipse potius laudetur et glorificetur in illis 'qui est laudabilis et gloriosus in sanctis'.³ Pietas enim promissionem habet uite que nunc est et future, dicente Domino per prophetam: 'Dabo uos cunctis populis in laudem, gloriam et honorem', et per se pollicente: 'Fugebunt iusti sicut sol in regno patris eorum'.⁴ Nam ut sue uirtutis potentiam mirabiliter manifestet et nostre salutis causam misericorditer operetur, fideles suos quos semper coronat in celo frequenter etiam honorat in mundo, ad eorum memorias signa faciens et prodigia, per que prauitas confundatur heretica et fides catholica confirmetur. Nos ergo, frater archiepiscopo, quantas possumus eisi non quantas debemus omnipotenti Deo gratiarum referimus actiones, quod in diebus nostris ad confirmationem catholice fidei et confusionem heretice prauitatis euidenter innouat signa et mirabilia potenter immutat,^c faciens eos coruscare miraculis qui fidem catholicam tam corde quam ore necnon et opere tenuerunt. Inter quos beate memorie magister Gilebertus, fundator et institutor ordinis de Sempingham, qui degens olim in mundo magnis meritis

^a preaxato Lc
Letter 27 LcOd ^b est om. Lc ^c An odd word to use here

¹ Also in *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (NMT, 1953), pp. 26-32; calendared in Cheney and Cheney, no. 374; Pothast, no. 1612.

² Cf. Matt. 5: 15; etc.

³ Cf. Dan. 3: 52.

letter are also prepared, they say, to give you firm assurances concerning these matters when they have taken an oath in your presence. Then your holiness may judge in this affair according to the inspiration heaven visits upon you, to the glory of God's name and the honour of His holy Church.

May the Almighty long preserve your life, keeping you safe for Himself and for His Church.

[27] *Reply from the pope to H(ubert), archbishop of Canterbury, about the canonization¹*

Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother the archbishop of Canterbury, greetings and apostolic blessing.

According to the gospel truth 'no one lights a candle and places it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, so that all who are in the house may see'.² Therefore it is a pious practice and a just that we upon earth should praise and glorify by the service of veneration those whom God because of their holiness crowns and honours in heaven, since He 'who is worthy of praise and glorious in His saints',³ is the more effectively praised and glorified in them. For piety holds the promise of life which is now and to come, as our Lord said through the prophet 'I will place you before all people for praise, glory and honour' and as He Himself promised 'the righteous shall shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father'.⁴ In order, then, wonderfully to display the power of His strength and mercifully to work our salvation, He also honours frequently in the world His faithful sons whom He always crowns in heaven, performing miracles and amazing deeds at their tombs by which evil heresy may be routed and the Catholic faith strengthened. Therefore, brother archbishop, we offer grateful thanks to Almighty God, as much as we may although not as much as we ought, that in our day, to strengthen the Catholic faith and confront the evil of heresy, He is clearly renewing His signs and working powerful wonders, so that those who have adhered to the Catholic faith in thought, word, and deed are made radiant by miracles. Among these Master Gilbert of blessed memory, the founder and establisher of the Order of Sempingham, who was famous when he lived formerly in the world for his great virtues,

¹ Cf. Zeph. 3: 20; Matt. 13: 43.

prepollebat, nunc uiuens in celo magnis¹ coruscat miraculis, ut eius sanctitas ueris et certis inditiis comprobetur. Licet enim ad hoc ut aliquis sanctus sit apud Deum in ecclesia triumphante sola sufficiat finalis perseuerantia, teste ueritate que dicit quoniam 'qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit', et iterum: 'Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam uite',² ad hoc tamen ut ipse sanctus apud homines habeatur in ecclesia militante duo sunt necessaria, uirtus morum et uirtus signorum, merita uidelicet | et miracula, ut hec et illa sibi inuicem contesterentur. Non enim aut merita sine miraculis aut miracula sine meritis plene sufficiunt ad perhibendum inter homines testimonium sanctitati, cum interdum angelus Sathane transfiguret se in angelum lucis, et quidam opera sua faciant ut ab hominibus uideantur.³ Sed et magi Pharaonis olim signa fecerunt, et antichristus tandem prodigia operabitur, ut si fieri posset in errorem etiam inducantur electi.⁴ Vnde quandoque testimonium operum est fallax et deceptorium, ut in ypocritis, et miraculorum quoque testimonium interdum fallit et decipit, ut in magis. Verum cum et merita sana precedunt et clara succedunt miracula, certum prebent inditum sanctitatis, ut nos ad ipsius uenerationem inducant quem Deus et meritis precedentibus et miraculis subsequentibus exhibet uenerandum; que duo ex uerbis euangeliste plenius colliguntur, qui de apostolis loquens aiebat: 'Illi profecti predicauerunt ubique Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis.'⁴

Licet ergo iamdudum dilecti filii prior et conuentus de Sempringham postulassent a nobis ut sancte recordationis magistrum Gilbertum, qui quondam fuit eorum ordinis institutor, et quem piis asserunt ante mortem operibus floruisse certisque post mortem coruscare miraculis, sanctorum ascriberemus cathalago uenerandum, nolimus petitioni eorum protinus acquiescere, sed de operibus et signis et miraculis eius indagare uolumus plenius ueritatem, preter id quod karissimus in Christo filius noster, Iohannes, rex Anglorum illustris, cum magnatibus suis, et tu cum tuis suffraganeis, necnon et memorati prior et conuentus de Sempringham cum multis abbatibus et prioribus de uirtute morum

¹ uel multis s.l. *Le¹*; multis *Od*

² Cf. Matt. 10: 22; Rev. 2: 10.

³ Cf. 2 Cor. 11: 14; Matt. 23: 5.

⁴ Cf. Exod. 7: 11-12; oddly echoes Deut. 6: 22, but there referring to God's works.

is radiant with great miracles now that he lives in heaven, so that his sanctity receives true and incontestable proof. For a man to be deemed a saint before God in the Church Triumphant this alone suffices: that he persevere to the end, according to the word of Truth, which states 'that whoever endures to the end shall be saved'; also 'Be faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life'.¹ However for this same man to be deemed a saint before men in the Church Militant two things are necessary: a virtuous life and mighty signs, in other words merits and miracles, so that these two things bear witness one to the other. Neither merits without miracles nor miracles without merits are properly enough to prove sanctity among men, since occasionally an angel of Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, and there are some who perform their deeds in order that they may be seen of men,² even Pharaoh's magicians once performed signs, and in the end Antichrist will work great wonders, so that if it were possible even the elect may be led into error.³ Thus sometimes the evidence provided by deeds is false and misleading, as we see in the case of hypocrites, and the evidence of miracles also sometimes deceives and misleads, as in the case of the magicians. But when sound merits come first and conspicuous miracles follow, they offer indisputable proof of sanctity, and thus they persuade us to revere the man whom God, by reason of both his antecedent merits and succeeding miracles, presents as worthy of our veneration; the two forms of proof are entirely deduced from the words of the evangelist, who said, speaking of the apostles: 'They went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following.'⁴

Therefore, although some while ago our dear sons the prior and community of Sempringham begged us to enter Master Gilbert of holy memory in the catalogue of saints for veneration (he was formerly the founder of their Order and according to their account excelled in pious works before his death and afterwards has become famous for undoubted miracles), we were reluctant to agree immediately to their request; instead we wished to make our own full investigation into the facts surrounding his deeds, signs, and miracles, quite apart from what our dearest son in Christ John, renowned king of the English, together with his nobles and you, your suffragans and the same prior and community of Sempringham and many abbots and priors had faithfully related to us

et uirtute signorum ipsius nobis fideliter intimastis. Quocirca, uolentes in tanto iudicio diligentiam omnimodam adhibere, tibi et uenerabili fratri nostro episcopo Eliensi, ac dilectis filiis de Burgo et de Warduna abbatibus per scripta nostra dedimus in mandatis ut auctoritate nostra suffulti ad locum pariter accedentes toti ipsius ordinis collegio ieiunium indiceretis sollempniter triduanum, ut fratres et sorores postularent et implorarent ab eo qui est uita, ueritas et uita¹ super hoc aperiri uiam inueniendi ueritatem ad uitam,¹ ac deinde non solum per testimonia, sed per testes, per famam quoque uulgatam et scripturam auenticam, de uirtute morum et de uirtute signorum, operibus uidelicet et miraculis, inquireretis certitudinem diligenter, | cunctaque fideliter conscribentes sub testimonio sigillorum uestrorum per uiros idoneos, qui fidem etiam nobis super hiis facerent in presentia nostra iurati, ad sedem apostolicam transmittere curaretis, ut per inquisitionem uestram diligenter instructi ad diuini nominis gloriam et catholice fidei firmitatem securius in ipso negotio procedere ualeremus. Quod si non omnes hiis possetis exequendis adesse, tres ea nichilominus adimplerent.

Qui mandatum nostrum fideliter exequentes, cum quartus propter necessariam causam interesse non posset, tres ex uobis, uidelicet tu, frater archiepiscopus, et memorati episcopus et abbas de Burgo, ad locum pariter accedentes et peragentes uniuersa secundum mandati nostri tenorem, testes iuratos, tam religiosos quam seculares, tam clericos quam laicos, tam uiros quam mulieres, super uirtute signorum que per merita ipsius magistri G(ilberti) dicebantur ostensa, examinare diligenter procurastis, quorum attestaciones fideliter conscribentes sub uestris nobis sigillis transmisistis inclusas, que licet euidentia fuissent et certa, quia tamen tam multa fuerunt et uaria ut non oportuerit ea presentibus litteris annotare;² super honestate uero conuersationis ipsius que | per se publice innotescit, uiros religiosos qui ei multis temporibus familiariter assistere consueuerant et quos eius secreta conuersatio non latebat diligenter requirere studuistis: qui omnes concorditer testificati sunt et constanter quod eius uita immaculata perseuerauit et sancta. Errat enim

² *The writer loses control of this sentence*

¹ Cf. John 14: 6.

concerning this man's virtuous life and mighty signs. For this reason, as we wished to take every care over a case of such importance, we sent to you and to our venerable brother, the bishop of Ely, and to our dear sons the abbots of Peterborough and Warden, a mandate in our letter: on the strength of our authority, you were to come together to the place and solemnly to impose a three-day fast upon the whole community of this same Order, so that the brethren and sisters might beg and implore Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life'¹ to reveal the way to discover the living truth in this affair; you were then to investigate carefully the facts concerning his virtuous life and mighty signs, in other words his deeds and miracles, relying not only upon statements of evidence but also upon witnesses, popular report, and authentic documents; and when you had faithfully recorded all these things under the witness of your seals, you were to see that it was sent to the Holy See by suitable messengers, who, after they had taken an oath in our presence, were also to make depositions to us about these matters. Thus, sufficiently informed by your inquiry, we should be able to take action more confidently in this business, to the glory of God's name and the strengthening of the Catholic faith. But if you could not all be present to perform these instructions, at least three of you should carry them out.

Since for a compelling reason the fourth person could not take part, three of you faithfully executed our mandate, that is you our brother archbishop and the same bishop and abbot of Peterborough; when you came together to the place and had done everything in accordance with the contents of our mandate, you took care meticulously to examine the sworn witnesses—religious as well as secular, clerks as well as laymen, men as well as women—concerning the power of those miracles which were said to have been revealed through the merits of this same Master Gilbert. After you had copied down their sworn depositions carefully you sent them to us closed under your seals; although these constituted reliable evidence, there were so many of them and they were so varied that it would not be right to record them in this letter. About this man's integrity of conduct, which is public knowledge in its own right, you took care to question closely the religious who used to be intimate with him on many occasions as members of his household and from whom his private conduct was not concealed; all these men have testified unanimously and consistently that his life remained chaste and holy to the end. For

admirandus in abstinentia, preclarus in castitate, in oratione deuotus et in uigiliis assuetus, circa curam gregis sui prouida discretionem sollicitus, et horis quibus poterat libenter contemplationi uacabat, ut in terris positus actionis et contemplationis uices mirabiliter alternaret, tanquam in scala Iacob nunc ascendentes nunc descendentes angelos sequeretur, cui quando cum fratribus et sororibus fuit familiaris collatio, iuxta quod de Samuele legitur non cecidit de uerbis eius in terram, sed secundum doctrinam apostoli ociosus sermo de ore eius rarius procedebat, sed qui ad edificationem fidei bonus erat ut daret gratiam audientibus.¹ Quamuis autem multa uitam eius preclaram reddiderint, hoc tamen eum precipue insigniuit, quod, spontaneam eligens paupertatem, omnia temporalia sibi a Deo prestita fratrum et sororum quos sub regulari disciplina prudenter instituit et sollicitè custodiuit necessitatibus deputauit, cui processu temporis tantam Deus adauxit gratiam et uirtutem quod nouem construxit sanctimonialium monasteria et quatuor canonicas regulares, in quibus, eo tempore quo migravit ad Dominum, preter quamplures uiros religiosos, mille et quingente sorores uinebant Deo iugiter famulantes.² Ad maiorem uero cautelam quinque de fratribus ordinis memorati ad nostram presentiam accedentes examinari fecimus sub iuratoria cautione, qui de piis eius operibus et claris miraculis multa nobis concorditer reuulerunt.

Nos ergo de meritis et miraculis eius multis et magnis non solum testimonio sed et testibus certiores effecti, cum iuxta testimonium angeli ad Tobiam 'sacramentum regis abscondere bonum sit, opera uero Dei reuelare et confiteri sit honorificum', ut secundum prophetam 'laudetur Deus in sanctis suis', ipsum beatum Gilbertum catholico sanctorum ascripsimus eiusque memoriam inter sanctos decreuimus celebrandam.³ Quapropter fraternitatem tuam monemus et exhortamur in Domino, per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatinus quod nos sollempniter et caute statimus, tu humiliter et deuote consernes, faciens festiuitatem ipsius per tuam prouinitiam sollempniter celebrari, ut meritis eius et precibus apud misericordissimum iudicem misericordiam consequaris, et cum a fratribus ordinis de Sempringham fueris requisitus corpus confessoris eiusdem cum honore ac reuerentia debita eleuare⁴ procures.

⁴ releuare *Lc*

¹ Cf. Gen. 28: 12 and above p. 242 n. 1; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 3: 19; 1 Tim. 5: 13; Eph. 4: 29.

² See pp. xxvii–xxxiii.

³ Tobias 12: 7; Ps. 150: 1.

his abstinence was wonderful, his chastity exemplary; he was devout at prayer and assiduous in vigils; he was scrupulous in looking after his flock carefully and prudently, and whenever it was possible he devoted himself wholeheartedly to contemplation. Thus while on earth he filled alternately the active and contemplative roles in a wonderful manner, as if he followed the angels upon Jacob's ladder ascending and descending in turn. When he was at ease talking with the brethren and sisters, as we read of Samuel, he let none of his words fall to the ground¹; following, rather, the apostle's teaching, he rarely spoke anything superfluous but that which, in bestowing grace upon those who heard him, served to strengthen their faith.¹ But although there were many characteristics which rendered his life exceptional, this especially marked him out that, in choosing poverty of his own free will, he put aside all the worldly possessions which God had granted him to meet the necessities of the brethren and sisters, whom he wisely placed under the discipline of a rule and carefully protected. With the passage of time God lavished upon him such grace and virtue that he built nine houses for nuns and four for regular canons. By the time he died, apart from a large number of male religious, 1,500 sisters were living in these houses, constant in the service of God.² Then as a further precaution we had questioned under oath five of the brethren of this same Order who came before us, in complete agreement they told us much about his pious deeds and conspicuous miracles.

Thus acting on the information about this man's many great merits and miracles, based on both written and oral evidence—and since, according to the angel's advice to Tobias, 'to conceal a king's trust is good, but to reveal and confess the works of God is honourable', in order that, in the prophet's words, 'God may be praised in his saints'—we have added blessed Gilbert to the catalogue of saints and decreed that he shall be commemorated amongst the saints.³ Therefore we advise you, brother, and urge you in the Lord's name, by the apostolic letter we are sending you, humbly and devoutly to observe our solemn and careful decision, causing this man's festival to be celebrated solemnly throughout your province, so that by his merits and through his intercession you may obtain mercy before our most merciful judge. And when you are so asked by the brethren of the Order of Sempringham, you are to make arrangements to translate this same confessor's body with appropriate respect and reverence.

Collectas autem in commemorationem eius dicendas edidimus, quas in hac pagina duximus subscribendas.¹

Plenam in nobis, eterne saluator, tue virtutis operare medelam, ut qui preclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita ueneramur, ipsius adiuti suffragiis a cunctis animarum nostrarum langoribus liberemur. Qui uiuis *et cetera*.

Accepta tibi sit, Domine, quesumus hec oblatio salutaris, ut sicut beato Gilberto confessori tuo proficiat ad honorem, ita nobis famulis tuis proficiat ad salutem, per Dominum. . . .

Quod a te, Domine, descendit ad nos, ad te, quesumus, a nobis ascendat,² ut intercedente beato Gilberto confessore tuo purificet quos redemit Ihesus Christus, filius tuus, Dominus noster, qui tecum. . . .

Data Anagnie, .iij. kalendas Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno .iiii.

Sub hoc tenore litterarum scripsit dominus papa Galsfrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, eadem que supra retexens, et idem de sollempnitate celebranda et collectis dicendis precipiens, nisi quod de elevatione funeris sacri, quia ad eum non pertinuit, nullum dedit | ei mandatum.

*Ad totum etiam ordinis huius collegium simile scriptum transmisit, filio serico ad perpetuam memoriam appense bulle apostolice insertum.*³

[28] *Littere archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ad ordinem de Sempringham exortatorie ad gratiarum actiones*⁴

Hubertus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, tocius Anglie primas, dilectis in Christo filiis R(ogero), magistro ordinis de Sempringham, et capitulo, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

Benedictus Dominus de cuius munere uenit quod ei a fidelibus suis laudabiliter et digne seruiatur, qui sibi seruire dilectos et electos suos simul hortatur et docet, gratis infundens gratiam seruendi. Seruitus eius totis appetenda uisceribus, totis uiribus amplectenda, regnum decoris acceptura pro munere, diadema

Letter 28 *LoO*

¹ These are reproduced as collect, secret, and postcommunion in the *Missale Gilbertinum*, ed. R. M. Woolley, *Gilbertine Rite*, ii, 26-7 (in *Accepta* . . . reading quesumus Domine *and in* Quod a te . . . *omitting* a nobis); cf. i, 123, 126 (from *Od*). The *Missal* is 13th-c.

² Cf. Cheney and Semple (p. 244 n. 1), p. 32 n. 33.

³ i.e. a solemn 'littere cum serico' 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam' with the bulla or papal seal of lead attached by silk threads (cf. Cheney and Cheney, p. xiv). These two

We have also issued collects to be recited in his commemoration and we have thought it right to add these to this document.¹

Eternal Saviour, may thy full healing power work in us, so that we who revere the great merits of the blessed Gilbert Thy confessor may be assisted by his prayers and relieved of all the ills of our souls. Who liveth *etc.*

Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that this redeeming sacrifice may be acceptable to Thee, so that as it serves to honour blessed Gilbert Thy confessor so it may bring us,² Thy servants, to salvation, through Our Lord. . . .

We beseech Thee, O Lord, may that which descends to us from Thee rise again to Thee from us, so that by the intercession of blessed Gilbert Thy confessor it may purify those redeemed by Jesus Christ, Thy son Our Lord, who with Thee. . . .

Given at Anagni, 30 January, in the fourth year of our pontificate [1202].

The pope wrote a letter to the same effect to Geoffrey archbishop of York, relating the above and giving the same instructions about the rites to be celebrated and the collects to be recited, except that he sent him no mandate about translating the sacred body because this was not his concern.

*He also sent to the whole community of this Order a similar letter with the papal seal attached by silk thread, that it might serve as a perpetual record.*³

[28] *Letter from the archbishop of Canterbury to the Order of Sempringham urging them to give thanks*⁴

Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, to his beloved sons in Christ R(oger), master of the Order of Sempringham, and the chapter, greetings, grace, and blessing.

Blessed be the Lord, whose own gift ensures that He is laudably and worthily served by His faithful believers; who encourages His dear and chosen followers even as He teaches them to serve him, freely pouring upon them the grace of obedience. His service is to be sought with all our hearts, and embraced with all our strength. It will receive the kingdom of glory as its reward and a crown of

lost letters are noted in Cheney and Cheney, nos. 374a and 375; the second also in Pohtast, no. 1611.

⁴ Calendars in *EEA*, iii, no. 612.

speciei de manu Domini pro mercede, sicut ipse Dominus notum facit, qui sanctos suos tota die mificat, pro temporalibus eterna retribuens, et faciens eos in conspectu hominum miraculis choruscare, nomina eorum in eternum uiuere, corpora etiam non solum in pace sed honorifice sepeliri.¹ Hec uobis sub breuitate petrinus penes quos in presentiarum ueritas specialiter eorum elucescit. Beatus quidem G(ilebertus), primus ordinis | uestri institutor, quia uixit innocenter, laudabiliter inter homines conuersatus, digne usque in finem in Dei seruitio perseuerans, in signum et argumentum retributionis quam in celis obtinuit gloriam similiter assecutus est et in terris. Dominus enim papa, de uita ipsius magistri meritis et moribus et conuersatione instructus, necnon et de miraculorum uirtutibus quibus eum Dominus illustrauit, sicut ex tenore mandati apostolici liquet omnibus, ipsum magistrum de consilio fratrum sicut sanctum Domini sanctorum cathologo sollempniter ascribi censuit, sollempnitatem eius celebrari constituit, quod quia in gloriam ipsius uehementer accrescit, misericorditer indulisit et corpus cum honore processu temporis eleuari. Super hoc multipliciter exultauit spiritus noster, quod nostris in diebus acciderit quod nostre sollicitudinis interuentu conuersationis et miraculorum inquisita et inuenta sit ueritas, et Romane sedi super omnibus fides sit facta. Hoc est etiam quod nobis exultationem et iocunditatem inducit, scilicet quod per eum in eiusdem professionis regulam congregati efficacius ad firmitatem eius obseruantiam inuitantur, et ipsius obtentu de cetero penes omnes amplioris reuerentie conscribuntur.² Gratuletur igitur uestra uniuersitas hiis que | uobis a Domino prius et sede

Romane³ posterius indulta sunt, et gratiarum actiones deuotas et uberes pro tantis beneficiis compensate, supplicantes atencius ut inchoata feliciter ipse finiendo perficiat qui se principium et finem omnium nominauit.⁴ Nos autem secundum mandatum domini pape cum fratribus et coepiscopis sollempnitatem denuntiandam sollempniter celebrandam, et cum requisiti fuerimus, preparatis que necessaria fuerint eleuando corpori humiliter insistemus.

¹ *A strangely worded clause*

² *Romana Lc*

³ *Cf. Wisd. 5: 17; Ps. 4: 4 (3).*

⁴ *Cf. Rev. 22: 13.*

honour from the hands of the Lord as its payment. This Our Lord Himself makes known. The whole day He exalts His saints, repaying the temporal with the eternal and causing them to shine with miracles in the sight of men, ensuring that their names live for ever and also that their bodies are buried not only peacefully but with honour.¹ These points we have mentioned briefly to you in whose presence their truth is now especially clear. Blessed G(gilbert), the first founder of your Order, because he lived a guiltless life, winning praise by his conduct amongst men and persevering honourably in God's service to the end, has, as a sign and proof of the reward he has secured in heaven, in like fashion won glory also upon earth. For the pope has been informed about the life of Master Gilbert, his merits, his character and conduct, and the power of the miracles for which Our Lord has rendered him famous. As is clear to all from the contents of the papal mandate, he has decided on the advice of his brethren that this Master should be solemnly added to the catalogue of saints as a saint of the Lord, and has appointed that his festival be observed. Because this redounds greatly to Gilbert's glory, he has also mercifully granted that in the course of time his body may be translated with honour. Our spirit has rejoiced abundantly for this reason: that in our day it has come about, through our careful mediation, that the facts concerning his way of life and his miracles have been examined and established, and that firm assurances have been given to the Roman see on all these points. This also promotes our joy and happiness, that those who were gathered by this man under the rule of this monastic profession are strongly encouraged towards a more rigorous observance of it; and further, because of this man they are accorded greater respect before all. Therefore your whole community must offer thanks for these advantages, granted you in the first place by our Lord and secondly by the Holy See; and you should return sincere and generous expressions of gratitude for such great benefits, asking all the more urgently that, what has been begun in prosperity, He who called Himself the beginning and end of all things may complete at the last.² In accordance with the pope's mandate we, together with our brethren and fellow bishops, have proclaimed that his festival is to be celebrated with all solemnity and, when we have been asked and all necessary preparations have been made, we will humbly undertake the translation of his body.

[29] *Item epistola eiusdem ad suffraganeos suos de sollemnitate sancti Gilberti celebranda*¹

Hubertus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas, dilectis in Christo fratribus episcopis per prouintiam Cantuariensem, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

Dominus papa, sicut ex litteris ipsius manifeste perpenditur, de conuersatione, meritis et moribus beati (Gilberti), magistri ordinis de Sempingham, et miraculis a Deo per eum factis per testes et testimonia sufficienter instructus, de consilio fratrum cardinalium ipsum magistrum cathologo sanctorum decreuit ascribi, sollemnitatem eius constituit, et mandauit per Cantuariensem prouintiam sollemniter celebrari. Insuper et corpus eius cum requisiti fuerimus precepit ad honorem Dei et gloriam eleuari. | Vestra igitur uniuersitas huic mandato cum deuotione congaudeat, et secundum formam in ipso mandato prescriptam predicti confessoris Domini depositionem annuam faciatis cum reuerentia et sollemniter obseruari, ut apud Deum et ab illo uestra debeat et possit deuotio commendari, necnon et ipsius sancti supplex intercessio uobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.

[30] *Littere R(ogeri) decani et capituli Lincolnensis de eodem*²

Rogerus decanus et capitulum Lincolnensis ecclesie, uiris uenerabilibus et amicis in Christo karissimis uniuersis archidiaconis per episcopatum Lincolnensem constitutis eternam in Domino salutem.

Mandatum domini Cantuariensis in hec uerba suscepimus: H(ubertus) Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas, dilectis in Christo fratribus episcopis, et cetera ut supra. Mandamus itaque discretioni uestre quatinus prescriptum mandatum domini Cantuariensis super hoc in archidiaconatibus uestris executioni reuerenter sicut decet demandetis, cui mandato nec resistere possumus sicut nec debemus, presertim cum domini pape auctoritate sit subnixum.^a

Letter 29 *L.Od*
Letter 30 *L.Od* • *Od adds:* Consimili modo scripserunt episcopi, adicientes ut secundum formam prescriptam beati confessoris G. sollemnitatem congruo honore facerent obseruari.

¹ Calendars in *EEA* iii, no. 613.

² See p. 228 n. 2.

[29] *Another letter from the same to his suffragans on celebrating the festival of St Gilbert*¹

Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, to his dear brothers in Christ the bishops throughout the province of Canterbury, greetings, grace and blessing.

As emerges clearly from his letter, the Pope has received from witnesses and written evidence sufficient information about the way of life, the merits, and the character of blessed Gilbert, master of the Order of Sempingham, and about the miracles which God worked through him. On the advice of his brothers the cardinals he has decreed that Master Gilbert should be added to the catalogue of saints, and has established his festival and ordered its solemn celebration throughout the province of Canterbury. And further he has commanded that his body should be translated, for the honour and glory of God, when we are asked to perform it. Therefore you may all with respect rejoice together at this mandate, and in accordance with the terms set out within it you are to see that the death of Our Lord's confessor is observed reverently and solemnly every year. Then your devotion should, and indeed can, win his commendation before God, and also this saint's humble intercession may profit you unto salvation. Farewell.

[30] *Letter of Dean R(oger) and the chapter of Lincoln about the same*²

Roger, dean, and the chapter of the church of Lincoln to those venerable men, and dear friends in Christ, all the archdeacons holding office throughout the bishopric of Lincoln, everlasting salvation in Our Lord.

We have received a mandate from the archbishop of Canterbury in these terms: Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, to his dear brothers in Christ the bishops ... *etc. as above* [no. 29]. Therefore we instruct you of your good judgement reverently and properly to put into execution in your archdeaconries this mandate on the subject sent by the archbishop of Canterbury. We neither may nor should oppose this mandate, particularly as it is supported by the pope's authority.

[31] *Littere I(hann)is Norwicensis episcopi de eodem*¹

I(hannes), Dei gratia Norwicensis episcopus, universis per episcopatum suum constitutis ad quos littere iste pervenerint, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

Mandatum domini Cantuariensis in hec verba suscepimus: H(ubertus) Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas, venerabilibus in Christo fratribus universis episcopis per prouintiam Cantuariensem constitutis, salutem in Domino. Dominus papa, sicut ex litteris eius manifeste perpendi potest, *et cetera*.

Huius itaque auctoritate mandati universitati vestre mandamus, precipientes quatinus secundum formam prescriptam beati confessoris G(ileberti) solemnitatem honore condigno faciatis observari; collectas autem quas in commemoratione eius dicendas summus pontifex edidit et litteris suis inseruit, huic mandato nostro duximus inscribendas, et vobis denuntiavimus in ipsius memoria recolendas. *Collecta*: Plenam in vobis... [cf. p. 252].

[32] *Littere archiepiscopi ad episcopos ut conveniant*²

Sicut alias fraternitati vestre notum fecimus, dominus papa, sufficienter instructus de sanctitate servi Dei G(ileberti), quondam magistri ordinis de Sempingham, et miraculis quibus dinoscitur choruscare, ipsum cathologo sanctorum ascripsit, et dedit nobis insuper in mandatis ut per prouintiam nostram faceremus festiuitatem eius sollempniter celebrari. Nunc autem noueritis quod, cum in eodem mandato fuisset adiectum ut, cum a fratribus predicti ordinis requisiti essemus, corpus eiusdem confessoris studeremus^a cum honore ac reuerentia debita eleuare, ipsi fratres in uigilia sancte Crucis nos super hoc per magistrum suum et maiores ordinis conuenerunt, instantes^b ut die dominica proxima post festum sancti Dionisii³ mandatum apostolicum super eleuatione predicti corporis exequamur. Quia igitur tanti processus negotii sollempnitatem desiderat, vobis hoc denuntiare curauimus,

Letter 31 *Lc*

Letter 32 *LcOd*

^a studemus *Lc*

^b instantes petentes *Od*

¹ See p. 219 n. 1.

² Calendared in *EEA* iii, no. 614. There were probably letters sent to individual bishops, as Professor Cheney notes; cf. 'diocesim uestram' below.

[31] *Letter of J(ohn) bishop of Norwich about the same*¹

J(ohn), by God's grace bishop of Norwich, to all those holding office throughout his bishopric to whom these letters come, greetings, grace, and blessing.

We have received a mandate from the archbishop of Canterbury in these terms: H(ubert), by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, to his venerable brothers in Christ all the bishops holding office throughout the province of Canterbury, greetings in Our Lord. As may be clearly inferred from his letter, the pope *etc.* [no. 29].

Therefore on the authority of this mandate we issue instructions to you all that you cause the blessed confessor Gilbert's festival to be observed with fitting reverence following the terms set out above. We have also thought it right to enter in this our mandate the collects which the pope issued and included in his letter for use in his commemoration, and we urge you to record these in memory of this man. The collect: [Eternal Saviour, may Thy] full [healing power work] in us... [p. 253].

[32] *Letter from the archbishop to the bishops asking them to assemble*²

As we made known to you, brothers, on another occasion, since the Pope has received sufficient information about the holiness of God's servant Gilbert, formerly master of the Order of Sempingham, and the glittering miracles for which he is well known, he has added his name to the catalogue of saints, and further in his mandates asked us to see that his festival is celebrated solemnly throughout our province. Since it was included in this same mandate that we should take care to translate the confessor's body with proper pomp and reverence when we had been so asked by the brethren of this Order, you should also know now that these brethren, represented by their master and senior members of the Order, met us for this purpose on the vigil of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [13 September] and urged that we should carry out the papal mandate on the translation of the same body on the next Sunday following the feast of St Denis [13 October].³ Since a ceremony of such importance requires solemn celebration, we have taken care to report this to you so that,

¹ The dates must be the vigil of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, i.e. 13 Sept. 1202, and the Sunday after St Denis, 13 Oct. 1202.

ut si placet una nobiscum ad diem quem prediximus interitis, et per diocesim uestram^a id puplicari uelit, ut diem eleuationis notum habeant qui uoluerint beati confessoris limina uisitare.

[33] *Littere archidiaconorum¹ ad plebes^b de eodem*

Auctoritate domini Cantuariensis nobis mandamus quatinus die dominica proxima post festum sancti Dionisii ei occurratis,² ut eleuationi corporis beati confessoris Gileberti, quondam magistri de Sempringham, una cum illo interitis. Tantam namque sollemnitatem in absentia uestra, presertim in partibus uestris, celebrari inhonestum est et indecorum. Vos autem, auctoritate domini Cantuariensis et nostra citati, accedere non postponatis, ita quidem ut ille uobis retribuatur qui omnium est retributor bonorum.

[34] *Epistola archiepiscopi de translatione facta et de indulgentia quadragesima iterum³*

f. 139^v
Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes litteras uisuris Hubertus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, | tocius Anglie primas, eternam in Domino salutem.

Dominus papa Innocentius III, audito quod beatus Gilebertus, quondam magister ordinis de Sempringham, sancta conuersatione, morum et operum uirtute preclarus, adhuc in carne positus et carne deposita per gratiam Dei uariis et pluribus miraculis choruscaret, ueritatis inquisitionem sollicitè faciendam nobis et nobiscum aliis per apostolica scripta commisit. Qua facta in sollicitudine qua iniunxit et sollemnitatem qua decuit, sedi apostolice in forma prefixa certitudinem retulimus inquisitionem. Cuius relationis et uerbis statim exquisite ueritatis et prudente ponderatis, et nuntiis insuper examinatis attentus ad cautelam, idem dominus ac summus pontifex noster, superna instructione suppliciter innocata, longaque deliberatione usus, et tractatu protracto cum fratribus, diuino tandem instinctu, de illorum communi consilio et assensu, beatorum confessorum Gilebertum

^a dioeceses uestras *Od*
Letter 33 *LcOd* ^b plebem *Od*
Letter 34 *LcOd*

¹ Of the vacant see of Lincoln.

² See p. 259 n. 3.

³ Calendered in *EEA* iii, no. 615.

if it please you, you may be present with us on the day specified above, and that you may cause this to be announced throughout your diocese, so that those who wish to visit the blessed confessor's shrine may be aware of the day of his translation.

[33] *Letter from the archdeacons¹ to the people concerning the same*

On the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury we command you to meet him on the next Sunday following the feast of St Denis [13 October],² so that you may be present with him at the translation of the body of the blessed confessor Gilbert, formerly master of Sempringham. For it is a shame and disgrace that such a solemn rite should be celebrated without you, especially in your own part of the country. Summoned as you are upon the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury and upon our own, you are to hasten your arrival so that He who is the rewarder of all good deeds may reward you.

[34] *Letter of the archbishop about the translation and an indulgence of forty days³*

To all Christ's faithful people who will see this letter, Hubert, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, everlasting salvation in Our Lord.

When Pope Innocent III heard that blessed Gilbert, formerly Master of the Order of Sempringham—a man well known for his holy way of life and the virtue of his character and deeds—was, during his lifetime and after his death, achieving fame through God's grace for a great variety of glittering miracles, he sent papal letters both to us and to other men ordering a careful inquiry into the facts. After this had been accomplished, with the care that he prescribed and with all proper ceremonial, we sent back to the Holy See the truth we had discovered in the form laid down. When the words of this report had been weighed in the scales of accurate truth and of wisdom, and when as a further precaution the messengers had been carefully interrogated, this same lord, our pope, humbly entreated guidance from on high and engaged in lengthy deliberations and protracted discussion with his brethren. At last, divinely inspired and with their common advice and agreement, he judged that the blessed confessor Gilbert should be

inter sanctos et electos Dei censuit numerandum, cathalogo sanctorum asscripsit, sollempnitatem eius celebrandam indixit, corruptusque ipsius confessoris precepit a nobis ad gloriam diuini nominis fideique catholice firmentum et perpetuum eiusdem sancti titulum eleuari.

f. 140^v Nosque secundi huius mandati susceptis apicibus, pro tenore iniuncto depositionis eius diem sollempnem constitutum observandum.^a Tractuque temporis cum essemus a magistro ordinis et fratribus requisiti, capta et data opportunitate, usque ad Sempingham cum quibusdam coepiscopis nostris in spiritu humilitatis descendimus ad terminum eleuandi corporis publice nuntiatum. Vbi simul in reuerentia debita et ueneratione deuota, cum maioribus ordinis memorati, nonnullis etiam regni principibus, coram cleri et populi multitudine copiosa, .ii. idus Octobris mandatum eleuationis predictae fideliter executi sumus, ad gloriam Dei et sancte matris ecclesie sempiternam.

Quia igitur beati Gileberti confessoris conuersationem nouimus in hac uita, quia fructus operum eius inestimabiles^b cognouimus et alias inauditos, quia gloriam eius in ministerio eleuationis uidimus manifestam, de sanctitate ipsius edocui plenius, quasi qui non possumus dubitare de misericordia Dei, qui gloriatur in sanctis suis, et beati confessoris meritis presumentes, ex potestate nobis indulta misericorditer indulgemus, ut quicumque digne penitens et uere confessus usque ad Sempingham sancti huius limina causa orationis quandocumque uisitaturus accesserit, | de iniuncta penitentia .xl. dies sibi gaudeat relaxatos, necnon et orationum ac beneficiorum Cantuariensis ecclesie participatione perpetua se nouerit gausurum. Facta est autem hec a nobis relaxatio anno dominice incarnationis .M.CC. secundo, die quo corpus eiusdem sancti a nobis est eleuatum, scilicet .iii. idus Octobris, in perpetuum duratura.

EXPLICIT EPISTOLE

^a et seruandum *Lc*

^b inestimabiles *Winterbottom*; inestimabiliter *Lc (def. Od)*

numbered amongst the saints and elect of God; he entered him in the catalogue of saints and established a festival to be celebrated in his honour; and he gave orders that the body of this same confessor should be translated by us to glorify the divine name, to strengthen the Catholic faith, and for his perpetual glory.

When we received the text of this second mandate we accordingly fixed the festival to be observed as the memorial of his death. And when in the course of time we had been so asked by the master and brethren of the Order, we grasped the opportunity we were given and, inspired by humility, went down with some of our fellow bishops to Sempingham on the date publicly announced for the translation of the body. At that place on 13 October, imbued with both proper reverence and devout respect, we, together with the senior members of this Order and also many of the kingdom's leading men, faithfully carried out the order for this translation before a great host of clergy and people, to the eternal glory of God and Holy Mother Church.

We know, therefore, how blessed Gilbert the confessor bore himself in this life; we recognize as beyond price and unprecedented the fruits of his works; we have witnessed his glory made manifest in the office of translation; we are fully convinced of his sanctity, for we cannot doubt the mercy of God, who delights in His saints. For all these reasons, trusting in the merits of the blessed confessor, by the authority which is granted to us we in our mercy issue this indulgence: whoever comes at any time to Sempingham properly penitent and having made true confession, in order to visit this saint's shrine for prayer, may enjoy forty days' remission from the penance imposed; moreover of a certainty he will enjoy a perpetual share in the prayers and benefits of the church of Canterbury. This remission was granted by us in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1202, on the day when this saint's body was translated by us, namely 13 October, and is to endure for ever.

HERE END THE LETTERS