



RVDOLFVS HIESTAND, ANGLIA PONTIFICIA

REGESTA  
PONTIFICVM ROMANORVM

IVBENTE ACADEMIA GOTTINGENSI

CONGERENDA CVRAVIT

NICOLAVS HERBERS

ANGLIA PONTIFICIA

SVBSIDIA

VOL. I

COLLECTIONES EPISTOLARVM

PARS I-III

LANFRANCI CANTVARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI  
S. ANSEMI CANTVARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI  
GILEBERTI FOLIOT GLOECESTRIAE ABBATIS ET  
HEREFORDENSIS, DEIN LONDONIENSIS EPISCOPI  
EPISTOLAE

AVCTORIBVS

RVDOLFO HIESTAND  
ET  
STEPHANO HIRSCHMANN

GOTTINGAE

IN AEDIBVS VANDENHOECK ET RVPRECHT

MMXI

RVDOLFVS HIESTAND, ANGLIA PONTIFICIA

# ANGLIA PONTIFICIA

SIVE

REPERTORIVM PRIVILEGIORVM ET LITTERARVM  
A ROMANIS PONTIFICIBVS ANTE ANNVM MCLXXXVIII

ANGLIAE

ECCLESIIIS MONASTERIIS CIVITATIBVS SINGVLISQVE PERSONIS  
CONCESSORVM

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## Praefatio

Angliam, quae hic primum in voluminibus Regestorum Pontificum Romanorum tractatur, iam a. 1896 Paulus Fridolinus Kehr in sua oratione inaugurali de proposito omnia documenta papalia usque ad a. 1198 arte diplomatica pertractandi inter regiones Occidentis, ubi archiva et bibliothecae adhuc perscrutanda essent, specialiter enumeravit. Sed demum a. 1928 Walterus Holtzmann ex tali investigatione volumen praeparatorium sub titulo ‚Papstkunden in England‘ in lucem prodidit, quod a. 1935 et a. 1952 alia duo ab eo elaborata secuta sunt. Deinde per decennia et eius apographa et innumerosae scidae primum Romae, deinde Bonnae, nunc Gottingae in decem magnis caxeis asservata pertractationem in regestorum volumina desiderabant. Hunc laborem a. 1981 Iohannes Eberhardus Hilpert collega iuvenis Pataviensis magnae spei multo studio sibi assumpsit, sed paucos post annos inexorabili infirmitati fataliter succubuit. Nunc Iulia Barrow Anglica Nottinghamensis licet officiorum mole gravata opus imperfectum resumpsit et una cum collegis Anglicis ad finem perducere intendit.

Propositum nostrum non est Angliae Pontificiae ipsae praecurrere, sed multo modestius quasi abaculum afferre, qui autem eodem tempore rem quandam generalem attingit. In volumina Regestorum Pontificum Romanorum praeparando collectiones epistolarum praebent quaestiones peculiare, quia litterae et notitiae de commercio cum curia Romana in eis sparsae saepe necessitudines inter auctorem, cuius nomen collectioni inest, et sedem apostolicam transcendunt. Non raro enim alias quoque operis partes attingunt, sicut etiam in epistolis, quae pontificem Romanum nec auctorem nec destinatarium habent, aliquando de necessitudinibus auctoris vel aliarum personarum cum sede apostolica refertur. Non praetereundum quoque est, quod multae collectiones cum litteras complectuntur, quas auctor sub nomine alterius conscripsit, tum litteras aliorum, quas ipse ad transmittendum vel saltem cognoscendum tantum suscepit. Qua ex ratione collectiones epistolarum a singulis singulas iterum et iterum multo cum labore sed parvo interdum profectu ex novo perscrutari opus est. Quis e. gr. suffraganeos provinciae Treverensis tractando pro Romaricensi abbacia (Remiremont, D. Toul) ultro umquam epistolas Lanfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi perlegeret, ubi tamen unicum testimonium de mora Leonis IX papae a. 1049 et de consecratione ecclesiae Romaricensis ab eo peracta incurrit (cf. infra Lanfranci reg. n. \*1)? Quis porro pro provincia Magdeburgensi et episcopis Numburgo-Cicensibus epistulas Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi quaereret, ubi episcopus Walramnus certe aliquot ambigue ad a. 1105 ‚consecrarius‘ cardinalium R. E. appellatur (cf. Anselmi reg. n. \*110)?

In conventu Gottingae a. 1996 pro centenario operis q. v. Regesta Pontificum Romanorum habito ideo discutiebatur, utrum ob numerum conspicuum collectio-

num epistularum tam e saeculis primis ecclesiae quam saeculo XII confectarum studia singula eisdem dedita convenirentur, ne tempus et res ulterius dissiparentur. Cum paulo post his deliberationibus resumptis occasio se praebat exemplum unius collectionis afferendo omnes notitias ibi reperiendas de necessitudinibus cum curia Romana ad ultimam usque erui, Angliam elegimus, quia collectionibus epistularum saec. XI et XII abundat: Lanfranci et Anselmi Cantuariensium, Iohannis Saresberien-sis et Gileberti Foliot, tandem Epistularum Cantuariensium et Petri Blesensis aliorum-que. Ad quaestiones quoad rationem et formam talis operis investigandas maxime idonea collectio Anselmiana nobis visa est tam pro mole neque maiore neque minore quam pro fama ipsius Anselmi.

Assumpsit hunc laborem a. 1998/99 magno cum fervore Stephanus Hirschmann Dusseldorpensis tunc auxiliaris Seminarii historici Dusseldorpensis, deinde ip-sius Pius-Stiftung. Post regesta Anselmiana diligenter ac perspicaciter primo quodam impetu conscripta ipse collectionem Gilebertianam litterarum chartarumque aggres-sus est, antequam ad alium officium transiret. Quae iam confecta erant, Rudolfus Hie-stand limando, quae adhuc deerant, supplendo cum regestis Lanfrancianis auxit, deinde toto reviso tribus partibus Kristina Dille Dusseldorpensi adiuvante registra addidit.

Ex ratione huius voluminis, quod nonnisi subsidium quoddam ad Angliam Pontificiam investigandam esse vult, in eo nec ampliora commentaria de personis lo-cisque laudatis vel de rebus gestis nec elenchum operum copiosiorum lector benignus requirat, cum nostri non sit Angliam Pontificiam ipsam ne quidem in regestis Lan-francianis, Anselmianis, Gilebertianis anticipare, sed ut dictum est ex tribus collectio-nibus epistularum omnes necessitudines cum curia Romana eruere, illas quoque quae praeter Angliam Italiam, Galliam, Germaniam, Scandinaviam Pontificias attinent, ne in illis elaborandis forte omittantur.

Quoad regesta componenda et typographiam adhibendam volumina Regesto-rum Pontificum Romanorum sequimur. Eo modo singulis regestis in prima linea nu-merus continuus et si constat locus et data antecedit, regestum proprium res iuridicas vel enarrationem quidam historicam rerum gestarum reddit. Deinde textuum traditio vel originalis vel copiae, editio ipsa, quae hic adhibetur, pro litteris ex cancellaria pon-tificali insuper si existunt editio Migniana et volumina Holtzmanniana sequuntur, ul-timo loco regesta Jafféana. Ad chartas episcoporum ecclesiae Anglicanae series nova q. v. English Episcopal Acta laudatur. Editionibus vero aliis et elencho integro fontium praetermissis, praecipue in regestis de causa Thomae Becket, eorum investigationem accuratorem Angliae Pontificiae relinquimus. Quae non aegre ferat Julia Barrow, cu-ius petitionem ad ampliora studia regestis addenda, licet suo iure acceptam, nimii la-boris et temporis impensandorum causa non exaudivimus.

Tam regesta quam commentaria sermone latino, introductiones vero ad usum lectorum sermone anglico compositae sunt.

Officium nobis ultimum et valde iocundum est gratias agere pro consilio et au-xilio multifarie praestito, Juliae sc. Barrow Nottinghamensi et Kristinae Dille Dussel-dorpensi iam laudatis, Erico quoque Niblaeo Erlangensi, qui introductiones in

linguam anglicam convertere adiuvit, Waldemaro Könighaus Gottingensi, qui textum praelo instruxit, praecipue autem Nicolao Herbers Erlangensi nunc secretario Regestorum Pontificum Romanorum, qui nobis multos annos patienter adstitit et textum perspicaciter revisum Academiae Gottingensis arbitrio ad typis exscribendum rettulit.

Dusseldorphae m. martio a. D. MMXI

Rudolfus Hiestand  
Stephanus Hirschmann





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## Abbreviations

DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, Paris, 1912sq.
GallP III/1	Gallia Pontificia, vol. III/1: Archiepiscopatus Viennensis, ed. B. Schilling, Göttingen, 2003.
IP	Kehr, P. F., Italia Pontificia, 10 vols. Berolini-Turici, 1906–1975.
JE., JL.	Jaffé, Ph., Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 2nd edn., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885–1888.
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, 9 vols. and Register, München-Zürich, 1980–1988.
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed., 10 vols., Freiburg etc., 1993–2001.
Migne, PL.	Migne, J.-B., Patrologia Latina, 221 vols. Paris, 1844–1864.
Poth.	Pothast, A., Regesta Pontificum Romanorum 1198–1304, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874–1875.



RVDOLFVS HIESTAND, ANGLIA PONTIFICIA

PARS I

**LANFRANCI  
CANTVARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI  
EPISTOLAE**

CONGESSIT

**RVDOLFVS HIESTAND**





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(see also General Bibliography)

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## Introduction

The elevation of Lanfranc to the see of Canterbury in 1070 marks the beginning, in a stricter sense, of the relationship between the English church and the reform papacy.<sup>1</sup> Lanfranc was born in Pavia in around 1010. After a period spent as a wandering teacher in Burgundy and in the Loire Valley he ended up in Normandy, and entered the abbey of Le Bec-Hellouin, where he became prior in 1045. In 1063 he was appointed abbot of St Étienne in Caen. William the Conqueror, the founder of the abbey, was behind the appointment, and after the conquest of England it was he who promoted the elevation of Lanfranc to the archiepiscopal see at Canterbury in order to replace Archbishop Stigand, who had been appointed in the reign of Edward the Confessor. William wanted to have a confidant at the head of the English church, who could help him make it a support of his new regime. To avoid canonical difficulties, the king nevertheless waited for the arrival of papal legates, who were to remove Stigand from office, based on the uncanonical circumstances of his appointment. This eventually took place, at a synod in 1070. But Lanfranc was still reluctant to take up office in Canterbury: on this side of the Channel he saw himself as an alien, because of his Continental background – a *novus Anglus* and *rerum Anglicarum inscius*, as he complained to the pope in 1071<sup>2</sup> – and had much rather teach in a monastic cell than be responsible for a great community like the church of a whole kingdom. Finally, however, he complied with the pressure from Pope Alexander II and his legates Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and Cardinal Subdeacon Hubert, and was installed in Canterbury in 1070. For nineteen years he was at the head of the English church, until his death in 1089.

His early resistance and later complaints about his own inadequacy notwithstanding, Lanfranc led the English church in close cooperation with William the Conqueror, and later with his son and successor on the English throne, William Rufus. He did this in the spirit of the early, pre-gregorian reform movement, in sharp opposition to simony and to the appointment of sons of the clergy to clerical office (a widespread practice in the English church at the time), although he took a cautious attitude to the

- 
- 1 We have deliberately refrained from extensive bibliographical references here. For Lanfranc, see above all the relevant articles in LThK<sup>3</sup> VI 636 and LexMA V 1684–86 as well as the comprehensive studies by Margaret T. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978) and H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc. Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003); on the history of the English church at the time, see for example Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154* (London, 1979).
  - 2 *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, edited and translated by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979), Ep. 2, p. 36f. ‚Ep.‘ refers in the following to the numeration of the edition, whereas the *regesta* below are designated by numbers only.

question of lay investiture. His archiepiscopate would, from the point of view of a subsequent generation of rulers – William II as well as Henry I – be seen as a golden era of cooperation between Church and King, often recalled by the royal party in the time of Lanfranc's successor Anselm, when the investiture question and the requirement for churchmen to swear homage led to bitter conflict.

Perhaps already in the last years of Lanfranc's life – at the latest soon after his death – a collection of his letters was compiled, presumably by his familiars in Canterbury. It was intended to show both his pastoral and his political activities as archbishop. We do not know if Lanfranc was, in one way or another, involved in the gathering of the collection himself, but the compiler had at his disposal a large number of texts left by the archbishop. Despite of what the rubric of the two most important manuscript witnesses says – „Letters of the honourable Archbishop Lanfranc, sent by him to various people“ (a few copies have, instead, „on various matters“) – the collection contains not only letters by Lanfranc, but also letters from others, and letters addressed to him. It does not, however, include any charters, donations, or records of legal disputes. There is thus no overlap with the first volume of the *English Episcopal Acta* dedicated to Canterbury in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

The 1979 edition of the letters, prepared by Helen Clover, with an introduction, translation, and notes by Margaret Gibson, is the basis for the *regesta* below.<sup>4</sup> It includes 61 texts, two of which are not letters proper. More precisely, these are: first, a kind of memorandum or account, addressed to the pope, of the conflict about the English primacy between Canterbury and York (Ep. 3 = 25), second, the protocol from a synod in London in 1075, at which the fundamental requirements of ecclesiastical reform, in the stage it had reached by this time, before the clash between Gregory VII and Henry IV, were declared to be compulsory in all parts of Britain (Ep. 11).

Of the remaining 59 items, five are not by Lanfranc. In three, he is the recipient: first, a reply by the Roman archdeacon Hildebrand (Ep. 6 = 22) to an earlier letter from Lanfranc, not included in the collection; second, a letter from Pope Gregory VII with a kind of election announcement (Ep. 8 = 24); and third, a letter from Archbishop Thomas of York to Lanfranc (Ep. 12). Furthermore, there are two letters where Lanfranc appears as neither sender or recipient: a letter from Pope Alexander to King William I from October 1071 (Ep. 7 = 14) and a letter from King William I to Pope Gregory VII (Ep. 39 = 29) in reply to a letter from the pope not included in the collection. Both of these letters had doubtless been brought officially to Lanfranc's attention, and thereby found their way into the Canterbury archives, unless Lanfranc had been instructed by the senders to pass the letters on to the addressees, for in terms of content, they can be connected to other texts preserved in the compilation: for in-

3 English Episcopal Acta 28: Canterbury 1070–1136, ed. M. Brett-Joseph A. Griston (Oxford, 2004).

4 See note 2. In contrast to the edition of the letters of Gilbert Foliot (cf. below, Part III), no charters etc., surviving in other contexts, have been included here.

stance, Lanfranc announced to the pope William's letter in a parallel missive of his own (Ep. 38 = 28).

All letters are from Lanfranc's archiepiscopate, none from his time as prior of Bec or as abbot in Caen. The intended structure of the collection is not entirely clear, but it was not arranged chronologically: instead, it seems to represent at least an attempt at a thematic order. In fact, it provides – with the aforementioned instances as exceptions – a kind of ‚mirror for bishops‘, meant to demonstrate the pastoral and church-political activities of an archbishop of Canterbury. It begins, accordingly, with the contacts with the papacy (Ep. 1–8); for the purposes of the *Anglia Pontificia*, this section – Lanfranc's correspondence with Alexander II and Gregory VII (*resp.* Archdeacon Hildebrand before his election to the papacy) – is the most significant part of the collection.

Two letters addressed to Irish kings follow (Ep. 9 and 10), and thereafter the protocol from the Council of London in 1075 (Ep. 11). The canons passed at the council applied to the whole of Britain, as shown by the presence of the signatures of both Lanfranc and his colleague Thomas of York; they also brought, for the time, the solution to the conflict about the primacy over the English church, and the following letter from Archbishop Thomas, addressed to Lanfranc as *summus totius Britanniae pastor*, further demonstrates his and Canterbury's precedence over York (Ep. 12). This, in turn, is followed by a letter from Lanfranc to the bishops of Worcester and Chester, who had to make their way to York, in order to ensure that the imminent consecration of a bishop for the Orkney islands take place in the presence of at least three bishops, as demanded by canon law (Ep. 13). Again, this referred to the primacy of Canterbury, and was part of an effort to thwart expansive ambitions by Denmark and Norway – and, in turn, the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen – in the North-Atlantic isles. Thereafter follow four letters to Archbishop John of Rouen in Normandy, which demonstrate that Lanfranc was a leading figure also in the Continental part of the Anglo-Norman kingdom (Ep. 14–17).

For our purposes, we do not need to look closer into the contents of the rest of the collection. However, the subsequent series of letters of pastoral or canonical nature is twice interrupted: first by a correspondence with Gregory VII from 1079/80 (Ep. 38–39); and second, by a communication with the anti-papal party from the time of the severe crisis of the Gregorian reform papacy in 1084 (Ep. 52).<sup>5</sup> Both cases deserve more detailed attention. The first deals with Gregory's demand that the Peter's pence which had previously been denied to the papacy should be paid again, and that King William should – as had been customary in older times, the letter declared – do homage to the pope. Whereas the papacy's financial demands were supported by Lanfranc, and also recognised by the king, William was strongly opposed to the swearing

5 The dating (25 June 1080–25 May 1085) in the edition is unsustainable: Lanfranc's mention of *tanta victoria* refers not to the appointment of Clement III in 1080, but to the conquest of Rome in 1084 and the imperial coronation of Henry IV, as is proven by the reference to the Salian as *imperator*. Cf. below, commentary to Reg. 32.

of homage: he had never promised to do so himself, and none of his predecessors had ever been subjected to such an oath.

The second case, a correspondence with Cardinal Hugo Candidus in the years 1084/5, which probably re-established earlier, unattested contacts, also belongs in the general church-political development. It seems that Lanfranc first turned to the cardinal (\*33), presumably known to him from his journeys to Rome, for more detailed information about the situation of the Roman church. The cardinal, who had joined the party of the antipope Wibert, then tried to persuade Lanfranc to follow (\*34). Lanfranc could not deny that Henry IV's conquest of Rome and the subsequent imperial coronation had made a great impression on the contemporaries. Certainly, this could not have occurred *sine iudicio Dei*, he wrote to Hugo Candidus in his reply. However, from his point of view, it still remained uncertain which side of the conflict was the just one. The high praise for Clement III and the sharp tone reserved for Gregory VII in Hugo's letter displeased him, and he did not wish to commit himself to advising England and the king to take any particular side yet. That this letter, which shows that the archbishop was by no means an unwavering supporter of Gregorian reform and policies, was included, indicates that the collection was compiled before rather than after 1095. Conversely, the non-inclusion of Lanfranc's first letter to Hugo Candidus (\*33) would seem to have been deliberate: presumably it was deemed afterwards too sympathetic to the antipapal party, whereas Lanfranc's answer to Hugo, which actually was included, could only be interpreted as displaying obvious reserve, indeed distance, on Lanfranc's part, even if it left his incertitude in the open.

A few remarks will follow concerning the letters which concern Lanfranc's direct contacts with the papacy.<sup>6</sup> Ten of the 61 letters fall unambiguously into this category: two of them have the pope as the sender, the one Alexander II (Ep. 7 = 14), the other Gregory VII (Ep. 8 = 24); and one was sent by Archdeacon Hildebrand in the last years of the pontificate of Alexander II (Ep. 6 = 22). Of the remaining seven letters, five were addressed to the pope in person: three to Alexander II (Ep. 2 = 10; Ep. 4 = 19; and Ep. 1 = 23), two to Gregory VII (Ep. 38 = 28; and Ep. 29 = 39); and two to members of the curia:<sup>7</sup> one to Archdeacon Hildebrand (Ep. 5 = 20) and one to Cardinal Hugo Candidus as a representative of the party of Wibert/Clement III (Ep. 52 = 35). In two letters, as noted above, Lanfranc is neither the sender nor the addressee: a letter from Alexander II addressed to King William I (Ep. 7 = 14) and, conversely, a letter from William the Conqueror which has Pope Gregory VII as the recipient (Ep. 39 = 29). Three further items in the epistolary collection contain references to contacts with the curia, although they were not in themselves sent to or from there: a letter of Lanfranc's to Archbishop Manasses of Reims (Ep. 25), a letter to Bishop Stigand of Chichester (Ep. 29), and above all the aforementioned long account of the

6 In the following both the numbers of the letters as edited by Clover and Gibson and the numbers of the *regesta* below will be referred to.

7 This designation is used here for the sake of convenience, even if, as is well known, one can only speak of a curia proper from the pontificate of Urban II onwards.

question of the Canterbury primacy, which perhaps served as an appendix to a lost letter addressed to Alexander II or Gregory VII (Ep. 3 = 25).

It is, thus, immediately clear that the collection does not include all the letters sent from Lanfranc to the pope or the curia. Indeed, there are several cases where earlier or contemporaneous letters which have not survived, are referred to explicitly: the compiler was selective in his inclusion of letters, particularly of those from the papacy to Lanfranc, because his intention was to provide a general picture of the achievements of Lanfranc, not a specific account of the relationship between Lanfranc, Canterbury, or England, and the papacy. There is also clear evidence for groups of letters which have not survived complete, such as \*30, \*31, and \*32, dealing with a conflict over property in the archdiocese of Reims; and \*33, \*34, and 35, the correspondence with Hugo Candidus.

In total, 26 lost documents, *deperdita*, can be perceived in the ten curial and three associated letters mentioned above, resulting for the purposes of the *Anglia Pontificia* in 36 *regesta* altogether. The letters which take a broader approach to explaining a particular situation, and refer to a wider time span, are particularly likely to yield further entries. Among them, Lanfranc's account, to Alexander II, of the beginnings of his archiepiscopate stands out (Ep. 1 = 23), with six *deperdita* (\*2, \*3, \*4, \*5, \*8, and \*13). Three more are mentioned in the long memorandum concerning the question of Canterbury's primacy (Ep. 4 = 19) and again in a letter to the pope (Ep. 3 = 25), *i. e.* the bestowal of the pallium upon Lanfranc (\*15) and the conflict about the primacy between Canterbury and York (\*16, \*17). These negotiations were also mentioned in the letter where Lanfranc recounted the resolution of the conflict to the pope (Ep. 4 = 19). The letter from Alexander II to King William (Ep. 7 = 14) contains further evidence for the legation of Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion (\*7), as well as references to lost mandates from Alexander II to Lanfranc delegating to him the conflict between York and Dorchester (\*11), and on the conferment of the papal *vices* upon Lanfranc (\*12). Finally, two *deperdita* can be perceived in the surviving letter from Lanfranc to Alexander II from the summer of 1071 (Ep. 2 = 10), one which refers to the legates Ermenfrid and Hubert (\*6), and the other to an earlier, lost letter from Lanfranc to Alexander II (\*9).

At least twice we find quite remarkable pieces of information mentioned only incidentally. At the end of the letter about the question of the primacy over Britain (Ep. 4 = 19), as a postscript, the pope entreats of Lanfranc to send a copy of a treatise written in the time of his abbacy in Caen, addressed to Berengar of Tours, which dealt with Berengar's heretical teachings on the Eucharist question, a text which, it seems, could not be found in Rome (\*18). And Lanfranc's letter to the pope which opens the medieval collection, from the winter of 1072/73 (Ep. 1 = 23), reveals a request from Alexander II, dating from 1071, that the archbishop should, in the following winter (that is, in 1072), return to the curia, with the interesting offer that the pope would pay for a three-month stay or longer out of his own resources (*nostris stipendiis*) (\*13).

Even if, as mentioned, all letters are from Lanfranc's time as archbishop of Canterbury, there is also some evidence of earlier contacts with the papacy in his years at

Bec and Caen. The earliest instance comes from a letter to Archbishop John of Rouen, about the question which vestments must be worn by a bishop at the consecration of a church. Lanfranc justifies his own opinion, that the bishop should put on the cassock only immediately before celebrating mass, by recalling the consecration of the church at Remiremont in 1049 by Pope Leo IX, at which he had been present personally. He thus had the highest authority on his side of the controversy (\*1). Similarly, with relevance to the years before 1070, we learn from the long opening letter (Ep. 1 = 23) that Lanfranc, first in Bec, and later in Caen, had received relatives of the pope, who had come to Normandy bearing papal messages, and had educated them in both worldly and ecclesiastical knowledge (\*2 and \*4).

Looking at the chronological distribution, one of the 36 *regesta* below belongs to the time of Leo IX (\*1), 22 to the time of Alexander II (\*2–23), and six to the time of Gregory VII (24–29). Three concern contacts with the party of antipope Wibert/Clement III (\*33–35), and three could be from either the time of Alexander II or the time of Gregory VII (\*30–\*32). Finally, one cannot be dated with any precision, and could belong to the pontificate of Alexander II, Gregory VII, or Victor III (\*36), but none can be assigned with certainty to the final four years of Anselm's pontificate, that is after the death of Gregory VII.

Considering the geographical range of the correspondence, there is – apart from the instances mentioned above – only one letter, to Archbishop Manasses of Reims, which points to contacts beyond Rome and the Anglo-Norman realm, Britain itself and Normandy. It concerns the property of a vassal of the church of Canterbury and of King William I in the archdiocese of Reims (Ep. 25), that had been seized by a certain band of ‚robbers‘. Again, just incidentally, we learn that the victim had appealed to the curia and that the pope now demanded that Lanfranc and Manasses intervene and punish the evil-doers in question (\*30–\*32).

Finally, a few words about the arrangement of the *regesta*. Chronologically they follow the principles of Jaffé's *regesta*. The indices include persons and places mentioned in the *regesta*, they give a list of the incipits of those texts which have survived in full in the letter collection, and a concordance with Jaffé/Löwenfeld and the three volumes of papal bulls from England edited by Walther Holtzmann. The commentary is mainly restricted to questions about the chronological arrangement and to the identification of mentioned prelates, with citations from major reference works, such as *Gallia Christiana*, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, *The Handbook of British Chronology* and Knowles's *The Heads of Religious Houses*. More detailed discussions will be found in the future *Anglia Pontificia*.

Rudolf Hiestand



## Regesta

\*1

Remiremont 1049 nov. 14

Leo IX dedicat ecclesiam s. Petri Romaricensis (*Remiremont, D. Toul*) in praesentia Lanfranci prioris Beccensis.

*Laud. in Lanfranci ep. 14 Iohanni archiepiscopo Rotomagensi a. 1070–1077 directa, ed. Clover-Gibson p. 83. – Reg. JL. – .*

Praesentia Lanfranci a se ipso commemoratur disserens de indumentis episcopalibus in dedicatione ecclesiarum adhibendis (l. c. p. 84); cf. etiam G. Durand *L'Église St-Pierre des Dames de Remiremont I* (Épinal 1929) 66sq. De itinere Lanfranci a. 1049/1050 et eius praesentia dubia in concilio Remensi a. 1049 oct. cf. Cowdrey *Lanfranc p. 38–42*. – De Romaricensi abbatia cf. Cottineau II 2442sq.; Jean Bridot *Chartes de l'abbaye de Remiremont des origines à 1231* (Turnhout <sup>2</sup>1997); Michel Parisse (éd.), *Remiremont: l'abbaye et la ville* (Nancy 1980).

\*2

(1061–1063)

Alexander II quosdam consanguineos suos et alios scripta apostolica deferentes in Normanniam mittit, ubi in abbatia Beccensi (*Le Bec-Hellouin, D. Rouen*) suscipiuntur a Lanfranco priore, qui eos tam in sacris quam in saecularibus litteris erudit.

*Laud. in n. 23. – Reg. JL. – .*

De abbatia Becensi cf. DHGE VII 325–335; Cottineau I 316–319. – De quodam nepote Alexandri II, quem Lanfranco commendavit cf. JL. 4668, ed. Migne, PL. 146, c. 1353; Cowdrey *Lanfranc p. 20 et 22*, qui forte de Anselmo II episcopo Luccensi (1073/74–1086) agi putat, Cowdrey p. 22 et adn. 56.

\*3

(1063–1070)

Alexander II quosdam consanguineos suos et alios scripta apostolica deferentes in Normanniam mittit, ubi in abbatia s. Stephani Cadomensis (*St-Étienne de Caen, D. Bayeux*) suscipiuntur a Lanfranco abbate, qui eos tam in sacris quam in saecularibus litteris erudit.

*Laud. in n. 23. – Reg. JL. – .*

De abbatia s. Stephani Cadomensis cf. Gallia Christiana XI 420–429; Cottineau I 550–553. – De his discipulis Lanfranci cf. ut adn. ad n. \*2.

\*4

(1069–1070)

Alexander II Hermenfredum episcopum Sedunensem (*Sion/Sitten*) et Hubertum cardinalem S. R. E. legatos suos in Normanniam mittit.

*Laud. in n. 23. – Reg. JL. – .*