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978-1-108-04297-0 - Giraldi Cambrensis Opera: Vita S. Remigii, et Vita S. Hugonis: Volume 7

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

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Giraldi Cambrensis Opera

Despite a frustrated ecclesiastical career – his ongoing failure to secure the See of St David's embittered him – Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales, Gerald de Barry, c.1146–1220/23) composed many remarkable literary works, initially while employed as a royal clerk for Henry II and, subsequently, in semi-retirement in Lincoln. Eight volumes of his works were compiled as part of the Rolls Series of British medieval material. Volume 7, edited by clergyman and historian James F. Dimock (1810–76) and published in 1877, contains Giraldus' lives of Saint Remigius, the first Bishop of Lincoln, and his later successor Saint Hugh, a contemporary of Giraldus himself. The Latin text, in Giraldus' vigorous and anecdotal style, gives a vivid picture of the ecclesiastical world of medieval Britain and its historical background, while the English editorial preface illuminates nineteenth-century interest in the period.

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VOLUME 7:

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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P R E F A C E .  
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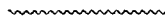
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P R E F A C E.



§ 1. MANUSCRIPT OF THE LINCOLN TREATISES.

IN this seventh and last volume of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, are contained his two Lincoln treatises, the Life of St. Remigius with its additions, and the Life of St. Hugh of Burgundy; the latter of which appears now for the first time in print.

MS. of the Lincoln Treatises; No. 425, one manuscript only; viz. MS. 425 in C.C.C. Cambridge. These treatises are preserved to us in the library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, a small 8vo. volume of vellum. They occupy about the first half of the volume; and are in double columns, in a hand of the early part of the thirteenth century,—written, it would seem, and added to in the margin or otherwise, at different times, but always, it would seem, by the same hand. They have little ornamentation, but the hand is a beautifully clear and legible one, and remarkably free from scribal blunders. An editor, generally, will find himself often at fault, and think himself unhappy, if he has but one manuscript of an old writer before him: but in the case of these Lincoln treatises, I doubt whether any number of manuscripts, however early and good, would have enabled me to give a much more correct text than is here supplied by this one manuscript. Of all the early manuscripts of Giraldus's different works which I have had to study, this C.C.C. 425 seems to me to have the best claim to be looked upon, if not as his own autograph copy, yet as

written and revised and added to under his own eye. At any rate it was, in all likelihood, written before Giraldus's death; it certainly gives us a most correct text; and the text, probably, of Giraldus's last revision.

In the case of the Life of Remigius, however, we have to regret that this manuscript gives us the second edition only, as presented to archbishop Langton in 1213 or 1214, and that we have no copy of the first edition, issued some fifteen years before, during the life-time of St. Hugh.

Infra,
p. xiii.

Bound up with these Lincoln treatises, and occupying the latter half of the volume, are letters of Peter of Blois,¹ seventy-eight in number, in a hand of the middle or latter part of the fourteenth century.

§ 2. LIFE OF ST. REMIGIUS; ITS TWO EDITIONS, ETC.

The first of the treatises of Giraldus in this volume he sometimes calls the "Vita," sometimes the "Legenda" of St. Remigius. In his *De libris a se scriptis*, he calls it "Vita S. Remigii;" and so again, in his *Catalogus brevior librorum suorum*. In the *De Jure*, &c., he calls this Life, and the Life of St. Hugh, "Legendæ de duobus episcopis Lincolnensibus." In the dedication to archbishop Langton of the two treatises, he calls them "Vitæ." The Life of Remigius is called "Vita S. Remigii," in the preface to the first edition; but "Legenda beati Remigii," in the heading of the table of chapters of the second edition as in this volume, which heading, however, was probably in the first edition also.

Vol. i. 416.

Ibid. 421.

Vol. iii.
373.

Infra, 3,
&c.

Infra, 8.

Infra, 9.

This a second edition. For it is quite clear, from internal evidence, that the Life of Remigius of this volume, as given us by the one C. C. C. manuscript,

¹ These are not included in the Blois's Letters, in Mr. Hardy's catalogue list of manuscripts of Peter of

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is a second edition of this treatise, altered and added to, but perhaps very smally, before Giraldus presented it, in union with the Life of St. Hugh, to archbishop Langton. Thus, for instance, the conclusion of what he tells us

The first edition written in Hugh's lifetime. about St. Hugh in this treatise was written during Hugh's lifetime, and therefore before the autumn of 1200 ;

for, after extolling Hugh's excellencies, Giraldus places him, next to St. Remigius, as deservedly the most eminent amongst the, as yet, bishops of Lincoln, if the end shall agree with the beginning ; and hopes that so laudable a beginning may have a happy end, in a closer and closer access to Christ as the end draws nearer. So again, at the beginning of the *De episcopis Anglice tergeminis*, which occupies the three last chapters of this Life of Remigius, he says that he has now described in order the prelates of Lincoln, without omitting one. This must have been written before the accession of Hugh's successor, William de Blois, in 1203. In the after face to archbishop Langton, he speaks of having described all the bishops before Hugh de Wells, except only the last bishop, William de Blois. *Infra*, 42.

There can be little doubt, I think, but that the first edition of this treatise was written during Giraldus's three years residence at Lincoln, 1196–1199.¹ But it was not written before 1197, because he speaks of the suit about Eynsham abbey being settled in Hugh's favour, which was done in that year.² We may pretty safely conclude that it was written about the year 1198, during Giraldus's quiet studious sojourn at Lincoln, when he would have ready access to the early Lincoln records, from which, no doubt, *Infra*, 43. *Infra*, 5.

¹ See vol. v., Preface, liii, n. 2.

² *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, 192, n. 1. It is possible, however, though

perhaps not probable, that this about Eynsham may have been added in the second edition of the treatise.

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this Life of St. Remigius is in large measure little more than a mere transcript.

Infra, 168,
1 3, &c. A marginal addition to the twelfth century catalogue of books in the Lincoln library records the gift by Giraldus, with other works, of his own Irish Topography, his Life of St. Remigius, and his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*. This Life of St. Remigius, in all probability, would be a copy of this first edition written at Lincoln, and would be presented to the library before his departure from Lincoln in the summer of 1199. The *Gemma Ecclesiastica* was also written during his stay at Lincoln. The Irish Topography, in its earliest form appeared some ten years before; but Giraldus was continually improving upon it; and the copy given to the library was very likely a copy of one of his later editions of this treatise, as revised and added to at Lincoln. These treatises of Giraldus must have been lost at Lincoln before the end of the fifteenth century. In a catalogue of the books in the library, written probably somewhere in the latter half of that century, which exists in a volume in the record room of the dean and chapter, there is no mention of them.

This first edition may have contained some few passages, which were afterwards omitted in the second edition. At all events this is the case with a very short, and sensible, and un-Giraldic preface, which happens to be preserved in the Trin. Coll. Camb. manuscript of the *Symbolum Electorum* of Giraldus, and which I have given at p. 8, *infra*.

Infra, 5,
and n. 2. The second edition presented to archbishop Langton in 1213 or 14. The second edition, as given in this volume, was presented to archbishop Langton, certainly not before 1210, and not later than the autumn of 1214. In the dedicatory preface to Langton, Hugh de Wells, who was consecrated Dec. 20, 1209, is now bishop of Lincoln; and moreover, he is the only bishop who has as yet been con-

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secrated by Langton, whose next consecration of a bishop was not until Oct 5, 1214. It is very unlikely that Giraldus would select archbishop Langton as a patron, before his victorious entry into England in July 1213.¹ Moreover, it appears that the Life of St. Hugh, presented to Langton with this Life of Remigius, was not even fully written until long after the commencement of the Interdict in the spring of 1208; and not until Bishop *Infra*, 135, Hugh de Wells was in a position to reward writers of *cap. xiii.* St. Hugh's miracles, which can only have been the case after John's delivery of their bishopricks to the exiled bishops June 1, 1213. The Interdict was not removed *Infra*, 136 until June 29, 1214, and seems plainly to have been still in force when Giraldus gave his last polishing touches to these treatises. We may conclude, I think, safely, that his two treatises of this volume, with the general preface to both, were finished, and perhaps moreover presented to Langton, somewhere late in the year 1213, or somewhere in the first six months of 1214.

At the end of his treatise *De Jure*, &c., Giraldus speaks of these two Lincoln treatises as the last of the *Vol. iii.* *Legendæ Sanctorum* which he had written, and as issued ^{373.} when he was about 70 years old. Supposing that he was born in 1147, or near upon that year, as seems probably to have been the case,² this 70 years old is very near to the truth for Giraldus, if he is referring to the presentation of these treatises to Langton. But, as if ashamed of being so near the truth, and determined to be always somehow far wrong in any matter of date, he associates with these *Legendæ* his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, as also issued when he was about 70 years old, though it is certain that it was issued about the same time as the first edition of the Life of Remigius, not

¹ See vol. vi., Preface, xxxiv. | ² See vol. v., Preface, lvi.; and
n. 2. | vi., Preface, xl.

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later than the year 1199,¹ when he would be about 50 years old. Giraldus, in any matter of date, is a most inconceivable blunderer.

Probable additions in this second edition. In the absence of any manuscript of the first edition, it is impossible to say what were the alterations or additions in this second edition, as alone we now have it. But I imagine these must have been of very small amount.

Infra, 3-7. The preface which now precedes it is a general preface to the two treatises, as presented in one volume to Langton; the actual Life of Remigius begins with the table of chapters at p. 9; and thence down to the end of the treatise, there are only two or three instances of what seem to be additional matter in this second edition. The account which Giraldus gives of Hugh's buildings at Lincoln, in p. 40 and 41 *infra*, can hardly have been written two or three years before his death. But the strongest instance, perhaps, is at p. 80 *infra* (n. 2), where is a short section that must, one would think, have been penned after St. Hugh's death; but this is not at all absolutely certain. Another very probable instance of addition is at p. 75 (n. 1). The large bulk, however, of this second edition of the treatise, it seems to me pretty clear, was but a simple transcript of the first edition.

After marginal or other additions. There are three additions to the manuscript of this second edition, as originally written; two short ones in the margin, and a longer

¹ He presented a copy of it to pope Innocent III. in Dec. 1199 (*De Rebus*, &c., vol. i., 119). It may have been written some years before this time.

It is possible that, as in the case of the Life of Remigius, there may have been a second edition of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, the date of

issue of which would agree, more or less closely, with the seventy years of Giraldus's age. But of such second edition there is no known copy, and no trace of such to be found in all that is to be gathered from Giraldus about his various works.

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one on an inserted leaf; all in a very similar hand, if not the same as that of the text. The first, at p. 44 (n. 1), *infra*, is an addition of a few words in the margin to the remark of bishop Henry de Blois, on hearing of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The second, on the same page (n. 3), is the addition on an inserted leaf, and describes particulars at the consecration of St. Thomas by bishop Henry. The third, at p. 60 (n. 3), is a marginal addition, telling us of the full belief of bishop Bartholomew of Exeter in Henry II.'s direct guilt in the murder of St. Thomas, after he had received the confession of William de Traci, one of the murderers. Whether these additions were made before or after the presentation to Langton in 1213 or 1214, it is impossible to say; but they are, no doubt, Giraldus's own additions. The two first are in his treatise *De Jure*, &c., written soon after the summer of 1215,¹ where Giraldus reproduces much of what he here tells us about bishop Henry de Blois. Vol. iii.
359.

§ 3. SOURCES OF INFORMATION; VALUE OF THIS
LIFE, &c.

In compiling in this treatise the history of the bishops of Lincoln up to his own time, Giraldus, no doubt, was mainly indebted for his materials to the accounts of

The early Lin- these bishops as contained in the Martyr-
coln records. ology, or some other kindred record or records, which he found at Lincoln. There has come down to us, unhappily in part only and imperfectly, another history of the bishops of Lincoln, compiled by John de Schalby, a canon of Lincoln, some hundred and twenty or thirty years after this treatise of Giraldus was written. This later history, so far as I can, I have given in Appendix E of this volume. John de Schalby *Infra*, 193. &c.

¹ See vol. vi., Preface, xli. and n. 2.

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expressly says—and this must refer especially to the early portion of his history—that the written archives of the church were one main source of his materials. For the bishops, therefore, before St. Hugh, he would have probably just the same early authorities as Giraldus had used. He is plainly quite independent of Giraldus: sometimes one is fuller or briefer, sometimes the other; but there is a close correspondence very often between them, not only in matter, but in words and sentences and whole chapters almost, that seems to prove certainly that in compiling their respective histories of the early bishops, they used the same early records.

And hence the value of this treatise of *Life of Remigius*. Giraldus. We have in it, in some part, something not far from a simple transcript of the history of the bishops up to his own time, as he found it recorded at Lincoln about the year 1198. And it proves, moreover, the value of the history of the after compiler John de Schalby; that his pages are copied, as to the history before his own time, from authentic earlier Lincoln records.

This, however, is not the case as regards the portion of this treatise of Giraldus, from which it takes its name,—the account of Remigius the first bishop, and the founder of the church. It seems clear that Giraldus says much about him, that had no better authority than his own fancy of what was or ought to have been the case, or a like fancy of some of his Lincoln friends his informers, or, at the best, some vague traditions,—already however, it may be, recorded by the custodians of Remigius's tomb,—which were to be made the most of, in the attempt to raise Remigius to the post of local saint of Lincoln.

For instance, the canonical election to Dorchester by the clergy, as related in *Infra*, 14. the first chapter of the *Life*, is all a fancy. Remigius,

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perhaps, not quite impossibly, may have been elected, in a way, or rather not refused by the clergy of Dorchester; he speaks of his election in his after profession to Lanfranc, but this, no doubt, simply means that he *Infra*, 151. was the elect of William the Conqueror, like the rest of William's bishops.¹ Anyhow, his election by the clergy, if such there was, would be the merest form and farce, no better than the episcopal elections for many long years well known to us. Of Giraldus's canonical election there can have been nothing; he was made bishop of Dorchester by the sole will of the conqueror, his patron.

Again, the statement of the same chapter, And his consecration by Lanfranc. that he was consecrated by archbishop Lanfranc, is certainly untrue. He was consecrated to Dorchester by archbishop Stigand, some *Infra*, 14, two or three years before Lanfranc's accession to Canterbury, and was himself one of the assisting bishops at Lanfranc's consecration. and n. 1; and 151.

Of the remainder of this first chapter, the account of Remigius having been in some sort a manager or leader of the abbot of Fescamp's contingent to William's army of invasion is true enough, though probably wrong as to some particulars. His unwilling acceptance of so un-

¹ A mere election by the king, influenced more or less by his advisers, was then the rule in England. Thus, Florence of Worcester tells us that William was "a rege Willelmo electus," in 1081, to the bishoprick of Durham. Anselm, in his address to the prelates, barons, &c., at Rockingham, reminds them how he had been elected to Canterbury by William II., with the full counsel and assent of such of them as were then present at the court (*Eadmeri, Hist. Nov.*; Selden, p. 26, l. 37, &c.). It is not, however, very usual for the king to be said

to elect, in the historians of the time. They more generally say that the king gave to such a person, or invested him with, such a bishoprick. Often, no doubt, as in the case of Anselm, if not generally, the barons and prelates would be consulted: episcopal elections seem to have been generally made at councils where many of them would be present; but the only election by the clergy of the vacant see depended upon some of them being present at the council, and assenting, with the other clergy and laity present, to the king's choice.

monastic an office, his wise and virtuous conduct in the exercise of it, are probably mere embellishments of Giraldus's scholastic pen.

Infra, 15, &c. The second chapter is eminently Giraldus's own. It has nothing in it about Remigius, except the mention, at the beginning, of his profuse charities.

Infra, 17. The instances of his charity, in the first part of the third chapter, may have had, when Giraldus wrote, some ground of history or tradition ; but their only authority now is this page of his Life of Remigius. He seems

Infra, 18, and n. 1. clearly wrong when, in the second part of this chapter, he attributes to Remigius the foundation of the leper-house near Lincoln.

Infra, 18. The fourth chapter, about the transfer from Dorchester to Lincoln, was no doubt derived from the early Lincoln records. The matter and wording so closely correspond

Infra, 193. with the beginning of John de Schalby's account of Remigius, compiled certainly from the early records, that it seems certain that these also must have been the source of Giraldus's information. Of all that he tells us

about Remigius, this chapter, with the part of the next chapter, about the proposed dedication of the church and the death of Remigius, are, perhaps, the only

portions of Giraldus's account of him that have any real historical value. I do not say that all else he tells us about the virtue and sanctity of Remigius is only his own invention, but that it all rests, so far as we know, upon no better authority than his own very bad authority. It is perfectly possible, and not improbable, that he may have found traditions at Lincoln, and these, perhaps, committed to writing, upon which was based his account of Remigius's excellencies ; but all record of such traditions, if any ever existed, has long since disappeared.

Infra, 20. The wretched state of the diocese, as described in the fifth chapter, and the successful labours of Remigius in reformation, are all perhaps Giraldus's own ; or, if not his

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own, based upon no better authority than his. What follows about his preparations for the dedication of the church, and its prevention by his death, is so far fully confirmed by good authorities; but they differ as to the exact dates. Wonderful to say, the date of Remigius's death which Giraldus gives us is no doubt the right date: he was an impossible man to have invented that 6 May 1092 was Ascension day in that year, as well as the Feast of St. John *ante Portam Latinam*. This statement, no doubt whatever, he found in the early records. The after compiler from them, John de Schalby, says nothing as to the day of Remigius's death. It was a particular which Giraldus would of course give from the records, when trying to exalt him as the great Lincoln saint; but which John de Schalby might naturally omit in his history, written long after the idea of Remigius being a saint was forgotten, in the possession of better and more recent saints. *Infra*, 21, and n. 2. *Infra*, 194.

The fact is, it seems to me, that Giraldus, in writing this account of Remigius, had much to manufacture out of very meagre or unworthy materials. There was a want of a local saint at Lincoln; and Giraldus, during his stay at Lincoln in 1196–1199, undertook, or was induced by his friends there to undertake, to apply his scholastic pen towards making a saint of Remigius,—the founder of their cathedral church, a noble-hearted and bountiful prelate, one to be ever held in reverence at Lincoln, but one who, from what is said or left unsaid, in all at all contemporary history, can have had small claim indeed to be made a saint. If we are to believe Eadmer¹

¹ The words of Eadmer are, “Ca-
“ lumniatus est [Lanfrancus] coram
“ papa memoratum Thomam, cum
“ præfato Remigio, quod neuter
“ illorum jure fuit promotus ad pon-
“ tificatum; . . . [Remigius] pro
“ eo quod, facta conventionione, illum
“ a Willielmo, post rege facto, emer-
“ rit, officio videlicet, quo ei in ex-

“ cidium Angliæ properanti multi-
“ faria contentione ac multiplicibus
“ impensis deservierat. Ad hæc
“ illi nullam quâ excusari possent
“ probabilem causam habentes, red-
“ ditis baculis et annulis cum cura
“ pontificali, ad petendam miseri-
“ cordiam conversi sunt.” *Historiæ
Novorum*, Selden, p. 7.

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and his followers, Malmsbury, &c., he made an actual bargain with William, to have an English bishopric in payment of his services, in case of the invasion proving successful. This simoniacal bargain, and his consecration by the excommunicated archbishop Stigand, were brought against him before the pope in 1071, when he accompanied archbishop Lanfranc to Rome: he would have been degraded, but for Lanfranc's intercession. Now these are statements which rest upon good authority: there is no reason to doubt their truth. They may have been, more or less, unknown to Giraldus, and probably were not dwelt upon in the early Lincoln authorities from which he was compiling; but that the Lincoln records did contain some notice of the bargain with William, seems to be clearly intimated by John de Schalby's "ob certam causam" of Remigius's aid to him. But whatever Giraldus may have found in Lincoln or other history, he would record nothing, we may safely conclude, that could tell against the sanctity of Remigius, which he had undertaken with his scholastic pen to establish; and moreover, it is clear that he invented much after his own fancy, or followed traditions as worthless as his own inventions. Hence his silence about the "certa causa" of Remigius's aid to William, and the consequent bishopric; hence the canonical election to Dorchester, and the consecration by Lanfranc instead of Stigand; and hence, probably, all his details as to the charity and sanctity of Remigius. He had to make the most of a very poor case, and it is plain that he was not at all scrupulous in his endeavours to make it a very good one.

That I am not taking an untrue view of the character of Remigius, or of the value of Giraldus's account of him, is pretty conclusively proved by the silence of Henry of Huntingdon as to his virtues and sanctity. Henry became archdeacon of Huntingdon about 1109 when no doubt still a young man. He had been,

Henry of Huntingdon's silence about the sanctity of Remigius.

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in large measure, brought up at Lincoln in the family of Bloet, the successor of Remigius. He never saw Remigius himself, he tells us, but had seen and known all the dignitaries of the church appointed by Remigius, one of whom, Albinus Andegavensis, was his own preceptor.¹ Henry of Huntingdon, in his young days, must have heard much of the excellencies and sanctity of Remigius, if, in the church which Remigius had founded and nobly endowed, and amidst the friends whom he had promoted and most cherished, any such excellencies and sanctity were accepted and talked about; but he is altogether silent on the subject. He tells us, indeed, in his History, of the transfer of the see from Dorchester, and the foundation and establishment of the church at Lincoln, and adds some personal traits of Remigius, and a solitary anecdote;² but he has not a word about his sanctity. So again, in his letter *De Contemptu Mundi*, Huntingdon just tells us that Remigius was present at the battle of Hastings, became bishop of Dorchester, and removed the see to Lincoln, where he founded and richly endowed the church;³ but gives not a hint as to his saintly character or holy deeds. In the latter case, indeed, he says that he was speaking only of what he had himself known and seen; but after telling us what he does about Remigius, and the foundation, &c. of the church,—much of which could not have been told from his own personal knowledge,—it seems almost impossible to conceive that he would not have added somewhat or much more, if Remigius had been at all the saintly bishop

¹ These particulars about Henry of Huntingdon are given by himself in his Letter *De Contemptu Mundi*, printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 694, &c.

² "Erat siquidem statura parvus, sed corde magnus; colore fuscus, sed operibus venustus. De regia

"quidem prodicione fuerat im-
titus; sed famulus ejus, ferri igni
judicio dominum purgans,
regio restituit amori, et maculam
pontificali deterisit decori." *Hen.
Hunt. Histor.* Lib. vi. (near the
end), Savile, 213.

³ *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695.

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that Giraldus would persuade us. This letter of Huntingdon, it is worth remarking, was written in the latter years of his life, about the year 1147,¹ and after miracles had been wrought, according to Giraldus,² at the tomb of Remigius. Huntingdon's silence seems to me clearly to prove, that amongst those who had best known Remigius and were most indebted to him,—and moreover, for many years after his death, up to about the middle of the twelfth century,—Remigius was not looked upon as a saint; and therefore that Giraldus's account of his sanctity, whether his own invention, or whether resting upon what he found believed or recorded at Lincoln in 1198, is simply a worthless fabrication.

Infra, 22–31.

The miracles of Remigius. Chapters VI.–XX, which relate the miracles of Remigius, are no doubt taken, more or less closely, from what Giraldus found recorded by the custodians of his tomb. For Giraldus was not the first person to think of making a saint of Remigius. Miracles, it was said, had been wrought at his tomb, as early as during the episcopate of bishop Alexander,³ 1123–1148; and at the time when Giraldus wrote, miracles had been latterly multiplying. In their great need of a saint of their own, the Lincoln people were no doubt eager, for want of a better one, in acceptance of Remigius as a saint; and no doubt for some time there had been regular custodians of his tomb, one of whose duties would be to keep a register of the miracles there wrought. And from this register these chapters of Giraldus would

¹ It was written not before 1146, as he speaks of William Turbo as now bishop of Norwich; and not after the beginning of 1148, as he speaks of Roger as still bishop of Lichfield, and Alexander as still bishop of Lincoln. *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 700.

² See the next note.

³ A deaf and dumb Jewess, mira-

culously cured at the tomb of Remigius, is said to have been afterwards baptized by bishop Alexander, and to have been for a long time carried about by him in order to spread far and wide the renown of the saint (*infra*, 24). Giraldus records miracles as early as 1124 (*infra*, 25, 26).