

ST ALBANS CENTRE FOR CHRISTIAN STUDIES

POPE ADRIAN IV

STUDY DAY MARCH 14TH 1998

ST ALBANS CENTRE FOR CHRISTIAN STUDIES

LECTURES GIVEN AT THE

ADRIAN IV STUDY DAY

Adrian IV; the man and his life	Brother Clement
---------------------------------	-----------------

Adrian IV in context	Roy Craske
----------------------	------------

The Irish question	Janet Lewis
--------------------	-------------

The Holy Roman Empire	Gail Thomas
-----------------------	-------------

The Lincoln problem	Margaret Wilson
---------------------	-----------------

ADRIAN IV

Brother Clement

Introduction

The mystical tale of Dick Whittington, romantic though it may be is quite common place in comparison with the true story of another wandering beggar lad, who by virtue of his own abilities rose from the extreme poverty of a vagrant scholar through the various degrees of Canon, Abbot, Legate and Cardinal, to the exalted position of Supreme Pontiff, for he became not only a pope but a very good and great Pope who despite the shortness of his reign made his mark over the whole of western civilisation. We are not half proud enough of this countryman of ours whose success was in large measure due to his eminently English characteristics. This paper does not pretend to any novelty of research, but simply to present a connected narrative of such events in the history of Pope Adrian IV

Birth - Family - Name - Place - Sources

Unfortunately very little is known about his early life, and about that little, historians are not in total agreement. Probably, the best sources and most reliable information we owe to three writers: Cardinal Boso, John Salisbury and William Newburgh. Boso wrote a life of Adrian which was later found in a collection owned by a mid-fourteenth century Spanish bishop of Aragon called Roselli. Boso was probably nephew of Nicholas. The other source was a close personal friend of the Pope called John of Salisbury a fellow student in Paris very early on in his career and called by him to Rome as a companion and personal secretary. William Newburgh was an Augustinian monk from the Newburgh Priory in Yorkshire who wrote between 1136-1198. Highly esteemed for his works he was called the father of historical criticism.

Birth - Year - Name - Coat of Arms - Place

He was born Nicholas Breakspeare very early in the 12th century some even place the date as 1100 exactly. His name is given as Briselance in French and in early Latin as Hastafragus (broken lance). His name could have found its roots from some mishap in the troubled times of assimilation between the Saxons and the Normans.

The heraldry of the Popes indicates his coat of arms as a broken spear. We need take this particular illustration with a pinch of salt as it is doubtful that the early medieval papacy had an escutcheon for each successive pope. It might have been rather easy for some would-be historian to fabricate an appropriate shield.

It is held on good authority though there are some who have disputed it, that he was born in an earlier house that stood on the site of the farmhouse still called *Breakspeare* in Bedmond, close to Abbots Langley and was within the estates of St Albans Monastery.

Hoping to join his father, Robert, who as a widower had joined St Albans Monastery as a monk there, it is reported that as the boy grew up, seeing that through want he could not afford the time to go to school, he attended the monastery for a daily pittance. His application was turned down. His father was ashamed of this, taunted him with bitter words for his idleness, and highly indignant, drove him away disconsolate. The boy, left to himself and compelled to do something by hard necessity, ingenuously ashamed either to dig or to beg crossed over to France and began his long and arduous journey to greatness. Later out of respect, Robert of the Chamber, possibly a title given him as responsible for hospitality at the monastery was given the noted privilege of being buried in the Chapter House among the celebrated Norman Abbots. It is believed that he died during his son's reign as pope. He must have been well into old age by that time which explains why there seems to be no record of his attending the coronation of Nicholas in Rome in 1154. He now rests in the presbytery in front of our High Altar in the shadow of his illustrious son who proudly stands on the top row of our Wallingford Screen

Matthew Paris our own historian, who wrote about one hundred years later and who would very likely give a better interpretation for Nicholas' refusal at the Abbey by reporting that abbot Richard d'Essai (15th Abbot) after examination, found him deficient and said to him, not unkindly, "Have patience, my son, and stay at school yet a while till you are better fitted for the position you desire." In an article from the *Lives of the Illustrious* (1857) a certain Partridge with a sting at the tip of his pen wrote: "But for early discouragement, his ashes might now be reposing, with small distinction at any rate, among the Abbots of desolate Verulam instead of claiming new honours in the eternal city."

Abroad - Student

Is it any wonder that what Jane Kelsall states in her fascinating tours is very right that Nicholas must have been a late developer because we find him in France as a student of the Paris University making his mark and very possibly working at *le petit bistro du coin* to keep body and soul together while paying his way for books and in fees to tutors. He made there friendships that lasted him well into his time of triumph of papal glory.

Avignon - St Rufus - Canon - Abbot

In the year 1130 we find him at the Monastery of St. Rufus an order of Augustinian Canons, near Avignon. Here he quickly impressed the members of his order and was reported to be "elegant in person, pleasant in countenance, prudent in speech and of regular obedience always an exact observer of regular discipline." It was here that he was ordained and in 1137 having been prior for two years, was appointed Abbot upon the death of the incumbent. Nicholas set about bringing in reforms that brought about complaints to the extent that Canons petitioned Pope Eugenius III for his deposition. The Pope required both sides to make personal representation and after lending sympathetic ear and being highly impressed with the virtues and qualities of the Abbot Nicholas removed him from Avignon and kept him in Rome as his special advisor.

Bishop - Cardinal - Albano

He was soon appointed to Albano as Bishop-Cardinal. This is, indeed, an interesting point of reference and an extraordinary coincidence that Albano should have been his see. I had the wonderful opportunity to explore this city about 25 miles south-west of Rome where some sections of the ancient Cathedral date back to the 12th century. A cantankerous sacristan upon being approached, in my stumbling Italian, for information told me: "We have 264 popes to look after here. Do you think we have time to bother about your English Pope?" He mellowed somewhat and eventually we had a cappuccino at a nearby café.

Legate - Scandinavia

So well were his talents appreciated by Eugenius III that he was chosen as legate to the Scandinavian countries in 1152 in order to organise proper structural dioceses and withdraw them from the domination of the German hierarchy which had been a grave handicap to the development their own national churches. This he achieved with great tact and diplomacy: first calming internal strife and instigating laws that brought about peace and equity. He was particularly successful in Norway and to this day the Norwegian people, although in great majority Protestant look to Nicholas with great veneration as founder of their own Christian tradition. A plaque to that effect has been erected next to his tomb in the sub-Church of St. Peter's in Rome. Tarleton in his book *Nicholas Breakspear, Englishman and Pope* (1887) says: "He is considered among the greatest in Norwegian history and included among the national saints."

Pope

After two years as the Missioner of Scandinavia, he returned to Albano. Meanwhile his patron Eugenius had died and been replaced by Anastasius IV who equally valued Nicholas' talents. At the death of Anastasius, Nicholas was unanimously elected Pope, taking the name of Adrian IV. This choice of the name Adrian surprised the whole papal court expecting him to become Eugenius IV. It might be too contentious to think that Nicholas would have chosen this name in memory of Adrian I who was Pope at the foundation of our Abbey of St Albans under the Benedictines in 793. But it is an intriguing thought.

Abbot of St Albans

As soon as Adrian's election became known in England, it is reported that Henry II who himself had recently gained the throne, sent a congratulatory delegation headed by the Abbot of St Albans, Robert de Gorham. They were said to have brought rich gifts, among them finely embroidered slippers made by Christina of Markyate. His Holiness received the group with every expression of goodwill, and showed them signal honour. He good humouredly remarked to the Abbot according to Lumbye in *The Hertfordshire Pope* (1905) "I refuse to accept your gifts, since when I once fled to the shelter of your religious house, and begged to be invested with the monk's hood, you refused to accept me." The Abbot replied: "My Lord, we could never have taken you in for God willed it otherwise had set apart your life for a much more exalted position." The Pope highly amused let him know that the once Bishop of Albano could refuse nothing to the Abbot of St Albans.

In fact the monastery obtained exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln and it was from then on that Abbots of St Albans were mitred. It is also believed that it was at this time that the controversy with Ely's Abbot over the possession of the authentic bones of our Saint was finally resolved and that, very naturally, St Albans' claims were vindicated with papal approbation. The Ely monks were made to apologise. Little wonder that present Ely guides are not over keen to speak of this incident as a recent visit confirmed.

William of Sicily - Henry II - Frederic Barbarossa

I shall spend little time over Adrian's turbulent relationships with Henry II of England, William of Sicily and Frederic Barbarossa of Germany and Emperor of the Holy roman Empire as these topics are dealt with by Gail Thomas and Janet Lewis.

Death

There are a number of theories surrounding Adrian's death. The majority of historians concur that he died of quinsy, an inflammation of the throat which we would diagnose today as tonsillitis. This gave rise to the interpretation that he might have been poisoned or that he had choked on an insect while drinking. He was approximately 59 years of age. He died in Agnani on 1st September 1159. His body was taken to Rome and buried in a red marble sarcophagus in the nave of the old basilica of St. Peter's. In 1607 it was placed in the crypt of the present St. Peter's where it can be seen with deer skulls representing Hertfordshire and two roses representing England. No English pilgrim to Rome should neglect to pay it due respect. It has the simple inscription *Hadrianus Papa IIII*. On the occasion of the translation the body was exhumed, and was found together with the pontificals in which it was arrayed, incorrupt.

Personality

To quote Partridge again despite his recognised prejudice: "We have the life of a clear-sighted and stalwart Englishman; of one who did not creep into high station by mean acts of subterfuge, but by the vigorous exercise of stern mental energy, not without giving offence to the indolent; of one whom, of the stumbling blocks thrown in his way, had the courage and the talent to make stepping stones for an ascent by a higher path to a loftier pinnacle." Lumbye in *The Hertfordshire Pope* (1905) writes: "This true and honest man died at his post, a glorious representative of the Church militant, face to the foe, upholding the standard of his Master, faithful to his principles, staunch to his supporters, and above all true to himself."

ST. ALBANS CHRISTIAN STUDY CENTRE WORKSHOP DAY -
MARCH 14 1998

Pope Adrian IV

Introduction

Most of today is to be devoted to a study of Adrian IV, his life and especially his actions as Pope. My task, in this first session is to give you the historical context and background to his life up to the time he became Pope, concentrating mainly on England, but inter-connecting with events abroad. It will cover the period from the Norman Conquest up to 1154 and will fall mainly into three sections:-

- a) Monarchy and Government
 - b) The Church
 - c) Relations with the Papacy
- but these sections will overlap.

In his television series, and the book that followed, called "Civilisation", the late Kenneth Clark began the section called "The Great Thaw" with these words:-

"Three or four times in history Man gives a great leap forward that would have been unthinkable in ordinary evolutionary conditions e.g. Egypt and Mesopotamia 3000 B.C. Ionia, Greece and the Indus Valley in the late 6th Century B.C. and about 1100 A.D. the year in which Nicholas Breakspear, who would become Pope Adrian IV, was born. Popes, emperors, kings, bishops, saints, scholars and philosophers, seem larger than life i.e. Gregory VII facing Henry IV at Canossa, Pope Urban II, Anselm and Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, Frederick Barbarossa, Thomas Becket.

There was an intensification, an outburst of energy, an outpouring in every branch of life - action - philosophy - organisation - technology."

This "leap" was seen especially in the Church in Western Europe, which, in the early Middle Ages, says Professor John Roberts, "came to be the same thing as European society; the whole body of the faithful, lay and clerical alike. Christian beliefs were the deepest spring of Civilisation which had matured over many hundreds of years and gave Europe a transcendent goal."

The event which drew England into the mainstream of this explosion of energy was the Norman Conquest of 1066. By the time Nicholas was born in 1100, the invaders were firmly established with no threat of an English revival. After the Harrying of the North in 1170, and the defeat of Hereward's revolt in the Isle of Ely, the remainder of the English leaders had fled to Scotland, Scandinavia and even Byzantium. After the Conqueror died, his harsh but strong rule was succeeded in kind by his second son William Rufus, who although violent, avaricious and irreligious, created law and order, and the English backed him against any baronial revolts. His unpopular but efficient chief minister Ranulph Flambard, combined Norman efficiency with the well-developed system of Saxon local government which had produced that remarkable survey, the Domesday Book.

In 1100 Rufus was dead, slain by a hunting arrow in the New Forest. He had no children and there was no clear system of succession in a country where leadership had been elective. However his younger brother, Henry, an adult married to an Anglo-Scottish Princess, was suspiciously near the forest on that day, and also near the treasury at Winchester which he seized. Despite his adulatory titles of "Beauclerk"

and the "Lion of Justice" he was cruel, devious, suspicious of plots and paranoid about the succession especially after the death of his only son William in 1120. But with a team of talented ministers led by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury and his relations, he created the bureaucratic departments of Exchequer, with its squared cloth and abacus. Chancery recording its writs and charters, first within the peripatetic royal household and then permanently based at Westminster. Sheriffs replaced Saxon earls and thanes at local level and the whole, under a feared and respected monarch, enabled Henry, like his brother, to spend much time in Normandy which he had gained from his feckless elder brother Robert who he imprisoned for 28 years! Not a nice man (!) but in those times, a good king!

He died in 1135 leaving a daughter, Matilda, married early to the German Emperor and later to the unpopular Geoffrey of Anjou. Although no Salic law prevented the succession of a woman, it hadn't happened and this haughty, arrogant princess was rejected, even by those who had sworn an oath of succession during Henry's lifetime. They turned instead to the most appealing and attractive of the Normans - and the worst king - Stephen of Blois, Matilda's cousin. William of Malmesbury says of him, "He was a man of energy but little judgement, active in war, of extraordinary spirit in undertaking any difficult task, but he was lenient to his enemies and easily appeased." In those days don't forgive rebels. Hang them!

His reign might today, I suppose, be called the "age of Cadfael". It is summed up at its worst in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. (Quote P.264) The writer, at the abbey of Peterborough, was in one of the worst areas devastated by Geoffrey of Mandeville, and as in any Civil war some areas saw little action. Likewise the last nine years of the reign were comparatively peaceful but as the barons switched from one side to another, uncertainty and anarchy prevailed.

Eventually the death of Matilda and Stephen's son Eustace, led to an agreement by which Stephen would rule but after him Matilda and Geoffrey's son Henry, married to that interesting lady the ex-Queen of France, Eleanor of Aquitaine, would succeed. This happened in 1154, in the same year that Nicholas became Adrian IV - a new Angevin/Plantagenet dynasty and a new Pope!

The greatest outburst of energy in this Twelfth Century Renaissance was seen in the Church. It gained its impulse from the abbey of Cluny whose splendid ritual, huge complex of buildings, extravagant carving and sculpture, were copied elsewhere, as was the moral and spiritual reform sponsored by its abbots, four of whom were canonised, among them St. Hugh (1049-1109). Pilgrims and travellers carried the ideas. Kings and dukes endowed the houses creating more standardization and homogeneity. Artistically the movement culminated in the Gothic glory of Chartres, a cathedral used as an instrument of evangelisation and education, with vast areas for processions and crowds of pilgrims visiting the relics. Walls and windows filled with images of the Biblical stories and the saints and the facades covered with carvings of the fate awaiting the just and unjust.

What about the Church in England? In 1066 the Conqueror found a church closely integrated with the state, due to the devotion of Kings and the ability of Churchmen. The Church in some ways dominated the state, clergy acting as royal counsellors, sitting with laymen in shire and hundred courts. Relations with the Papacy were frequent and easy, England being seen to have a special relationship with Rome owing to its foundation being inspired by Gregory the Great. Otherwise its purpose was based on man's fear of eternal damnation and desire for eternal bliss. Rich men gave land to the Church who prayed for their souls. There was no questioning of the beliefs and practices of the Catholic Church but a certain laxity of local practice especially as regards clerical marriage and sons inheriting benefices.

After the Conquest the structure at diocesan, parish and monastic level continued much as before, the latter being expanded under former abbots of Bec such as Lanfranc and Anselm, successively Archbishops of Canterbury. "Cathedra" were transferred from villages to town centres e.g. North Elmham to Norwich, Selsey to Chichester and gradual pressure put on the local customs to try to achieve clerical celibacy.

But there were changes. Foreign bishops and abbots filled all vacancies although English prelates in place such as Wulfstan of Worcester continued until their deaths. Ecclesiastical courts became more separate but in return church dignitaries were seen as temporal barons doing homage for their lands and this caused a clash of loyalties. William also claimed the right to decide relations with the Papacy, rejecting the claims of any spiritual supremacy especially the Hildebrandine claims based on the "special Gregorian relationship". These developments were orchestrated by Lanfranc, a great archbishop but a King's man!

The years immediately before Nicholas' birth had seen a change and a stormy relationship. The Church's attitude to Rufus is best summed up in the words of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (Quote p.235). Rufus only became religious when he was very ill and on such an occasion in 1093, he forced the unwilling and fiercely resisting Anselm, a distinguished scholar and monk, to be Archbishop. Once appointed Anselm tried to insist on the return of all Church lands, acceptance as the King's spiritual counsellor and that he should continue to recognize Urban II as Pope (there were two claimants). His uncompromising attitude led to complaints to the Pope and intrigues to get rid of him. A papal legate ensured the recognition of Urban, refused to depose Anselm but when the latter was forced into exile in Rome he was honoured but not restored.

Anselm returned at Henry's accession but refused to accept royal investiture for his office and was soon in exile again. He returned in 1107 accepting a compromise negotiated by Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres by which he did homage for his temporalities but "free election" to bishoprics was made on "royal nomination". Clerical marriage and concubinage continued in return for money, notably Roger of Salisbury and his family. Despite Papal protests, English bishops were not allowed to attend Church councils and Canterbury was left vacant for five years after Anselm's death in 1109.

Henry's reign and that of Stephen coincided however with another great revival in monasticism, seeking to return to the purity of the Benedictine Rule. The most famous order were the Cistercians founded by the Englishman Stephen Harding, establishing their houses in remote spots to avoid contamination by the world. 300 were built between 1100 and 1152, including 50 in England such as Fountains, Rievaulx and Tintern. Its greatest leader was Bernard of Clairvaux who in the name of Divine Law opposed secular learning and philosophy represented by the logician and teacher Peter Abelard, who also inspired the Second Crusade in 1146.

Also active in England were the Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons, whose pastoral ministry turned outwards to the laity, and the Gilbertines founded by Gilbert of Sempringham. Most foundations came in Stephen's reign, some being endowed as penance by plundering barons. The Cluniac influence, never very strong in England, was represented by Henry of Blois, the King's brother, a political intriguer rather than a saint. It was late in this reign before Theobald of Bec provided real leadership as Archbishop with a household of talented young men including Thomas of London (Becket)! Even so, Theobald too had his spell of exile.

Interlinked with these two themes is that of the Papacy. Urban II used the

preaching of the First Crusade in 1096 to become the Diplomatic leader of Europe's lay monarchs. He and his successors developed the "curia" or papal bureaucracy, encouraging the settlement of legal disputes at Rome and in 1123 called an ecumenical council to promulgate decrees in the Pope's name for the whole of the Church in Western Europe.

As we have seen relations with the Kings of England were a constant struggle. Pope Innocent II had confirmed Stephen's title against Matilda, but when Stephen withdrew early concessions and promises and confiscated Roger of Salisbury's wealth, Celestine II and Eugenius III turned to the Angevin cause. Prominent in these years was John of Salisbury, a distinguished scholar of political theory, active at the "Curia" who returned to Archbishop Theobald's household in time to be part of Henry II's embassy to Adrian!

Lastly and briefly, what had happened here. The Abbey which rejected Nicholas as a monk was consecrated in the presence of Henry I and Matilda in 1115. Richard d'Albini (1097-1119) who had succeeded Paul of Caen after a four year interregnum, was himself succeeded by Geoffrey de Gorham (1119-46) who despite his early disasters with stage props (!) presided over a great period of expansion. A Scriptorium which produced the Psalter for his friend and confidant Christina of Markyate, daughter, houses at Binham, Wymondham and Tynemouth, St. Julian's Lazar house and Sopwell Nunnery, and improved living conditions for his own monks. After the brief leadership of Ralph de Gobion (1146-51) Robert de Gorham set out to seek privileges for his house from Rome. A new Abbot - a new King - a new Pope.

What happened to them all you will hear in the rest of the day.

Roy Craske

SOURCES

1. Pelican History of the World - John Roberts
2. "Civilisation" - Kenneth Clark
3. "England and its Rulers" 1066 - 1272 - M.T.Clanchy
Fontana History of England
4. A History of Medieval Europe - Maurice Keen
5. Domesday Book to Magna Carta - A.L. Poole
6. "The Hill of the Martyr" - Eileen Roberts
7. The Monastery of St. Albans - Gerald Sanctuary
8. A History of St. Albans - James Corbett
9. The Norman Heritage 1066 - 1200 - Trevor Rowley
10. Feudal Britain - G.W.S. Barrow
11. "English Society in the Early Middle Ages"
Pelican History of England 3 - D.M. Stenton
12. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle - Everyman Library
translated by G.N. Garmonsway

WHAT ROLE DID ADRIAN IV PLAY IN THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF IRELAND?

Janet Lewis

It wasn't long into the research on Adrian's role in the Norman Conquest of Ireland that I thought I might be in serious trouble. Some of the first texts I looked at said that the key document I was using as evidence of his role, the papal Bull *Laudabiliter*, sanctioning the conquest was a forgery.

Not written by Adrian at all but made up by a contemporary chronicler called Gerald of Wales.

So here I was with the question; What role did Adrian play? And the answer seemed to be, well none. So how was I to fill my slot?

I was rescued by a man called Mann amongst a number of others. I was intrigued by the scholarly spat that Mann and his cronies conducted, late last century, and early this, about whether Adrian's Bull *Laudabiliter* was the work of an English Pope supporting an English king or whether it was the product of an over-imaginative 12th century chronicler.

In what follows I'll endeavour to let you in on the substance of some of this academic bickering although by the end of the research I did, I am convinced that Adrian did play a role in the Norman conquest of Ireland albeit, I'd argue, not a central one, more as best supporting actor.

So I'm happy that he played a role but I must admit I did wonder how he could have been able to. What right did the Pope have to sign away Ireland? Why should an English king think he needed the Pope's consent?

It was John of Salisbury, a contemporary and friend of Adrian who explained how the 12th century would have viewed this position. Contemporaries believed the Pope had the right to bestow Ireland on Henry because "all islands in virtue of a very ancient law, are considered to belong to the Roman church, through a donation of Constantine who founded and endowed this church." Armed with this, let us first consider the events leading up to Adrian's intervention.

According to a contemporary chronicler, Robert de Monte, on Michaelmas day 1155 Henry II "held a council at Winchester where he deliberated with his nobility upon the conquest of Ireland." It is more than possible that this discussion at the council of Winchester was instigated by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who by this time enjoyed the reputation of a revered elder statesman whose suggestions, even if unwelcome, had to be considered.

Why should Theobald seek Henry's intervention in Ireland?

Since 1140 Canterbury's jurisdiction in Ireland over the bishoprics in the Norse towns had lapsed. Theobald would have considered it his duty to defend Canterbury's rights in Ireland and the establishment of a Norman administration on the other side of the Irish Sea would have been a means to that end.

Whatever Henry's opinion of Theobald's idea, his domineering mother the Empress Matilda was certainly against it and it is at this point we bring Adrian into the picture.

It was decided to send an embassy to the Pope to obtain his sanction for intervention in Ireland in the hope that papal approval might win Matilda over. Interestingly for us, the embassy which set out on October 9th 1155 included Robert of Gorham, abbot of St Albans and more importantly for this particular story involved John of Salisbury, secretary to Theobald whom we've mentioned before. Whether he travelled with the embassy or met them at the Pope's residence is uncertain.

The ambassadors found the Pope at Benevento. Now Adrian is often described as a ready listener to the petitions of his fellow Englishmen. Most commentators credit John of Salisbury with obtaining for them the principal favour they had come to seek. Indeed John himself makes much of his role in his work *Metalogicon*. He says, "At my request he ceded and bestowed Ireland upon the illustrious king of England, Henry II to be possessed by hereditary right as his letters prove to this day..... Moreover Pope Adrian sent by me a gold ring adorned with a most beautiful emerald, by which investiture with the right of governing Ireland should be made."

As I've said before much debate has raged over authenticity of the written form this grant took, known as the Bull *Laudabiliter*.

Those who argue it's a forgery have at least three points to make in their favour.

- Point 1 There is no trace of the Bull *Laudabiliter* among private papers in the Vatican.
- Point 2 There is doubt in Irish quarters that a Pope, even an English one, could write so disparagingly about their country. The Bull, for example, calls the Irish "an ignorant and barbarous people." There is also disbelief that a Pope would genuinely sell out Ireland to the English.
- Point 3 The Bull is quoted by the Twelfth century chronicler Gerald of Wales in his *Expugnatio Hibernica* and the argument goes that he had political capital to make in concocting this letter from the Pope to justify the English rule in Ireland.

On the other hand, supporters of the Bull's authenticity argue;

- Point 1 If it wasn't the work of the Pope, why did no one at the Vatican object to the Bull's publication by Gerald of Wales in 1188 only 33 years later?
- Point 2 The Bull *Laudabiliter* was also quoted by other contemporaries who are not known to have copied from Gerald. So we must suppose they obtained their information from an independent source. It is quoted by Ralph de Diceto, Roger of Wendover and finds its way into the *Book of Leinster* sometime in the 1170s.

There is some strength in the argument that such quick and widespread dissemination of the *Laudabiliter* letter makes it unlikely to have been a forgery. I like Edmund Curtis' point that something like the Bull *Laudabiliter* must have been issued giving papal approval to the Norman take over. Since he says nothing else can explain the amazing surrender of the lay and clerical leaders of Ireland to an English king.

With or without the Bull *Laudabiliter* the point is that Adrian was a supporter of Henry's proposal to conquer Ireland. His successors, Alexander III, Innocent X for example confirmed his position as they understood it.

So why was Adrian so ready to underpin Henry's plans?

To answer this let's first have a look at the state of Ireland and the Irish Church. Early twelfth century Ireland was no place for the fainthearted. Violence, tribal wars were commonplace and the clergy did not escape the violence by virtue of their calling. In 1117 for example the Abbot of Kells and most of his monks were slaughtered by the Prince of Brehn and his men. In 1128 the succeeding prince attacked the retinue of the Archbishop of Armagh slaughtering many including the Bearer of the Sacred Requisites.

So we can contend at this point that Adrian supported the imposition of a strong secular authority if for no other reason than to protect God's people.

But there is more to it than that. The Irish Church, violence aside. Was in a terrible state. Gerald of Wales says that the clergy were apt to spend their evenings in drinking somewhat deeply. The clergy, drunk or sober, no longer held to the moral principles of the Catholic Church. Eight of the holders of the See of Armagh in the 11th and 12th centuries were married men in holy orders.

There had been some native attempts at reform, principally by St. Malachy who made headway in the early part of the century in the organisation of episcopal jurisdiction, the building of stone churches, the introduction of the proper rites of confirmation, confession and marriage, to take a few examples.

With Malachy's support, the Cistercians were also doing some good work. Around 1140, for example, the abbey of Mellifont was established.

The tragedy for these reformers labouring for order in a lawless society was the lack of a strong monarch to support them. Adrian recognised this. He knew the Normans had created ecclesiastical and civil order out of England and Southern Italy and threw his weight behind Henry. For Adrian Henry's conquest of Ireland had the potential to provide a stable environment for reform. More importantly this was an opportunity to dethrone monasticism as the pace-setter of Christianity and give the Pope real power in the direction and control of the Irish Church. The Bull *Laudabiliter* pointedly fails to mention the work of St. Malachy and the Cistercians. For Adrian this was the wrong sort of reform. He wanted effective bishops, not mere abbots, and with Henry's request for sanction, he saw his opportunity to give the Papacy increased influence in the Irish reform movement.

So we've had a look at the reasons which might have prompted Adrian to write the Bull *Laudabiliter* in support of Henry. But taking the document quoted by Gerald of Wales what did Adrian actually have to say in his Bull?

As you might expect, he sees the Norman conquest of Ireland entirely in terms of the benefit to Christianity, the Church and moral life of the people. There is no mention of the political effects.

"We are Well pleased to agree that for the extension of the boundaries of the Church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and for the implanting of virtues and for the exercise of the Christian religion, you may enter that island and perform therein the things that have regard to the honour of God and the salvation of that land."

If Henry had any doubts about a mission to Ireland and it's likely he had some since it was sixteen years before he actually set foot in the place, then Adrian does his best to encourage a hesitant king.

"You deserve to obtain from God the crown of everlasting reward and on earth a name glorious throughout the ages."

Under Adrian's plan, there would be some earthly rewards for the Church in the submission of Ireland. The *Laudabiliter* made Henry undertake to establish the tribute of Peter Pence in Ireland.

"You say you are willing to pay an annual tribute of a penny from each household to St. Peter."

It's interesting to note that the reference to Peter pence is typical of what we know of Adrian's financial policy, since when legate in Scandinavia, Adrian first introduced the payment into Sweden where it was unknown before.

Reading through the Bull we can imagine that Henry wouldn't have been exactly thrilled with it.

"There can be no doubt," the Bull read "and you certainly must know this - that Ireland and all islands on which Christ the Sun of Justice shines belong to the dominion of St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church." So whilst conferring the lordship of Ireland on Henry, Adrian makes it clear he holds it only as a fief under Papal sovereignty.

It's been suggested that this proviso gave Henry some cause for hesitation and that's why he did not act immediately on the Bull *Laudabiliter*.

As I've said, although Adrian pledged his support for Henry in 1155, it wasn't until 1171 that the king finally sailed with an army to Ireland.

Let's have a look at the chronology of events to explain why they show that for much of the process of conquest in Ireland, Adrian played no part at all.

1155 sees the Bull *Laudabiliter* provided to Henry and immediately filed in the pending tray. Henry at this stage was in no position to move on Ireland. His mother was still fiercely opposed to the idea and as we've said Henry himself wasn't falling over to hold Ireland as a vassal of the Pope and perhaps sought to bide his time until he could have absolute possession. Uppermost in the king's mind were domestic problems with his ambitious brother Geoffrey and spats with Louis VII of France over continental possessions.

Little moved until 1166 when Dermot McMurragn, King of Leinster, expelled from Ireland for the rape of a rival's wife, presented himself at Henry's court in Aquitaine, seeking help to restore his power base. Henry was again too busy with his continental affairs and at this time with his dispute with Becket to trouble himself personally in Dermot's problem but he did grant permission for his barons to intervene in Ireland. Three took up arms for Dermot. Robert FitzStephen, Maurice FitzGerald and Richard, Earl of Pembroke known as Strongbow. It isn't appropriate to rehearse the 'toings' and 'froings' of Dermot and his allies, suffice it to say that by 1171 through superior hill fighting skills and equipment, the barons were in a strong position. Dermot was dead, Strongbow, married to the Irishman's daughter was King of Leinster. For Henry things had gone far enough. Alarmed at the power base Strongbow in particular had achieved, Henry intervened. In 1171, Strongbow ceded many of his gains to Henry but continued to hold Leinster as a fief.

On 17th October 1171, Henry landed at Waterford with a huge army of 500 knights and 4,000 archers. Although provisioned for a long period of campaigning, that was not Henry's intention. He came well armed to impress the natives that he could be their protector and control the activities of high-handed Anglo-Norman adventurers. He calculated well. Almost immediately he received the submission of the princes of Southern and Central Ireland. Connaught and the north refused to pay homage but neither did they take any stand against English sovereignty.

It looks from this as if political expediency played a much greater role in the attitude of the Irish kings than the exhortation of an English Pope. It was similarly expedient for the Irish Church to submit to Henry at the Council of Cashel in November 1171, with or without Adrian's encouragement. We've spoken already of the Church's need for a strong secular authority in order to flourish.

In any case, Adrian was dead by this time and on the death of the donor, the Bull *Laudabiliter* was valueless. Indeed from my reading of the chronology, it would appear that Adrian's Bull was not actually presented to the Irish until 1173 when it was published in conjunction with letters from Pope Alexander III also supporting Henry's actions in Ireland.

Although I seem to have reduced Adrian to a bit part player, let's not write our hero off just yet. Even though it was not published in 1171 I think Adrian's donation must have been known or at least in the air. I'm persuaded that whatever benefits the princes and churchmen foresaw in Henry's intervention their readiness to submit must have been given added impetus by the known encouragement of Adrian.

Before we close, I think it's worth considering whether the events in Ireland which Adrian helped to set in train would have met with his subsequent approval. I am sure the great champion of papal authority would have been gratified by the reining in of the native Irish church under the Normans and the reforms which brought it into line with the Church in England and in Rome.

Adrian backed the side generous to the Church. The Normans built churches, cathedrals, founded monasteries. The wealth of the Church increased in this period and its organisation improved.

Norman improvement in Ireland's civil life would probably have appealed to a pope who has been described as a good administrator and business-like urban development in Ireland was stimulated by new trading connections, royal charters, and by the secure shelter offered by Norman castles. The land was gradually feudalised and under several viceroys Ireland, or at least that part under English rule enjoyed some peace.

But unfortunately for the legacy of Adrian it was a fragile peace. Henry never gave his Irish possessions enough money or attention and accepted a partition policy of Norman Ireland and Irish Ireland which did not lend itself to stability.

Had Adrian's Bull been fulfilled, then Ireland would have enjoyed local independence under a powerful and wealthy ruler, who in turn would have been subject to the supervision of the papacy. Unfortunately for Adrian's place in the history books this was not how it was to be.

By 1317, 1318, the Irish chieftains supported the entry of Robert and Edward Bruce to fight against the English, protesting against the cruel oppressions practised by them in Ireland. The Irish were disappointed that the English had reneged on the terms of the Bull *Laudabiliter*. It's clear from contemporary correspondence that the Irish regarded the Bull as providing for Ireland to enjoy some local independence under an authority as seen by Rome. In 1318 Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, wrote to Pope John XXII pointing out how little regard had been paid to Adrian's provisions. Peter's Pence had never been collected. If allowed, he said the Irish were prepared to hold their lands directly from the King of England as provided by Adrian but instead had suffered usurpation by the English barons in Ireland, let loose and unsupervised by the king.

We have to feel some sympathy for Adrian on the Irish question. Motivated by excellent intentions to improve the condition of the Irish, their state and Church, he gave his support to Henry only to see this support remain unused in his lifetime. While his Bull did give momentum later to Irish submission, provided some justification for the conquest and therefore contributed to the relative peace of Ireland for 100 years or so, his own countrymen reneged on his provisions and did not fulfil his vision long term.

He was vilified by association with them in the eyes of the Irish not least of course because he was English too. Let me end with a quote from a letter from the Irish supporters of the Bruces to Pope John XXII exhorting his help against the English. They say "Native kings ruled Ireland until Pope Adrian, on false representations and blinded by English prejudices handed the dominion of Ireland over to Henry II though he had no right to do so. Through the oppression of the English we have been driven to the woods and the rocks and 50,000 of both races have perished by the sword alone in virtue of Adrian's Bull."

I suspect Adrian is not the only eminent Englishman to merit highly contrasting epitaphs in the national history books of England and Ireland.

ADRIAN IV AND THE EMPIRE

CAROLINGIAN BACKGROUND

Welcome to one of the medieval world's longest running soaps. The fact is that if we are to understand the causes of the strained relations between Pope Adrian IV and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick von Hohenstaufen we need to look back to the eighth century.

By the mid C8 the seat of the Roman emperor had long since moved to Constantinople. The Pope as successor to St Peter was in Rome. All of North Italy and much of Central Italy formed part of the expanding Lombard territory. The Pope found himself in what appeared to be an ever slimming wedge between the aggressive Lombards in the north and the kingdoms of the south.

The Byzantine empire did not have the strength to intervene in events in Italy and this would most certainly not have been welcomed by the papacy. The popes saw themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea. Far from agreeing with the iconoclasts in the east, they were unable to break away from the Empire because of the Lombard military threat.

By 747 things were grim. The Lombards took Ravenna, once an imperial centre, and clearly their next move would be against the papal states. There was only one course of action left. Seek allies and protection elsewhere. Right on cue appeared Pépin le Bref. Pépin, the mayor of the Merovingian palace and therefore the real power behind the throne, wanted papal authority and support for his overthrow of that dynasty. Pope Zacchary needed protection from the Lombards. Here were the bare bones of an alliance; mutual need. The pope legitimised Pépin's revolution stating that he who had the power of a king should have the title of a king. Pépin became king of the Franks and, after some diplomatic manoeuvring and military preparations, invaded Italy. He added modern Lombardy to his own lands and gave the Pope the land gained in central Italy. This so called Donation of Pippin enlarged the papal states to the size and extent of the erstwhile Byzantine province and indeed defined the extent of the Papal states which persisted until the unification of Italy last century.

Sometime around this date there came into the public arena a forged document known as the Donation of Constantine in which an effort is made to state that the pope is the successor of the Caesars. It mentions the imperial regalia being given to the pope, senatorial powers being given to high ranking clergy and state lands supposedly handed over to the church. Apparently the church authorities felt they needed such a document at this particular time!!

As we all know, on Christmas day 800 in Rome, the Pope gave Pépin's son Charles a surprise Christmas present. He crowned him Emperor of the Romans. Charlemagne, set about increasing the size of his empire and reforming the church within it. He conquered much of modern day Germany to add to his Frankish kingdom. He then moved into Italy and annexed the Lombard kingdom which had once again started to reduce the size of the Papal states. Twelve years after his coronation as Emperor the Byzantines recognised him as Roman Emperor of the West.

We do not need to look at the varying fortunes of papacy and empire between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The empire divided and the papacy, proven incapable of running Rome let alone the papal states, fell into the hands of the local mafiosi who were not unknown to depose or murder popes of whom they disapproved.

With the empire newly revived and the papacy managing to regain its independence and dignity in the C11 the issues raised were brought once again to the fore.

What were these important issues? Let us consider that first alliance between Pope Zacchary and Pépin. Pépin had needed or felt he needed the pope's approval for his overthrow of the Merovingian dynasty. The Pope had needed military and political support and protection. The new Emperors saw themselves as defenders and protectors of the weak and needy, numbering the church among those needing their protection. So far so good, for the papacy was happy to be protected by their military and political might. However, the emperors considered themselves autonomous. They acted independently and on their own initiative. The papacy, meanwhile, had envisaged the imperial role quite differently. They saw the empire as being the strong arm the church could use to defend itself when it ordered it to act.

But this was not the only problem or even the real nub of the problem. In many ways the central issue is a form of sibling rivalry. What was really at stake was supremacy. To what extent does the one hold authority and power over the other. Sibling rivalry at its most acute, it is about heredity and authenticity; about Rome and about who is the true heir to the Caesars. Surely the emperor of the Romans must have some claim on Rome, the old imperial capital, rule over which is implicit in the title. But then Rome is also where lie the relics of St Peter of whom the Pope is the true successor and where perforce he must hold sway. We even have that very questionable document to prove our rights, the Donation of Constantine don't we?

Who WAS the true successor to the might of Rome? Who held what power and authority? It is these questions which are at the root of the strained relations between Pope Adrian IV and the Emperor Frederick I von Hohenstaufen.

This was the age which saw the growing importance of the law schools and the study of law. While the popes who followed Adrian were all lawyers he himself while not. But he had the good sense to choose as his chancellor a very adept lawyer; Roland, the future Alexander III. Together they formed a great team. Adrian was tough, energetic, had an iron will and was clear sighted. Roland was an intellectual with juristic theology.

With the rise of the law schools, especially that of Bologna, tradition was giving way to more formal legal concepts. The lawyers are beginning to argue their cases. Arguments and political concepts are being expressed in legal terms.

In the mid C11 Peter Damian, seemingly seeing the papal and imperial roles as equal and interdependent, had written to Henry IV

.....Just as both powers, the royal and the priestly, are joined to one another in the first place in Christ by the special truth of a sacrament, so too they are mutually bound to one another in the Christian people by a kind of covenant. Each in turn needs the services of the other. The priesthood is defended by the royal protection while the kingship is sustained by the holiness of the priestly office. The king is girded with a sword so that he may go armed against the enemies of the church. The priest devotes himself to vigils of prayer so that he may win God's favour for king and people.

However, the papal theory of papal monarchy, which Adrian inherited, is the translation of the petrine commission in terms of government and leadership as well as a priestly and episcopal role. Christianity concerned the whole of man who was an integrated and indivisible whole. Human actions could not be compartmentalised and therefore the papacy alone had the right to lay down the rules of human conduct. In an early letter Adrian talks of the people as Corpus Christi of faithful. He is the caput; the head, alone entitled and bound to direct and govern the whole body of Christians in consonance with its underlying purpose. To execute the monachus, ruler, aspect of his role effectively he appoints an auxiliary in the person of the emperor of the Romans; technically called the *bracchium Romanae Ecclesiae* who has consequently no autonomous status. The Popes see spiritual power as being greater than temporal power as it is devolved straight from God. Adrian was one of the first popes to style himself the Vicar of Christ. Being the successor of St Peter and keeper of his relics was no longer considered enough. The Pope receives his power; religious and secular, from the True Monarch- Christ.

Frederick, prompted by this consistent stand of Pope Adrian supported by the ever capable Roland, tried to define his own theory. Together with his chancery he worked out, doctrinally, a dualist theory of government characterised, if you please by a double vicariate of Christ, one in the Pope and one in the emperor. This somewhat strange hybrid theory became official von Hohenstaufen policy.

Frederick became king of the Germans in February 1152 and had entered North Italy in Autumn 1154. Once again we are in a situation of mutual need. Frederick was coming for his crown and Adrian, newly enthroned, needed his aid due to extremely strained relations with William I of Sicily. What happened when these two important men came into contact with each other the following spring?

The territory for battle had already been marked out before our heroes first met outside Rome. In 1133 when Lothair III, predecessor of Frederick, came to Rome for his coronation he accepted certain disputed territories from the Pope and according to feudal customs did homage to the pope for these lands acquired. A little later there

appeared in the Lateran palace a mosaic with the emperor kneeling at the feet of the pope performing the act of vassalage. The accompanying words read. *After becoming liegeman of the Pope the king receives the crown from him.* The implication being that Lothair had received his entire empire as a fief from the Pope. Frederick was determined and ready to avoid any similar compromising situations.

So when Frederick Barbarossa approached Rome for that initial meeting and his coronation he came warily and mistrustfully. Determined not to be caught out. Determined to assert his supremacy. Immediately on meeting Adrian he refused to follow tradition by holding his stirrup and thus acting as equerry to Adrian as they advanced towards Rome together. 24 hour stand off across the stirrup. Then Frederick was persuaded that this was quite customary and had no other implications. He compromised. He wanted that crown. Luckily for him history does not relate that a further mosaic appeared in the Lateran stating that Frederick on becoming emperor became the pope's equerry!!

Now, I can only think that the Romans were doomed to suffer perpetual withdrawal symptoms from free bread and circuses. A more troublesome and less co-operative bunch of people seems hard to find. Shortly before this all important meeting they were being led in opposition to papal power by Arnold of Brescia. At the beginning of Adrian's papacy, in spite of the usual papal bribes, the Romans had allowed extremists to manhandle a cardinal. Adrian had dealt with them. He placed the city under an ecclesiastical interdict which at that time was a frightening thing. Arnold of Brescia had been exiled but escaped straight into the arms of the advancing German Army. His execution did not endear Frederick and his men to our Romans. Partisans from the Roman commune had already written to Frederick on his accession condemning the 'heretical lie' of the Donation of Constantine on which you may remember rested much of the justification for Roman temporal rule. I can't help but feel that there, at least, they had a point.

As the papal and imperial parties approached Rome they were met by envoys from the Roman municipal government which called itself the senate of Rome. These senators announced the imperial crown lay in their gift and they would be glad to bestow it on Frederick on their own terms.

Frederick was furious at this presumption, denounced the Romans as corrupt and degenerate and claimed the empire was his by right of conquest. This alienated the Romans. It must have caused deep concern to Adrian. Adrian, however, had his plans for the coronation and kept his own council.

In the New Year of 1153 imperial and papal envoys had concluded the Treaty of Constance in which the obligations in Italy of both powers were defined, almost entirely to the advantage of the Roman Church. Frederick agreed not to make peace with Roger of Sicily or the Romans without papal consent. He also guaranteed to restore the regalia of St Peter; i.e. temporal power. Finally he agreed not to allow the Greek Empire to renew its old territorial power in Italy. The papacy, under Anastasius IV also agreed not to enter into alliances with the Normans and Romans.

In fulfilment of the Treaty of Constance and partly in anger at his treatment by the Romans, Frederick showed himself less than friendly. He refused to bribe them and closed the Ponte Sant'Angelo and Leonine City for the coronation ceremony. The Romans were not allowed to attend. So they rioted instead. The riots were put down with the usual brutality but Frederick never entered Rome proper. So here he was; a roman emperor with no triumphal entry, no entry of any sort into Rome itself.

So what about the coronation 10 days after the affair of the stirrup? Was that a marvellous and wonderful event? In brief; not really. Even Frederick accepted that only a pope could crown an emperor. But Frederick was in alien territory. He didn't speak Latin, he had put the Roman backs up and it is usually acknowledged that popes know more about papal ceremonial than do emperors. Frederick was at a disadvantage.

Let us consider their coronations. At his coronation a few months earlier the Pope had received the imperial scarlet mantle. He had been physically elevated and enthroned upon the throne of St Peter. The papal crown was a mitre with two rings symbolising sacerdotal and regal powers. Other ceremonies including the kissing of his feet by the cardinals and his remaining seated for their kiss of peace all underlined his supremacy.

Due to the Roman rabble Frederick's coronation got off to a bad start. Owing to the need for security public ceremonial was out. So our mighty emperor entered St Peter's through the back entrance. All symbolic acts outside St. Peter's had to be omitted. I get the impression that Frederick meekly accepted the proposed (or inflicted?) formulae so as to get the crown on his head and escape the misery of the eternal city with all possible haste.

First came the scrutiny; the examination. Frederick submitted himself to this formal examination by the Pope to ascertain that he was the best choice!! However as he didn't speak Latin the situation must have bordered on the farcical. The correct answers were whispered to Frederick. Answers in a language he did not understand to questions he did not understand.

Then, some modifications to the ceremonial were introduced by Adrian. Modifications which aimed to show that his was not an autonomous but a derivative imperial position.

The consecration was carried out by the cardinals at a side altar. He was anointed, not with chrism, but with a lower grade oil and not on the head but between the shoulder blades and on the right arm, the seat of physical strength.

In the second part the Pope alone conferred the imperial insignia. The sword, sign of physical power, was taken from the main altar, that of St Peter and given to Frederick personally by the Pope! The sceptre; sign of imperial jurisdiction, came via the same route. Frederick's was the first coronation at which a ring is omitted as an imperial symbol. There was no provision for an enthronement and during the ceremony he kissed the pope's feet. All this put the pope's position into the greatest possible relief.

The next day Frederick marched North in the direction of home territory.

Well, there was no obvious winner of round one. Adrian had certainly scored points and could be said to have won some sort of moral victory. However the emperor had done nothing to help with his two territorial problems; the Romans and the Normans.

And he must have felt vulnerable. For the Normans had marched north into Campagna as Frederick and his army were marching south, crossing the frontier on May 30th. It could have been worse had William of Sicily not had baronial problems back home.

Then the Germans set about collecting imperial taxes in Italy, for which activity there was indeed a precedent. None the less it caused a clash with the papal authorities. Frederick further inflamed matters by taking a feudal oath from Tivoli.

This last led to an ill advised involvement of Adrian with the Normans and Greeks. Against the treaty of Constance he entered into the Treaty of Benevento with William of Sicily. William, in return for lands, would give the Pope military and financial help against the Romans.

This political wrangling came to a head in 1157 at the imperial Diet of Besançon. The pope sent two legates to the Diet, one of them his chancellor. With them he sent a letter to be read out in public. Adrian in this letter stated that he had conferred on Frederick the emblem of the imperial crown and that he would be willing in future to bestow still greater benefits. There are several possible interpretations of what happened next.

The row which followed revolved around the implications of the word *beneficium*. Like many Latin words in the middle ages it was a word with two meanings; the original Latin sense; in this case, of benefit or the later feudal sense; here, of fiefdom. It could be said that the pope was leaving the emperor in no doubt as to whom he considered had ultimate power. Or was it used in a deliberately ambiguous way hoping that it could be interpreted according to the need of the moment? However, as we have already discovered Frederick did not speak Latin and was therefore once again having to rely on a third party. Was it all the fault of the interpreter? Did Rainald of Dassel, his chancellor, translate the word in question in the medieval sense, the more likely meaning to the Germans, when it was intended in the classical sense. Whatever the fact, this did not make for good relations. A lot of noise from the assembled company and Frederick had to intervene to prevent one of his nobles cutting down our Pope's messenger.

So the war of words has reached an impasse. What do siblings do if they can't win a war of words? You act. Immediately after this incident the personal property of the papal legates was confiscated. Not only confiscated but searched. Then humiliatingly, the following day the papal legates were dispatched under imperial escort to the imperial frontier. Both the pope and the emperor wrote to the German bishops giving their own account of events. Adrian, understandably, complained about the treatment

his legates had received and simply repeated his original terminology, that which had caused the fuss, with no explanation. The bishops to a man supported Frederick.

Prohibition of appeals and visits to Rome followed and as a consequence an increase in frontier guards. Adrian's legates on being sent to the Diet, had been charged with visitation of churches in the imperial territories. This, as you may guess, was not well received by those in control of imperial policy as the intended visitation attacked the roots of Frederick's monarchic conceptions. Perhaps the row over beneficium gave Frederick some form of plausible reason for sending the legates packing. After all he had already proclaimed his intention of a total reform and was not going to allow HIS imperial church to be controlled by the pope and his legates. His reforms included a noticeable tightening up of imperial control over the priesthood, a move which you might like to compare with the Becket Henry II problem which within less than 15 years was to end in such tragedy. Their basic difference was, if you remember, over who was to try criminal clerks.

According to Frederick and his chancellor Rainald there is no such thing as jurisdictional or legislative primacy of the Roman church. The pope, just because he is the Pope, cannot issue binding instructions or decrees. The empire is to be governed solely by the sacred civil laws and by the ancient customs. The papal action at the coronation was considered a mere formality to which the elected candidate had a right and consequently the pope had a duty to perform.

Then Frederick made his ill advised suggestion that Adrian should be deposed. He was an uncanonical pope because his father was a priest. He forgot, or didn't think, to ask if Adrian was an uncanonical pope where did that leave his imperial title?

In the months following the argument at Besançon we find a fabricated correspondence, almost certainly the work of Frederick's chancellor Rainald promoting the idea of an independent imperial church and at the same time the Empire gets the name we know it by The Holy Roman Empire; a title Professor Ullman suggests is simply an expression of the current royal-lay ideology shared with our own Henry II.

Their last skirmish began in 1158. Frederick came to Italy to collect the already disputed imperial hospitality and on the way south discovered that Ravenna and Ancona had made agreements with the Byzantine forces. As most of the bishops of the Italian Eastern seaboard failed to attend the great Imperial diet at Roncaglia it was obvious that this area was not very supportive of Frederick's cause. Adrian refused to confirm the appointment of a new archbishop of Ravenna by Frederick. This further inflamed the situation.

Adrian was keen to maintain control over his possessions in central Italy and not see this area revert to imperial rule. Papal interests thus demanded a vigorous reaction to Frederick's governmental measures in the area. At first politely, then more vigorously Adrian refused the nomination.

In the Summer of 1159 the Pope protested loudly against the whole of the emperor's policy in Italy. Frederick had violently invaded the patrimony of St Peter. The emperor was asked to send no more envoys to Rome without papal knowledge. The collection of Imperial hospitality tax was to stop in the papal patrimonies except on the occasion of the emperor's coronation.

Frederick, however, had cause to be annoyed. After all Adrian had violated the Treaty of Constance with the Treaty of Benevento. To Frederick it could indeed be seen as a preparatory move to an anti German alliance. Frederick gave his ambassadors instructions to reach an agreement with the Pope and if not to sign a peace with the Roman commune.

Finally, Adrian, shortly before his death, received a delegation from the north Italian cities. The intervention by the pope in a quarrel between Lombardy and the emperor was to be one of the most explosive issues of the age.

When Adrian died he left the papal states restored but in an increasingly serious state of friction between the Pope and the emperor. Imperial administration was asserting itself more aggressively and inevitably the papal government in temporal power was running into difficulties. The pope supported opposition to the emperor in Lombardy and emperors supported opposition to the Pope in the Papal states. Times were not improving.

Roger of Wendover had not seen fit to include in his chronicle the coronation of Frederick. It was left to Matthew Paris with the perfect vision of hindsight to realise that this marked a new chapter in European international relations and insert into this document just one sentence; *Frethericus consecratus est in imperatorem ab Adriano Papa.*

Gail Thomas

THE LINCOLN PROBLEM

The Abbey of St. Alban, being in the Diocese of Lincoln, was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln. He could and would make visits to check on the state of the House both spiritually and morally. Unfortunately for Robert de Chesney, the fourth Bishop of Lincoln, an unworldly Bishop found himself pitted against an astute and ambitious Abbot in the shape of Abbot Robert de Gorham. He was involved in a dispute which he couldn't win and was a loss for his diocese.

By the 12th century monasteries were growing restless of the rule of the bishops. The previous two centuries had seen the church beginning to reform itself. Cluny, founded in 914, was a centre for reform as were the other houses which were founded about this time. Their influence spread wider and wider and this was encouraged by the emperor in Germany, Henry III. Henry then turned his attention to the papacy in Rome which had been the fiefdom of one particular Italian family. These popes had to spend a lot of time and energy in maintaining their position in Rome; their field of vision narrowly Italian. The movement from north of the Alps hardly touched them. At the end of 1044 the last of these popes was driven out by an opposition party. When the new pope was accused of simony and deposed, Henry stepped in. His purpose was to "lift the papacy out of the field of Roman politics". He gained the right to control the election of pope and the next four popes were German bringing with them their own officials.

When this upheaval had settled somewhat, the popes began to extend their influence over the church as a whole. The reformers in England, France and Germany had sought moral reform within the framework of the existing law and constitution of the church but when the spirit of reform penetrated Rome, that changed. For those in Rome the first consideration was not moral reform but the reinforcement of papal authority.

Meanwhile monasteries were trying to ensure their own security. They could be seen as property capable of appropriation and possession by others. Several abbeys had arrangements with the papacy and received charters. These charters did not give exemption from the diocese; they merely safeguarded the regular life of the monks; but by establishing a close connection between the abbey concerned and the Apostolic See they paved the way for concessions in the future.

At the same time monasteries hedged their bets by seeking protection also from the secular power. Very often a royal founder would endow a new foundation with very extensive liberties and immunities which could mean not only freedom from external control but the authority to exercise rights over certain lands. Two of the earliest alleged grants of this kind were to St. Albans and Evesham both of which are connected with Offa.

After the Norman conquest, the policy of William I was to respect the status quo of the English institutions and to settle all controversies at home and prevent the papal movement towards centralisation from gaining the upper hand. However, in the 12th century a new era began which was brought to a head by the direct action of the Roman Curia which was keen to extend its influence. It was able to do this with the multitude of constantly repeated day-by-day transactions - individually not important but, taken as whole, made its authority a reality.

There began a series of encroachments by which Rome, in spite of the energetic resistance of some of the English kings, gradually debased the Church and which, in the end, according to some, led to the Reformation.

The first step in this series was the admission of legates into England who were responsible only to the Pope.

The next step was the conferring of a perpetual legatine authority upon the Archbishop of Canterbury so that the real ecclesiastical authority of the land was superseded and the controlling power was in Rome.

The third step was the crusade against married clergy and the system of appeals to Rome against decisions of English synods.

But the most complete overthrow of discipline was brought about by the rise of monastic exemptions granted arbitrarily by the Pope which paralysed the power of the Bishops to correct abuses. The rise of monastic exemptions may not have actually started right here in St. Albans; but the actions of Abbot Robert must have had an influence on subsequent events. The actions of St. Albans are very well documented by Matthew Paris who of course puts the case for his House.

As soon as word reached St. Albans that one of its pupils, Nicholas Breakspear, had become Pope Adrian IV in 1054, Abbot Robert told his monks that the ancient dignity of their house would be restored and become the premier abbey of England. He immediately started preparations for the journey to Rome. Horses and money were collected and especially the most important commodity - a store of costly presents to smooth his way around the papal court; in particular three beautiful mitres and a pair of sandals embroidered by Christina of Markyate for the pope. The *Gesta Abbatum* recounts that Christina of Markyate sent 3 mitres and a pair of sandals, *embroidered by her own hands*, to Pope Adrian IV when Abbot Robert went to Rome in 1155. It would be interesting to know how long these preparations took, after all he couldn't send someone into the market to buy the presents. We don't know how long it would have taken Christina to embroider the sandals and three mitres but the preparations must have taken some months.

Another important part of the preparations was getting a reason for the trip. The Abbot got himself entrusted by the king with matters to negotiate with the pope.

He set off with three bishops and their retainers. We don't know, either, how long the journey would have taken but travel was fairly commonplace. "*I have ten times passed the chain of the Alps*," wrote John of Salisbury in 1159. Being a scholar he probably had less reason to travel than, for instance, a merchant. They seemed to have had an uneventful journey to Beneventum where they found the Pope. The Pope received the Abbot graciously and joked with him about his rejection by St. Albans. "*Your House didn't do much for me*". "*Ah, but you were destined for greater things*". Matthew Paris relates that the Abbot '*with tears and sobs*' - remember that - spoke of the '*various oppressions, the violence, the imperious demands, the ruinous rejections of suits, on the part of the Bishop of Lincoln, and the pride of the bishop's men, even mean persons*'. The Pope took pity on these grievances and announced his intention of conferring upon his beloved abbey "an extraordinary privilege". May be he saw a chance to extend his influence through this Abbey.

A bull was issued which ran "We decree that all who are dwellers in the said monastery, as well as all those who are inhabitants of its dependant houses (cells), or who are acting as guardians of its rights in any vills (in custodiis vilarum) shall be altogether free from all subjection to bishops, and shall have no bishop whatever for the future, except the Roman Pontiff." And in addition to this, says the chronicler, "he gave us many other noble privileges, so that no abbey in England was to be compared for its privileges to St. Albans."

So it was a well satisfied abbot who returned to his brethren in St. Albans and, "entering the chapter-house told them the various adventures of his journey and its final success."

Very soon Abbot Robert had a chance to make his success more public. A synod was held in London at which the archbishop, many bishops and abbots were present. The Bishop of Lincoln was absent, fearing, it is said, to hear what the abbot had brought from Rome, but he sent representatives.

At this synod Abbot Robert showed the Pope's letter, which declared the Feast of St. Alban a day to be observed in all churches. Once this was accepted without opposition, he produced other - more contentious - letters, one of which declared that the Processions of the county of Hertford were to be made no longer to the cathedral at Lincoln but to the Abbey of St. Albans. This appalled the clergy who immediately lodged an appeal to Rome. Both parties left the synod to prepare for the struggle. The Bishop of Durham, acting as arbitrator, arranged a meeting between the bishop and the abbot at St. Neot's on the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude. The outcome was probably favourable to the abbot as he quickly took the occasion to send a present of two magnificent gold and silver candelabra to his friend the Pope. He entrusted them to two monks, his nephews Geoffrey and Robert de Gorham. They were well received, and the Pope in return gave Abbott the right to wear "the episcopal ornaments". At the same time the Pope confirmed the privileges already granted. It thus became evident to the Bishop of Lincoln, that he stood no chance of regaining the privileges from the Pope. He decided to bide his time. Time was on his side; he was young and would probably out last the other two.

The Pope died unexpectedly not long after; there is a suggestion of poison. The Abbot being equal to the situation sent a messenger in great haste to congratulate the new pope, Alexander III, and to ask for continuance of the privileges. Pope Alexander confirmed the privileges, so the Bishop of Lincoln had to think of another strategy.

The only ally left to him was the king, who was in France. According to the partial Matthew Paris, the bishop prejudiced the king against St. Albans and was given authority to act summarily. He returned to England and, on advice of some of the bishops, made a formal demand on St. Albans to have the processions returned to Lincoln and the reinstatement of episcopal visits. The Abbot naturally refused both demands.

The bishop appealed to the king's justiciary, Robert Earl of Leicester, who summoned both parties to appear before him at Northampton. The Bishop of Lincoln came accompanied by his kinsman, Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, and a crowd of his clerics. The Bishop of Hereford spoke for his relative. "*The abbots of St. Albans being within the diocese of Lincoln, have always been subject to the bishops of that see; they have been blessed by them and made their professions of obedience there.*"

Here is the profession of this very Abbot Robert. The lord of Lincoln then can rightly claim the processions and the due refection at St. Albans, but the abbot flatly refuses to accord him this. Therefore let the justice of the king be done." The Abbot of St. Albans answered that it is probable that there was some profession of obedience to the see of Lincoln, but the dignity and freedom of St. Albans existed of old and were conferred upon it by King Offa, its founder.

The meeting soon became a mere squabble between the parties as to the alleged ancient privileges of the abbey, and certain commissioners were appointed to investigate these. The abbot then played his next card, a letter from Pope Alexander to the Abbot, in which, after reciting the favours, he also states that, not being able to deny the just claims put forward by the Bishop of Lincoln, he has appointed two judges, the Bishops of Chichester and Norwich, to hear the case and take evidence, and send it to him for the final settlement.

The King, on his return from France, was extremely angry at this outside interference. He summoned the parties to appear at the council he was about to hold at Westminster in the middle of Lent 1163. Long and bitter were the pleadings on both sides. The abbot quoted alleged ancient privileges and immunities of the abbey, which, he said had been at various times recognised and acknowledged by the Bishops of Lincoln. He did not plead the Pope's bulls of exemption, as the king was very unlikely to accept them. The king said to the abbot "*You have no right to make the church tributary to the Roman see. This can not be done without my consent.*" The Abbot said that he had not done so. The king then asked to see the documents. "*Let us see then the copy of these privileges which are especially odious to the Lincoln people, and which they are wont to call 'herned'.*" The Abbot produced them saying "*Here they are, but I solemnly declare they were not asked for by me nor at my instance. They were given freely by Pope Adrian to the church of St. Alban's, in a village belonging to which he was born.*" Is this what we now call "being literal with the truth"? Remember the sobs and tears and complaints of the Lincoln 'oppressions' which led the pope to make the concessions?

When his turn came, the Bishop of Lincoln had no written documents but simply prescription and usage. His argument was that St. Albans had always been under the episcopal control of the Bishop of Lincoln; why should it now be exempted? The king then asked the Bishop if he would consider a compromise. He said "*The abbot alleges that it was originally free, but that by the carelessness of his predecessors it became subject to your see; that now the Pope has restored it to its original state. Will you contend further about the matter, or will you agree to some compromise?*" Go, consult with your dean and canons". After consultation with his clergy, the bishop agreed to a compromise. The king then went to the abbot with a proposal. The abbot agreed to give the manor of Tynghurst, of the value of £10 yearly in exchange for the perpetual freedom of the Abbey and its dependencies from the control of the Bishop of Lincoln, and for the right of procession from such parts of Hertfordshire as were within the see of Lincoln. This was duly confirmed by charters, the originals of which are still at Lincoln.

The King's charter declared that "Robert, Bishop of Lincoln with the assent of his chapter, abandoned the controversy against Robert, Abbot of St. Albans and the brethren, touching the privileges of the Abbey of St. Albans, and the 15 churches in its territory, and would never move it again, for the consideration of the vill of

Tynghurst, with its church and pertinences to the value of land worth ten pounds yearly, to be held freely by the church of Lincoln for ever, the chapter of Lincoln consenting. And the bishop resigns all the right that he had in the said abbey of St. Albans, and over the person of Robert, the abbot, and his successors, and over the 15 said churches, into the hand of me the king. Wherefore I will that henceforth it shall be free to the said abbey and churches to take the chrism, and the oil, and the benediction of the abbot, and all the other sacraments of the church, without opposition from the Bishop of Lincoln, from whatever bishop they please, and the abbey shall remain free in my hands for ever, like the king's chapels. But the other churches belonging to the monastery in divers parts of the diocese of Lincoln shall pay due obedience to the bishop and his archdeacons, any privileges which the monks may claim as to these churches notwithstanding."

So the matter was settled. The abbot returned in triumph to St. Albans and at the following Easter wore the mitre, gloves and sandals at Mass as if he were a bishop. You will have seen in our great Flemish brass Abbot Thomas de la Mare wearing this pontificalia. In 1161 St. Albans was awarded all seven papal ornaments - staff, ring, sandals, gloves, tunic, dalmatic and mitre. It seems that St. Albans was awarded all seven at once. They were often granted in batches as in the case of Westminster who got all but in three batches. Bury St. Edmunds only got the mitre and ring but was awarded also the Episcopal benediction - the first in England to do so. This award to St. Albans would have been granted by Pope Alexander III. Twice a year the abbot convened the synods of his clergy and processed at their head in the episcopal ornaments. He did leave to a bishop all ordinations to the priesthood, consecration of oil and dedications of churches and altars. As a mitred abbot he sat in the House of Lords as an equal of the bishops.

When Abbot Robert died on 20 October 1166, King Henry II got his own back in a way by exercising his right to appoint a new abbot. He kept the Abbey vacant for several months before appointing Symon.

There is a reference to the Abbot of St. Albans in a Codex in the Lambeth Palace Library which mentions that "*At the coronation of Henry III the mitred abbots being placed next to the Bishops, John of Saint Albans was the first of them.*"

Later on, possibly in the reign of Richard II, St. Albans lost its pre-eminence to Westminster. It would only have been the top abbot status that Westminster appropriated; this abbey would have retained the other privileges. The abbot would still have had his own synods and processions at which he wore the pontifical ornaments. In 1399 the body of John of Gaunt rested here on its way to London for burial; Henry Beaufort, one of Gaunt's sons by Catherine Swinford, and then Bishop of Lincoln, was admitted to the abbey **under certain restrictions** to perform the exequies in person. However, St. Albans seems to have recovered pre-eminent status at some time because, in the list of signatures attached to the Articles of Faith drawn up in Convocation in 1536, that of Robert Catton, Abbot of St. Albans is first and next to him that of William Benson Abbot of Westminster.

Whether or not this controversy sowed the seeds of destruction for the Church in England which culminated in the Reformation is a matter of opinion. The movement for exemption of Benedictine abbeys was already under way by the middle of the 12th century. Abbot Robert de Gorham had an excellent opportunity to exploit the situation and he took it. Dom David Knowles says that by the end of the 12th century,

7 abbeys were exempt and three of these St. Albans, Bury St. Edmunds and Westminster - owed their freedom in almost equal measure to both king and pope; in each case the original immunity was a royal grant, and in each case the abbey had taken out a counter-insurance by putting itself under the direct authority of the pope.

Pope Adrian IV was generous to St. Albans. The exemption from the authority of the Bishop of Lincoln was one of the few such exemptions granted by him, and St. Albans profited greatly from the one whom it refused entry as a monk.

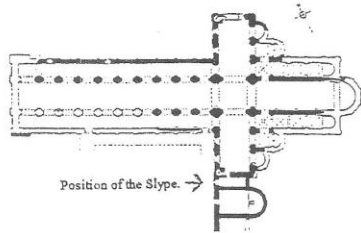
Margaret Wilson

Bibliography:

1. Barraclough, Geoffrey, *The Medieval Papacy*, Thames & Hudson, 1968, rep 1992
2. Knowles, Dom David, *The Monastic Order in England*, Camb. U.P. 1940, rep 1950
3. Zarnecki, George, *The Herbert History of Art & Architecture - Romanesque*, 1989
4. Canons Perry, George & Overton, John, *The Bishops of Lincoln 1067 - 1885*, 1990
5. Talbot, C.H., ed., *The Life of Christina of Markyate*,
6. Nicholson, Rev. H.J.B., & Page, W., *St Albans Cathedral & Abbey Church*, Gibbs and Bamforth and Richardson, 1911

ROMANESQUE BLIND ARCADING

The Romanesque blind arcading now over the South Transept door was originally a decorative feature in the slype - the passage between the Church and the chapter house. It was part of the rebuilding by Abbot Robert de Gorham in the early 1160's and is an example of the high point of Romanesque art.



Engraving of the slype (The Builder, 1836)

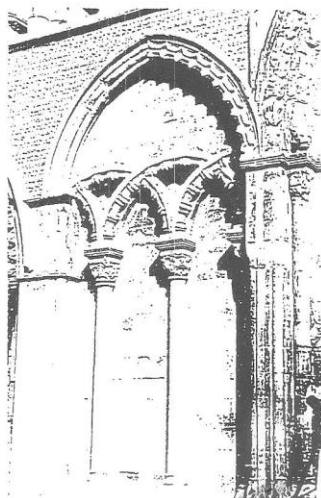


During his restoration of the Abbey, Lord Grimthorpe moved the arcading on the north side of the slype (the left hand side of the sketch above) and placed it in its present position. The rest of the slype was destroyed in 1980 when the modern Chapter House was built.

The intersecting arches have a "bobbin" motif - rings at close intervals - described by Pevsner as "bent spinal cords". The only parallel of this design in this country is on the west front of Dunstable Priory though this probably dates from c.1170-85.



Detail of 12th century Slype arcading.



Romanesque Arcading on West wall of Dunstable Priory.

The arches stand on capitals which are highly decorated. The band at the top of each capital has beaded interlace - very much used throughout western Europe and each band, or abacus, differs from the others. The decoration of each capital, also, is individual. Starting with the capital repositioned on the west wall at the head of the Michael Stairs they show:-

1. Small feline faces with stems (removed from the central column when the doorway was cut).
2. 3. 4. Variations of leaf forms with interlaced stems.
5. The Green Man disgorging stems ending in leaves.
6. Two Viking type birds biting their wings; the tails entwined.
Doorway to Chapter house.
7. Two people holding bags. Between them an owl like figure - possibly something called a *nycticorax*.
- 8.9. Various leaves
10. Geometric shapes.
11. Leaves centred on the corner of the capital.

Most of these motifs were used throughout western Europe. Scandinavian motifs, for instance, can be seen along the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostella. The "bobbin" motif of the arches, however, does not seem to appear elsewhere apart from Dunstable Priory. Had Lord Grimthorpe not moved the arcade from its original position, it would have been destroyed in 1980 when the modern chapter house was built. A BIG plus point should go to Lord Grimthorpe for preserving so important and unusual example of 12th century sculpture!

Margaret Wilson
March 1998

CATHEDRAL AND ABBEY CHURCH OF ST ALBAN

ADRIAN IV STUDY DAY

The High Altar Screen

VIII. ST. HUGH, Bishop of Lincoln, was born in the year 1140, and consecrated Bishop of that See in 1180. He was a devout and holy man, stern in the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, fearless in his resistance to oppression, by whomsoever exercised. He died in the year 1200, and was canonized about eighty years afterwards. His festival is kept on the 17th November.

I have placed him here, though St. Albans itself was not under his rule, because the greater part of this county was included in his diocese till the year 1845, and he was one of the greatest Bishops of Lincoln. He is dressed in his Carthusian habit, with cope and mitre, carrying a crosier and three lilies; and his tame swan is at his feet. An altar consecrated in his honour stood at the northernmost of the three arches at the east of the Saint's chapel. In it were deposited certain relics brought hither by St. Germanus; and it was therefore called also the Altar of Relics.

IX ADRIAN IV., Bishop of Rome. Under this name NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR, born at Abbots Langley, and whose father became a monk in St Albans Abbey, was enthroned as POPE on Christmas Day in the year 1154 and died Sept. 1, 1159. His was a turbulent and troublesome reign, and though he was a man of high character, learned, a great preacher, and of a mild and kindly bearing, the same bent of mind which led him to enforce rightly very strict discipline as Abbot of St. Rufus near Valencia, led him as Pope to exalt overmuch the claims of the Papal See over all estates of men from the great Emperor Frederick I. downwards. But he was a mighty man in his day, and deserves a statue in this Abbey as having raised himself from a menial position, as a neighbouring peasant's son, to the most exalted position in the Christian Church, and as having been the only one of our countrymen who ever attained to it.

He wears the single-crowned tiara of his time, and bears the keys of St. Peter in his hand.

An Account of the High Altar Screen in the Cathedral of St Albans.
Henry Hicks Gibbs 1890

- ADRIAN IV., Pope [NICHOLAS BREAKSPERE]. See ALMF-DINGEN (Martha E.) The English Pope, Adrian IV., etc. [With a portrait.] 1925. 8°. 4855. ee. 20.
- See BREYER (R.) Die Legation des Kardinalbischofs Nikolaus von Albano in Skandinavien, etc. [1893.] 4°. 4532. g. 10.(4.)
- See EGGERS (A.) Die Urkunde Papst Hadrians IV. für König Heinrich II. von England über die Besetzung Irlands. 1922. 8°. [Historische Studien. Hft. 151.] 09010.d.1/151.
- See JOHNSEN (A. O.) Studier vedrørende Kardinal Nikolaus Brekespears legasjon til nordn. 1945. 8°. 4856. ni. 4.
- ✕ See MACKIE (John D.) Pope Adrian IV., etc. 1907. 8°. 4855. c. 43.
- See MACQUIN (N.) La plus grande Gloire des Anglais; ou, histoire du Pape Adrien IV., etc. 1854. 12°. 4856. aa. 39.
- See MALONE (Sylvester) Adrian IV. and Ireland. 1899. 16°. 9509. a. 27.
- ✕ See MANN (Horace K.) Nicholas Breakspear (Hadrian IV.), etc. 1914. 8°. 4856. c. 31.
- See RABY (Richard) Pope Adrian IV., etc. 1849. 16°. 4855. c. 29.
- See SCHROERS (H.) Untersuchungen zu dem Streite Kaiser Friedrichs I. mit Papst Hadrian IV., 1157-1158. 1916. 4°. 4571. g. 9.
- See STERLE (Francesca M.) The Story of the English Pope. 1908. 8°. 03560. h. 2/1.
- ✕ See TABLETON (A. H.) Nicholas Breakspear, etc. 1896. 4°. 4856. f. 12.
- See YORKE (P. A.) The Alleged Bull of Pope Adrian IV. (transferring the sovereignty of Ireland to King Henry II. of England), etc. 1886. 8°. 8139. bb. 42. (11.)
- Epistolæ. 1808. See BOUQUET (M.) Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, etc. tom. 15. 1738, etc. fol.
- Επιστολή πεμφθεῖσα παρὰ . . . Ἀδριανῶν πρὸς . . . Βασιλεῖον τοῦ Ἀχιλιδίου . . . Epistola a . . . Adriano . . . missa ad Basilium Achridenū, etc. Gr. & Lat. See ZONARAS (J.) J. Zonaras . . . in Canones SS. Apostolorum . . . Commentarii, etc. 1618. fol. 4885. f. 10. 1605/1237.
- Papst trew Hadriani iij. vnd Alexanders iij. gegen Keyser Friderichen Barbarossa geübt. Aus der Historia [i.e. the Vitae Romanorum Pontificum of Robert Barne] zusammen gezogen . . . Mit einer Vorrede D. M. Luthers. MS. NOTES. Joseph Klay: Wittenberg. 1545. 1°. 3905. ee. 24.
- Papst trew Hadriani iij. vnd Alexanders iij. gegen Keyser Friderichen Barbarossa geübt. Aus der Historia [i.e. the Vitae Romanorum Pontificum of Robert Barne] zusammen gezogen . . . Mit einer Vorrede D. M. Luthers. Wendel Rihel: Strassburg. 1545. 1°. 3905. ee. 23.
- Ein hoffartiger sendebrieff weylant Babsts Adriani an Keyser Fridrich den ersten. Christliche antwort Keyser Friderichs auff Babsts Adriani sendebrieff. Aus der Historien des lebens vnd geschichten Keyser Friderichs Barbarossa gnannt getzogen. [1524?] 4°. T. 2205. (3.)
- Zwen Sendebriefe, einer Papsts Adriani des vierten, der ander Keyser Friderichs des ersten . . . verdeutschet, den vbermessigen, des Papsts vnd seiner Cardinel wñ Bischöffen gewalt vnd bracht betreffent, etc. [1535?] 4°. 3906. f. 8.
- Adriani iv. Papæ vitæ auctore Cardinali de Aragonia. Epistolæ et privilegia. 1855. See MIGNE (J. P.) Patrologia: cursus completus, etc. tom. 188. 1844, etc. 4°. 2000. g.

