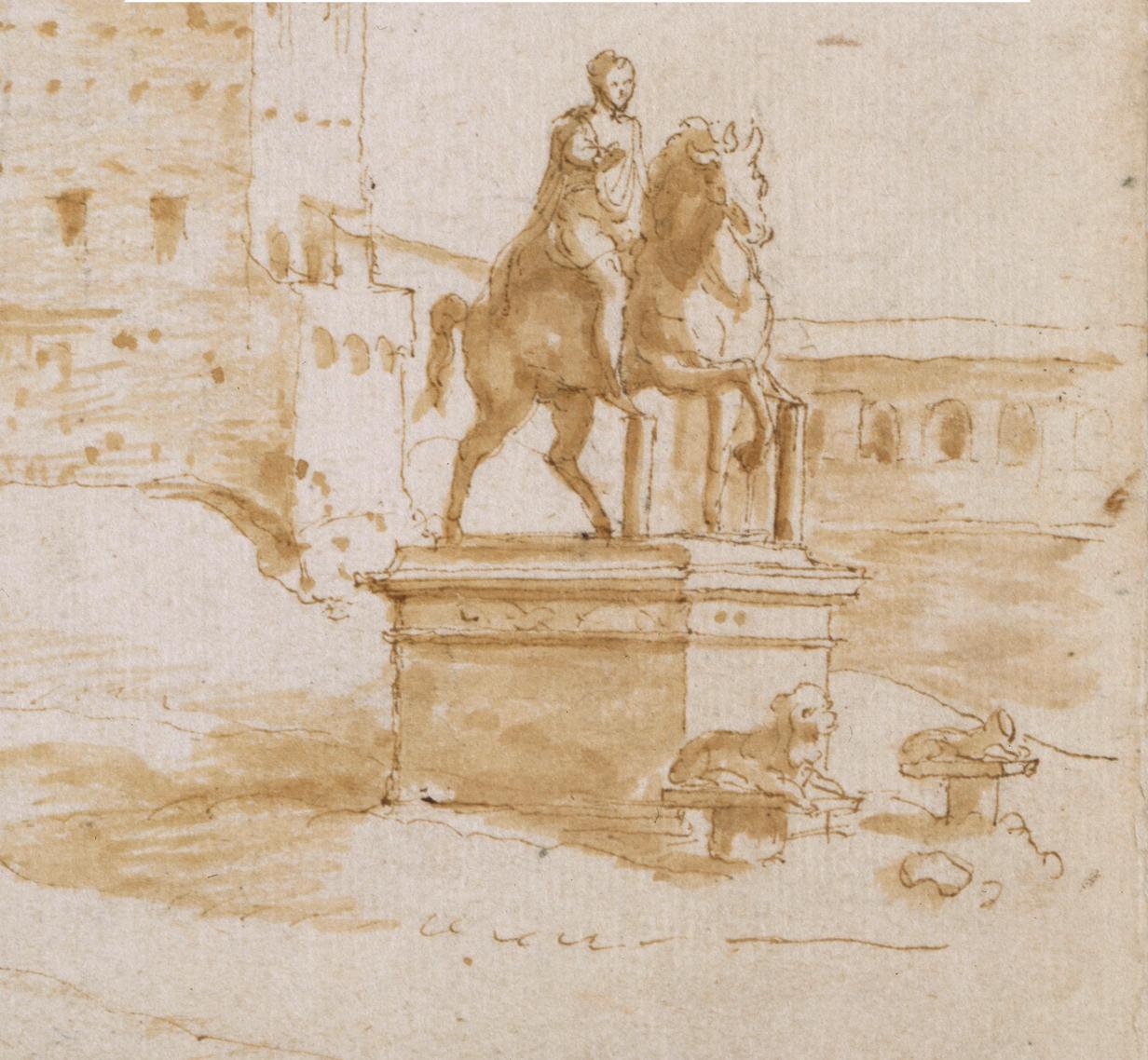


Julian Gardner

Fracta Doces

Thirteenth-Century Insular Visitors to Rome

VIELLA



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13

Julian Gardner

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Thirteenth-Century Insular Visitors to Rome

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Eine Welt zwar bist du, o Rom; doch ohne die Liebe
Wäre die Welt nicht die Welt, wäre denn Rom auch nicht Rom.

Goethe, *Römische Elegien*

Preface

Adam of Usk was a passionate Welshman. He had risen through his own abilities, of which he thought highly, and had played, he claimed, a central part in the lethal student riots at the University of Oxford in 1388-1389 as leader of the Welsh faction. He went to Rome primarily in search of preferment, and his *Chronicle* provides an unusual external light on a troubled period in Rome's history.¹ Adam soon achieved a prestigious post as auditor in the apostolic palace, and aspired to an English bishopric. He was nominated first to the see at Hereford, the nearest diocese to his hometown, and subsequently to that at St David's, the same Welsh archbishopric on which the ambitions of his earlier compatriot Gerald of Wales had foundered some two centuries before. Like Gerald, Adam was stymied by his nationality: the English establishment could not trust a Welshman.

Adam's Roman interlude lasted from 1402 until 1406. The metropolis was, if anything, more dilapidated than it had been at the time of Gerald's visits. He found the city repellent and its inhabitants disgusting. His *Chronicle* recorded a common night-time occupation:

I had lodgings close to St. Peter's palace, I often used to get up in the night to observe the behaviour of the wolves and the dogs. Although the watchdogs used to bark at the doors of their masters' houses to protect them, the wolves would carry off the smaller dogs virtually under the noses of the bigger ones, and despite the fact that the little ones howled even more loudly as they were being dragged away, in the hope of being rescued by the bigger ones, these big ones would do nothing about it except to bark even more; it seemed to me not dissimilar to the sort of comradeship shown by the powers that be to those who have been cast out from their country to wander through the forests.²

During the anti-papal riots at Rome in 1405, Adam was forced to disguise himself as a Dominican friar and to go into hiding to avoid being lynched. He left more rapidly than Gerald and even more furtively than Thomas of Marlborough, another insular visitor who will appear in the following pages.

Rome was a moving target. Notoriously, it was where the pope resided. Thus, when the "new" Rome was established at Avignon, many ambitious clerics from

1. Christopher Given-Wilson, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

2. Given-Wilson, *The Chronicle*, p. 194.

Britain found it more enticing. It was easier to reach, and the climate and the wine were superior. About 1319, Stephen of Kettelbergh wrote to his friend John Lutterell, former chancellor of the University of Oxford, alerting him to the possibilities on the banks of the Rhône.³ The new pope, a lawyer by training, had realised that the law was inadequate to treat the foundations of ecclesiastical power and now saw the need for theologians; if one were to cobble together a couple of attractive disputations, the place would be a gold mine.⁴ A bishopric, even an archbishopric, could be the prize. At Avignon, Lutterell participated in the commission of enquiry into the writings of William Ockham, and reaped valuable livings.⁵

Gerald, like Adam and Lutterell, sought advancement. He preceded Adam in the autobiographical content of his writings – often seeing the vicissitudes of his own career as a metaphor of his times. Of the four remarkable visitors who visited Rome in the period circumscribed by the pontificates of Innocent III (1198-1216), Honorius III (1216-1227) and Gregory IX (1227-1241), he was probably the most learned and certainly the vainest. Gervase of Tilbury, like Gerald a member of the ruling Anglo-Norman elite, was essentially a *flâneur* in the service of a ne'er-do-well emperor. Master Gregory, the most mysterious and the most penetrating of the insular visitors, is our primary guide for the antiquities of Rome, which he personally inspected. The churches were a distraction, useful markers for the location of antiquities. Thomas of Marlborough was a monastic litigant who, to an extent that flabbergasted even himself, won his court case in the Roman Curia and became Abbot of Evesham largely on the back of that success. We know little more of his background than we do that of Gregory.

These men shared a common educational background, but little else. Gerald was a scion of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy that had established itself in Wales, while Gervase was a courtier. Thomas, like Gerald, was a student at Paris University, and disputes with the Bishop of Worcester over the status of his abbey at Evesham propelled him to Rome. Although Master Gregory's career is shrouded in mystery, he was demonstrably well-connected and also highly educated. All could cite the classics by heart; all were fascinated by their experiences and wrote down what they saw, and often what they thought. It is these men whose experiences of Rome we shall examine in the following pages.

3. Herbert E. Salter, ed., *Snape's Formulary and Other Records*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 304-305; Jean Dunbabin, "Careers and Vocations", in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. I, ed. by Jeremy I. Catto, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 565-605: 580.

4. Sylvain Piron, "Avignon sous Jean XXII, l'Eldorado des théologiens", in *Jean XXII et le Midi (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 45)*, ed. by Michelle Fournié and Daniel le Blévec, Toulouse, Privat, 2012, pp. 358-391; William J. Courtenay, "The Academic and Intellectual Worlds of Ockham", in *The Cambridge Companion to Ockham*, ed. by Paul Vincent Spade, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 17-30: 25.

5. William J. Courtenay, "Theology and Theologians from Ockham to Wyclif", in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. II, ed. by Jeremy I. Catto and Ralph Evans, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 1-34: 16-17.

1. *Dramatis personae*

The personalities and social contexts of two early 13th-century Anglo-Norman observers of the Roman landscape, Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis) and Gervase of Tilbury, are relatively well-known. A third, Magister Gregorius, or Master Gregory, whose report on the monuments of Rome in the 13th century is uniquely important, is only dimly known as a personality and difficult to place either in time or place of origin. A fourth, who may serve as a kind of control, Thomas of Marlborough, was proctor and later abbot of the exempt Benedictine Abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire and also spent a significant period at the curia. However, his mind was typically on more mundane things, like winning his case and evading his creditors.¹ Thomas, like Gerald, was inclined to view the contemporary world through his own prism.

Some time after 1208, Gerald composed what amounts to an incomplete autobiography, the *De rebus a se gestis* (*The Events of His Own Life*).² This can be complemented by passages from his later *De iure et statu Menevenensis Ecclesiae* (*On the Rights and Status of the Church of St David's*), which was composed between 1215 and 1218, shortly before the date he is presumed to have died. We can also draw on the slightly earlier *De invectionibus* (*On Shameful Attacks*); both texts are concerned with the dispute about the bishopric of St David's in West Wales. From this, we can deduce that Gerald's life was dominated by two preoccupations: himself, and his ultimately unsuccessful struggle to succeed his uncle as bishop of St David's. Other autobiographical details are scattered throughout his voluminous writings, which occupy eight substantial volumes in the Rolls Series.

1. Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. by Jane E. Sayers and Leslie Watkiss, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 344-346; Jane E. Sayers, "English Benedictine Monks at the Papal Court in the Thirteenth Century: The Experience of Thomas of Marlborough in a Wider Context", *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 2 (2013), pp. 109-129. Similarities in the cases had already been noted in M. Spaethen, "Giraldus Cambrensis und Thomas von Evesham über die von ihnen an der Kurie geführten Prozesse", *Neues Archiv*, 31 (1906), pp. 595-649.

2. A detailed chronology of Gerald's writings forms an appendix to Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, Stroud, History Press, reprint 2013, appendix, pp. 174-180. Gerald continually revised his works, and many of them exist in different recensions.

One thing we learn about Gerald is his personal appearance. He was incorrigibly vain and regarded himself as strikingly attractive. While visiting Archbishop Baldwin of Forde at Blockley in Worcestershire in the early 1180s, he noted complacently: “I was a young man at the time, with nature’s bounty of delicate features – they were not to last – and greatly distinguished by my handsome physique”,³ and “the Cistercian abbot Serlo, who was also present at the meeting, immediately remarked on my good looks”.⁴ Towards the end of his life, while writing the *De iure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, vol. V, he returned to the subject of his personal appearance, noting his particularly bushy eyebrows.⁵ This pervasive vanity means that he was the only visitor to medieval Rome of whom I am aware who spoke so extensively about his personal appearance in his writings. Gerald clearly regarded himself more as a protagonist than a simple reporter, but also as a liminal figure who was striving to be heard.⁶

We can deduce a good deal about Gervase, who is personally much more reticent, from the *Otia Imperialia (Recreations for an Emperor)*, the elaborate literary *divertissement* he presented to Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV in 1214 or 1215.⁷ Gervase was from Tilbury in Essex and was related to Patrick, first Earl of Salisbury. Like Gerald, then, he was a member of the Anglo-Norman elite. He was also a few years younger, having been born in the late 1150s or early in the next decade. Like Gerald, he had also enjoyed an excellent education, studying and then teaching canon law at the University of Bologna. A pupil of his, Giovanni Pignatelli, whom he visited in 1190, had become Archdeacon of Naples. His bureaucratic career easily eclipsed that of his Welsh contemporary. He was a

3. *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols, ed. by John S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner, London, Longman and Co., 1861-1891 [hereafter *GC Opera*]. For this quotation, see vol. IV, *Speculum ecclesiae*, ed. by John S. Brewer, London, Longman and Co., 1873, p. 104: “Eram autem tunc adolescens, statura procerus, facie quoque fragilique ac momentaneo naturae bono, formae nitore praeclarus...”; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and Description of Wales*, ed. and transl. by Lewis Thorpe, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1978, p. 23.

4. *GC Opera*, vol. IV, p. 104: “Putasne ullatenus mori possit ‘tam pulchra iuventus’?”; Maurice Powicke, “Gerald of Wales”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 12 (1928), pp. 389-410: 396, reprinted in Maurice Powicke, *The Christian Life in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1935, pp. 107-129: 115. The quotation is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 514. Powicke rightly remarks that “Gerald lived every day an existence of dramatic egotism”.

5. *GC Opera*, vol. III, *De invectionibus, de iure et statu Menevensi ecclesiae*, ed. by John S. Brewer, London, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1983, p. 293: “...per descriptionem sibi factam, tam staturae grandis quam superciliorum quoque grandium et hirsutorum, ipsum recognovit, maxime vero per supercilia”.

6. John F. Benton, “Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality”, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 263-295: 266.

7. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. by Shelagh Banks and James Binns, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002; Shelagh Banks, “Tilbury, Gervase of”, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. LIV, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 774-775; Henry G. Richardson, “Gervase of Tilbury”, *History*, 46 (1961), pp. 102-114. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols, vol. I, c. 550 to c. 1307, London, Routledge, 1994, p. 324 regards him as a *littérateur*.

familiar of Guillaume de Blois, archbishop of Reims (1176-1202). Then, by the 1180s, he was in the service of William II of Sicily, who presented him with a house at Nola, some thirty kilometres east of Naples. He is also documented at Arles in 1201 in the service of Archbishop Imbert d'Aigüières (1198-1202).

Soon after, he joined the court of Emperor Otto IV and may have accompanied him to Rome for the imperial coronation in October 1209, although his first certain link with Otto is at Tarascon in 1214. Later, in 1221, Gervase is documented at Arles, where Otto was to retire after his calamitous defeat at the Battle of Bouvines (27 July 1214). As an imperial official at Arles, Gervase was involved in an arbitration over Les Alyscamps, the largest open-air collection of ancient sarcophagi that was accessible during the Middle Ages.⁸ Arles also possessed very notable Roman ruins, and its impressive amphitheatre must have made Gervase recall his Roman experience. He was evidently a polished courtier with an anecdote ready for every occasion.

Scholars still debate the identity and chronology of Master Gregory, whose treatise on the marvels of Rome, the *Narracio de mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, survives in a unique manuscript now preserved at St Catherine's College, Cambridge.⁹ It seems highly likely that Gregory served as chancellor to Ottone da Tonengo and was sent to England as cardinal legate by Pope Gregory IX in 1237-1240.¹⁰ An entry in the Patent Rolls for May 1238 lists Gregory as receiving an

8. Joseph-Hyacinthe Albanès, *Gallia Christiana Novissima Histoire des Archevêchés, Évêchés et Abbayes de France, Arles*, 7 vols, Valence, Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1901, no. 873, col. 343, 4 June 1221: judgement for Eldiardis abbess S. Césaire "...super absoluteione cimiterii de Aliscampis [...] cum libera sepultura illorum qui ibi sepeliebantur". See no. 2628, dated 13 June 1221. The arbitrators were "Raimundus prepositi Arelaten et magistri Gervasii in regno Arelaten imperialis aule marescalli". Eugène Duprat, "Histoire des Légendes Saintes de Provence", *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence*, 17 (1940), pp. 118-198; 18 (1941), pp. 87-186: 108 prints the full text of the 11 June 1221 arbitration on pp. 153-157. See also Falko Neininger, *Konrad von Urach († 1227) Zähringer, Zisterzienser, Kardinallegat*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1994. The dispute over Les Alyscamps with Gervase of Tilbury is discussed on p. 268 and in Pietro Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III iussu et munificentia Leonis XIII pontificis maximi ex Vaticanis archetypis aliisque fontibus edidit*, Rome, Typographia Vaticana, 1888-1895, no. 85, p. 333; no. 123, p. 356, 15 June 1222 (Albanès no. 873 gives an incorrect date). See Neininger, *Konrad von Urach*, no. 21, pp. 541-551 for the full text of the document.

9. MS 3 (formerly E 4 96); *Magister Gregorius (XII^e ou XIII^e siècle), Narracio de Mirabilibus Romae*, ed. by Robert H. C. Huygens, Leiden, Brill, 1970; *Master Gregorius: The Marvels of Rome*, ed. and transl. by John Osborne, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1987. See also Cristina Nardella, *Il fascino di Roma nel medioevo. Le "meraviglie di Roma" di maestro Gregorio*, Rome, Viella, 1997; Gordon Rushforth, "Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae: A New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 9 (1919), pp. 14-58. The manuscript in Cambridge is reproduced in colour in *Wunder Roms im Blick des Nordens von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann, Petersberg, Michael Imhof, 2017, cat. entry no. 51, pp. 358-360 (colour illustrations of fol. 190r and fols 201v-202r). The entry by the College Librarian Colin Higgins is uninformative and dated.

10. Josiah C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England*, London, Longmans Green, 1936, pp. 40-41; Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e "Familiae" Cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, 2 vols, vol. I, Padua, Antenore, 1972, p. 94. Pietro

annual pension of 17 marks drawn from the vacant see of Norwich. Another entry in the Liberate Rolls, which has largely gone unnoticed, suggests that he likely held a post earlier in the *familia* of Thomas de Blundeville, bishop of Norwich between 1226-1236.¹¹ A *contrabreve* instructed the guardian of the bishopric of Norwich “to cause Master Gregory, the legate’s chancellor to have 17 marks yearly that he was wont to receive of the grant of Thomas, late bishop of Norwich, in the same way he received it in the bishop’s time [...] so long as it shall be in the guardian’s custody by the king’s order”.¹² Finally, it remains unclear whether the title of *magister*, which appears in his prologue, indicates that he was a university graduate, and, if so, from what university.¹³

Frustratingly, the only surviving manuscript of the *Narracio* omits a word, which almost certainly identified the place to which Gregory wrote of returning: “[when] I return to [missing] from this journey, I shall take the time to investigate more diligently (*exercitatori indagatione perscrutabor*) those things which at the moment are unclear or obscure, and shall gladly share this research with my friends”.¹⁴ An episcopal *familia* could provide just such an intellectual *côterie*, but our knowledge of the early library resources of Norwich cathedral priory has been irremediably damaged by the fire of 1272. Important for our investigation, this identification suggests that the probable date for the *Narracio*’s composition was between 1226 and 1236.¹⁵ He was thus the latest of our visitors to Rome.

Gerald, who was born in 1145 or 1146, was the youngest of the four sons of William de Barri. On his mother Angharad’s side, he was related to Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of Dyved.¹⁶ On his father’s side, Gerald was unequivocally a member of the Marcher aristocracy. This distinguished ancestry, both Welsh and Anglo-Norman, in fact made him unelectable to the episcopate in Wales, as successive English kings feared a possibly divided loyalty.¹⁷ From infancy he seems to have been intended for the church. His childhood unfolded at the castle of Manorbier on the Pembrokeshire coast, which was “visible from afar because of its turrets and crenellations on the top of a hill, which is quite near the sea” (Fig. 1).¹⁸

Silanos and Ottone da Tonengo, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LXXX, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2014, pp. 4-7.

11. *Master Gregorius*, ed. by Osborne, pp. 14-15.

12. *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Henry III*, vol. I, A.D. 1226-1240, London, Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1916, pp. 307-308 (7 January 1238, Westminster).

13. Nardella, *Il fascino*, p. 29.

14. Ch. 27: “Cum ex favente deo in ***** ex hac peregrinatione rediero”, *ibid.*, p. 166. It is worth noting that Gregory terms his visit to Rome a pilgrimage.

15. *Master Gregorius*, ed. by Osborne, p. 15. Ranulph Higden, who uses Gregory in his very popular *Polychronicon*, was a monk of St Werburgh in Chester and never seems to have travelled much beyond Cheshire. See John Taylor, *The “Universal Chronicle” of Ranulph Higden*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 1.

16. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, pp. 20-25. The most penetrating character assessment of Gerald still remains Powicke, “Gerald of Wales”.

17. He complains of anti-Welsh prejudice in *GC Opera*, vol. VIII, *De principis instructione liber*, ed. by George F. Warner, London, Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1891, p. lviii.

18. “...castellum, quod Maynaurpir dicitur [...] Stat enim hoc castrum, turribus et propugnaculis eximium in collis cujusdam capite versus murinum ab occidente portum extent”;

Manorbier was “in all the broad lands of Wales [...] the most pleasant place by far”, he was later to write.¹⁹ When he played on the beach as a child, whilst his elder brothers built castles or fortifications in the sand, Gerald constructed churches or monasteries, and his doting father called him “my bishop”, a status he would never attain, despite his persistent efforts.²⁰

Gerald received the best education available to a boy of aristocratic status.²¹ First, he studied under Master Haimo at the great Benedictine abbey of St Peter’s in Gloucester, and subsequently at the University of Paris, where, to take his own estimate at face value, through dedicated study, he became extremely successful both as a student and teacher.²² He mentions that he was a young man at the university when future French king Philip Augustus was born (August 1165). About 1175, at the relatively young age of 29, he became Archdeacon of Brecon, the apex of his ecclesiastical career, though he was not yet aware it would be so. It seems he had a competent command of Welsh and on occasion acted as interpreter for Baldwin of Forde, Archbishop of Canterbury (1185-1191).²³ Gerald had become a royal clerk at the court of Henry II, but withdrew from court life with some relief around 1196, a bitterly disappointed man.²⁴ He seems then to have undertaken further study at Lincoln, perhaps with William de Montibus.²⁵

Gerald’s maternal uncle, David Fitzgerald, had been bishop of Saint David’s (1148-1176), the senior Welsh bishopric, and there was considerable expectation that the brilliant young Archdeacon would succeed him in due time. In fact, the dispute over the Welsh bishopric shaped Gerald’s life. It entailed three visits to Rome (and a fourth he completed as a simple pilgrim in 1206). The longest of these visits lasted four years and afforded the inquisitive Archdeacon ample opportunity to observe the great churches of Rome and to record information not

GC Opera, vol. VI, *Itinerarium Kambriae, Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. by James F. Dimock, London, Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868, bk I, ch. 12, p. 92; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and Description of Wales*, p. 150.

19. *GC Opera*, vol. VI, bk I, ch. 12: “...ut Kambriae totius locus sit hic amoenissimus”; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and Description of Wales*, p. 151.

20. *GC Opera*, vol. I, *De rebus a se gestis*, ed. by John S. Brewer, London, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861, ch. 1, pp. 21-22. While his three brothers “...nunc castrum nunc oppida nunc palatia puerilibus ut solet haec aetas praeludiis in sabulo vel pulvere protrahentibus, modulo suo, solus hic similis praeludio semper ecclesias eligere et monasterii construere tota intentione satagebat...”, Gerald’s father “...ludendo et applaudendo suum episcopum vocavit”. For the castle, which preserves considerable remnants of a late 12th-century hall, see John Kenyon, “Manorbier Castle”, *The Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010), pp. 43-45; Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire (The Buildings of Wales)*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 272-274.

21. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, p. 46.

22. *GC Opera*, vol. VIII, bk 3, ch. 25, pp. 292-293: “Liberalibus animi studiis vehementer applicaret”.

23. See, however, Powicke, “Gerald of Wales”, p. 117; *The Journey Through Wales and Description of Wales*, ed. by Thorpe, p. 29.

24. “Curia curarum genitrix; et schola deliciarum”: *GC Opera*, vol. VIII, p. lvii.

25. John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social View of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, 2/1, p. 42.

readily available elsewhere.²⁶ It has also become clear that Gerald was a reformer at heart, who tried, unavailingly, to influence the central debate on church finances at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

At the University of Paris, he had thoroughly absorbed the reformist ideals of Peter the Chanter.²⁷ Gerald was an unsparing critic of the shocking ignorance of the clergy. He was also a supporter of the radical solution delineated by Emperor Henry VI, which held that each church was to allocate a living to finance the curia and that each cathedral was to assign a tithe of its annual revenues.²⁸ This idea was taken up by Innocent III on his own initiative at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, but the pope withdrew his proposal in the face of concerted opposition. In the *Speculum ecclesiae*, which Gerald composed before the Council to publicise the need for radical financial reform, he advocated a similar step.²⁹ He presented an early version of the text to Stephen Langton before the Cardinal set out for the Council.³⁰ Once again, Gerald was to be disappointed.

The papal curia was also where the Evesham drama played out. Appeals to Rome required a personal presence at the curia.³¹ As will become clear, “Rome” was a mobile concept. For Gerald, as for both Gervase and Thomas, Rome was wherever the curia was currently established. “*Ubi papa ibi Roma*” was a well-worn phrase.³² In 1206, when Gerald made his final farewells to Innocent III, the meeting took place at Ferentino, some 65 kilometres south-east of Rome. In the first half of the 13th century, when the political situation permitted, the papacy spent most summers in the Roman Campagna, to avoid the torrid heat of the city.³³ As the papal household moved to the small satellite towns, it looked like

26. This visit was punctuated by two return visits to Britain.

27. Powicke, “Gerald of Wales”, p. 125; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, pp. 14, 32, 202, n. 13; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*; Jessalyn Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Oxford University, 2001.

28. *GC Opera*, vol. IV, pp. 301-305; Richard Kay, “Gerald of Wales and the Fourth Lateran Council”, *Viator*, 29 (1988), pp. 79-93. The Roman church, in origin amply endowed by Constantine, was now impoverished: pp. 83, 87.

29. *GC Opera*, vol. IV, pp. 301-305. H. Wyn Evans, “The Bishops of St. Davids from Bernard to Bec”, in *Medieval Pembrokeshire*, ed. by R. F. Walker, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Historical Society, 2002, pp. 279-311: 278-280.

30. Kay, “Gerald of Wales”, p. 84; Suzanne La Vere, “‘A Priest is Not a Free Person’: Clerical Sins and Upholding Higher Moral Standards in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*”, in *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic*, ed. by Georgia Henley and Joseph Mullen, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2018, pp. 183-202: 197.

31. Barbara Bombi, “Petitioning between England and Avignon in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century”, in *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance*, ed. by W. Mark Ormerod, Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson, Woodbridge, York Medieval Press, 2009, pp. 64-81: 65.

32. Michele Maccarrone, “Ubi est papa, ibi est Roma”, in *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum*, ed. by Hubert Mordek, Sigmaringen, J. Thorbecke, 1983, pp. 371-382, reprinted in *Romana Ecclesia, Cathedra Petri*, 2 vols, vol. II, ed. by Piero Zerbi, Raffaello Volpini and Alessandro Galuzzi, Rome, Herder, 1991, pp. 1137-1156.

33. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, “La mobilità della Curia Romana nel secolo XIII. Riflessi locali”, in *Società e istituzioni dell’Italia comunale: l’esempio di Perugia (secoli XII-XIV)*,

an army on the march, with tents, field-kitchens and all. It produced a temporary but acute increase in the local population in the rural settings, but it was generally welcomed by the host towns, even where the papacy set conditions for its arrival.

We can glimpse how a papal summer sojourn impacted the small towns in a passage in the *Chronicle* of William, abbot of the small Benedictine house of Andres, in the diocese of Poitiers, who joined Innocent III at Viterbo in 1207/1208. He observed:

And so never – or hardly ever – pausing, but always moving on each day when it was hardly daybreak, I came to Viterbo and there I found Rome. For, the lord pope Innocent III had left Rome for the time being because the summertime was so harmful to his body, and he stayed there as if in his own city. Both for the repose of the clerics and the laity following the court and for the infinite multitude of pilgrims arriving every day, the discreet pastor chose a wealthy city, rich in bread and wine, supplied with fodder, grass, barley, and also with health-bringing baths, surrounded by vines, woods and copses in support of those following him, and he resided there. We have indeed heard from many staying there that 40,000 men, not counting people of the city, took lodging there for a whole month together at the same time and that they, with the lord bishop Nivelon of Soissons and other noble men who were flowing in every day, were getting ready to return to Constantinople, which he had recently acquired, and nevertheless with reference to everything necessary for the human body or for horses for sale, nothing was ever the more expensive.³⁴

William's report of an acutely over-crowded town, scarce lodgings and exploitative prices, combined with difficult access to the curia, demonstrates how

Perugia 6-9 novembre 1985, Perugia, 1988 pp. 155-278 remains basic. An updated version is printed in *Itineranza pontificia: mobilità della curia papale nel Lazio (secoli XII-XIII)*, ed. by Sandro Carocci, Rome, Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo, 2003, pp. 3-78. See also Sandro Carocci, "Mobilità papale e territorio: problemi di metodo e di interpretazione", in *Itineranza pontificia*, pp. 81-100.

34. *Willelmi Chronica Andrensis*, in *Monumentae Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. XXIV, ed. by Johann Heller, Hanover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1879, 708, ch. 57 (reprint Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1964, pp. 684-773: 737) (1207): "Vix igitur aut nunquam moram faciens, sed omni fere die cepto itinere proficiscens, Viterbium tandem deveni et ibidem Romam inveni. Num dominus Innocentius papa tertius, propter estivum tempus corpori suo contrarium Roma ad tempus relicta tamquam in civitate propria ibi manebat, et tam propter quietem clericorum et laicorum curiam suam sequentium quam propter infinitam multitudinem peregrinorum omni die adventantium urbem opulentam, pane et vino copiosam, feno, gramine, hordeo refertam, salubribus etiam balneis, vineis, silvis et virgultis redimitam, in subsidium se sequentium pastor discretus elegerat et ibi residebat. Audivimus enim a multis ibidem perhendinantibus, 40 milia hominum, excepto civitatis populo, per mensem integrum simul et semel mansionem fecisset cum domino Nivelone Suessoniensi episcopo et aliis viris nobiles omni die confluentibus apud Constantinopolim, quam nuper adquisierat, regredi paratos existere, et tamen de omni venali humano corpori aut equis necessario nichil unquam carius venditum fuisse". See also William of Andres, *The Chronicle of Andres*, ed. and transl. by Leah Shopkow, Washington, Catholic University Press, 2017, pp. 186-187; Sara Menzinger, "Viterbo, 'Città papale': motivazioni e conseguenze della presenza pontificia a Viterbo nel XIII secolo", in *Itineranza pontificia*, pp. 307-340; Brenda Bolton, "A New Rome in a Small Place? Imitation and Re-Creation in the Patrimony of St Peter", in *Rome across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, c. 500-1400*, ed. by Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick and John Osborne, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 305-322.

exceptional the accounts of Gerald, Gervase and Gregory actually are. It is also instructive to review and compare their experiences of, and attitudes to, ancient Rome and antiquity, to see if they share a consistent insular view of the ancient past. Before that, however, we should consider the conceptual tools and heuristic methods our insular authors brought to their Roman experience.