Historical Background and Translation of Letters 245-291 of John of Salisbury

Mary Josephine Peters

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND TRANSLATION
OF LETTERS 245 - 291
OF JOHN OF SALISBURY

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

by

SISTER MARY JOSEPHINE PETERS, O.S.F.

1943
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John of Salisbury, a distinguished writer of the twelfth century, was born at Salisbury in Wiltshire about 1115. From the cognomen Parvus, which he applies to himself and from the fact that he was of Saxon race, it may be inferred that his name was Short or Little. A few details are known regarding his early life or rank in society. The Britannica Encyclopedia states that he went abroad to pursue his studies in France about 1131. He began these studies at Paris under the great Abelard, the Peripatetic of Pallet, as John calls him from his Aristotelian doctrine and his Breton birthplace. Abelard surpassed all teachers in his school on Mt. St. Geneviève. After Abelard's retirement John carried on his studies under Alberich, Robert of Melun, and Robert Pulleyn. Three years he spent at the great school of Chartres, though it would seem that he had been a pupil of the founder of the school, Bernard Silvester. His teaching was distinguished by its Platonic tendency and the stress laid upon the literary studies of greater Latin writers; the influence of the latter feature is noticeable in all works of John. He completed his studies in theology under Gilbert de la Porée, and Simon of Poissy. This education he perfected by some private teaching, perhaps with his friend Peter, Abbot of Montier La Celle, near Troyes. Probably in 1147 he crossed to England and was recommended to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury to whom he had been introduced at the Council of Rheims by St. Bernard. For thirteen years he acted as secretary to Theobald and was frequently ambassador for the English Primate to the
Holy See. During these years he composed his greatest works, which are all very valuable storehouses of information concerning matter and form in scholastic education; they are truly remarkable for their cultured literary style and humanist tendency.

After Theobald's death, John continued the office of secretary to the famous chancellor, Thomas Becket, and he took an active part in the long disputes between the Primate and his sovereign, Henry II. In defending the rights of the Church he incurred the King's displeasure and in 1163 was obliged to leave England. The next six years he spent with his friend, the Abbot of St. Remigius at Rheims. In 1164, Thomas Becket had to follow him into exile. John endeavored steadfastly to effect peace between Henry and the Archbishop, and the Holy See at Rome. In 1170 both exiles returned and a few months later John witnessed the assassination of Thomas. John became treasurer of Exeter Cathedral in 1174; bishop of Chartres in 1176. Having attended the Third Lateran Council 1179, he died the following year. John of Salisbury was a very cultured scholar of his day. His great learning and diligence enabled him to have extensive and life long correspondence on literary, educational, and ecclesiastical topics with the leading scholars of Europe. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia,

"...his collected letters, no less than his works form an invaluable source of the history of thought and activity in the twelfth century. His fine taste and superior training made him the most elegant Latin writer of his time. He is equally distinguished as a historian and as a philosopher: He was the first medieval writer to emphasize the importance of historical studies in philosophy and in all other branches of learning."

His doctrine has a strong leaning to the modified literary scepticism of Cicero. He is a great admirer of Cicero, and his Latin style unusually excellent when compared with the average Latinity of scholastic writers, is
moulded on that of Cicero.

So much for the author of the letters. Their setting is pictured vividly and true to history. In this respect they form a very valuable source for the European events of the twelfth century, especially for the troublesome times under Alexander III, the true and lawful head of the Church and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the Teutonic tyrant. A parallel struggle on English soil was carried on between St. Thomas and Henry; both disputes arose since ecclesiastical freedom was endangered by the dictation of a temporal sovereign. The very first letter of this division, 245, gives ample information concerning the happenings on the Continent during the late days of 1167 and the early part of 1168, dealing with the affairs of the monarchs Frederick Barbarossa, Henry and Louis, and of Archbishop Thomas. An extract will prove the point:

Both parties were courteously received; but the King's envoys, as their cause was worse, so their pomp and ostentation was greater; and when they found out that they could not move the Lord Pope by flattery or promises, they had recourse to threats; intimating that the King would follow the errors of Nourreddin, and enter into communion with a profane religion, sooner than allow Thomas to act any longer as Bishop in the Church of Canterbury. But the man of God could not be shaken by terror any more than seduced by flattery. He set before them the alternative of life and death, and said that, though he could not prevent their choosing the way of those that perish, despising the grace and patience of God, yet by the grace of God, for his part, he would not recede from the right way. Their spirit then quickly subsided; and, as they perceived that they could not make any progress this way against justice, they sent envoys to the King of Sicily, with the King's letters which they had brought as their credentials, in the hope that the King and Queen of Sicily might aid them in obtaining something from the Lord Pope to the prejudice of the Church. But the most Christian King of the French, presaging this wicked policy, had written to the Archbishop elect of Palermo, identifying himself with the cause of the Church and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. What has been the success of either party is as yet unknown. In the meantime messengers arrived from the Legates whom the King of England had procured from the Pope, but did not at all agree in their accounts; for whatever one piped in the Pope's Court, the other whistled. But there is nothing certain known about these either, as to the answers they will bring back to their respective masters. Supplication was made to the Pope, on the part of the King and the Legates, backed with other
interest, in behalf of the Bishop of Salisbury; and at length it was conceded that the Pontiff would pardon him his offence, and write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting and advising him to take off the sentence of suspension, and to receive him back into his favor and affection, on condition that he gives security in his own person, and sends two of the principal clerics of his church, the Dean being excepted to make oath that the Bishop has ordered them, and not afterwards revoked the order, to swear in his name and stead that he will make satisfaction to the Archbishop for his contumacy and misconduct. From this it may be surmised that the Pope was either ignorant of the sentence of the legates, by which they absolved the aforesaid Bishop, or that he did not think fit to ratify it. The same Bishop had before obtained letters nearly to the same effect, which, however, he did not think fit to use, either because they were displeasing to the King, or else that they were not considered sufficient. What award each party would bring back was unknown, when the bearer of the aforesaid letters returned; but the Lord Pope has written to his most Christian King that he will not fail the Church of God nor his friend of Canterbury, whenever he can uphold him with justice.

St. Thomas showed in this hard trial true Apostolic liberty in his letter to the Holy Father. The result was that St. Thomas was permitted to exercise his powers against the King. The Cardinals were recalled; they left, not without some sense that the cause of the Church had sadly suffered in their hands. In a final interview with King Henry, Cardinal Otho strongly pressed upon him the duty of restoring the Archbishop. His reply was that as to the customs, he and his children would be content to claim only those which a hundred men from England, a hundred from Normandy, a hundred from Anjou, and so from his other dominions, would prove on oath to have been claimed by his predecessors. Or, if this condition displeased the Archbishop, he said he was willing to abide by the judgment of three Bishops from England, and three from his continental dominions, naming Rouen, Bayeux, and Le Mans. Or, if this were not enough, he would submit to the arbitration of the Lord Pope, but only for himself and not for his heirs. He refused, however, to make any restitution whatever of the property of the Archbishop.
and his friends.

As the Lent was now approaching which had been defined as the term of St. Thomas, the Holy Father thought it might be well to send an embassy to the King. Accordingly, Simon, Prior of Montdieu, Engelbert, Prior of Val de St. Pierre, and Bernard la Coudre, a monk of Grammont, were sent to be the bearers of comonitory letters which warned him of the sentence which would now surely fall upon him if he did not fulfill his promise of being reconciled to the Archbishop. By their mediation, a conference was brought about between St. Thomas and King Henry.

Many efforts had been made and conferences held with a view to restoring peace between England and France. Terms were finally arranged and peace was concluded at a meeting between the two Kings in a plain near Montmirail. By the mediation of Count Theobald of Blois and Father Bernard of Grammont, the Kings joined hands and interchanged the kiss. About the same time, the King of England had received letters comonitory from the Pope in behalf of St. Thomas through the three religious messengers. Henry on his part had given hopes of peace, if the Archbishop would make a show of submission.

Before the conference began, St. Thomas was surrounded by his friends, who almost all tried to induce him to make his submission to King Henry absolutely. St. Thomas had proposed to substitute for the phrase, "saving his order," the similar but more solemn clause, "saving God's honor."

When he saw his sovereign, he threw himself on his knees before him and said, "Have mercy on me, O my lord; for I throw myself on God and your majesty, for God's honor and yours." King Henry began to speak in a contumelious and insulting manner to the Saint:
See how foolishly and how proudly this man deserted his Church, for he ran away by night, though neither I nor any one else drove him out of the kingdom. And now he persuades you that his is the cause of the Church, and that he suffers for justice' sake, and thus he has deceived many great people. The sole cause of dissension between us is, that he infringes the customs of his predecessors, and that at Vézelay, that famous place, on a high festival, he has condemned some of them, and excommunicated those who observe them.

This speech produced a great effect. King Louis said, "My lord Archbishop, do you wish to be more than a saint? Here is peace at hand." St. Thomas replied:

It is true that my predecessors were better and greater than I, each in their time, and although they did not uproot everything that lifted itself against God, yet they did destroy some things. And if any of them exceeded or fell short in anything, in such a matter they set us no example. Shall I, to recover a man's favor, suppress Christ's honor?

"This phrase," King Henry said, "I will never receive, lest the Archbishop should seem to wish to save God's honor, and not I who desire it still more." St. Thomas reminded the King that the oath of fealty contained the clause, "saving my order." Upon this remark Henry rose in anger and withdrew. The Pope's envoys were induced by King Henry not to make use of other letters of a severer character; they returned to the Archbishop and begged him to omit the vital clause. "Why," they urged, "should we be better than our fathers?" The Saint replied, that the blessed Anselm was the only one of them who had been urged to profess the customs, and he had been driven into exile. To his old friend John, the Bishop of Poitiers, he answered, "Brother, take care that the Church of God be not destroyed by thee; for by me, by God's favour, it shall never be destroyed." At length they left St. Thomas, and told the Kings of his firmness, which was called obstinacy. The majority of Thomas' followers were led away by the current feeling, and were jealous of losing the restoration to their homes, which had seemed just
within their grasp.

The fame of the conference spread far and wide. The Bishop of Poitiers was sent after the Saint to Étampes, to beg him once more, for the sake of peace, to leave matters unreservedly to the King. The answer was as before, that he would do so, saving God's honor, and the order, honor, and liberty of the Church; but that he would promise nothing to the injury of the law of God. The Bishop returned to the King. In order to pacify him, he modified the answer, saying, that the Archbishop would trust his cause to him above anybody else, but that he prayed him as a Christian prince to provide for the Church's honor and his own. Henry was overjoyed to accept such terms; and the Bishop wrote to St. Thomas, telling him, that the King invited him to an audience at Tours. St. Thomas refused absolutely any further conference, until, according to the Pope's command, he was freely restored to his Church and the royal favor. When the King learned from Bernard de la Coudre that the purpose of the Pope's second comminatory letter was the restoration of the Archbishop's powers over himself and the kingdom, he secretly sent other messengers to the Holy See. In another conference of the two Kings, Henry did not submit to the Pope's envoys. As a consequence St. Thomas' full powers were now restored; but the envoys begged him not to use them until it was seen what effect the conference of Grammont might have.
SUMMARY: John writes to the Archdeacon of Exeter a detailed account of the happenings on the Continent during the late days of 1167 and the early part of 1168, dealing with the affairs of the monarchs Frederick Barbarossa, Henry and Louis, and of Archbishop Thomas. The letter may be dated May 1168.

Ever since my safe return by the grace of God, from St. Gilles about mid-Lent,¹ I resolved to inform you, my dear friend, of the events that occurred in France and Italy. For I know that it is sometimes expedient and often agreeable to have a previous knowledge of the political movements of the times and, as it were, to observe the sequence of events from the untoward actions of men permitted by the Divine Will. But because there was question of the kings and Frederick,² due to his guilt and obstinacy in schism, made an ex-Emperor, pretended that he was willing to return to the Catholic unity, I put off this resolution until closer knowledge be had what turn negotiations of such importance might take. For when the German tyrant felt himself destitute of military protection and the Italian states hastened to attack him while Frederick himself was not safe at Pavia due to heedlessness of his own men who had blinded a certain noble of Pavia, and the Count of Maurienne³ because of personal insults had prevented completely his

¹ Mid-Lent: Easter was on March 28 in 1168. See letter 236 in which John had hinted at a trip to Italy.
² Frederick: Compare letters 228 and 225 for the account of Frederick's disaster in August 1167.
³ Count of Maurienne: Henry's attempt to arrange a marriage between his son John and Alais, heiress of Humbert, caused the rebellion of his sons.
departure so that it seemed that he could not in any manner escape the forces of the Lombards, Frederick, relying on the help of the Count of Biandrate⁴ and of the Marquis William of Montferrat,⁵ turned aside into the Marquis' territory, after he had left thirty hostages of the Lombards with the Count of Biandrate. But the other hostages whom he had received to be protected he distributed through the camp of the Marquis. Since the Lombards with a mobilized army to the number of 20,000 soldiers were pursuing him, determined to surround him, he himself with the aforementioned Count and Marquis fled through the outposts hiding, as it were, in the shadow of the mountains, so that he scarcely dared to stay two or three nights in the same quarter. So honorable, loyal, and influential men assert, who were present. Of our countrymen the Canons of Noyon and the messengers of Count Henry,⁶ of your countrymen the ambassadors of the noble King of the English who had gone there for various reasons saw the sad plight of the tyrant or rather of the glory of God and the consolation of the Church. For the people of Noyon sought to bring back their Archdeacon Boniface,⁷ Marquis of Italy, whom they had chosen as their Bishop, a humble, good man and Catholic during the entire stormy period of the schism. Count Henry investigated the status of the Empire. In fact, the messengers of the King of England

⁴ Count of Biandrate: Count Guy. See letter 115.
⁵ Marquis William of Montferrat: See letter 176.
⁶ Count Henry: Count of Champagne.
gave their oaths about the marriage to be contracted\(^8\) between the son of the 
aforesaid Marquis and the sister of the King of Scotland.\(^9\) They served as 
embassies to the frequently mentioned tyrant (I shall voice the opinion of 
many), in order that those who were alleging the power and good will of the 
Empire might terrify the French. But this craftiness took an altogether 
different turn. The French are all the more encouraged, seeing the enemy, 
as it were, left alone, almost despairing, looking for help obtained by 
begging, and imploring patronage of those that needed a protector. There-
fore, while the Emperor was in such dire straits and despaired wholly of 
release, he consulted with religious men who, it was evident, were loyal to 
the Lord Pope. He pretended that he would make peace with the Church of 
God. There is in the home of the Carthusians a very religious man,\(^10\) 
formerly a very intimate friend of the Emperor. He had before this with-
drawn from him because he suspected him of schism; he continued deeply to 
sympathize with him. Therefore this man went to him tearfully stating 
that it had clearly come to his knowledge that he (Frederick) would not 
have peace, unless he would give back peace to the Church of God. He 
insisted and prevailed upon him that he would summon by letters the Prior 
of the Carthusians,\(^11\) the Abbot of the Cistercians,\(^12\) and the Bishop of Pavia\(^13\)

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\(^8\)Marriage to be contracted: See letter 176. Two years before (1166) John 
reported that the Marquis of Montferrat was seeking the hand of one of 
Henry's daughters for his son, in return for his good offices with the Pope. 
\(^9\)King of Scotland: William the Lion (1165-1214). 
\(^10\)Religious man; Probably Theodoric, A Carthusian lay-brother. 
\(^11\)Prior of the Carthusians: Prior Basil. 
\(^12\)The Abbot of the Cistercians: Abbot Alexander. 
\(^13\)Bishop of Pavia: Peter Toscani, Bishop of Pavia 1148-1162, when he was 
expelled from his see; he returned from 1178 until 1180. He was a 
Cistercian.
whom he had banished. Furthermore, he should promise to abide by their counsel in all things, provided only they would take upon themselves the hazard of the oath he had caused to be made against Pope Alexander. All that heard this expression were happy and the Lombards, hoping that the man had been converted, began to employ more moderate measures. Meanwhile, the frequently mentioned Marquis negotiated with his relative, the Count of Maurienne, that he should let the Emperor go. He promised him not only restitution of the plunder but also mountains of gold and, together with the honor and glory the eternal gratitude of the Empire. The religious whom he had summoned (with the exception of the Abbot of the Cistercians, who was detained by a serious infirmity, who sent in his stead his Bishop Geoffrey of Auxerre, former Abbot of Clairvaux) took up their journey sending ahead a certain lay-brother to ask the tyrant where and when he wished to confer. But when he heard of their arrival, certain of his departure from the letters of amnesty he had asked, he answered that because of this result their coming would be in vain unless they would openly bring along an angel from heaven, or come with the power of working miracles, to cleanse lepers or awaken the dead; and so they returned home. The same Carthusian monk who had arranged the meeting told me this. The Emperor, after gathering the hostages whom he had distributed hastening his return, came to San Ambrogio with almost thirty soldiers in his retinue. From

14 Publius Terentius Afer, Phormio, 1.2.18.
15 Bishop Geoffrey of Auxerre: See letter 249. Gams' Series of Bishops lists a William de Toucy as Bishop of Auxerre at this time.
16 San Ambrogio: Near Turin. This was in March 1168.
there leaving hurriedly in the morning he hanged a certain noble hostage of
Brescia on an eminence of a certain mountain near Susa\textsuperscript{17} on the charge that he
had known the conspiracy of the Italians and (what is worse), he had been
instrumental in mobilizing the army which had driven him out of Italy; other
hostages he led with him to Susa. The citizens, however, and the inhabitants
of the place ordered the gates to be closed stationing armed guards.
They took the hostages from the tyrant, saying that they were threatened by
other states with complete destruction if they would permit their neighbors
and friends, the most honorable men of Italy, thus to be led away to Germany
to be slain, especially since now, even while in Italy he had hanged an
influential and noble man\textsuperscript{18}. As a matter of fact, he himself and his men were
free to go. They showed so much care in retaining their hostages that they
did not permit anyone to leave who spoke Italian. The Emperor, however,
putting on the clothes of a servant, as though he were seeking the hospitable
reception of some great man, with five other servants left during the night
rejoining that the fates had granted him to destroy Italy which he had not
deserved to keep longer. Thence crossing over to Besançon, he threw his own
Burgundy into confusion threatening the nobles. As he proceeded he found
Germany and Saxony troubled beyond measure. He noticed that his brother was
more inimical than all the rest, since most had turned against him. After

\textsuperscript{17} Susa: Turin.

\textsuperscript{18} A noble man: Zilium de Prando, a noble of Brescia.
his departure, the Lombards destroyed Biandrate after removing all hostages that had been left there and killing almost all the Germans whom the Emperor had abandoned as guards of the fortress. Ten of the bravest and wealthiest Germans as a solace for the husband they gave to the wife of the Brescian, who as I related above was hanged near Susa, so that she at her pleasure could either hang them or submit them to perpetual slavery or receive ransom for them. From that time on, they are said to have inflicted many losses on the Marquis, and now the rumor has it that they are besieging Pavia. It is certain that the people of Pavia have sent messengers to Germany announcing to the Emperor that unless he returned and brought aid, in no way could they hold out against the States any longer. The Heresiarch of Crema is at St. Peter's in Rome where the Romans permit him to stay since action has been started of returning his captives. Yet (as they say) they would not allow him to leave. The Bishop of Albano is taking the place of the Pope in Rome; and if the Lombards would take Pavia, they hope that Guido of Crema will be captured because not only all the Romans but also all Tuscany will war against the schismatics. Furthermore, it is thus far uncertain, whether the Lord Pope wishes to hear the petitions of the Lombards by going over to them; still, it is believed. He is at present doing well at Benevento where the messengers of the King of the English and of the Bishop of Canterbury have met in his presence. Indeed, both parties were kindly and courteously

19 The Heresiarch of Crema: Cardinal Guy of Crema, the anti-pope Paschal III, who died in September 1168. He was succeeded as anti-pope by John, formerly Abbot of Struma and then Bishop of Tusenlum, who assumed the name of Calixtus III.
20 The Bishop of Albano: Cardinal Walter, bishop of Albano 1154-1178. Letter 206 is addressed to him.
received; but the King's envoys,21 as their cause was worse, so their pomp and ostentations of wealth was greater; and when they found that they could not move his lordship the Pope by flattery or promises, they had recourse to threats; they told lies that the King would follow the errors of Noureddin22 and enter into communion with a profane religion, sooner than allow Thomas to act any longer as Bishop in the Church of Canterbury. But the man of God could not be shaken by terror any more than seduced by flattery. He set before them two alternatives, the one of life and the other of death, and answered, though he could not prevent their choosing the way of those that perish, despising the grace and patience of God, yet by the grace of God, for his part, he would not recede from the right way. Their spirit then quickly subsided; and, as they perceived that they could not make any progress this way against justice, they sent envoys to the King of Sicily, with the King's letters which they had brought as their credentials, in the hope that the King and Queen of Sicily23 might aid them in obtaining something from his lordship the Pope to the prejudice of the Church. But his most Christian Majesty the King of the French, presaging this wicked policy, had written to the Archbishop elect of Palermo,24 identifying himself with the cause of the Church and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. What has been the success of either

21 The King's envoys: See summary of letter 242.
22 Noureddin: The contemporary Sultan of Aleppo, the most eminent Moslem Sultan of the time. By his errors is meant Islamism.
23 Queen of Sicily: William II and his mother Margaret, who was regent during the young king's minority.
24 Elect of Palermo: Stephen of Perche, cousin of Queen Margaret. He was appointed Chancellor of Sicily and elected archbishop of Palermo. His reforms failed to please the nobles and he was soon forced to leave the country.
party is as yet unknown. In the meantime messengers arrived from the
Legates whom the King of the English had procured, but did not at all agree
in their court; for whatever one said in the Court, the other unsaid. But
there is nothing certain known about these either, as to the answers they
will bring back to their respective masters. Supplication was made to the
Pope, on the part of the King and the Legates, backed with many interests,
in behalf of the Bishop of Salisbury. At length it was conceded that the
Pontiff would pardon him his injustice and offence, and write to his lord-
ship of Canterbury, requesting and counselling him to abandon his revenge
and to take off the sentence of suspension, and to receive him back into his
favor and affection. The condition was, that he personally gave sufficient
proof to make satisfaction or send two of the older clerics of the church
except the deacon who, as the Bishop had ordered and later not demanded,
would take an oath by which, in the Bishop's name and person, satisfaction
would be made to the Archbishop for the contempt and insult. From this it
might be gathered that the Lord Pope either had no knowledge of the legates'
decision, by which they already absolved the aforesaid Bishop, or, that he
did not believe the accession would be validated. Yet the same Bishop had
before this received almost identical letters which, however, did not burden
him or his household by any oath; but he had not yet made use of these
letters, either because they displeased the King, or, because they were

25 Bishop of Salisbury: Jocelin de Balliol bishop of Salisbury 1142-1184.
26 Clerics of the Church: Cardinals William of Pavia and Otho of Ostia.
27 The deacon: John of Oxford dean of Salisbury.
reckoned to less efficacious. What vote either party would finally bring back, was not known at the time when the carrier of the preceding letters returned. But the Lord Pope replied in writing to the most Christian King that he would stand by the Church of God and his Bishop of Canterbury, as long as he could uphold him with justice. Let us now pass over to the conferences of our Kings. The distinguished men, the Counts Henry of Champagne and Philip of Flandres promoted in the council of Soissons the cause of the King of England before the most Christian King and finally, in line with requests of the King of England, as stated, peace was decided on according to the following plan. The King of the English had to submit to the majesty, the King of the French and having given the pledge of fidelity in person and openly, he had to profess before all that he would serve him as his Lord in his duchy in Normandy, just as his predecessors, the Dukes were accustomed to serve the Kings of the French. He was obligated to release his duchy of Anjou and the fealty of the princes attached to this position of honor to Lord Henry his son, who in turn was to express homage and loyalty to the King of the Franks against all. He was to be under no obligation to his father or brothers except as the demands of merit or of nature demanded, by a similar provision the French King gave over to Richard, son of the English King, the duchy of Aquitaine, giving his daughter in marriage but without dowry. She was to receive a marriage

28 To the conferences: At Soissons, March 1168.
29 The following plan: The details of these arrangements were finally carried out at Montmirail on January 6-7. See letter 290.
30 His daughter: Adela.
gift left to the choice of her father. Of Toulouse no mention was made.
The soldiers who were captured on either side were to be set free, and thus
peace and harmony among the kings was to be consolidated. But when the
King of the English, now that he had gained his point, heard that Count
Henry was coming to him to confirm this treaty of union he ordered him not
to advance. He himself set out for Poitiers to take the fortress of
Lusignan from the nobles who had come together to rebuild and fortify it.
The action he had taken up with the French, he entrusted in his stead to
the Archbishop of Rouen, Richard of Hommet, and Richard of Lucy to be
carried out. Their oaths taken against the wish of their French Lord our
men do not value even a penny. The French King, believing that he had been
tricked by the deceit of the other party indignantly set out for Bourges.
There he received the oaths and hostages from the nobles of Poitiers that
they would make no peace with the King of the English without his council
and consent. He promised his help in return. Upon the oath of his brother
Peter and the Count Stephen and of William, a knight of Chartres, he
reassured them that he would make no peace unless it would bring them peace

31 Of Toulouse: The vexed question of Toulouse had led Henry to a rupture
with King Louis in 1167, and was the subject of this peace conference. In
the midst of it (spring of 1168) the discontented nobles of Aquitaine,
secure of Louis' goodwill, broke into open revolt, and Henry was forced to
hurry away to subdue them.
32 Archbishop of Rouen: Rotrou de Beaumont, archbishop of Rouen 1165-1183.
33 Richard of Hommet: Richard of Hommet constable of Normandy.
34 Count Stephen: Count of Sancerre, brother of Count Henry of Champagne.
35 Of William: A Knight Templar.
and unless the booty was restored to them. A second time, therefore, but more energetically did the King of the English urge before the said Counts of Champagne and of Flandres to hold a conference with the other King and to outline the terms of peace to which they had agreed. In fact, on the octave of Easter, he secured a meeting of the French nobility. But he was not worthy to see the face of the King before he had pledged to give peace to the people of Poitiers and all who adhered to the King and restore completely all plunder that had been taken away. This one exception there was, that he was not responsible to the inhabitants of Poitiers, as they to him, to restore the dead or to rebuild the burnt houses. After this pledge was given in his own person, he added the proviso to observe faithfully the other terms of peace laid down at Soissons. The same caution was provided for in a similar manner by his nobles. The nobles of the French, however, obliged themselves to him in good faith, that the King of the French would observe the term of peace as pointed out, if the former peace treaties laid before him and his men would be observed. There was this exception that he did not grant his daughter in marriage to Richard, the future Duke of Aquitaine. Moreover, this statement was made above concerning Toulouse, that the King would treat the question according to the judgment of his court, if Richard on his part would demand justice from the Count of St. Gilles. After these negotiations were presented in order to the King of

36 Octave of Easter: April 7, 1168.
37 Count of St. Gilles: Raymond V of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, an old enemy of Henry, who finally did homage to the two Henrys for Toulouse in 1172.
the Franks, he agreed to speak with the King of the English the Sunday following Ascension\textsuperscript{38} and to make peace consistent with the previous terms. But the inhabitants of Poitiers complained to him afterwards that the King of the English attacked with an army sent across, even while the terms of peace were being discussed; they had destroyed the army and had killed their leader, the Count Patrick\textsuperscript{39} but unwillingly. Then the French King was very much disturbed, but I do not know whether this will prevent peace, though he may regret having given his consent. Moreover, he had been influenced by the display of pity, which he thought the King of the English had conceived. For when that same King rather solicitously asked the French, on whose friendship he relied for a reconstruction of the peace program in behalf of himself, and when he had learned that the Bishop elect of Chartres\textsuperscript{40} was a very intimate friend of the most Christian King, for the reason that he was believed to excel the rest of the hierarchy in the fear of the Lord and the works of wisdom, he approached him rather affectionately, begging him to reconcile him with his Lord, with whom and for whom, if it so please him, he was ready to go to Egypt. The Bishop, as a very prudent man wishing to clear up for himself the hidden meaning of this expression said, "Is, what you say, true -- that you wish to go with him to Jerusalem?" and the former answered, "I never did anything more cheerfully if it so please my Lord to

\textsuperscript{38} Following Ascension: May 12, 1168.
\textsuperscript{39} Count Patrick: Earl Patrick of Salisbury, governor of Aquitaine. See letter 238.
\textsuperscript{40} Bishop elect of Chartres: William of Champagne, Bishop of Chartres 1165-1176, Archbishop of Sens 1168-1176, and Archbishop of Rheims 1176-1202.
permit me to dispose of my house and to provide for my children." The man of Chartres however, even though he suspected an underlying trick reported this to the King of the French. Because it was a disgrace to be so often deceived he answered that he would not believe him under any condition (this he said from the bottom of his heart) before he would see his shoulder decorated with the cross. For when he had promised this to him before and had confirmed it with that condition which when given no one is trustworthy and he appeared as an apostate of the religion he professed, he said it was foolish to put faith in his mere word. From then on he was more inclined to peace. But when he heard that while he was making these promises he was attacking Poitiers, he was so disturbed that he sent word to him through his own messengers that he would not come to the conference unless he would give a secure convoy to the people of Poitiers and gave hostages that he and his men neither on the march nor on a halting place nor on their return would cause any injury to them. And now it is certain that, if with honor he could withdraw from the terms, he will gladly use the opportunity. There are even some who think that the King of the English could in no manner endure so great an insult as to be compelled to restore peace and fortresses together with other booty to those who killed his noblemen and who opposed so haughtily his position of honor and purpose; for he is accustomed to be a base disloyal character especially when an insult kindles a tendency of his impatient soul. Others think since he is a clever man and sees himself hard pushed, that he will use his usual skill of pretense and deceit for the while, and in good time, will revenge himself in a fitting way on his enemies. But whatever the Kings do, it is not believed that the people of
Poitiers will enter upon peace terms with him, because they despair of being able to find loyalty in a man, of whom even the innocent complain of having been wronged against his pledge. It is really superfluous to trace the various opinions since the action of events will shortly reveal the truth. When this truth will be known, I shall not delay to inform you as quickly as I can with the help of God, both about the treaties of the kings and of the condition of the Lord Pope, and of the Church in England. I shall tell what I believe worthwhile. Do the same for me when you write regarding your own welfare and that of your friends, remembering that you are cherished by the saints administering to my good and that of my friends before God.
JOHN TO HIS HALF-BROTHER ROBERT

SUMMARY: John writes to his half-brother Robert on the prerogatives of the priesthood, which suggests that Robert was about to be ordained. He is known to have succeeded Archdeacon Baldwin of Totnes about 1170. This letter may have accompanied letter 245, which was written in May 1168.

My dear brother, what the priestly prerogative demands is great; yet it is grace of God that is accustomed to grant the greatest (blessings). Without it, human frailty can do nothing. With it, any weakness whatever grows strong for purposes ever so great, so that when necessity or need arises, like a lame hart it may leap\(^2\) and even the tongue of the mute may be eloquent. Therefore, cast yourself entirely upon it and endeavor earnestly to make progress in it; for just as it is wont to anticipate the needy, so it is wont to abandon the careless. Dear brother, no loss is more harmful than if anyone falls from grace, and as you know, the most disgraceful loss is that caused by carelessness. All moral philosophers, both our own and pagan, try to throw off carelessness. Even Cato, who is filled with finest doctrines, said to his son, to impress this deeply upon his mind, "Guard what you have got;"\(^3\) and Solomon gives the precept\(^4\) to imitate the ant which during the summer gathers the food from which she may live in winter. What is there that belongs more to us than grace, that

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1 Without it: See John 15. 5.
2 It may leap: See Isaias 35. 6.
3 Guard what you have got: Dionysius Cato, Disticha Catonis 13.
4 Solomon gives the precept: See Proverbs 6. 6.
is, the gift of God? For it is called grace as though given gratis. Its most formidable attacker is carelessness, which a kind of demon places often upon the fathers of families. This kind is not cast out except by prayer and fasting. When you have taken a stand against this, you will be able to fast and you will also pray without ceasing, not using the words of the wise of this world, who almost say: Fair Laverna, grant me to escape detection; grant me to pass as just and upright; but rather you will use the words of the gospel which the Son used addressing His Father: "I don't pray for the world, but for those whom Thou hast given me," and other prayers suitable for this purpose. Yet, the apostle mentions and teaches the most excellent way, fraternal charity, in which the recollection of the exiled brethren urges you to walk. With this fraternal charity there is recommended, in my opinion, and not excluded, love of your sister.

Good-by.

5 Kind of demon: See Matthew 17. 20.
6 Without ceasing: See Thessalonians 5. 17.
7 Fair Laverna: Horace, Epistles 1. 16, 60-61.
8 Not for the world: See John 17. 9.
9 The apostle teaches: See Romans 12. 10.
10 Of your sister: See letters 117, 239.
JOHN TO MASTER GERARD PUCELLE

SUMMARY: John informs Gerard Pucelle that it was not Archbishop Thomas who had kindled King Louis' wrath against Gerard, but that Gerard himself was responsible; indeed, the Archbishop had been interceding for Gerard at Rome. He then discusses the terms of peace offered to the Archbishop's adherents, and tells Gerard of the death of the earls, Robert of Leicester and Patrick of Salisbury, and of the election of Bishop William of Chartres to the Archbishopric of Sens. The letter was written some time after May 12, 1168, for John mentions that the envoys had not yet returned from Rome on that date. See 193 in which John answers the same charge by Gerard against the Archbishop.

I feel sorry, my dearest teacher, and am very sorry, if I may speak sincerely, because I see your peace of mind more than justly disturbed regarding the Archbishop of Canterbury, for I don't think that he has deserved that your Excellency ought to be so offended. I would not say, "The Lord liveth",¹ to doubt your all embracing charity (which God may preserve intact). But as friends are more closely bound to one another by the declaration of truth, so that not even in the slightest mistrust it could happen that one misprize the other (which God forbid!). For you know who said, "He who loveth not,² abideth in death." Moreover, I don't know who are said to have deprived you of your good reputation before the most Christian King and in the court of the French. Let this one thing be known (if it is known, I'm not sure, but is very clear to me): I have often heard him excusing your withdrawal both before the King and others,

¹ The Lord liveth: See Jeremias 5. 2.
² He who loveth not: See 1 John 3. 14.
and frequently pleading in your behalf. Therefore, I cannot believe that with his knowledge, anyone of his men has belittled you. If he did not know or didn't realize, it is true, that he did not agree, or at any rate probable. Certain of his co-exiles less careful perhaps, are the court of the King who might have uttered a word rather heedlessly against you or somebody else, that by chance, they might render themselves more favorable to those whom they had believed to please in what they were saying. God is my witness that I have neither seen nor heard those people do what they are accused of, who they are, if such there are, I am completely in ignorance. But I am quite certain that the King in question is indignant for three reasons: The first of these is that after his many acts of kindness and friendship you passed by near the place where he was stopping without paying him your respects. You turned aside and left the kingdom where so many favors had been bestowed upon you from your infancy, where your name had grown famous. The second reason is that you went over to the schismatics (I don't say as a schismatic). You who in their point of your virtue and culture should have encouraged and strengthened the weaker. In general, you gave a bad example to all. Their fear of communicating with the schismatics lessens when they see so great a man stopping in their group; he because of manifold necessity, as long as he is in that position cannot keep from prayer nor from (guests at the) table, from friendship, or from other things that are known as proofs of union in a religious society. What

3 Left the kingdom: See letters 164, 191-193, 226.
aggravates the situation with him is that he says you joined up with that schismatic, who was the concocter, the instigator and standard bearer of the entire schism, was condemned by name by the Apostolic See. The third grievance however, (which I, no matter what others might say, deem the greatest), is that you have gone over to the Germans who would willingly rise against his kingdom, if they could and dared. Their boastful language and their inflated threats are that they can do and dare it. Those that are in his kingdom, may, even peacefully spend their time at Paris lose their standing, you know, because he lives as quietly as a citizen among his people; because he does not, in the manner of barbarians put on the appearance of a tyrant; because he does not always go about surrounded by armed guards like one who fears for his life. Well does he know the customs of that people, about which he often complained, as I think even to you. Yet, the Archbishop of Canterbury pleaded with him in my presence and finally succeeded, as far as he could, in allowing your recall. I truly admit the fact that you add (the statement) that he sent a rescript of your letters to the Lord Pope, because they were given to him in good faith and even with your approval. But, (as the Examiner of the hearts knows), he did not do this to your detriment; he rather was anxious they would help his own cause and that they should ease off your reputation before the Lord Pope. For he wished to inform him that you are true and loyal to the church of

4 Bearer of the entire schism: Archbishop Rainold of Cologne.
5 In allowing your recall: In letters dated from Benevento, May 20, 1168, Pope Alexander announced Gerard's reconciliation to King Louis and Archbishop Thomas.
God and the Apostolic See; though you, by virtue of a dispensation, live with them for some time, that by your zeal they might more easily be converted for the honor of God and the usefulness of Catholic unity. And if some messengers were less solicitous in obtaining your recall, their negligence ought not be imputed to the mandator. The order is very clearly known and hope was entertained in the activity of the messengers. Neither do I doubt that the Lord Pope was approached on this subject, since his answer is certain that he would never recall anyone, not even the greatest patriarch, if anything like this would have happened. But let anyone return who wished (to return), and he let him return as he has to. And if your disciple, Master Richard, my relative, who died on his return, had come back, we would be more certain on this point. But as regards the fact that he suggested to the Lord Pope the extraordinary condition of the Empire, just as if he had been informed by you, I answer that he presented what he heard, but not from you; nor did he write to him what he received from you. For the status of the Empire is known to him through others; nor is it surprising if such great confusion cannot be disguised. After the interception of those well-known letters and after the death of Master Richard, when this question was discussed among the Cardinals, they advised that he should not dare to recall you against the counsel and will of the Lord Pope; rather he should see to it that the Archbishop of Rheims and all his

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7 Archbishop of Rheims: Archbishop Henry of Rheims 1162-1175. He was the brother of the French King Louis VII.
suffragans, called to deliberate this matter did not dare to receive into their fold the Bishop of Cambrai\(^8\) though he repented tearfully, before the Lord Pope had been consulted. Your case, as they were told, is by far different. For whereas the former had sworn allegiance to the false doctrine of the schismatics, you even in schism did not agree in error. The former was a bishop and seemed to have upset the Catholics; but you in the condition of a private individual tried to recall the schismatics to unity. Therefore, a second time did the Archbishop of Canterbury send word to the church at Rome charging the messengers in my presence to do all they could for your recall by the Lord Pope. I myself with the knowledge of Master Ralph Niger\(^9\) composed the letters. I asked him that he should write to you the development of this affair in logical succession. Hence, it is well known that our messengers arrived at the court and there for a long time held a great controversy with the envoys of the Lord King of England; but of all seven not one had thus far returned by the Sunday\(^10\) following Ascension. I am not writing about the outcome of their controversy, because up to now it is not known except that I hear from those returning from the Apostolic See: They succeeded in their cause over the King's messengers; how far, is uncertain. For I do not know if they return satisfied with their petitions fully granted, or whether this will be their greatest

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8 Bishop of Cambrai: Nicholas Bishop of Cambrai 1137-1167.
10 By the Sunday: May 12, 1168.
success, that the King's messengers return without prestige without fulfilling the purpose of their negotiation. Recently I saw your messenger in the Kings' conference that was held near Mantes where the question of peace was discussed. You had many promoters among the English; but I was not able to find out what they obtained for you. I saw another of your men at Paris; and as I wrote to the Bishop of Canterbury for your recall, our friend, Lord G., knows who is in seclusion near St. Hilarius, who inspected the letters; it would be very pleasing to me, if they would come to your knowledge. In fact, when the messengers have returned, which, it is believed, under the kind guidance of the Lord, will happen soon, we will be more certain concerning your and our business. Therefore, if so it please, it ill becomes your self-control to be constantly worked up, and you ought not fix hastily before time the day of departure, because it is neither in your power nor in mine to appoint beforehand the time of God's compassion or the end of His forbearance. But what you read, the priests learned from the widow Judith, so it is just, that all of us, being Christ's poor and outlaws, possess our souls in the virtue of patience and await in devotion and silence the salvation of God. Grace will console, at an unexpected time, those that wait, and after the head of Holofernes is cut off, the children of Israel will rejoice in the peace so long desired. I do not advise against your making peace with the Lord

11 Widow Judith: See Judith 7. 9.
14 Head of Holofernes is cut off: See Judith 13. 10.
King of England, if so you are determined. It is offered to you almost voluntarily. But would that the well-known agreement be maintained, which as use warrants in the future will not be prejudicial to your standard of salvation. Indeed, a condition of peace is offered to most of us, but from all an oath is demanded which, I think, cannot be kept without a loss of religion. For how will faith be preserved unimpaired, if it is not allowed subjects to obey their shepherds and prelates in the things that are God's? Even though the charge of disobedience is not expressed in the proviso of peace, yet it is certain that it is present in the mind of the one exacting it. One thing I know: no one will be able to retain the favor of the Lord King who in this storm remains obedient to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or is believed to have friendly intercourse with him. You moreover, are one of his sheep, and in my opinion, have received from the Lord a shepherd who is either the very first or among the foremost. Therefore, see to it,\(^\text{15}\) most beloved brother, and rather diligently attend that you walk circumspectly, that no disturbance, always foreign to the dignity of a wise man, rule over your soul, that urged on by it you do not do that for which repentance afterwards is too late. Rather take refuge in the weapons of prayer and alms that God may lead\(^\text{16}\) you with other just ones along the right paths and make you walk\(^\text{17}\) in His footsteps; to those who love Him in all things, all things work together unto good.\(^\text{18}\) He will set you free.

\(^{15}\) See to it: See Ephesians 5. 15.
\(^{16}\) That God may lead: See Psalm 106. 7.
\(^{17}\) Make you walk: See Isaiah 42. 16.
\(^{18}\) Work together unto good: See Romans 8. 28.
whose name is the strongest tower, and death will be pleasant to him who will have such a great Leader. There is a discussion of the peace among the Kings, and until now it is believed it is going to be successful. In the meantime our world is quiet. Hence, I do not write any news, except that the Count of Leicester slept away in the Lord. The Count Patrick was killed by the rebels of Poitiers. The Bishop of Chartres has been appointed Archbishop of Sens.

Farewell.

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19 The strongest tower: See Proverbs 18. 10.
20 Among the Kings: After Easter 1168, King Louis contented himself with a weak and irresolute resistance to Henry, confining himself to supporting the rebellions in Aquitaine and Brittany against Henry.
21 Count of Leicester: Robert de Beaumont of Leicester, the friend and advisor of Henry.
22 The Count Patrick: Earl Patrick of Salisbury.
JOHN TO BISHOP JOHN BELMEIS AND MASTER RAYMOND, CHANCELLOR OF POITIERS

SUMMARY: John writes to the Bishop and Chancellor of Poitiers (disguising all names), commenting on the present state of affairs, and relates the efforts of the Count of Flanders on behalf of peace, the reported defeat of Henry the Lion and the founding of Alessandria. The letter could not have been written much earlier than June 1, for Alessandria was founded on May 1, 1168.

Cyril to his Lords and friends, Perpetuus and Felix, sends greetings and peace which the world cannot give. It cannot escape men like you who know the divine sciences that the meaning of expression of desires often reveals the sentiments of an entire discourse. May Felix rejoice in eternity, and Perpetuus, in bliss! May the Lord console and glorify them in the council of the just and in the congregation, because of the comfort they gave to Christ's poor. That comfort was truly necessary for a public rather than a private reason, if what you heard is true; for who would wish to gaze at the stars and at the falling world, without fear, without grief, without solicitude? The man who confides in himself as a lion, can feel sorry for himself at anything that happens, not because it is just, but because of the instinct of his nature and the force of power he so compassionates and rejoices with his neighbors that no characteristic foreign to human nature he considers as his own. He says, "Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is scandalized, and I am not on fire?" Indeed,

1 In the council: See Psalms 110. 1.
2 To gaze at the stars: See Lucan, Pharsalia 2. 289-290.
3 As a lion: See Proverbs 28. 1.
4 Foreign to human nature: See Terence, Hauton Timorumenos 1. 1. 25.
5 Who is weak: See 2 Corinthians 11. 29.
there is one, because everyone labors until Christ be transformed or formed in them. Certainly I could not believe that anyone could see without grief the Church wounded in Her Head, the shepherd struck, ground down, scattered, that Christ's sheep be scattered and perish. It is a senseless member, rather not at all of the body of Christ, which is not moved to compassion by the bitterness of such affliction. Apathy, which the Latin calls insensibility, the Stoics extol; their doctrine has been disapproved by very true reasoning, more rightly by virtue of the philosophers, and, what is the strongest argument, by the precepts and examples of Sacred Scripture. When the Lord saw the city to which the guardianship and the dispensation of the Law had been entrusted, subject to the traditions of the scribes and pharisees who sought the things that are their own and not the things that are the Lord's, when he saw their placing too heavy and almost unbearable burdens on the shoulders of men which they did not touch with their finger, when he saw their sitting on the chair of Moses preaching according to the Law but without living up to the Law, He wept over the city because He saw that in a short time by the very untoward actions it would fall to ruin. Therefore, He gave to His faithful an example to do likewise because the scribes and pharisees of our own time call for a similar scourge. This can be, and, is a just cause for grief. Moreover, it goes well with those at whose shipwreck we are

6 Labors until Christ: See Galatians 4. 19.
7 The shepherd struck: See John 10. 12, Zacharias 13. 7, Matthew 26. 31, Mark 16. 27.
8 Things that are the Lord's: See Philippians 2. 21.
9 Placing too heavy and almost unbearable burdens: See Matthew 23. 1.
distressed. For they cannot perish who have been cast out by the arm of man into the bosom of God's clemency. Their liberation is very near, since a firm faith can hope this. They were left with the aid of Him Who "delivers the poor from the powerful," and the poor 11 "who has none to help him."

Surely, my dear friends, there is an advantage for various reasons: That they be obedient to God and become more faithful servants of Christ's poor after they will be set free; that the greedy and haughty (whom you know), might have no chance to seize and boast unto their own destruction and that of others; puffed up, against God, spurning the Church of God, devoid of any benefit they may exclaim: "Not the Lord, but our high hand 12 made all this."

For he who doubts that the Church will be freed and who does not loose his hope that Christ's promises will be fulfilled, is not worthy to be considered a Christian in name. Hence, fear nothing less than that the son take up in indignation the scourge against his father, that the servant murmurs against the chastisement of a master who teaches that the adopted disciple grows indignant, that the patient opposes the cautery or cutting of his physician. What, if the physician in time cuts or burns the hand which has long been atrophied for good work, that he might make it stronger forever? He is not amazed at this who reads that Cyril, crippled in his hand, was healed by Christ. For it is He, Who strikes 13 and heals, and (what is more), Who slays 14 and brings to life. Granted that to the King

11 And the poor: See Psalms 71. 41.
12 But our high hand: See Deuteronomy 32. 27.
14 Who slays: See Job 5. 18.
a delay is given, still, it is not for a fixed day, for this is not stated:

With the help of God the present status could easily be changed for better, as it is hoped. I certainly do not deny the need for a reformation; yet, I do not imagine it in this man but in Him Whose Majesty is provoked by such definite insults; "for the success of the foolish confounds them."

Your additional comment, that the well known person elected, but, as is believed, the reprobate of God could have obtained the blessing of the Lord Pope if he had wished to lay down his beard, is a ridiculous thing, unless he valued his beard as highly; that it is believed of him what is read about Sampson that his strength and bravery lay in his hair. But it is known through the report of rumor and existing proofs of those who are alive that his bravery is in his loins and his strength is in deceit and the boldness of his lying. The Lord in His keenness will take the wise and will promote His cause to the glory of His name not through those from whom it was expected but by some miracle. For as it is written: "The Lord chooses new wars; He himself will destroy the gates of the enemies."

"Gnats defeated Pharaoh"; a widow, Holofernes, and we read that foot-soldiers above all others conquered the most powerful one of Syria.

15 For the success: See Proverbs 1. 32.
16 Well known person elected: Clarembald, Abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, an old enemy of Thomas Becket, and one of Henry's envoys to Pope Alexander in the spring of 1168. Intruded into the Abbacy as a layman in 1163, he was finally deposed by the Pope in 1176. See letter 326.
17 Read about Sampson: See Judges 16. 17.
18 His strength is: See Job 40. 11.
19 His keenness will take: See Job 5. 13, 1 Corinthians 3. 19.
20 The Lord chooses new wars: See Judges 5. 8.
21 Gnats defeated Pharaoh: See Exodus 10. 3.
22 A widow: See Judith 15. 1.
Count of Flanders\textsuperscript{23} works for a restoration of peace with the Church. He hopes to be able to arrange this more easily among the Kings if he has the Archbishop of Canterbury as his assistant. He has already negotiated with the King of England for whom he is believed to be very solicitous; fortunately he has invited the Canterburian to the conference and now has prevailed that the Archbishop go to the monastery of Thiron\textsuperscript{24} there to speak to him, when the Kings will soon meet in conference. He is trying to bring the King and the Archbishop together that they might settle with one another the question of peace in their own persons. Would that you or some of our friends could be present at this appointed conference and there get more reliable information about the matters worthwhile to know! This they will not pass into a third party. The cardinals have no inkling about this business of the Archbishop of Canterbury that he will come near the conference, or that his diligent endeavor toward a reconciliation of the Kings is so necessary. Whenever his messengers\textsuperscript{25} will return (as we hope, in the near future), we will not be slow to indicate to you their news; for it is believed and predicted that upon their return Cyril is going to be restored to health. As for the rest, you might know that we heard from reliable sources that Henry,\textsuperscript{26} Duke of Saxony, was defeated in a great battle by the Archbishop of Magdebury,\textsuperscript{27} the Bishop of Halberstadt.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23}Count of Flanders: Count Philip of Flanders.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Monastery of Thiron: Thiron, near Chartres.
\item \textsuperscript{25}Whenever his messengers: Alexander and John, who had been sent to Rome late in 1167.
\item \textsuperscript{26}Reliable sources that Henry: Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who married Matilda, daughter of Henry II in 1168 at Brunswick.
\item \textsuperscript{27}Archbishop of Magdebury: Wichmann von Seeburg 1152-1192.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Bishop of Halberstadt: Ulrich, Bishop of Halberstadt 1149-1160, 1177-1181.
\end{itemize}
and the Marquis Albert; there fell seven hundred soldiers on the side of the Duke, twenty-two counts being captured or slain; but on the Bishop's side, so few fell or were captured that there is no complaint of the loss. The Emperor was anxious to restore peace to the Duke, but the Bishops do not agree mainly that under the guise of war they might separate themselves from the league of the schismatics. Greatly in accordance with the will of God, the Emperor was given to the Germans and Teutons out of hatred and contempt. In contempt for the Emperor the Lombards are building a city near Pavia in the plain which was called Roboretum. They call the city Alexandria in honor of Pope Alexander and for the destruction of the inhabitants of Pavia.

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29 The Marquis Albert: Margrave Albert the Bear, leader of the opposition to Duke Henry. He died in 1170.
30 The Emperor: Frederick Barbarossa.
31 They call the city Alexandria: Alessandria, founded May 1, 1168.
JOHN TO BISHOP JOHN BELMEIS OF POITIERS

SUMMARY: John announces the return of Master Gerard from Cologne, and bitterly comments on the boasts of King Henry, who claims that he has prevailed over Archbishop Thomas at the Roman curia. The letter was probably written in late June or July, for John remarks that he had but lately written to Bishop John. This was letter 248, which is dated some time in June, 1168.

After I had written the previous letters,¹ this added news came to me. The letter of the Lord Pope sent to the King of England produced this effect: Master Gerard² on his return from Cologne crossed over to the King of England without seeing or paying his respects to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He ordained him priest and conferred upon him the first ecclesiastical benefice. After he pledged him his loyalty and took an oath that he belonged to another court, elected, as they say, a fighter against the poor and proscribed of Christ. The Abbot of St. Augustine³ told Bishop Geoffrey⁴ who was Abbot of Clairvaux that he and his own said and did nothing in the court except on instruction of the cardinals, and that John of Naples,⁵ and John of SS. John and Paul,⁶ made the threats which you heard about. He even said that the Bishop of Porto⁷ aided the King's messengers in obtaining the letters. The King himself told the Bishop of Worcester⁸ that he and all other bishops were released from the

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¹ Previous letters: See letter 248.
³ The Abbot of St. Augustine: Clarembald, Abbot of St. Augustine, Canterbury, who was one of Henry's envoys to the Roman curia.
⁴ Bishop Geoffrey: Bishop of Auxerre, see letter 245.
⁵ John of Naples: Cardinal of St. Anastasia.
⁶ John of SS. John and Paul: John of Sutri, Cardinal of SS. John and Paul.
⁸ Bishop of Worcester: Roger Fitz Count Bishop of Worcester 1164-1179.
authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury and he enjoined upon them not to fear any threats because he now had the Lord Pope and all his Cardinals in his pocket. He boasts so much that he says openly he had finally obtained the prerogative of his grandfather who was in his country King, Apostolic Delegate, Patriarch, Emperor and all he wished to be. What he says is almost probable, as far as the Church of Rome is concerned; for what more could Octavian or the Heresiarch of Crema have conferred upon him? What else could their Cardinals have done than those lords mention who whetted the tongues of the English and who caused fire and poison to vomit forth in order to frighten the Lord Pope and force him to do their bidding? These events will be written in the record of the Church of Rome. Certainly, if God is good, there will not want men who will write that at the request and the threat of the King of England whose unbearable excesses He endured for so long a time he deprived the herald of truth, the champion of liberty, the upholder of justice for the cause of the Lord, exiled as he was, for four years with a great number of innocent victims, after he laid aside all order of reason and justice, he deprived him of his power as though he had misused his office. This is not because he deserved it but because it so pleased the tyrant. In the letters that were disclosed which are in our

9 Prerogative of his grandfather: Henry I.
10 What more could Octavian: Cardinal Octavian, the anti-Pope, Victor IV.
11 Heresiarch of Crema: Cardinal Guy of Crema, the anti-Pope Paschal III.
12 Their Cardinals: Cardinals John of Naples and John of Sutri.
13 Whetted the tongues: See Psalms 63. 4.
14 Number of innocent victims: On Christmas 1164 Henry had ordered the punishment of all the Archbishop's relatives.
15 Letters that were disclosed: This was in 1166. Again on May 19, 1168, the Pope wrote from Benevento forbidding Thomas to issue any censures against Henry.
possession he had allowed him the use of all rights of the power of his office. In these words he stated that he neither bade nor forbade excommunicating the King. Good God! What unusual thing happened? The Holy Spirit says in the Law: "Cry, cease not," and behold, I know not what spirit going forth from Rome into the world tells the preachers, "Be silent, do not cry out." The Apostle instructing the Bishop enjoined upon him: "Fulfill thy ministry", and lo, the successor of the Apostle teaches, "desist from the ministry of your office." May be, it is surmised that by patience they can make the man more gentle. Did he experience this in the Bishop of Cahors who for nearly ten years deprived of his see, exposed to the storms, feels the humiliation of the Apostolic See and the tyranny of that man? May the Lord Pope, I pray, look to his conscience and provide for the good reputation, honor, and welfare of the Church! Make this known to him rather carefully and convince the Lord Cardinals to keep in mind the judgment of God which Christ’s poor continuously implore against all enemies of the freedom of the Church.

16 Cry, cease not: See Isaias 58. 1.
17 Fulfill thy ministry: See 2. Timothy 4. 5.
18 Bishop of Cahors: Gerald Hector, Bishop of Cahors 1152-1199. This exclusion of the Bishop of Cahors from his see does not seem to be recorded elsewhere.
19 Look to his conscience: See letter 250.
JOHN TO MASTER LOMBARD OF PIACENZA

SUMMARY: John narrates the happenings at the conference of the French and English Kings at La Ferte-Bernard on July 1-2, 1168, and the subsequent boasts of King Henry. He also relates the opinions of the French on the scandalous machinations of the Cardinals John of Naples and John of Sutri, and requests Master Lombard to influence the Pope, especially in order to have the Archbishop of York show the proper obedience and subjection to Canterbury. The letter can be dated July 1168, shortly after the meeting was held. Master Lombard of Piacenza later became a Cardinal and was promoted to the see of Benevento 1171-1179.

Mindful of our mutual obligatory agreement, I summarize with as great brevity as possible the transactions in the conference of the Kings, and the effects that resulted for the Archbishop of Canterbury whom, as you know, the Count of Flanders\(^1\) by order of the King of England had taken there. When the Kings drew near the appointed place for the conference, Eudes,\(^2\) Count of Brittany, and Roland of Dinan\(^3\) laid before the most Christian King many weighty complaints against the King of England. Eudes particularly deplored the fact that he had like a traitor, like an adulterer, and incestuously caused his daughter, a virgin, whom he had given to the former as a hostage of peace, to become pregnant. For the King and the wife of Eudes\(^4\) were born of two sisters. The people of Poitiers and Angoulême,\(^5\) the Count of La Marche,\(^6\) the Viscount of Thouars,\(^7\) Robert of Sillé, Geoffrey of Lusignan, Heimericus of Rancogne, and the Abbot of Charroux demanded

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1 Count of Flanders: Philip of Flanders.
2 Eudes: Count of Brittany.
3 Roland of Dinan: In Brittany.
4 Wife of Eudes: Bertha.
5f Poitiers and Angoulême: Count William of Angoulême.
6 Count of La Marche: Count Adalbert I V of La Marche.
7 Viscount of Thouars: Almeric.
that they be reimbursed for the losses which the King of England and his men had inflicted on them after the truce. For the Abbot informed them that his monastery belonged to him according to the right of the King of the French since the time of Charlemagne, who founded the same. After a great deal of discussions on both sides the King of England promised that he would return the plunder to the people of Poitiers, but never to the monastery because it belonged to him and the Lord Pope. Finally, however, he said he would restore to the Abbot whatever he might have of his possessions not because of the law of the King of the French but out of love of God, of the Count of Flanders, and Lord Cardinal William. The King of the French was annoyed when he heard there was a Cardinal in the council of the King of England; he said that he had not deserved this from the Church of Rome, that a Cardinal should encourage his enemies, as he always had done so far, and that he was not going to take back anything this time out of love of Count or Cardinal, but in his own right, if the King of England so wished. When the latter refused this, the King of the French compelled him by the pledge with which he had bound himself to go to the river wherein accordance with the agreement the conference was to take place. He had remained two leagues away. He did not agree. After the King of the French crossed the river and sitting down on the opposite bank, had waited almost till evening, he washed his hands and drank, while he declared publicly

8 After the truce: See letter 245.
9 Lord Cardinal William: Cardinal William of Pavia, the papal legate.
10 Crossed the river: The river Huisne.
before all, that he had fulfilled the promise of the agreement. Thus he sent away the Count of Flanders and other noblemen while he waited there with but few almost till twilight. He had, however, sent messengers to the other King to compel him to make satisfaction for the broken treaty. When the latter heard this, he detained the messengers and with a large number of soldiers armed with corselets and helmets approached the river. He did not allow the messengers to go ahead and warn the King. Upon seeing this the French in a body seized their arms, but the night did not permit an engagement; and so the King of England returned. The Count Robert, the King's brother, and Stephen, the brother of Count Henry, followed him. He pleaded earnestly with them, pretending great humility in his words, to persuade the King not to force him to flee to the enemies of the kingdom of France. In point of fact, on the following day he sent his messengers to Chartres to induce the King to make peace, or to advise the Count of Flanders by the pledge with which he had bound himself, to surrender to the King of England; But the King of the French said that he would not make peace with him before he had made satisfaction to him and the kingdom. The reason he gave was that fully armed during the darkness of night he had attacked him, and that he was not able to move one single man from France. But he added that he was willing to point out either at Le Marche or in the court of the Count of Flanders that he had freed from their oaths the Count himself and

11 The Count Robert: Count Robert of Dreux, brother of Louis VII.
12 Stephen: Count Stephen of Sancerre, brother of Count Henry of Champagne.
the others who had pleaded in his behalf. The messengers of the King of England answered him in turn: Their King would point out in the court of the Emperor or of the Kings of Navare or Aragon\textsuperscript{13} to whom he had arranged to give his daughters, that he had observed his word and the Count of Flanders and other French mediators had broken their word. In the meantime they asked for an armistice but were not listened to. So they returned each to his respective home. There were present at this conference the Britons, the people of Poitiers, the messengers of the King of Scotland,\textsuperscript{14} and of the Kings of Wales\textsuperscript{15} They promised their help to the King of the French and offered hostages. Having given their oath, they withdrew. The nobles of Gascogne did likewise. The conference of the Kings was adjourned. In order to show it could not remain hidden in what manner the King of England had triumphed over the Lord Pope and the Church of Rome and to make the Archbishop of Canterbury and his adherants an object of reproach\textsuperscript{16} before mankind an outcast of his people, he caused the letter of the Lord Pope in which he had given the power of sinning with impunity to be transcribed and to be sent to the churches and persons of both kingdoms. He even boasted of having such friends in the court who would void all efforts of the Archbishop of Canterbury. They are so zealous in promoting his business, that

\textsuperscript{13} Kings of Navare or Aragon: This scheme did not succeed, for Henry's second daughter Eleanor was married to the King of Castile in 1169, and the infant, Jane was betrothed to the boy-king William of Sicily.

\textsuperscript{14}King of Scotland: William the Lion.

\textsuperscript{15}King of Wales: Owain, prince of Gwynedd 1137-1170; Rhys ap Gruffydd, prince of Deheubarth.

\textsuperscript{16}An object of reproach: See Psalms 21. 7.
not a single petition could be submitted or anything asked which is not sent to him by his friends. We know the names of those whose advice he follows and what they recently demanded in the court, that the cause of God and the poor of Christ are sold out at a cheap price; and there was no reckoning in the exchange of them. Would that those ounces of gold never existed, by which those were led to fall who should have been pillars of the Church! The King was so elated over his triumph that no secret was made in his own home who the Cardinals were that did not receive any of that obnoxious and base gold, or who they were that saw how it was doled out, to some more, to others less in proportion as they merited more or less in their subversion of justice. A fact that did not escape the notice of the King of the French was that the messenger of Bishop John of Naples went over from his camp to the King of England and certain persecutors of the Church, while we were at Montmirail. When the Religious who are on the side of the King of England heard the above-mentioned letter, they grieved very much and called down curses upon John of Naples and John of SS. John and Paul who were said to have fooled the Lord Pope. Master Geoffrey of Poitiers, a priest of Lord William Cardinal, did not consent with the plan and acts of the King's messengers, since he is looking for the kingdom of God. He openly protested that they were condemned by an anathema, because they had sworn

17 Exchange of them: See Psalms 43. 13.
18 Were led to fall: See Psalms 117. 13.
20 We were at Montmirail: In Maine.
22 The King's messengers, since: See Luke 23. 51.
that the command of the Lord Pope would be kept secret, and because the Lord Pope had enjoined upon them by virtue of obedience and under an anathema that it be kept secret. To make us despicable before all and to remove the comfort of friends, who almost despair of our peace, they together with their King praise the victories of their own malice and glory over the distress of the Church. Would that the ears of the Cardinals were at the mouths of the French to whom the proverb of this phrase might opportunely be applied: "The princes of the Church\textsuperscript{23} are faithless; they are companions of thieves." For they permit and give power to persecutors of the Church to strike, to rob, and pillage the patrimony of the Crucified One, to share in damnable gain. Would that you, too, listened to the most Christian King who I fear cannot be recalled any more without bringing about the marriage between their children at the request of the Emperor.\textsuperscript{24} For Count Henry takes care of this and hopes that he will obtain his wish. As for the rest, I ask, let your earnest care appear that the Lord Pope carry out what belongs to a just judge! May he absolve the innocent who is jailed without precedent! May he condemn the wicked, who shows himself an example to the world of persecuting the Church! Endeavor also that the Archbishop of York\textsuperscript{25} be admonished to show his obedience and submission to the Church of Canterbury which is worn out by so many and so long continued trials.

\textsuperscript{23} The princes of the Church: See Isaiah 1. 23.
\textsuperscript{24} Request of the Emperor: Frederick Barbarossa.
\textsuperscript{25} Archbishop of York: Roger de Pont l'Evêque, Archbishop of York, 1154-1181.
JOHN TO ARCHDEACON BALDWIN OF EXETER

SUMMARY: John writes to Archdeacon Baldwin of Exeter, disguising the addresses, about the condition of the anti-Pope, Paschal III, the recall of the papal legates, Cardinals William and Otho, the secret history of Pope Alexander's restraining Archbishop Thomas from uttering further censures, the peace parleys of the English and French Kings, and of the terms of reconciliation offered to the Archbishop by Henry through Cardinal Otho. The letter may be placed at the end of July, 1168, some time after the conference of the two kings at La Ferte-Bernard on July 1.

To his Benedict¹ his Gratian² sends greetings and the blessing from the Lord! Because the carrier of these letters is well known to you, I have left out many points of interest that could have been put rightly in the letter and have entrusted to his loyalty points to be related to you more secretly. Since both of us are vitally concerned about the state of the Church in the kingdom, I summarize in very concise form both situations to you. In the first place, you know that the Heresiarch of Crema³ destined for the fire ⁴ is locked up in the tower of Stephen Theobald. He does not dare to go out and is deadly afraid of the change of senators who are to take up their rule at Rome on the first of November. To release their captives from the Emperor's prison, the senators of the current year received Guy of Crema near St. Peter's in the region across the Tiber. With the caution of an oath they pledged his safety. They could not, and, as I

¹ To his Benedict: See letter 238.
² Gratian: See letter 291.
³ Heresiarch of Crema: Cardinal Guy of Crema, the anti-Pope Paschal III. He died in September, 1168.
⁴ for the fire: A play on the words "Cremensis" and "cremandus".
think, never wished make Rome submit to him. In fact, the new senators will pledge their loyalty to the Lord Pope Alexander and, as is believed, they will with the help of God put an end to the schism. This has been discussed for a long time and has been confirmed by many oaths. The cardinals\textsuperscript{5} upon their recall returned, deeply penitent. They bewailed that they had, at the will of the King, to such an extent suppressed the cause of the Church. One of them, namely the Pavian, assisted him in all things; the other acted more indifferently than was befitting a man in whom such definite hope was placed. It is well known that those famous letters\textsuperscript{6} about which the King boasted, which checked the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury till he would return in his favor, had been procured by this scheme. The above mentioned Pavian had known that the Archbishop of Canterbury had obtained permission from the Apostolic See to promulgate the sentence of anathema against the King and of interdict on his kingdom, unless the King would entirely restore and make condign satisfaction within the limits laid down in the letter. Therefore, he wrote to the Lord Pope and asked him in humble supplication that a milder course of action be taken against the King. The object was that the same King, who had previously arranged if he were treated more harshly, would throw him and Bishop Otto, his companion, into prison,\textsuperscript{7} a fact which would be a disgrace

\textsuperscript{5} The Cardinals: The papal legates, Cardinals William of Pavia and Otho of Ostia.

\textsuperscript{6} Those famous letters: In a letter dated from Benevento May 19, 1168, Pope Alexander had restrained Thomas from uttering further censures.

\textsuperscript{7} Into prison: A play on their titles; William was Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, and Otho Cardinal of St. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano.
and everlasting insult to the Church of Rome, where they would drag out a sad and brief existence harder than death. When he, therefore, had convinced him that the King would do this, he received an Apostolic rescript for a consolation of the King and, as it were, his own freedom and that of his companion, to go forth more easily. This action exasperated your mind as much as that of all the faithful. But he could not accomplish that the words were erased by which the Lord Pope recalled to the mind of the King what had been granted to him according to his letters and the promises of the messengers. Definite hope and confidence of peace was given on the condition that so great an honor should be shown to the often mentioned King. They humbly begged that this delay might be extended for a year, but their petitions were not granted. The Apostolic successor said to his messengers that in a short time he would recall this particular grant unless the King quickly made peace with the Archbishop. As a matter of fact, it has been recalled by now, if he did not make satisfaction within the appointed time. Therefore, it is left to the Archbishop to act by virtue of this letter which, as we said above, he had procured. That is also the reason why the Cardinals were eager to slip rather hastily out of the King's hands. The messenger will supply the rest in words better than I can write, so that, when you have full knowledge of all events you may take care how to walk most circumspectly. But if anything comes to light that will work against the decisions, with the help of God, I shall not hesitate to let you know. The Peace of the Kings was hoped for and was recently discussed; but the

8 The Peace of the Kings: At La Ferte-Bernard, July 1-2, 1168. See letter 250.
King took such an opposite stand that he seems almost impossible; neither one wishes war. They would have met a long time ago if the King of England did not always attempt to add some new question, even when all points had been presented and solved. It always happens that, in as much as he tries to proceed, the discussion takes an opposite course and he becomes in the very actions a sluggard. In trying what is right and just, he is more a destroyer of law and order than an Upholder. I shall send you as soon as it will be permitted, (and this permission with the kindness of God will be granted in the future), a rescript of the Apostolic agreement, and I shall add, if anything pertaining to this matter should happen to be altered in the meantime. I omitted what I think should be least overlooked. Cardinal Otho, a few days before he left the King, went to see him to recast the program of peace with the Archbishop. The King answered that out of love of the Lord Pope and his Cardinals, he would grant permission that the Archbishop return in peace to his see and also that he take care of his Church and his property. Since they protracted too long their discussions about customs, he said that he and his children would be satisfied with only those possessions that his predecessors had held. This he did on the oath of one hundred Englishmen, of a hundred men of Normandy, and a hundred from Anjou, and from other lands of his. If this term of peace should displease the Archbishop, he declared himself ready to abide by the decision of three Bishops of England and three Bishops on this side of the sea, namely, the Bishop of Rouen,9 of Bayeux,10 and of Le Mans.11 But if

10 Of Bayeux: Henry, Bishop of Bayeux 1164-1205.
11 And of Le Mans: William de Passavant, Bishop of Le Mans 1143-1187.
this provision did not suffice, he would abide by the decision of the Lord pope that, with his grace, his children would not be disinherited; for in his own days he willingly will endure that the Lord Pope those may reject whom he pleases. They asked him what he was going to do about the restitution to the Archbishop and his friends which is demanded of him and which is his obligation. He answered after binding himself by many extraordinary oaths, that he returned nothing but that everything he had seized from them he gave only to the churches and the poor. "But Apella, the Jew, may believe it; not I." The Cardinal subjoined that he believed, unless he would make use of another plan and deal more kindly with the Church of God, that God and His Church would rather soon require of him a rather strict account of everything. Thus he left him after he had obtained leave. Then William of Pavia met him in the same manner; but the seed of his word fell upon sand. As they passed through (the kingdom of) the most Christian King of France, they returned to his favor. Pledges were interchanged which the carrier of these news will make known to you. The people of Poitiers work courageously and are strengthened very much. They devastate everything far and wide in their environs.

12 But Apella, the Jew, may believe it, not I: Horace, Satires 1. 5, 100.
JOHN TO WILLIAM BRITO, SUB-PRIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH

SUMMARY: John again chides the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, for their neglect of the Archbishop, and solicits their help. The letter may have been written in the summer of 1168, for John mentions that it had been some time since he had written to them. He wrote to them last at the beginning of 1168, see letter 241.

To his dear Brito the least of his friends, sends greetings to direct his attention beneficially towards the future. For a long time I have rested my pen since I heard that the frequency of my letters was annoying to you, and I decided not to disturb any further your ease by telling new developments. But when I found out from the report of my dear friend, Osbert¹ as well as from the testimony of the carrier of this letter that I had been a victim of a false surmise, behold, I change my mind. Hereafter I am going to write when I find the chance, but with such moderation that I do not become troublesome by my scribbling too frequently. For the incurable passion for writing² drives me on so impatiently that I cannot check my pen, but I shall instill into unwilling ears what a fastidious hearer rightly suspects to have been poured forth from a heart that keeps no secret. But just as you will accept my writings as proceeding from charity, so you will either check your style within the limits of moderation that you like or, you will force the affection of a lover to break forth, prompted by incentives of loyalty and friendship. For the

¹ Osbert: Osbert of Faversham. See letter 261.
² Passion for writing: Juvenal 8. 52.
trite adage is old but true: "The proof of love is in the manifestation of work." But I am afraid that out of the present writing will come for me that which I tried to avoid, namely, by the telling the truth to friends who are suffering from delicacy their very loss is threatened. For why peck away at tender ears with biting steel? And yet I shall tell what is due my office, even though luck will not give so much success to my endeavor for virtue as the fallacy of opinion undermines sound reasoning. I did frequently warn, and it should not have slipped your mind that you give your vital support both from the viewpoint of God and that of your position of honor, to give some comfort to the father, exiled for the sake of the justice and freedom of the Church. That I spoke to the winds is clear and all my pleadings have been in vain if belief can be given to remarks of many. For as often as an order of the Lord Pope is directed toward your church, as often as the usefulness of the Archbishop comes up among you there is at once a report to that excommunicated fellow who worries the Church. The report is sent to the King, the successor of the Apostle is accused and under the pretext of jurisdiction of the state a pretext of irreverence is concocted, which is, as it were, a necessary neglect of his office. Was not Radulphus of Arundel sent away because he dared to give to the Church of England an Apostolic Rescript in a chapter

3 For why peck: *Persiäus, Satires* l. 107-108.
4 Excommunicated fellow: Ralph de Broc. See letter 228.
attended only by his intimate sons who were assistants of the Church, and in a way the intimates of his heart? "Let the children,\textsuperscript{6} says even the international law, "support their parents or let them be bound," and this expression, as you well know, is confirmed by the sanction of both testaments. Hence it follows, that if your father is in need, you owe him sustenance or to you are due chains from God. For who of sound mind could believe that men would see without dutiful compassion, (nay, as has been told by many), would laugh at the exile, the proscription and the want of a father exiled for such a worthy cause? Yet, his heart (a fact which many admire), has not been estranged from you, but even through weapons, fires\textsuperscript{7} and the very dangers to his life heaps upon you the treasures of life, honor, and glory. With the help of God, the Mother of the Churches of England in Christ will triumph in a short time. She will be more glorious than She ever was in days of old. Was Radulph the only one loyal to the Lord Pope and devoted to the Archbishop? Did the head of the provinces in the suffering of the annointed one exclaim: "We have no father of souls,\textsuperscript{8} no shepherd except Ceasar?" Therefore I beg, my dear friend, while there is time, take time and persuade your brothers, who will be the sharers of the consolations to take a part in the trial of their father lest in the end they be sorry and ashamed that they alone by their

\textsuperscript{6} Let the children: The Elder Seneca, \textit{Controversiae} 1. 1. This fictitious law was often employed by the rhetoricians for their debates. 
\textsuperscript{7} Through weapons, fires: See Virgil, \textit{Aeneid} 2. 664.
\textsuperscript{8} Father of souls: See John 19. 15.
lack of consideration exempted themselves from the common distress which is in Christ. With God as pilot, we sail in a haven, and after the sad sabbath let a happy day shine forth. Read the rescripts sent to you. Pay attention to the words which cannot be published at this time. It is proper to communicate some only to you and Odo, and this even under the stringency of a religious obligation. Now that you have heard, use your own good counsel and don't imagine that I'm asking anything for myself. I thank God Who wished me bound almost to himself alone in the matter of what I've given and what I've received. Good-by.

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9 To you and Odo: Prior of Christ Church and later Abbot of Battle. He was not in good standing with the exiles.
JOHN TO ROBERT, VICAR OF GEOFFREY RIDEL, ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY

SUMMARY: John warns the vice-Archdeacon of Canterbury of danger from the Archbishop if he continues in his opposition to Thomas. The letter may have been sent with the preceding letters in the summer of 1168.

It is a maxim of the philosopher that words should be taken in their proper meaning, not in the transferred meaning. If you were to follow this maxim, you will interpret my words charitably, because it was charity that urged me on when through my talk I became foolish. I could have kept silence, I, who did not have the proper word, nor was influenced by regard, nor challenged by any personal wrongs; but I saw danger threatening you whom I love. The Archbishop of Canterbury has many things (to say) to you: As he rightly asserts that you are quoted as presuming a great deal against his own churches and his men, that you, who would have been a defender of the law openly go about with those whom he has excommunicated, and when the priests are forced to buy their freedom you show indulgence or deceit, or, what is worse, a participation not so much in the gain as in the crime. For those who continue impenitent in their sins and in the will of sinning are not absolved. For neither a Cardinal nor an Apostolic Successor can give this absolution. You would have felt the barbs of his indignation, unless one of your friends had stood against the advice given. If I hear, that these words were received by you to your chagrin, I shall keep silence about you in his presence and about everything else, when I meet you. You may believe that "Kings are not the only ones who
have long hands";\textsuperscript{1} for the hands of the pontiffs are longer. As the Archbishop of Canterbury fights for his own freedom, so does he for yours and that of the whole Church. To persecute him for such a reason, is a crime of idolatry.

Goodbye.

\textsuperscript{1} Have long hands: See Ovid, \textit{Heroides} 17. 166.
JOHN TO RALPH OF ARUNDEL

SUMMARY: John explains his reasons for not having written earlier, praises Ralph for his kindness in helping the exiles, but speaks bitterly of another whom he calls Maierius. The letter may have accompanied letter 252, which also speaks in high terms of Ralph.

The reason why I did not write up to now is twofold, if you deign to give your attention. In the first place, I did not know whether your reverence would deign to receive the writings of my humble self who am a proscribed by the violence of State power and am so considered by very many for the cause of the Lord, even as I was specifically named such by the schismatics, the heretics, and by those who were excommunicated. For there are men, lovers of the passing things of time, whom neither age nor sex distinguishes. No title of profession, no degree of rank, no eminence of honor, no condition of fortune, no natural motive prevailing over almost everything created, no distinguished trait of character, no quality of dress sets them apart. Only the evidence of their demerits distinguishes them. So much do they fear political powers that, without getting permission they do not dare, on their own salvation, even to write. And still, the word of God is the point to their own salvation. They certainly do not dare to declare it before men, and yet, they presume to attack it confidently in public. (Even though I felt confident I was loved by you, just as by others who are on my side, since I always loved the Church of Canterbury and, as has been attested by many, I openly benefited Her in many ways), I did not know, what you thought about the affair undertaken, by when you were willing your intercession and good-will in the group of
those who were persecuting the annointed of the Lord. I was not sure whether you, -- I am speaking of the sons of the Catholic Church --, were looking forward\(^1\) to the kingdom of God. Ever since I was convinced of your sincerity, I did not delay to send greetings to you by those whose belief in the Lord had been tested; as soon as you determine, I am ready to keep up correspondence with you in word and work. For I learned from the Apostle that the word of God\(^2\) is not bound. So, too, charity is not bound, since it is as strong as death.\(^3\) And wherever charity is not shammed but true, it cannot be separated from a display of duty. It does not know listlessness of leisure; but it clearly shows that its real essence is not in word and tongue, but in work and truth. That charity of yours which you have for the Church, is manifest in this that you have carefully and efficaciously excused it from all possible blame; you overlooked nothing as far as the specific case permitted. But that Manerius\(^4\) of yours (whose name by chance has been given fittingly, since he early tends to hasten headlong to his ruin), will not be excused from guilt either by me or by posterity. He of all courtiers rises at early daybreak, and after roaming through forests and groves, busily goes on the hunt against his father and innocent lord who had not yet been clothed in the deer's skin\(^5\) and made a prey in accordance with God's Will. One could hurl against him the taunting

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\(^1\) Were looking forward: See Luke 23. 51.
\(^2\) The word of God: See 2. Timothy 2. 9.
\(^3\) As strong as death: See Canticle of Canticles 8. 6.
\(^4\) Manerius: Play on the word "mane".
\(^5\) In the deer's skin: See Horace, Epistles 1. 2, 66.
expression of the poet: "Acteon am I,\(^6\) do recognize you Lord", and the
gospel invective which Christ used against the Jews: "I have shown you
many good works\(^7\) from my father; for which of these works do you wish to
call me?" But He has His Church and will have Her henceforward free from
blame, if the result will give greater credence to your writing. The tree
is known\(^8\) by its fruit, and the works of individuals render them a greater
testimony than that of John.\(^9\) There are, however, those among you who
hold the doctrine of Balaam.\(^{10}\) They are the accomplices of those who were
excommunicated. They are instigators of falsehood. There is fear (which
God may avert), that by their misdeeds the whole Church suffer harm and a
stain on Her reputation. For you know the plotters don't say: "This one
or that one did it", but "the monks of Canterbury do this, or simply, the
monk." This is the story floating about on this side of the sea about the
aforementioned Manerius. His name grows famous because of his guilt since
he could not gain this reputation due to a virtuous life. If such conduct
is falsely laid to his charge, let him not accuse me, but the Cardinals who
wrote about him using this very title.

\(^{6}\) Acteon am I: Ovid, Metamorphoses 3. 230.
\(^{7}\) Many good works: See John 10. 32.
\(^{8}\) The tree is known: See Luke 6. 44.
\(^{9}\) That of John: See John 5. 36.
\(^{10}\) Doctrine of Balaam: See Apocalypse 2. 14.
JOHN TO WILLIAM BRITO, SUB-PRIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY

SUMMARY: John answers a letter which William de Brito, sub-Prior of Christ Church, had sent to Master Ralph concerning the affairs of Canterbury. In closing he requests Brito to send him the Epistles of St. Jerome. This letter may have been sent shortly after letter 252 in the summer of 1168.

As I gather from the letter which you sent to Master Ralph, you say that my censure or rather my harangue could easily be refuted because the point I argued did not develop as it had been set forth. Would that in exposing the fact I had made a mistake rather than the Church in committing! Hence, you may be excused, provided your innocence shines forth more in your meritorious works than in the persuasive words of human wisdom. Meanwhile, the Archbishop will hold you excused, unless your works accuse you. For I know (in as much as one man may judge another man), that he esteems highly the growth and reputation of your Community and embraces with rather great affection its individual members; except that there are some among you who disturb his even temper by their evil insinuations against others. They employ for the ministry certain babblers, who are occasionally admitted, so that they drop into his ears the poison of their own spite or that of others, though he generally pays no attention to these suggestions. At times, however, especially at the present, he cannot help but be aroused. May God forgive them and direct them to better ways! Since they speak ill of you more than of the rest, (I am certain it rises from envy), keep yourself free from blame. In your duties as sub-Prior be insistent, that in the testimony of

1 In the persuasive: See 1 Corinthians 2. 4.
2 Free from blame: See Psalms 36. 37.
your brothers, your honesty of purpose prevail against your rivals. For the second time now, you have been blamed for having caused a certain Church to be given to an excommunicated person, the nephew of Ranulph de Broc, to assert the rights of the charter of that Church. No one doubts that he has been placed under an anathema. That you may know what Lord Cardinal William told me, that he did not give orders that any of the excommunicated be absolved, unless beforehand he had dispossessed himself of all ecclesiastical goods, and had pledged himself by an oath according to the custom of the Church to restore all plunder and to make condign satisfaction. Those who malign you say, that you laid hands on the treasures of the dead Prior, and you allow all discipline to be broken beyond all ordinary order. Yet, in all this the Archbishop has not been turned against you. He is waiting for the evidence of works. I shall defend your interests and those of the Church, as much as God permits, as my own. Nay more, as the Examiner of the hearts knows, I gave and I am ready to give greater attention to these interests. But, I was unable to obtain from him, that he would give the Bishop of Rochester or any other in his service, official power. If anyone would interfere in his office he will not kindly take to any interference by anyone. Prevail over Odo, greet our friends. Do not forget St. Jerome's letters which are useful to me.

3 Ranulph de Broc: Excommunicated by Archbishop Thomas at Vezelay, June 12, 1166, because he had seized the possessions of Canterbury. See letter 174.
4 Lord Cardinal William: Cardinal William of Pavia, the papal legate.
5 Treasures of the dead Prior: Prior Wibert had died on September 27, 1167.
6 Examiner of the hearts knows: See Proverbs 24. 12.
7 Bishop of Rochester: Walter, Bishop of Rochester 1148-1182. He was the brother of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury.
8 Odo: Prior Odo of Christ Church 1168-1176.
9 St. Jerome's letters: See letter 283, where John requests Baldwin to bestir Brito to send on the Epistles of Jerome.
JOHN TO PRIOR OF RICHARD OF DOVER

SUMMARY: John writes to the Prior Richard of Dover that the affairs of the Church are improving, and that its enemies are suffering reverses. The letter may have been sent in the early summer when Frederick Barbarossa and Henry were harrassed by their foes. Richard later became Archbishop of Canterbury, 1174-1184.

The aspect of the sky is clearing up from the East. The head of the schism is being ground down in the North. Its dying limbs are rotting away. The lungs are suffering, the scales are falling off so that the lightest breath can pass through them. The Sun of Justice⁠¹ sends forth His rays in the West. This let us hope, that soon there will be peace for the Church, and we can pay to our friends our debts of gratitude. Really, my very dear friend, I acknowledge myself as your debtor, ready at your service, where and whenever I shall be able. If then through kindness the evil seems to be gone, remember that out of it all a servant is always at hand with that in my possession which is generally given. For to receive a favor means to sell one's liberty. But why do I speak of a particular service when you hold bound by this right me and my friends who come and go? To remember them will be well,² when that famous man under God will have completely vindicated the liberty of the Church. He is now treading the wine press alone³ (and this is an everlasting disgrace to our country-men). Scarcely will he find a partner from his own people, I mean, from the Church of England.

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¹ The Sun of Justice: See Malachias 4. 2.
² To remember them will be well: See Virgil, Aenid 1. 203.
³ The wine press alone: See Isaiah 63. 3.
JOHN TO MASTER LAWRENCE OF POITIERS

SUMMARY: John thanks Master Lawrence of Poitiers for a gift, speaks of Frederick Barbarossa's calamities, and conveys a warning to the Bishop of Poitiers. The letter was probably sent in the summer of 1168, when the Poitevin barons were harassing Henry, for John mentions the unrest of the times. See letter 245.

I thank you for your esteemed and excellent gift which you sent me by our common friend, the Master of the schools. I wish, when I am able to reciprocate as my heart desires. I hope that by the grace of God an opportunity will be given shortly to us of helping one another, because it is necessary to investigate that now the head of the schism is ground down, and those very members which were one with it, have rotted in their dung. For the more they rage, the more do they show that their own destruction is certain and near. When a disease is at its height, it hastens toward a clearance, and if the doctor is skillful, he will cure it more easily, since he knows the cause. But the Physician of the Church, who heals our infirmities and cures our wounds now by cautery, now by warm applications, mixes the drink which will be drunk by the sons of Babylon so that they will become inebriated and will fall, and allow the vessels of the transmigration to return to the culture of their God. Do not be disturbed if the attack of a public disease is now hitting the people of Poitiers because just so

1 Head of the schism: Frederick Barbarossa.
2 Rotted in their dung: See Joel 1. 17.
3 Physician of the Church: See Job 5. 18; Psalms 102. 3.
4 Mixes the drink: See Jeremias 51. 39.
5 Vessels of the transmigration: See 1 Esdras 5. 14-15.
it happens frequently that diseases grow more violent when cure is near at hand. But I shall be very much concerned, if the Bishop of Poitiers upon some one's insistence places the beam in his own eye and pierces his side with the arrow that cannot be recalled and bind his feet with fetters, and then, by any favor of God, he be freed. Would that he remembered, "To be deceived once, is sad, a second time, foolish, a third time, disgraceful." For Apollo also regretted that he had granted even to his son the unnamed gift asked for. His sorrow was too late, when he had entrusted his heaven incautiously to the destruction by fire. If a hedgehog is torn away from his dwelling place, he will seek a softer spot, where he can sit. Let him not seek a blind eye, who should have cured the bleary eye. It is enough that he give you the Arch-deanery, rather than to some one who is ignorant of the law and an enemy of religion. If you are on his side, you can, I think, look out for him. Keep well, you and all of you.

6 Bishop of Poitiers: John Belmeis, Bishop of Poitiers 1162-1181, and afterwards Archbishop of Lyons 1181-1193. He had also been treasurer of York.

7 Places the beam: See Numbers 33. 55.

8 To be deceived once: Cicero, de Inuentione 1. 39, 71.

9 For Apollo: See Ovid, Metamorphoses 2. 98, 321.
JOHN TO BISHOP WALTER OF ROCHESTER

SUMMARY: Relating his years of faithful service to the Bishop's brother, Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, John uses this as an excuse to indicate to the Bishop his duty to help Archbishop Thomas, and forestalls the possible objections. Walter had been Archdeacon of Canterbury, and was Bishop of Rochester from 1148 until 1182.

With what great loyalty and devotedness I served my Bishop, your brother, till the end, even beyond human endurance, you can, if you think it worth while, recall. The world knows it. I'm confident that out of the blessing which he, on the point of departure gave me, as it were, as a viaticum for a journey and passage money, great results will come for those in exile and proscription. For when he was almost on the point of death (as the Examiner and Arbiter of the hearts knows), not to impute any false representation, he tried to console me. He admonished me to persevere in the practice of right and virtue as I seemed to have begun. Placing his hands upon my head, after he had given me his blessing, he charged me to keep my confidence. He promised that, if I should persevere, his blessing would benefit me, so that the grace of God would never be wanting to me in my trials. Secure, as it were, in the heritage given and trusting in the merits of so great a father, I hope and always shall hope, that according as I deserve to have him as a patron before God. Through this means, grace will not be wanting to me. For this reason I acknowledge myself bothersome to you that I must in everything help you as far as it behooves your honor and mine. I am

1 Your brother: Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury 1139-1161.
2 Arbiter of the hearts knows: See Proverbs 24. 12.
bound to look to your honor and your comforts and to ward off any misfortunes since this was at present the reason of writing, if you think it will help, rely on me as it is proper. In all loyalty which I owe your brother I speak to you, in honesty and for your good from the innermost heart. The Bishop and your father, is an exile and outlaw for the liberty of the Church and the cause of God, and he is burdened with many co-exiles. If you will help him, you will free your conscience, and when you can freely state, what each one's works are, you will advance his good name and provide for yourself and your friends in the future. Perhaps you fear the King or you pretend poverty and the burdens of your people. Certainly, God must be feared more than man; and you make many outlays without the knowledge of the King, his friends, or even your intimate associates. For I do not know what I should think of a Bishop whose right hand is extended toward the poor without the left being aware of it, and whose good works are praised by the words of the people. If poverty is heavy upon you, certainly the poorer will come to the assistance of their friends who are in want. If you wish that there be respect for your burdens, take care that after your days some friend be reserved for them. The Church, by the grace of God, is sailing in the haven. It will be rather unworthy and shameful in the future to remember, if you did not bring any aid to the laboring disciples in steering the Ship of Christ. This I say and God is my witness, not that I seek anything for

3 Whose right hand: See Matthew 6. 3.
4 Laboring disciples: See Mark 6. 48.
myself who abound through the grace of God; but to care for you and carry out the duty of proper charity. Let each one take this as he wishes. My witness is in heaven, and He who knows, is on high. Farewell.

5 My witness: See Job 16. 20.
JOHN TO MASTER RALPH OF LISIEUX

SUMMARY: John thanks Master Ralph of Lisieux for his kindness and encourages him to continue to help the exiles.

The gratitude, I cannot give nor am free to express, I have in my heart, my dear friend. With the help of God, I am not forgetful of the old friendship, the loyalty in favorable days, and encouragement that was shown in days of adversity. The Most High will give you blessing for blessing, who habitually in His grace give abundant glory and apportions the gifts of His goodness toward those who are working for a crown. My friend, there is no one who does not make use of His gratuitous gifts; there are very many who abuse the gifts; prevented by grace, many follow Him. But at the end of their trials, only a small number of the elect attains in happiness what it has faithfully wished for. Only in the goal of the journey is it crowned. For only those who persevere to the end receive the prize of their supernal vocation.1 Continue, then, my very dear friend, in what you have begun. Since you are the Lord's blessed and Christ's priest, nay, the anointed among the sons2 of the patriarchs who have been appointed to bless above Mount Gerizim, carry out the work for which you have been ordained. Let your blessing be frequent, but especially on those of the household of the faith;3 console the scattered of Israel; have pity on the

1 Their supernal vocation: See Philippians 3. 14.
2 Among the sons: See Deuteronomy 27. 12.
3 Household of the faith: See Galatians 6. 13.
poor. Make the wants of the exiles your own. As you learned from the Apostle, fulfill you ministry. If you rely on Him, He Who substituted a ram for immolation to Abraham when he was offering his son as a victim, will settle every smallest difficulty whatever.

4 Fulfill your ministry: 2 Timothy 4. 5.
5 Immolation to Abraham: See Genesis 22. 13.
JOHN TO WILLIAM OF NORTHALL

SUMMARY: John writes to his friend William of Northall, and acquaints him with the condition of the exiles. William, who was afterwards consecrated to be Bishop of Worcester (1186-1190) on the same day as St. Hugh to Lincoln, was present as a deacon during High Mass at St. Paul's on Ascension Day, 1169, when Archbishop Thomas' messenger, Berengar announced the excommunication of Bishop Gilbert Foliot. The letter was probably sent in the summer of 1168.

It is the nature of a sensible character, that in a growing confusion the dignified man measure his silence and words, and be not willing to cry out against the boisterous nor to growl against babblers. But it is characteristic of a foolish person to tell a story in a rushing storm of a whirlwind in the midst of flashes of thunder and lightning; and the unsuitable narration resembles laughter-provoking music amid the grief of a funeral. Granted, then, that I have loved you, and still love you more than almost all the partners with whom we were fighting together in the Curia; still, I thought that when the storm was at its height the pen must be checked, which now, with the storm subsiding, is free for an address of greeting and congratulation. For the Church is serene in the East; the Spirit has already told the North wind to withdraw from our land to give way to the South wind, that it might produce flowers of virtue; that it might bring to fruition the works of charity. In the meantime, I was uneasy about you and my other friends; I decided to find out through the bearer of this letter what you are doing; he will also be able to impart to you information concerning my condition (which with God's help is good), and through him you will be able to announce to me what is your pleasure. I
would add some words of real benefit to you; but I fear that under the pretext of another's advantage I might seem to be seizing gain for myself. For, I think, there is nothing except love which must be demanded of friends. With the help of God, I have a good number of old friends and I listen to the Apostle, preaching: "Owe no man anything but love one another." The Archbishop of Canterbury does not work for himself but for others, because his success will be the glory of God, the triumph of the Church, the freedom of the entire clergy. He wages a war for the advantages of the State; but thus far with his own outlay, nay, (and this is a disgrace for our country-men), with that of a foreign people. Good-by.

1 Owe no man anything: See Romans 8. 8.
JOHN TO OSBERT OF FAVERSHAM

SUMMARY: John points out to Osbert of Faversham reasons why he should help the bearer of the letter. See letter 202, which evidently concerns the same person.

The bearer of this letter is your pupil; if you would hesitate to give him your assistance, you would incur the mark of ingratitude before men and perhaps you will not be excusable before God. There is no need to compose a story of the benefits which his father conferred upon you, because they will never slip from your memory, as long as you are of a sound mind: I had heard, to be sure, that there are surgeons rather harsh, and unsympathetic, but also that there is another class of physicians, gentle and mild in character, who devote themselves to humanity. By humanity I do not mean that of bringing forth men according to the flesh; but I mean that quality by which the sick are dealt with more gently, by which the weak receive compassion, by which men are wont to come to the assistance of their needy fellowmen. The philosophers have defined humanity as the virtue consisting in a sympathetic disposition based upon love; this virtue man, over and above the other virtues and over and above the other animals receives by inheritance from his parents through the agency of grace and nature. If by chance I were seeking anything, even though it were great, for myself, I believe that you would grant it. For this man, then, I beg, do what would cause you and me to rejoice; then I shall consider myself personally many times indebted to you in gratitude. I would not burden you with so many entreaties, if I did not trust from past evidence that you arrange your
work and your expenses profitably. Some business which he will communicate to you must be transacted by him upon my injunction; to effect this more readily, please assist him in the execution. And if you see that your presence is necessary in any matter, be present at the negotiation as far as that is safe. Good-by.
JOHN TO WILLIAM

SUMMARY: John writes a purely personal letter to his old friend, William, who may have been a monk of Canterbury. The contents of the letter suggest that it accompanied other letters sent to the same place. It was written in 1168, for John states that he has been an exile for five years.

A trial of things begets most trustworthy knowledge, and that is credible within each act which is manifested to the craftsman by experience. However, the maxims of each skill are easily found in the intellect, though not so in their application. But there is still greater difficulty presenting itself in the maxims of ethics, that is, in cultivating the practice of the virtues. Among all virtues charity holds the first place, which I would say boldly and correctly is nothing else than true friendship; she transcends all things that ought to be sought on earth not only because of her dignity, but also because of her rarity. From the beginning of my life I strove earnestly after this virtue, and I believed that I had gained many persons by accommodating them, with the hope that they would reciprocate through a favorable disposition toward me. The constant practice of loving and accommodating others conferred experience, and that experience, having become a habit, always obliges me to love even those who are not loving. Still I do not presume that I am confirmed in charity which is the culminating point of religion, though my soul may thirst for it; but I acknowledge that I possess a certain tender feeling of benevolence, through which, as we read, even some of the gentiles were pleasing to their companions. Even if this not a firm foundation, still,
from the standpoint of the kind of nature it has and the end of its endeavor, especially in a Christian, it is really charity. But a man has rarely been found during the entire five years of my exile who has repaid me in kind; hence, even more gratitude must be felt for the rare occurrence. But into whose ear ought this complaint have been put besides yours, since you are known to possess a kind affection toward your companions and to have firmly established it through the roots of faith in the Lord? The complaint (God and my conscience testify), has not been put that I might make some profit from my friends, because God attends to my necessities in abundance, but because it seemed pleasing to unfold the ingratitude of others to one with whom you might discuss every point as with yourself. This only is asked for at the end of the letter, that we press on together toward progress in charity, and that you consider me always and everywhere your friend.
JOHN TO JOHN OF TILBURY

SUMMARY: John answers a letter from an old friend, John of Tilbury, who had been with him at Canterbury under Archbishop Theobald. The letter was probably sent in 1168.

I rejoiced at the news of your good health and the message of greeting with which you lovingly thought I should be honored. I have returned in my thoughts to better times in which the Church of God rejoiced due to peace when we were rejoicing in the most pleasant union under the very illustrious Archbishop. Then contemplation of philosophy, administration of law, mutual participation in services, and useful and pleasant discussion warded off tediousness and shortened periods of time that the time almost always seemed too short for the things that had to be done. But while I talk about this, I seem to look at my friend to whom this discourse is directed; for it is characteristic of the philosopher to spurn to sympathize with me out of charity like a feeble or erring person, or like one who assumes the appearance of either. For I fear that by praise of the past I seem to find fault with the present, and though a lover of this prosperity, which seems misfortune but is not, to be overcome by the stings of regret. If this were so, though the Spirit Who sets in motion, raises up, and erects the prophetic wheels joined and connected with one another, I would in vain have surveyed with the fathers and the sons of the prophets Chaldea, Chanaan.

1 Illustrious Archbishop: Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury 1139-1161.
2 Prophetic wheels: See Ezechiel 1. 15.
and Egypt; in vain would I have roamed about the desert or passed over the mountains of Samaria; and after the captivity of Babylon, I would have returned without cause to the house of the Lord. I do not mean the house made by hands\(^3\) which, purged by the blood of goats or calves, has been irretrievably destroyed and crumbled by the work of the Romans; I mean that temple into which the Apostle\(^4\) leads four rivers of Paradise from which I drink while he teaches me that all goods of the world ought to be spurned like dung that I might only gain Christ, in Whom are all treasures of desirable things. (And pass over to your gentiles), not only do the Stoics, but even the Epicureans and the sects of all philosophers laud contempt of worldly possessions even though they think with some credibility these things should be used because of the need of circumstances and time. If sorrow\(^5\) for those who sleep exists only for those who have no hope, is it not ignominious for a Christian, especially for one professing to be a philosopher, to be vexed over a loss of temporal goods? Still, there is nothing (to use the words of fools, accusing or defending), that I ought to enter in the account against fortune, because, for my consolation, God's grace has so attacked the rashness of evil doers, that through His mercy (if by chance one should make a reckoning), it would seem that more must

\(^3\) House made by hands; See Hebrews 9.
\(^4\) Which the Apostle; See Philippians 3. 8.
\(^5\) If sorrow; See 1 Thessalonians 4. 13.
have been bestowed upon me by the kind acts of old friends than taken away. But now with God's help even this very storm has subsided; the peace of the Church seems to be at hand before the gates. In the meantime, feed our sheep, not near but within the tents of the shepherds. Good-by.

6 Feed our sheep: See John 21. 17.
JOHN TO RALPH OF WINGHAM

SUMMARY: John writes to Ralph, a priest of Wingham near Canterbury, in behalf of Archbishop Thomas, asking help and forestalling his objections.

To you, my very dear brother, (as I hear), the Lord has granted the grace to discharge the duties of a priest; but may you deserve to hear praise in His name! There is truly hope that grace, which conferred the beginning of so great a good, will bring with it an increase; nor will Christ suffer the plant of such great promise to wither because it is His custom to cultivate and to water the garden, inclosed by the hedge of His protection. You were diligent among your fellow countrymen and among those of your age before your promotion, and we must presume on the mercy of God, that His unction will teach you thoroughly, just like the Apostle, in all things that come to pass are serviceable, because "to those that love God all things work together unto good" and delight the mind because she so relaxes the reins of the free will of each, that he may do safely what he likes. This charity, just as she is an opportunity of discourse for me so, I beg (but only if you will deem this of value), let her be for you a reason for complying with my counsels. Your Archbishop and father is an exile and outlaw for the liberty of the Church; navigating Her, he has worked all too long with Peter and the other disciples; now by the grace

1 The duties of a priest: See Ecclesiasticus 45. 19.
2 Bring with it an increase: See 1 Corinthians 3. 7.
4 That His unction: See 1 John 2. 27.
5 To those that love God: See Romans 8. 28.
of God, as the storm is subsiding, he grows strong through the support of his faith and seems to walk over the waters and approach the haven. If you will offer him your assistance, and if, so to say, you will lay hold of the rope cast forth on land, as I am speaking according to my conscience, you will advantageously provide for yourself and your friends. Since you cannot do this through yourself, perhaps you will be able through another person, and thus the reward of another's merit will be credited to you. And if you should be lukewarm, you cannot offer the state as an excuse in pretending fear, because, with the help of the Lord, you are not considered dangerous, and also because when one is willing it is permissible and easy to make an outlay while no lurker can observe. If you are willing, I know that you are not lacking in diligence. I would not say: "The Lord liveth",7 that I might make a gain for myself, to whom the grace of God grants whatever is necessary, as I have not shared anything with my countrymen concerning giving and receiving,8 but rather that I might discharge the duty of fraternal charity. For to cherish friends means greater satisfaction than to bind oneself in slavery through receiving gifts. Good-by.

7 The Lord liveth: See Jeremias 5. 2.
8 Giving and receiving: See Philippians 4. 15.
SUMMARY: John congratulates Prior William of Merton on his promotion and requests him to help his messenger to conduct his business with the Bishop of Winchester. The messenger may have been the bearer of letters 267, 268 and 269.

I rejoiced to hear of your promotion, since I saw that succeeding to the place of my Lord and friend was a man to whom no one in the entire Church could be preferred as regards the honor of God and the service of the brethren. For with what great affection I regard the Church only He knows who gave Her that I might love Her, and of this love my conscience renders me all the evidence within its power. I do not entertain any mistrust that, with the grace of God, you will succeed him in charity to whose seat you have succeeded, and that I shall hold with you the same place which I was accustomed to hold with him. However, if I may speak my sentiments, he considered me among the foremost of those few whom he loved most, and I excelled in marks of favor many who had excelled me in merits. For I cannot boast of any merits and if I shall wish to do so, I shall seem and actually be foolish. My only claim to boasting, then, consists in nothing else than in the divine compassion and a merit that is not my own; the merit, I mean, of those good people by whose aid after God and through God I am just what I am. It is their merit that the Lord, beyond and contrary

1 Of your promotion: William succeeded Prior Robert, who was with Archbishop Thomas in exile at this time and who remained with until his death.
2 I am just what I am: See I Corinthians 15. 10.
to my deserts, has lifted me up from the dung\(^3\) and has guided me who am but dust\(^4\) and ashes; and now He has given to an outlaw among a strange people and in a strange land goods and esteem in abundance. But because my merits are not in accord with my present state and I fear my downfall, I feel that I must be helped by your prayers which I very earnestly implore and by those of others fearing the Lord. This is truly the greatest object of my entreaty. The bearer of this letter is known to you. Will you please go with him to the Bishop of Winchester\(^5\) so that his business may be advanced? If you are unable, send a trustworthy and prudent man.

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3 From the dung: See Psalms 112. 7.
4 Who am but dust: See Genesis 18. 27.
5 Bishop of Winchester: Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester 1129-1171.
JOHN TO PRIOR WILLIAM AND THE CANONS OF MERTON

SUMMARY: John requests the Prior and Canons of Merton to help the Archbishop and the exiles with their prayers. This letter may have been an insert to the Prior's more personal letter (265).

As often as we present our requests to you, we do not think they ought to be granted because of our merits, but because of your benevolence which has without recompense considered us as long time friends, and which has been eager to assist in many difficulties. For we feel confident that the welfare of the exiles and outlaws as to the wealth of temporal goods and the honor they possess is the effect of your prayers and merits. As regards ourselves, what except stripes and torments have we deserved? Still, God, Who "compassionates us 1 in all our tribulations" to the greatest extent possible (this we say in accord with our conscience), knows that we had not deserved this from him who persecutes us, though from God we have deserved still harder trials. Perhaps the Lord instructed him to do evil to us; if this is so, then let him accept of sacrifice. 2 In a downcast frame of mind we entreat you, then, indeep earnest to obtain from the Lord in your prayers that in His kindness He be mindful of us; for since He knows us, His image, 3 He knows what is needed for the image. This is the only thing we ask, commending in charity, which is identical with God, that you not

1 Who compassionates us: See Corinthians 1. 4.
2 Let Him accept of sacrifice: See 1 Kings 24. 19.
3 His image: See Psalms 102. 14.
even think to bring us aid from your temporal goods. May the cause of the Church and of the Archbishop of Canterbury be likewise very strongly recommended to you, because, in fighting for the liberty of the Church at his own outlay and labors, he aims at the benefit of all.
JOHN TO ROBERT OF LIMESAY

SUMMARY: John requests Robert of Limesay, a cleric of Winchester, to help the messenger who is bearing a request for help from John to Bishop Henry of Winchester. The letter probably was sent in the summer or autumn of 1168, and may have accompanied letters 268 and 269.

Truth is lacking in deceit, and friendship does not know how to talk except with a frank countenance. In speaking to my friend in truth, then, I beg that you direct the course of the bearer of this letter and advance his business because it is honest. I have been asked to write to the Bishop of Winchester to intercede for someone else, though I have always been ashamed and still am ashamed to ask for any favor in my own behalf. I sincerely thank God that He so kindly took care of my needs that I do not have to beg nor do I hold myself obliged to many; for I owe to few of my countrymen anything except charity, and this any Christian of necessity owes to all. On the other hand, the Archbishop of Canterbury truly fights for all as an exile and an outlaw to protect the liberty of the Church and of the Clergy; but thus far he has been burdened with his own subsistence and that of many co-exiles. And since your Bishop assists others, I do not know where he could better and more honorably place his alms. Therefore see to it that he bring him aid.
JOHN TO ARCHDEACON ROBERT OF SURREY

SUMMARY: John asks Archdeacon Robert of Surrey to intercede with Bishop Henry of Winchester for the exiles, who are in great need of funds. The letter probably accompanied letters 267 and 269.

Reason prescribes this law among friends that nothing except honorable objects should be sought from one another and, if dishonorable purposes be pursued, they should not be granted. When, however, the integrity of the friend lends weight to his request and the ability of granting them is present, consent must be given without reluctance and, through the fulfillment of a request (if it can be fulfilled), the unpleasantness of dunning should be avoided. This law I desire to be kept among us, who profess friendship, and if, contrariwise, I shall transgress it, I prefer to be reproved rather than to be heard. I likewise wish to be spurred on if I shall have been slow, when the opportunity has been offered, in performing the duties of friendship. Since then, the requests which I presented to the Bishop of Winchester have an honorable aim, let them be promoted, I pray, by your diligence. Certainly, I do not ask for myself; I intercede for someone else to whom there is a greater debt. I always have been ashamed to plead in my own behalf, even if I have always possessed a very ready willingness to carry on the business of friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury till now fights for the liberty of the Church at his own outlay,

1 Honorable objects: See Cicero, De Amicitia 13. 44.
as an exile and outlaw; he is supported by the bounty of the most Christian king of the French; and in the whole church of England he finds very few helpers. He does not plead his own, but a common cause; his comfort is the profit of all. He could have made peace for himself and his friends if he had been willing to expose the clergy to the persecutors of the Church. I see no place where the Bishop of Winchester could place his funds more serviceably, among the alms that he lays out for the Churches and the poor, than if he should support, as far as he deems proper, the outlaws of Christ who have exposed themselves and their possessions for the sake of justice and persevere for the liberty of the Church. This is true especially since he perceives that it is his father and son, now bearing the burdens of many men, who for the law of God incurred so great a loss. I say "father," because he holds control over him according to metropolitan law, and "son," because he received the grace of consecration\(^3\) from his hand. For he gave himself as a son to him whom he longed to possess as a father before all the others, when he chose him for this office; for this reason, he feels the stings of envy from some of his brothers. Does he not owe to him by a manifold right more than he did to William,\(^4\) Archbishop of York, of blessed memory? Even at the displeasure of the Roman Pontiff,\(^5\) after William, in accord with a decree of the Apostolic See, had been suspended, for his

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3 The grace of consecration: Bishop Henry consecrated Thomas on Sunday, June 3, 1162.
5 The Roman Pontiff: Pope Eugene III.
everlasting fame for generosity and magnanimity he presented him in his
own home, while many grieved and criticized, until he was restored by the
compassion of the other Pontiff. 6 Whither has vanished the token of so
great nobility? Things which we suffer for good or evil at the hands of our
own countrymen, even if the present age does not dare to hint at them,
future ages repeat without end. No one will be able to disguise the lack
of fraternal charity under the pretext of just fear, because those deeds
which, if done openly, seem to be charged with danger, can be done secretly
with the knowledge of fewer people and will not cause any actual loss. He
knows this stratagem sufficiently well whoever is not so negligent that he
cannot make any outlay without the knowledge of the King or the spies.

6 Of the other Pontiff: Pope Anastasius IV.
JOHN TO BISHOP HENRY OF WINCHESTER

SUMMARY: Calling to mind his reputation for munificence, John requests Bishop Henry of Winchester to help the cause of the Archbishop and the exiles. The letter was written at the end of 1168, for John mentions that he is completing his fifth year of exile. He left England in January 1164.

Your generosity is accustomed to share the needs of the Saints,¹ and your providence glances about in every direction to pick worthy persons for her bounty, to refresh the hungry, to console anyone of Christ's poor just as far as she knows it is beneficial to each. For you pour forth your resources not in the fashion of the jesters of this age, for purchasing glory and spreading your name, upon stage-players, mimes, and monsters of men² of this sort; but you place your gifts more discreetly and wholesomely among those who fear and call upon the Name of the Lord, who are about to receive friends in everlasting abodes.³ Since, therefore, the entire Church of the Saints relates and commands your alms,⁴ there is no reason, is there, why your generosity will not look favorably upon the exiles of Christ who are banned for the sake of justice and who protect the liberty of the Church? I don't speak for myself (God knows), since the grace of God supplies all my wants in abundance as the fifth year of exile comes to a close, and since begging has always been alien to my way of life and is repugnant under what-

² And monsters of men: Terence, Eunuchus 4. 4, 29.
⁴ Commands your alms: See Ecclesiasticus 31. 11.
ever pretext. For an object bought just once in the public market-place is a
more advantageous purchase. Since, as the philosopher testifies, a thing is
bought twice when it must be asked for. But I sympathize with the Archbishop
of Canterbury who, burdened with many co-exiles, is fighting till now (and
this is a disgrace for the Church of England and our country-men), at his own
outlay and that of a foreign people in behalf of the common cause of the
entire clergy. For he does not seek any exemption merely for himself, which
he might have very easily obtained, but, he lays claims to liberty for all.
For when with God's help he is successful, which we hope will shortly come
to pass, even he who is the least among the clergy will triumph over the
adversaries of the Church. I know, however, who brought him some worth
while aid, and I offer thanks as much as I possibly can; for I am certain
that the one hundredfold reward⁵ will be refunded to him; also, when the
co-disciples of Peter,⁶ who now seem to be sailing within the harbor, will
rejoice at the longed for landing place ashore, and will be invited to
banquet with Christ, then, as is proper, at that pleasant refreshment, among
the others and before them, a glorious seat will be prepared for him, because
he helped the sons of the Church laboring at the oars. For with what
countenance will they then appear or what will they say who did not bring any
aid to the one who labored aboard ship? For it is certain the Church will
sail along, and then Her helpers will possess, just as each one will have
merited, a corresponding glory; and there will be shame not only for her
persecutors but also for those who leave Her in the lurch.

⁵ One hundredfold reward: See Matthew 19. 29.
⁶ Co-disciples of Peter: See John 21.
John informs Archdeacon Baldwin that the Archbishop's cause is far from hopeless, in spite of the boasts of the King's party that it has obtained favors from the Holy See, and that Frederick Barbarossa should serve as a warning. The letter may have been sent in the late summer of 1168 after the departure of the papal legates, Cardinals William and Otho, from France.

The earnestness of your generosity, my dear Baldwin, because of your ever present merits causes the same topic of writing to present itself always to me, which consists in thanksgiving. For there is need to give unending thanks for constant benefits, and the obligation of devotedness which cannot be maintained in practice ought to be inseparably united to the remembrance of the recipient. This is, then, all I can do in the meantime, looking forward and hoping trustfully in the Lord that the peace of the Church will be sooner established than His adversaries can surmise, and that we shall be able to practice the mutual exchange of favors which is our due and which we have long desired. Be not disturbed as to the letters obtained from the Apostolic See which the enemies of the Church hurl against Her, because with God's kindness you are going to hear in the very near future what is going on and your heart will rejoice. There will be a Consoler close at hand for the sorrowful, and He will come upon the stiff-necked, and He will rush them with the greatness of His strength; and the sword of the Dove\(^1\) will be thrust upon the necks of the insolent. But

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\(^1\) Sword of the Dove: See **Jeremias** 46. 16.
perhaps you will say, "Into far ages that man is predicting, and he utters that which he wishes according to his own heart, not according to the Spirit of God." To this I reply: "If I speak falsely, His spirit has been sent upon me by the Apostolic See, which has marked beforehand the day of revenge, and has already stretched the bow\(^2\) to hurl down the lion\(^3\) and the dragon." However, we have still firmer confidence\(^4\) in the word of God which must be fulfilled; to Him diverse weights and diverse measures are both abominable,\(^5\) so that it is necessary that each one be rewarded according to his deserts. Frederick, who took the lead in guilt, takes the lead in toil and grief, though I hope not so in destruction!

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2 Stretched to the bow: See Psalms 7. 13.
3 To hurl down the lion: See Psalms 90. 13.
4 We have a still firmer confidence: See 2 Peter 1. 19.
5 Measures are both abominable: See Proverbs 20. 10.
JOHN TO MASTER RALPH OF LISIEUX

SUMMARY: John praises Master Ralph of Lisieux and encourages him to continue his work on behalf of the exiles. The bearer of the letter will give him all the news. The letter may have been sent in the summer of 1168. See letter 259, which is in the same strain.

John sends greetings to his friend, his most beloved associate, Master Ralph of Lisieux, and the request to turn his attention wisely to the future. From the Apostle you have learned that faith is the substance\(^1\) of objects to be hoped for; and it is evident that they do not disagree with the error of the gentiles who strive merely after things of the present. Hence, those who hope for something only in the present, though they boast of the name of Christian, are in a more pitiable plight than the Jews and the Gentiles. And the works of mercy truly set you apart from their fellowship, which you do not cease to perform toward His members for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ through faith in the hope of eternal reward; for the Churches of the Saints declare your alms\(^2\), and the orphans and widows with other poor and forlorn persons rejoice in the sight of the angels that they are supported by the favors and benefits of your compassion. I have been pleased with such news whenever it is brought to me, being certain that you proceed in this way without the least obstacle and hasten to the house of the Lord, where the lovers of the poor, the holy Angels, will receive you

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1 Faith is the substance: See Hebrews 11. 1.
2 Declare your alms: See Ecclesiasticus 31. 11.
with joy, and will crown you in the midst of the elect with the crown of the kingdom, in the preordained rank of bliss where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God. Carry on manfully then, my dear friend, what you have begun; hasten in the power of steadfastness to triumph; gain by a happy exchange the eternal for the temporal; send on ahead riches into that place where rust and moth do not reach. Be kind and merciful to all, but especially obliging to the household of the faith, to those who suffer for justice, who despised all their own possessions for the work of God, who chose in behalf of the word of Christ to be exposed to poverty, dangers, disgrace, and the reproaches of those who flatter this world and seek after riches, rather than to rule with princes in the council of the wicked, to be eminent beyond the wealthy, and to sit with the senators of the earth. Since, moreover, you are obliged to them by a just and long-standing attachment or by merit, do not hesitate to respond all the more kindly, quickly, and advantageously; do not follow the custom of those who, to excuse their own avarice, in alleging the wickedness of the age, the harshness of power, really accuse God, the Author of ages and the Regulator of powers, Who for those who love Him makes all things work together unto good.

Rather keep in mind that "delay has been harmful" to those who were pre-
pared." "Who is not fit today, will be less fit tomorrow." You will meditate on this and put it into practice, since you have been reared in philosophy and are adept in the law of Christ; for only "the bumpkin waits for the river to run out, yet, on it glides, and on it will glide, rolling its flood forever." The rest of the message has been placed in the mouth of the bearer of this letter; if you lend an ear to him and comply, you will fulfill more quickly what you intimated to me through Adam, the co-heir of the Apostolic Succession.

12 Who is not: Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* 94.
SUMMARY: John writes to Bishop William Turbe asking help for Archbishop Thomas. The letter was probably sent with letters 273, 274, 275 and 276 (which can be dated near the end of 1168).

Necessity, not disrespect, causes the interruption of the duty which I acknowledge I owe you; for my will is ready to comply, as soon as you decide that compliance is to be granted. But perhaps you make arrangements with considerations of time, and as long as there is madness in haste, you believe that yielding is better than opposing. I fully approve of the counsel that foresight be so regulated by reasons to look forward to utility and yet not to abandon integrity of character. But, by the grace of God, in a short time there will be no need of this kind of arrangement, since the storm has subsided, and the peace of the Church seems to be at the gates. In the very near future, with the help of God, that which I am saying will become more fully known. Peter and his co-disciples have worked in the rowing of the bark; one of them is the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, fighting till now either at his own outlay or that of a foreign people, serves the interest of the entire Church of England; for when he will have succeeded, he will overflow in the glory of God; the Church will gain triumph, the clergy freedom, and the people consolation. Then indeed will he not be dissatisfied, just as not in the Final Judgment, who rejoices in the

1 As long as there is madness: Ovid, Remedia Amoris 119.
2 Peter and his co-disciples have worked: See Matthew 14. 26; Mark 6. 48; John 6. 14.
testimony of his conscience that he brought aid to the Church in Her hour of peril. Perhaps against this, fear of the power of the State and the snares of persecutors will be put forward as an excuse. But certainly anyone can make an expenditure without their knowledge, whenever he pleases. I would not say this (and God is my witness), for the sake of personal gain, but only that I might protect my Archbishop and fulfill in return the duty of charity.
JOHN TO PRIOR JOHN OF NORWICH

SUMMARY: Disclaiming any interested motives, John asks Prior John of the Benedictine monastery of Norwich to send help to Archbishop Thomas. See summary of letter 272.

The state of the outlaws is hard, but not so much because of their own loss as through the falling off of friends; for they can hardly greet anyone who does not immediately suspect that a business deal is being negotiated under the pretense of love and devotedness, and that men who are obliging are eager for profit. I beg you earnestly not to think, my very dear friend, that this is part of my intention, but to rest assured that, with God's help, I abound in all things required, even to honor and fame. Therefore, I do not seek your goods but you yourself, provided you have not fallen away from grace and still retain your charity. And granted that you did fall away, still would I seek you, desiring that it be restored in you, or rather, you in that without which you will only be unsightly, because I can love even those who are not loving. Not that I consider you one of those, but even if you should be of that kind, I express my feelings. I shall consider it as a gift if you inform me about your condition. And, if you trouble about mine, the fifth year of my exile is happily being completed under the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is still fighting for the liberty of the Church at his own outlay or that of a foreign nation, and he has not found faith in Israel. All his friends have spurned him and the Church

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1 Fifth year of my exile: This places the letter towards the end of 1168, for John left England early in 1164.
2 Faith in Israel: See Matthew 8. 10.
3 Friends have spurned him: See Lamentations 1. 2.
amid their trials, and, which is worse, very many are persecutors. For there is a proverb of Wisdom: "The friend will not be recognized during prosperity, and the enemy will not be hidden in adversity." This everlasting disgrace (not without grief do I say it), awaits our countrymen. I would not say this in order that loyalty offered to the King might be violated by anyone, unless perchance it were offered contrary to faith; for in this way faith is sometimes demanded and offered, in which case it is better to be displeasing than with the loss of charity to endanger faith under the pretense of loyalty. The truth, because it is straight forward, has no corners, and the person who covers himself with nothing but a lie is exposed. Adam felt that he ought to be outlawed for this reason. That is not a just fear which incurs contempt for a divine commandment. It is a rare person, or rather there is no one who does not have a secret unknown to the King, and who makes all his expenditures with the knowledge of the spies. It is proper to understand these suggestions in accordance with charity, because they proceed therefrom.

4 The friend will not be recognized: See Ecclesiasticus 12. 18.
JOHN TO GERARD, CELLARER OF NORWICH

SUMMARY: John writes to Gerard, the cellarer of the monastery of Norwich, on behalf of the Archbishop. The letter probably accompanied letters 272, 273, and 275. MSS M and N address the letter to Gerard, chancellor of Norwich.

My very dear friend, I rejoice to hear from you that you are yearning and hoping for an honorable peace of the Church, and that you do not have any share in an agreement with the wicked, as you are yourself awaiting the kingdom of God. Hence in comparison with that feeling of charity which you aroused by your longstanding merit, my charity toward you has been doubled, and is ready to serve the needs of you and your friends and obey your behests as far as I can. I certainly do not doubt that I shall have that opportunity; for divine grace, beyond and contrary to my merits and aside from the help of my friends, has bestowed upon me all I require even in exile, by means of which I can be a profitable companion for masters and friends; and He who begins will bring to completion because, in as much as the prayer of the just excels, so, when God is the author, "will that which the wicked fears come upon him." With God Himself also providing, the Archbishop, who is fighting alone for the welfare of the entire Church of England, will be able to provide deserved consolation to his friends, because the peace of the Church is being restored with the head of the schism crushed and its sides tumbling down in utter ruin. Pray, then, and solicit your confrères; for Christ already has been awakened.

1 You do not have any share: See Psalms 49. 18.
2 You are yourself awaiting: See Luke 23. 51.
3 The wicked fears: See Proverbs 10. 24.
4 Has been awakened: See Mark 4. 39.
JOHN TO ARCHDEACON WALKELIN OF NORWICH

SUMMARY: Disavowing any intention of begging for the exiles, John writes to Archdeacon Walkelin of Suffolk about the reverses that Frederick Barbarossa had suffered in Italy. The letter may be placed near the end of 1168, for John mentions that five years of exile are drawing to a close. See letters 272, 273 and 274.

A very wise and eloquent man prescribes that among the various motives for speaking the meaning of the words themselves is what one should accept; if you will have observed this rule in my discourse I shall not be regarded as having spoken at all for the sake of gain, since I lack both the need and the willingness to beg. But it is pleasant after five years of exile\(^1\) to join as far as I am allowed in a delightful conversation with friends not seen for a long time and to find out how their condition is; for I am ready to receive the account of their fortune, and I long for an opportunity of serving them. I trust firmly that by the grace of God in a short time this occasion will be offered, since I think I see that the peace of the Church is being urged forward and it is now fairly clear that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the co-disciples of Peter,\(^2\) who have sweat in the storm of this shipwreck while steering the Bark, are arriving at the desired haven. For those members which shared the madness with the head of the schism are perishing with it, and with the head cut off, the entire body must needs die. We have seen a man\(^3\) who was accustomed to be like a lion\(^4\) casting out his own household and oppressing his subjects; we have seen this

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1 Five years of exile: John left England early in 1164.
3 We have seen a man: Frederick Barbarossa.
4 To be like a lion: See Ecclesiasticus 4. 35.
man seeking a hiding place\(^5\) and shaken with such great alarm that he scarcely was safe in his secret lurking places. Would that you had seen him, that Emperor who had been the dread of the entire world, as he fled with everlasting disgrace from Italy, that he might procure security or destruction for those who used to scorn the hardships of Catholics because of his successes and his madness. Who will, then, be able to silence the praise of God that has been kindled? For it is He who does wonderful things,\(^6\) "Who consoles\(^7\) us in our every tribulation", lest we should be obliged to men because of benefits received, since we owe to Him alone that we live, abound, and are now honored more in exile than formerly in our native land.

\(^5\) Seeking a hiding place: See letter 245.
\(^6\) Who does wonderful things: See Psalms 71. 18.
\(^7\) Who consoles: See 12 Corinthians 1. 4.
JOHN TO MASTER NICHOLAS OF NORWICH

SUMMARY: John writes to Master Nicholas of Norwich about the condition of the exiles. He informs him that assistance is badly needed by the Archbishop but that he himself is well off, and he disposes of any objections to lending aid that Nicholas might offer. The letter was written at the end of 1168, for John mentions that he is about to begin his sixth year of exile, and that the Archbishop has completed his fourth year of banishment. John left England early in 1164 and Thomas in November 1164. See letter 149.

If well you weigh the time1 which as lovers we do count, then no complaint of ours comes before the evening of each day. Do not imagine that I wish to complain about you, whose loyalty and devotedness have been shown to me in many ways. I complain, for I realize that friends have suffered a severe loss, and greater because in their amazement they do not realize that their loss can scarcely be repaired. True friendship whose beginning, progress, and end you have faithfully learned from Cicero's Laelius,2 and more definitely from the practice of this virtue, the philosophers of the world laud so much that they believe it ought to be preferred to life. As life is unpleasant without friendship, so it is hateful to God and men. I am inclined to think that friendship is nothing else than charity without which (as Catholic Faith teaches), no one will enjoy God. I grieve that friends have given it up since there is seldom anyone who does not acknowledge himself to be under obligation to flesh and blood or what he calls his own; or more expressly, that he has guarded by state rights in that, which cannot

1 Weigh the time: Ovid, Heroides, 2. 7. 8.
2 Cicero's Laelius: Cicero, De Amicitia 16.
be kept without violation of charity. If anyone should take exception to this as lawful, I have no hesitation in believing him to be a heretic. Even if the world would contradict, I protest he must be avoided. I have taken these precautions as the sixth year of my exile is near and (what is of greater importance), the Archbishop of Canterbury and his co-exiles are completing their fourth year in exile. Working for the benefit of the people to the disgrace of our countrymen, he is fighting even till now with his own outlay of money or that of strangers for the liberty of the Church, for the life's blood of the Clergy, for the comfort of the people, while there is none that is mindful of him, none in the Church of England that would assist Peter and his co-disciples3 who are hard at work in steering the bark. But you will say: "They are afraid of the informers!" As though they would not make any expenses without their knowledge, if they had good will! "It's caution in the presence of power!" Certainly, no obligation binds. "They are afraid of the King!" True, indeed, and even more than of God; for when one checks another in the observance of a precept or vice versa, it is clearly manifest whom they obey. "Perhaps a cleansing will be called for!" Without the loss of conscience and good reputation it cannot be done, for it is more conducive to profess a subtle reverence and the privilege of the Clergy who is immune from such kind of oath. "But," you say, "they act with us not according to law or reason, but prompted by madness." Must we then be

3 Peter and his co-disciples: See Matthew 14. 26; Mark 6. 48; John 6. 14.
enraged with the raging, if law is rejected, and reason spurned? But with
the help of God the peace of the Church seems to be at hand. I don't see
with what face they dare to appear in the peace of the Church who seeing
the danger and being called upon so many times, have not brought any aid to
him in his shipwreck. Would that my Lord⁴ and other friends now extended
to him their right hand that they will not be sorry afterwards, when they
will see that Christ's disciples sailing away to the shore,⁵ rejoice
exceedingly as they are called to partake of the banquet with Him. Do not
think that this statement is made that something be given to me; for I, by
the grace of God, together with those whom I have supported from my youth
am abounding in prosperity; but God is my witness that I long to satisfy
the law of charity. Anxious about your condition and that of your friends,
I have sent this messenger whose loyalty has been tested and approved by
me. You might, if you deem it worth while, ask him about me and safely
communicate to him what you wish.

⁴ Would that my Lord: Bishop William Turbe of Norwich.
⁵ Away to the shore: See John 21.
JOHN TO ABBOT HUGH OF ST. EDMUNDS

SUMMARY: John writes to Abbot Hugh of St. Edmunds (disguising the addresses) to thank him for the help which he alone of his friends in England has given, and to acquaint him with the condition of the Archbishop and himself. The letter was written at the end of 1168, for John says that his sixth year of exile is about to begin. He left England early in 1164.

The reason of the change of title in the salutation is done for this purpose: Because of the critical condition of the time titles must be suppressed or devices must be used. There is, however, for that reason no less reverence for persons if the rank of honor is kept secret. Besides, the very freedom of humor held in check is not prejudicial to charity, and as in many ways this poetic license is allowed. What is permitted, is unpleasant; what is not permitted burns the more. It would have always been a great comfort to me if in some way I could have been helpful to my friends. As I am necessarily obligated by favors so would it help me to oblige others. Besides you, there is hardly one to whom I am held obligated by reason of giving and receiving, when all under the pretext of vain fear seek the consolation of their own ingratitude. That is why I am bound to you more closely, who without any merits so often "anticipated my blessings of sweetness." For, lo, the sixth year of my exile is before me, and to none of those who were my intimate friends or debtors in my native country

1 Is unpleasant: Ovid, Amores 2. 19. 3.
2 Giving and receiving: See Philippians 4. 15.
3 Anticipated my blessings: See Psalms 20. 4.
during my prosperity have I shown myself burdensome, and by the grace of God necessity has not yet forced me to beg, since Christ in the person of old friends is at my service not only for all the necessaries of life, but even for my honor and dignity. He certainly delivers so many co-exiles and outlaws in a strange land, not because of any merits of mine, but because He spares and provides for His Church. For the Archbishop of Canterbury procures advantages for the State; he is fighting for God's cause; he vindicates the honor of the clergy; protects the liberty of the Church. So far, he champions with his own money, or, (and this is to the disgrace of our countrymen and a cause of reproach), that of a strange nation. A people whom he does not know, serves him,4 and the highest princes of the priesthood thirst for his life's blood. What the state of the Church is or the position of the Kings, the bearer of the presents will report most fully. You may very safely tell him what you please.

4 Serves him: See Psalms 17. 45.
SUMMARY: John writes a soothing letter to Geoffrey (who may be his kinsman, a monk of St. Edmunds) with whom there seems to have been a misunderstanding. The letter was probably written in 1168. See letters 200, 201 for a possible connection with this letter.

Our common Lord has sufficiently established the proof of your innocence, except for the fact that I did not believe it should be excused. For what good is there in an apology, if there is no belief that guilt had preceded? Because not he, whom you consider the informer, has tried to do this, that I might suspect some sinister purpose in your love. This only I have against you, that you believed me capable of being so easily bribed, nay, and actually bribed. Or is he not bribed in whom the force of a suggestion drives out charity? Tell me, if you know, what corruption is greater than the loss of charity. Certainly no other characteristic equally necessary is found in either the parts of the soul or of the body. But this your fault can be condoned because zeal seems to have caused it, fear to have kindled it, and anxiety, the steady characteristic companion of love, to have strengthened it. Thus Peter also trembled1 where there was no fear,2 and he tried to hinder the mystery of salvation of men while his carnal love endeavored to keep his Lord from this salvation. I am not so stupid that I do not know well your needs, understand your difficulties, measure discretion with which it behooves to wait for a better day and to pass over from ill report3 and

1 Peter also trembled: See Mark 8. 33; Matthew 24. 50.
2 Where there was no fear: See Psalms 23. 5.
3 From ill report: See 2 Corinthians 6. 8.
good, while keeping in the meanwhile the root of faith and virtue. If you are silent, if you do not write, you are cautiously avoiding snares. It is well that prudence, the guide of all duties, wisely orders the actions and words of the wise; trouble of the mind, however, cannot be checked by any force, nor do many waters⁴ prevail in quenching charity. Conscious of this, I sent away the carrier of these presents that I be informed about the friends and that I might give them some information about myself. For I am well and I am happy if they enjoy health. Good-by.

⁴ Nor do many waters: See Canticle of Canticles 8. 7.
JOHN TO AZO, A MONK

SUMMARY: John writes to the monk Azo, excusing his long silence, and asks for help for the Archbishop and a copy of Quintilian for himself. The letter may be placed in 1168.

Love is proved by deeds, and generally a good word surpasses in its favor a great gift. What, then shall I say, who am unable to serve my friends, kept, as I am from them by the barrier of time? Nor am I at liberty to write even a word to them. Shall I write? But another bearer may seldom come along. Shall I send my own? Snares are laid out for mine, and there is not one who on his own accord casts himself into danger that is foreseen. I write less and seldom under these difficult circumstances, but I certainly do not love less; I should rather say, more easily and more truly, for as you know of human frailty, we are more frequently tested in that which is forbidden. But with the help of God, the storm that hit the Church is now subsiding, and as our trust is in Him, it will disappear in a short time.

Meanwhile, I have purposed with the help of grace to fight together with the Archbishop of Canterbury for God's cause and the liberty of the Church. The Archbishop, while he is devoted to the state interests, thus far fights with his own outlays or (and this is a disgrace for our countrymen), those of another nation. Would that you would have rendered him some little solace.1 Because (God knows), I speak more for your own, than his, benefit. For myself I ask nothing except that you send Quintilian whom I asked to be copied and corrected.

1 Some little solace: See Ovid, Amores 3. 4. 17.
JOHN TO NICHOLAS, SHERIFF OF ESSEX

SUMMARY: John writes to Sheriff Nicholas of Essex, thanking him for favors and enquiring about him and his friends. The letter may have accompanied the following letters in the latter part of 1168.

Whoever does not know that Counts receive their standing according to their activities in the society is ignorant of the meaning of letters. Any liberal education used to impart this first. Just as some directors are called upon by the Supreme Pontiff for the sharing of his care to employ the spiritual sword, so are Counts admitted by the King to share in the material sword. They are, as it were, the agents of profane law. Those who act in this capacity of obligation in the court by virtue of the law are called chamberlains; those in the provinces, provincials. Both carry the sword, certainly not to carry out capital punishment of old tyrants, but to obey divine law according to that nomdo they serve the state in the punishment of the wicked and the praise of the good. Therefore, I wish that you, since you perform the duty of a provincial and as your title is an index of place and rank, so accomplish what the King exacts that He is not offended "Who taketh away the spirit of princes," ¹ "Who is terrible with the Kings of the earth," Whose Spouse is the Church, Who punishes the mockers and evil doers of His priesthood as though "they had touched the pupil of His eye." ² For

¹ The spirit of princes: See Psalms 75. 13.
² The pupil of His eye: See Zacharias 2. 8.
what the wise man wishes for himself, the Bestower of wisdom lavishes upon you. I am your debtor and I thank you as much as I can for the love you cherish for me and my friends. I am certain that the Most High and the kindest Requiter will repay condign favors. My present condition is pleasant with the help of God; but I desire to be definitely informed about yours and that of your friends; you may safely entrust to the bearer of these presents what you wish.

Good-by.
JOHN TO PETER Scriptor

SUMMARY: John writes to his friend, Peter Scriptor, that just as the affairs of the Church are now prospering in other lands, so also they will soon prosper in England. The letter may be dated late in 1168.

Your zeal in the Lord has been known to me for many years; I know you cannot help being moved by the condition of the Church. For who would like to gaze at the stars and the universe falling and be free from care? 1 This especially if charity presseth us 2 "nothing human if foreign to self." 3 Such was recently the aspect of the world when from the North, and the West there was an attack on the East, and especially the South, that seemed to throw down a part of the stars. 4 But the Holy Spirit breathed in Italy and crushed the head of the schism that its sides wasted away and its limbs perished; for there is no physician, no wizard, who can save them from the hand of the Lord. There is consequently, hope among the faithful that shortly the Same Spirit will descend upon England to give peace to the Church. There are many indications of His arrival. Certainly the co-disciples of Peter 5 who have been tried so long in their office of steering seem to be making for the port and to rejoice at the desired goal of the shore, being invited to participate in the banquet with Christ. For the rest, because to a yearning soul there is never enough, I seem to see what

1 Free from care: Lucan, Pharsalia 2. 289-290.
2 Charity presseth us: See 2 Corinthians 5. 14.
3 If foreign to self: Terence, Hauton Timorum 1. 1. 25.
4 Part of the stars: See Apocalypse 12. 4.
5 Co-disciples of Peter: See John 21.
you are going to say to me in reply. I know very well how quick you are to discern. You will say, "whence this, not confidence, but presumption? By which proofs do you corroborate your prophecies? How can you tell that the promises will be fulfilled? Anyone can be rich in promises.\(^6\) Did you not deserve severer punishments from the Lord?" To these objections I reply: Wait a little while, and you will see the glory of God;\(^7\) then the proofs will be made public; you will not be surprised that we relied on them.

Remember this, when Jezrael was besieged\(^8\) in Samaria and no hope of escaping was in sight for the besieged, he who doubted that on the morrow in the gates of Samaria a bushel of fine flower or two bushels of barley would be sold for one stater-- saw in truth that he did not believe though the prophet had spoken. Because of his unbelief he was deprived of help. Kicked about by the crowds he gave up the spirit. But you say, are you a prophet?\(^9\)

Certainly not; not even the son of a prophet. There is no prohibition of an exile in a desert of shepherds to pluck figs with them. And I am not presuming on any merits of mine, but rather on the mercy of Him who does not suffer His faithful to be tempted above that which they are able.\(^10\) We have deserved greater hardships, but His mercy has balanced all things in regard to the penitent. But there is one thing which I wonder at with more than ordinary surprise: that there are some among the Clergy who have conspired in the fashion of the Jews with the high priests for the destruction of

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\(^6\) Rich in promises: Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1. 444.

\(^7\) The glory of God: See Exodus 16. 7.

\(^8\) Jezrael was besieged: See 2 Kings 7. 18.

\(^9\) Are you a prophet: See Amos 7. 14.

\(^10\) Which they are able: See 1 Corinthians 10. 13.
of him who works lonely as an exile and outlaw, unprotected like a mark for the arrow\(^\text{11}\) that he might rescue them from the trouble\(^\text{12}\) of evils and sorrow.

For the Archbishop of Canterbury is working for the common good. He struggles for the liberty of the Church; he fights with the beasts\(^\text{13}\) who are thirsting for the blood of the priesthood. He esteemed his own life and that of his kindred less than the cause of God, while he dared to profess steadfastly His law to destroy the deceptions or the corruptions that had crept in. Thus far he has struggled by means of his own expenses or those of strangers. And who is there in the Church of England who is his helper? There remain many more facts that ought to be recommended to your love, but they are saved up for their own time.

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\(^{11}\) Mark for the arrow: See Lamentations 3. 12.

\(^{12}\) Rescue them from the trouble: See Psalms 106. 39.

\(^{13}\) He fights with the beasts: See I Corinthians 15. 32.
JOHN TO THURSTAN OF ACOL

SUMMARY: John writes to Thurstan of Acol, an old friend at Canterbury, requesting him to send help to Archbishop Thomas. The letter was probably written late in 1168, when John was broadcasting appeals for financial assistance for the exiles.

My dear friend, there are many reasons which ought to perpetuate our love, and strongly urge us to persevere in mutual obligations, without which the quality of friendship does not last: In the first place, friendship is knitted more closely through social intercourse; secondly, the pledges of our friendship while we fought for a long time under the same Lords; finally, the fact that the Bishop of Poitiers, a man greater in title of merits than any praise, wishes that we love one another and that we endeavor to anticipate one another by mutual obligations. I know for certain that His love will not grow less toward him whom he sees slighted when endeavoring to ward off trouble from a friend. In consideration of these reasons I thought I should write to you. This certainly would benefit you and yours more than mine. I do not desire or ask anything of your goods which I certainly do not need; but look to your own interest. You certainly know that the Archbishop of Canterbury, your Father and Lord by many rights, strives earnestly to free the Church of God from bondage. This he does at his own outlays and those of a foreign nation under very grave danger to himself and all his friends. He has scarcely found faith in any one of his

1 Under the same Lords: The Archbishops, Theobald and Thomas.
2 Bishop of Poitiers: John Belmeis, Bishop of Poitiers, 1162-1181, and afterwards Archbishop of Lyons 1181-1193. He had been a clerk at Canterbury.
faithful. But if you are wise, or, while you can, provide for yourself; make up for your delay; communicate to his necessities\(^3\) that you might share in his consolation; otherwise I am afraid that the friendship which you are said to have had and still have with those whom he has excommunicated will be hurtful to you. Do not be afraid of the King only; ecclesiastical powers can be for and against you. I would like to tell you this privately, as to a friend, since I have been directed again and again by the aforementioned Bishop of Poitiers to forewarn you, if any misfortune should threaten. If the will is there, the ability to act will not be wanting.

Good-by.

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\(^3\) Communicate to his necessities: See Romans 12. 13.
JOHN TO BALDWIN DE VALLE DARII

SUMMARY: John writes a curious letter to a clerk of Canterbury, Baldwin de ualle Darii, and ends with the request that he bestir Willian Brito, the sub-Prior of Christ Church, to send him the Epistles of Saint Jerome. John had already asked Brito for these in the summer of 1168. See letter 255.

He who hears of your talking or writing can remember that your first service was in the curia, when you, a mere boy, served with Richard who was mentioned before under King Stephen. You were always of a discerning disposition. You were always ready for any and all service above all your contemporaries, before you plunged into groups of grammarians. What you say, smacks partly of the old school, and partly of the modern school. It so happen that though you cannot change the old skin, and still, letters make you rave. But as once upon a time you were wont to know a sane man seem raving, to the insane, to drunkards lights appear doubled, frequently it happens that they think men beasts do not remember themselves nor their own. This ought not be charged to you and to men like you; both natural instinct and native custom suggest drunkenness so that even when abstaining they cannot be sober. In your morals you are Thebes; thus Agave slays her son thinking it a calf, and each one of you sacrifices himself and his property to Bacchus. Though Bacchus quarrel with Ceres, yet, in the beer which

1 King Stephen: King Stephen 1135-1154.
2 Change the old skin: See Suetonius, Vespasian 16.
3 Agave: See Hyginus, Fabularum Liber 184. 240.
4 Ceres: See Dionysius, Disticha Catonis 4. 30.
is paramount with you, it is Ceres who rules, commands, prevails;\(^5\) she has made the talents of your countrymen so sharp that you believe our France is a country of mutton-heads\(^6\) and the French are the wethers! How this idea got into your mind I do not know, except for the above mentioned reason, or because you and your people fear our horns, I mean, those of the French. You think that we French are drunkards, as though the club-foot laughs at the stately person,\(^7\) an Ethiopian laughs at a white man. Still, these and similar epithets may be allowed to your countrymen, nay, they are becoming. For the rest, if you are not yet drunk, be instant in season\(^8\) and out of season toward Brito\(^9\) regarding the Epistles of St. Jerome and give to the carrier of these presents as much help as you can in all propriety.

Good-by.

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5 **Commands, prevails:** A common formula in the liturgy. See letter 146.
6 **Country of mutton-heads:** See Juvenal, *Satires* 10. 50.
7 **The stately person:** See Juvenal, *Satires* 2. 23.
8 **Be instant in season:** See 12 Timothy 4. 2.
9 **Brito:** William Brito, sub-Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.
JOHN TO MASTER ODO

SUMMARY: John writes to Master Odo, a scholar of Canterbury, deploring the exile that has separated them, and asking help on certain questions of Holy Scripture. He also requests a copy of Saint Jerome's commentary on Mark. The letter may have been written late in 1168.

To the burden of my exile and proscription nothing more bitter could have been added than that the comfort of letters be denied me, letters which with grace preceding, purify the mind from failings, clarify with the information of truth, enkindle charity, and the practice thereof strengthens and secures virtues. While it was granted to pursue these under your wings and to heed these with the help of your teaching to consider with the prophet, nay, with the sons of the prophets the wheel in the midst of a wheel,¹ and to hear through your mouth what the Spirit spoke to the Churches. Though the anger of the King of the English deprived me of much without cause, yet, at the same time, it seemingly gave me a great return; the very loss seemed gain; the misfortune, pleasant; the damage, pleasing. But when I was torn away from your feet, only then did I feel for the first time the bitterness of the loss and misfortune. And not I alone, but almost all scholars share in the loss. This not because those may fail who profess the obligation of teaching but because those are wanting who actually teach. For there are very many ministers but few workers, and to most of them

¹ In the midst of a wheel: See Ezekiel 1. 16.
sitting in the chariot of the Ethiopian Eunuch and studying the law, proclaiming divine mysteries and portraying the appearance of the word of God in ornamented polished language, could be said: "Do you think to understand what you read?" Once again the short saying of compassion comes back, "the tongue of the sucking child hath stuck to the roof of his mouth for thirst; the little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them! Of those I am one. To whom shall I go except to Him who used to break the bread for His disciples, that it might be distributed and become as nourishment of knowledge and morals? For I have learned to serve up another bread, entire and hard, with which the hearers could more easily be choked than be refreshed. I beg you therefore, please, deign to write back to me, in which book the comment can be found, composed under the name of Augustine which states that the Jews celebrated the seventh day, the seventh week, the seventh month, and so on. According to Master Peter it was placed three times in the psalter and once in the letters. I do not ask this because the seventh of the seventh decade is called the year of jubilee (for it is known in what manner this article is ordinarily explained), but because it is certain that the Jews never celebrated the jubilee, that is, the fiftieth year. Or if any one believes this, let him tell when this happened. He could be refuted, and I know that this is not read in the Old Testament and they, who reported the smallest details would not have been silent on this point. And if any commentator states this,
perhaps it must be so taken as they are said to have done what they were
held to by necessity of a command. For in the Scriptures the manner of
speaking is very well known that something be declared in a simple way;
unless a distinction of some kind be made, it has no real meaning. This
truth is known to those who look into the laws and is proved by common
practice. Thus something is said to be *de jure*, when *de facto* the opposite
is true, and one person is said to possess a thing *de jure*, another person
is considered to possess the same *de facto*. I speak to one who knows the
law, one who is capable and skilled in examining expressions and weighing
the force of words. If anyone celebrated *Easter* more solemnly, if someone
made a pool and built a conduit of water or accomplished a brave deed or
vice versa, if he pardoned one who insulted, or had pity on a delinquent
slave -- all this the diligent author transmitted to posterity. Is it then
believable that they could be silent about the solemnity of the jubilee?
Where, please, is read the revoking of sales? Where the restitution of
inheritance? Where the universal emancipation of slaves? Where is found
the return from the city of refuge of a proscribed homicide after the death
of the high priest? Where or when did the world celebrate the ordained
sabbath? *Jeremias* is certainly a witness that their fathers did not
celebrate the seventh year, and when during the time of Sedechias, upon the

7 Celebrated *Easter*: See *3. Esdras* 1. 1.
8 Conduit of water: See *2. Kings* 20. 20.
9 Brave deed or vice versa: See *2. Kings* 19. 21-29.
10 Jeremias is certainly a witness: See *Jeremias* 34. 14-16.
threat of the prophet, they had pledged themselves in the presence of the Lord for this solemn celebration and by an oath they confirmed their profession: they did not only emancipate according to the letter male and female slaves, but they also recalled them without restriction into slavery. What then should one believe, especially if the Scriptures do not hold that they executed the legal rites of the jubilee? But not even after the captivity under Esdras and Nehemias does the regulation of the Scriptures teach that they had observed these solemnities, although those which were performed were carried out rather carefully. Does not the Lord rather often threaten through the prophets that He will give a lawful sabbath which the disobedient people refused? About the Machabees this is certain that they were engaged in so many wars that they had no free time for leisure of these ceremonies. From then on until Christ, there is a deep silence about these observances. And under the Roman governors, both ignorance and contempt for the divine law was in the ascendancy. I beg of you in all possible devotedness, if you have any explanation of St. Jerome about Mark, please let me have it. Or if you do not have it, put it together in good time because this is a sacred task and very pleasing to the Churches and with the help of God to scholars. There will not be lacking an occasion to write, if the Lord will inspire the good will.

11 There is a deep silence: See Wisdom 18. 14.
JOHN TO MASTER NIGEL

SUMMARY: John writes to Master Nigel about the state of the exiles and about the Archbishop. It was written probably late in 1168, for John mentions that he is now in the fifth year of his exile.

The distance of places is not prejudicial to faith, and friendship in all its glory shines forth more brightly in adversities. Though I am an exile and outlaw for five years (the persecutors of the Church believed that as time went on it would be worse), still I am not so much moved by my own particular loss as by the fact that almost not one of our countrymen in this dire necessity brings aid to the Church in Her shipwreck. For although in time of peace She seemed to have many sons and friends, men famous because of their learning, and outstanding because of their merits and virtues, "a thousand fell at his side,¹ and ten thousand at his right hand," and "they that were brought up in scarlet² have embraced the dung." But now by the grace of God the force of the storm has been weakened, and Peter's Bark³ enters the desired port. I was, therefore, anxious to inform you about this for the reason that I am certain you will share in the joys of the Church, especially since you are going to receive, when the Church is at peace, the friends who with the Lord's help will be able to promote your honor and advancement. For the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is championing the liberty of all, champions the cause of a man who wishes continuously to be at the service of the honor of the Church.

¹ A thousand fell at his side: See Psalms 90. 7.
² Brought up in scarlet: See Lamentations 4. 5.
JOHN TO WILLIAM BRITO, SUB-PRIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY

SUMMARY: John praises the monks of Canterbury for finally coming to the aid of their Archbishop, and urges them to continue to help. The letter was probably written near the end of 1168.

Though our common Father and Lord has learned under Lady Charity directing, to abound and also to suffer want and everywhere and in all things in which he is engaged for Christ to have enough, still I am glad for your sake that finally in some little way your charity has once again shone forth, and that in the proof of the work, late though it is and moderate, there is some evidence thin enough that the old faith, once apparent, is still alive. That faith which as you know according to James "is dead without works." The former up to the present has suffered no poverty; or only an honorable poverty because under God's disposition and His rather kind mitigation blows and persecutions of men become more tolerable to the faithful. But up to the present hour he has been tried to know himself better, to give a plainer lesson to the world, and in the stress of such a great trial he might put the faith of his friends to a more definite test. He has passed through fire and water; he has not been ashamed nor greatly feared to set up and to carry the banner of faith and of justice before unwilling and opposing kings and princes. Neither by prayer nor bribery, by threats nor flattery, or punishment, could he be broken or turned from keeping the name of the Lord.

1 To abound: See Deuteronomy 28. 2.
2 Is dead without good works: See James 2. 20.
3 He has passed through the fire: See Psalms 65. 12.
silent or suffering even the smallest loss of its honor. But why was it not said to him, and almost in the same words, only with a different motive: "Permit me to lessen the divine honor to destroy the liberty of the Church, and I shall cause you to grow into a great nation, provided you allow ancestral customs to go on and you do not place them before or against the reverence of Divine precepts?" But the vessel of election,\(^4\) uttering the word of truth in faith said: "Either you will destroy me or this presumption of yours so hostile to God will be destroyed because I cannot serve you devising these things, and serve Him." Hence fulfilling God's Will it happened that he who despised himself for the honor of God received a full and glorious power from the Lord wherewith he will be able to crush his adversaries. Please, note how the Bishops and others who attacked him are dropping off. Pursuing that which you finally have begun, turn about and strengthen your brethren.\(^5\) Show yourself a son to your Father because next to God and through God, the welfare of the Church is placed in his hands. Do not delay to do good while you can, and if their safety cannot be effected otherwise, take something from your brothers without their knowledge or even, against their will, by which their safety and indemnity can be procured "on the day of execution."\(^6\) You are sailing with God's help in the harbor; what you ought to do, you are going to hear through the carrier of these presents.

\(^4\) Vessel of election: See Acts 9. 15.
\(^5\) Strengthen your brethren: See Luke 22. 32.
\(^6\) On the day of execution: See Ecclesiasticus 5. 10.
JOHN TO BISHOP JOHN BELEMUS OF POITIERS

SUMMARY: John explains to Bishop John of Poitiers why Archbishop Thomas had declined a conference with King Henry which the Bishop had arranged. The letter was written late in January 1169. After the failure of the meeting at Montmirail on January 6, 1169, Bishop John had come to Thomas at Étampes on Henry's behalf and had endeavored to arrange a meeting at Tours, where Henry would stay in the city and Thomas at the Abbey of Marmoutier. But the Bishop had gone farther than Becket wished. See John's letters 288, 290.

Perhaps in good judgment, you are surprised that the Archbishop of Canterbury declined the conference with the King of England which you had so earnestly endeavored to secure, though formerly he attended his meeting rather often uninvited and (what is more), spurned to the reproach of Christ and even the object of various insults. He was anxious for his own peace, but far more so for the liberty of the Church, and most of all, he desired the safety and glory of the King and the security of the King's children. For these reasons he exposed himself and his friends, not to mention all his labors and expenses, to insults, reproaches and various dangers, while reason convinced him that peace could be restored on the road of humility. But after he realized by many evident proofs that the King was constantly, more and more, abusing the patience of the Lord Pope, out of the humility there resulted cruelty, and that out of the very meekness shown, pride resulted and grew, he thought another way should be followed, and let's hope a more fortunate one, especially when he openly stated that there existed truly between you and him a state of deception. Thus the shepherds pipe sweetly, 1

1 The shepherds pipe sweetly: Dionysius, Disticha Catonis 1. 27.
while the fowler stalks the bird. And while hope of peace is held out, the destruction of the Church is brought about by an embassy sent to the Apostolic See. The Archbishop is invited to the conference so that he be thrown off guard against the snares of those who seek his life to take it away. For the darts which are not foreseen strike more quickly and hurt more. Where, I pray, is the truth of Scriptures, if the one who prepares the pit for all is not sometime or other thrown headlong into his own pit? Who is faithful and true if Truth be deceiving and false, which promises to those who garner the merits of good works as a reward for the same, nay, good measure, and pressed down, and shaken together and running over? Is not weight upon weight in the hand of man an abomination in the sight of God? Will there be weight upon weight in the hand of God, that He should make an unjust distinction between the poor and the rich? Far be it from Him Who judges the world in justice, Who did not spare the very angels, Who punishes the powerful mightily, Who takes away the spirit of princes, Who brings to naught those that despise Him. Let him judge His own cause and either convert or crush the persecutors of the Church. May He (as He alone knows how to free) deliver and rescue from the face of the tormentor's sword His poor for the glory of His Name, "lest they say among the

2 About an embassy: The Archdeacons Reginald of Salisbury and Ranulf of Llandaff.
3 Those who seek: See Kings 19. 10.
4 Who prepares the pit: See Ecclesiasticus 10. 8; Psalms 7. 16.
6 Weight upon weight: See Proverbs 10. 10.
7 Who judges the world: See Psalms 9. 9; 95. 13.
8 The very angels: See 2 Peter 2. 4.
9 The powerful mightily: See Wisdom 6. 7.
10 Takes away the spirit: See Psalms 75. 13.
11 Those that despise Him: See 1 Kings 2. 30.
12 Lest they say: See Psalms 78. 10.
Gentiles: Where is their God?" The God of Canterbury is truly patient, but, without a doubt, the Same God is the most faithful in requiting. Truly there is hope that He will not long put off His revengance, but will shortly threaten. Unless the persecutor of the Church will avoid the blow through penance and satisfaction, he will be hit irretrievably, and be an example for ages.
JOHN TO THE PRIORS, SIMON OF MONT DIEU, AND ENGELBERT OF VAL S. PIERRE

SUMMARY: John writes to two of the three members of the new papal commission, which had been appointed in May 1168 to arrange a reconciliation between Henry and Archbishop Thomas, and informs them of what he and the Archbishop think of a second conference with Henry. The letter was written late in January, after the conference at Montmirail on January 6, 1169 and the abortive attempt to arrange a second meeting at Tours shortly after. See letter 287. The new legation consisted of Simon, Prior of Mont Dieu, Engelbert, Prior of Val S. Pierre, and Bernard de la Coudre, a monk of Grammont. Although appointed in May 1168, it was January 1169 before they were able to act.

To the venerable lords and friends, the Prior Simon of Mont Dieu and Engelbert, Prior of Val S. Pierre, their own John of Salisbury (sends) greetings and success in the cause of God. In your good judgment you can well recall that the Archbishop of Canterbury never favored your putting off the conclusive fulfillment of the Apostolic Decree. Still, he was satisfied with Brother Bernard who promised better results, if some time for deliberation were granted to the King before a second conference. He promised that, in the meantime the man's fierceness would be changed into meekness. But behold, from the letter I received recently it is clearer than the light of day, that even the commission of the Bishop of Poitiers has been procured to deceive the Church and us. Would that the very postponement held trickery of deception! The issue of this negotiation will show this. While we are waiting for the promised meekness his whole care is how he may undermine the honor of God and overthrow the entire liberty

1 Brother Bernard: See above.
of the Church. What wouldn't he do? He had ascertained our strength and in his wickedness he had gained underhandedly the sympathy of all;² I don't say deserved it because that would not be true. But he who alone, at a time of such great distress, dared to bear witness to the honor of God, has been made an object of reproach and of hissing to all and like one who has been spat upon by all, departed. For the rest, will not iniquity armed with councils and favor, hope for an easy triumph? As you advised, I have insisted when I was with the Archbishop of Rheims³ that he write to Brother Bernard. He did not agree stating that his letters would be of no avail, because he believes that he favors the opposite party. It happens frequently that those who are said to possess nothing covet immoderately property or glory. The Archbishop of Canterbury does not wish me or any of his own to be present at the conference except the Master Lombard,⁴ a Subdeacon of the Church of Rome whom you will find in the family of the Archbishop of Sens.⁵ May the Lord lead you there in the spirit and the power of Elias.⁶ May He direct and strengthen the sword of Phineus⁷ in your hands with the zeal you possess. Be not frightened at the sight or the multitude of men; more and braver men are with us than with them. The Archbishop of Rheims writes in our behalf to the Lord Pope; he is giving orders that his letters be composed in conformity with my judgment; he even promises that he will

² Sympathy of all: At the meeting at Montmirail January 6, 1169, even King Louis failed in his sympathy for Thomas.
⁴ Master Lombard: Lombard of Piacenza, a learned canonist, afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Benevento.
⁵ Archbishop of Sens: William of Champagne, Archbishop of Sens 1168-1176, when he was transferred to Rheims.
⁷ Sword of Phineus: See Numbers 25. 7.
assist us in our needs as soon as the case warrants. Please, act manfully, my very dear Lords, and make up for a dangerous delay by the readiness and earnestness of carrying out so that your action may prove that whatever demands are made of the Archbishop of Canterbury over and above what he has done, is not only an excess of power but evidently a proof of disloyalty. As you know, certain persons have used as an excuse for their erroneous advice the pretense of your sanctity. Let it now become manifest that in accord with the declaration of truth and the liberty of spirit you never agreed to that falsehood. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and without doubt truth will make you free. May your sanctity always grow strong and prosper in the Lord! Remember us always before God and, as much as it is consistent with honor before men.

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8 The Spirit of the Lord is: See 2 Corinthians 3. 17.
9 Truth will make you free: See John 8. 32.
JOHN TO BISHOP JOHN BELMEIS OF POITIERS

SUMMARY: John writes to Bishop John Belmeis of Poitiers, urging him to use his influence with the monks of Grammont, who are shortly to have a conference with Henry concerning the quarrel with the Church. He comments on Barbarossa's condition, and remarks that the proposed Crusade will profit nothing, unless peace is first restored to the Church; the disastrous second Crusade gives testimony to that. The letter was written early in 1169.

Great is the expectation here of those who are waiting to see what the conference of the distinguished King of England and of the holy Monks of Grammont will accomplish. Would that they were as eager to procure the peace of the Church as is in conformity with the renown of their name, which they have suddenly obtained in the Church of God! For they are believed to have merited and received of the Lord the talent of princes' grace to such a degree that the administration of kingdoms in as far as they allow, is entrusted to their free choice. Their reputation heralds forth that the designs and the works of Kings are placed in their hands. Because I am certain that you love these same holy men and trust you are their intimate friends, I beg you with all possible earnestness that you with all your power encourage them through the grace bestowed upon you by Divine Providence, that they look to the peace of the Church in the coming conference which they are going to have with the King before mentioned, in case it has not yet convened. God is my witness, this peace will be by far more useful to the King than to those who rejoice in having hazarded them-

1 Monks of Grammont: See letter 245.
selves and their property for Christ's sake. "For whether they live,\textsuperscript{2} or whether they die, they are the Lord's," and according to the multitude\textsuperscript{3} of labors and sorrows by which for a little while they are afflicted they hope for His comforts in "plentiful mercy."\textsuperscript{4} For unless he repents, what will he who freely persecutes and plagues the innocent be able to expect from a just Judge, Whose Will is His omnipotence? Or what will be the fruit of penance unless "in a contrite and humbled heart"\textsuperscript{5} he confesses his guilt, makes right the wrong, according to his ability reimburse the losses and see to it that similar actions be guarded against for the future? If the holy men mentioned, crushed in their hope for so great an Archbishop, so sincere a friend are afraid to say what should be said, who will in the future place him against his face?\textsuperscript{6} Who will turn the sword of the Lord from His house, Who rather mightily punishes the mighty,\textsuperscript{7} Who twists and removes the spirit of princes?\textsuperscript{8} Behold, what He had done to the Teuton tyrant?\textsuperscript{9} As public rumor has it among our people, gout attacked him in his feet as he did that statue\textsuperscript{10} which Nabuchodonosor saw in his sleep, that he cannot walk except when supported by the help of attendants. There is hope that in a short time he is exposed to a great fall, and he will, though unwillingly, give glory to Christ, seeking in the meanwhile to undermine

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} For whether they live: See Romans 14. 8.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} To the multitude: See Psalms 93. 19.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Plentiful mercy: See Psalms 91. 11.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} Humbled heart: See Psalms 50. 19.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Against his face: See Ezechiel 14. 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{7} Punishes the mighty: See Wisdom 6. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Spirit of princes: See Psalms 75. 13.
  \item \textsuperscript{9} The Teuton tyrant: Frederick Barbarossa.
  \item \textsuperscript{10} He did that statue: See Daniel 2. 31.
\end{itemize}
the liberty of the Church. What advantage is in a Crusade to Jerusalem, arranged by the Kings, if peace be not restored to the Church before? For though in our time most of the greatest sovereigns would have set out on a similar journey, the very sad and pitiful state of the Church showed that gifts obtained by plunder and injury were not pleasing to the Lord, while the labor of an unwelcome obligation yielded an effect altogether contrary to what was anticipated. His friends likewise are sorrowing without any consolation that the Count of Nevers is following a like course and suffering equal sorrows, so that no javelins of the Parthians, no swords of the Syrians, no glorious death of a brave hero could afford him some consolation. But the tears of the widows, the groans of the poor, the complaints of the Churches are believed to have caused his inglorious end. Though the need of a crusade mentioned was put off two years, still time is short if it should be started and executed for the honor of God and the security of the Crusaders. For according to a proverb of the French the remark is generally made: "While the fool sleeps, the limit of credit is hastening." The fool sleeps, but the interest does not sleep. But why do I worry you who bear this anxiety incessantly and beyond your strength except for the fact that I know you have great love toward so great a Prince, so good a Lord that you desire his security and honor, as I certainly do likewise, as much as your own? For he is a hero superior to all praise if he were more helpful to the Church as he ought, and if he acted more moderately with those who entered into some agreement with him;

11 Similar journey: The Second Crusade 1147-1149.
12 Count of Nevers: William IV, Count of Nevers.
if under the influence of anger or some other disposition when reprimanding, he controlled his tongue and his heart with a dignity becoming a King. Otherwise he is endowed with so many great gifts of nature and grace alike, that no other prince like him -- I'd like to believe this -- or rarely one, and this I say without hesitation, could be found in the world. I am afraid that your loyalty and readiness to serve has harmed you with him because you were not able to obtain the conference \(^{13}\) from the Archbishop of Canterbury as you wished for his honor and desire. For this reason, I beg more earnestly deign to notify me about the result of this decision and what rumors exist among you and your countrymen. In the affair, however, which the bearer of these presents will explain to you, let your diligence proceed in such manner as you see best. I have no definite news about those who have set out for Rome, but when their achievements will be known they will go on to you when occasion will offer from on high, and my earnest endeavor will provide.

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13 Obtain the conference: See letter 287.
JOHN TO BISHOP BARTHOLOMEW OF EXETER

SUMMARY: John writes to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter, in February 1169, a long account of the happenings of early 1169; the conference at Montmirail on January 6 and 7, the attempt of Bishop John of Poitiers to arrange another meeting of Henry and the Archbishop, and the second conference of the two Kings. See letters 287-289.

Fortune is ever bringing about changes; now she casts down the position of mortals, now she elevates. Still I should more correctly and more truthfully say that He Who commands the winds and the sea, according to the deserts of men, allows seditions in the state of those living in this world. Sometimes He sends storms, as it were, and again, He holds them in check in the compassion of His goodness. According to His dispensation it happened recently that the illustrious King of England, though he had often solemnly and publicly taken an oath that so long as he lived, he would never again return to the vassallage of the most Christian King, complying with a more reasonable plan, altered his decision on the day following Epiphany near Montmirail in the district of Chartres and as a suppliant approached the King. Placing himself, his children, lands, forces, and treasures before him, he left all to his judgment to use or destroy all as he wished; that he might retain, remove, and give to those whom he wished and as much as he wished without inserting or adding any condition. He had likewise given to the same, secret pledges through mediators. But not one

1 Who commands the winds: See Luke 8. 25.
2 The day following Epiphany: January 6.
of them is kept secret so that (as we believe), they will be published shortly. The most meek Sovereign received him kindly and gave thanks to God who had softened his heart and he asked in behalf of him who complied in all humility to the salutary plan, peace beneficial alike for the Church and the people. Thus he returned to his vassallage after he had in person given the pledge as to his Lord, to whom before he had surrendered his kingdom in vassallage and fealty, that he will preserve his loyalty against all men and offer him his aid. It is an allegiance which the Count of Normandy is bound to give to the King of France. Then they shook hands, interchanged the kiss, and the French King restored to the English the Britons and the men of Poitiers, after he had first received the assurance from him that he would restore to them their plains and lands which he had plundered since the beginning of this dissension and that he will keep the peace; compensation for murders and burnings was mutually received. On the following day he conducted his sons, Henry and Richard. The first of these pledged vassallage and fealty to the King of the French under the Counts of Anjou and Maine (for the King himself remains in the vassallage of Count Theobald of Touraine); the other also pledged his loyalty and, as his vassal received the escort of Poitou. The chief promoters of this peace were Count Theobald and Brother Bernard of Grammont who were the first to know of the secret pledge which I mentioned above. The French think that in the distribution of these dignities great regard was shown for their kingdom.

3 Count Theobald: Count Theobald V of Blois.
4 Brother Bernard: Bernard de la Coudre, a Monk of Grammont.
This the more, since they recall in rather bitter sorrow that Henry, the son of the King of the English, had pledged his fealty for all to the King of the French, when espousals were contracted between him and the daughter of the same King. A few days before the King of the English had received through the very saintly man, the Prior of Mont Dieu, and the above mentioned Bernard of Grammont letters of instructions from the Lord Pope in behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury. I am sending you a copy of them. He had given hope of peace if only the Archbishop of Canterbury would give a sign of submission before the people. He had convinced the Religious men that he was ready to return him in all honor and freedom of the Church, Lord of the entire Kingdom, and Prince second after himself. On their advice he was summoned by the most Christian King. The Archbishop with his co-exiles appeared at this conference, and in all humility on bended knees he knelt before the feet of the King in the sight of all. He used this formula: "Have mercy on me, my good Lord, because I surrender myself in God to you for the honor of God and yours." But the King, who had promised peace to the Church while he feared his own might be disturbed, elated by the new success, rushed forth to the insult of the pleader, and by his impudent language deserved to be considered by the French as a boor where formerly he had been considered as less true. To justify his own cause which all knew as unjust, in the presence of the very saintly King and other

5 The daughter: Adela, daughter of Louis VII and Constance.
6 The Prior of Mont Dieu: Simon, who with Engelbert and Bernard formed the papal commission. They were relieved of their legation of February 28, 1169, when Pope Alexander appointed Vivian and Gratian as the new commissioners.
Princes, he concluded his insolent statements and stories by this final remark:

My Lord King, ye holy men and Princes assembled, I ask nothing of the Archbishop except that he keep the customs which his five immediate predecessors, some of whom were saints, illustrious with miracles, have observed toward my predecessors. Let him again, in your presence, as a priest and a bishop, pledge himself to these without any subterfuge. The sole cause of dissension between us is, that he infringes them, and that at Vézelay, that famous place, on a high festival, he has condemned some of them, and excommunicated those who observe them.

He seemed to demand of all a just and modest request so much so that the Archbishops, Bishops, and the illustrious men who were present, and the very Legates of the Lord Pope in good faith urged the Archbishop to submit simply and absolutely in the question of the customs and leave the entire affair to his will. To this the Archbishop replied he was ready to observe the customs for his peace and favor and to do whatever he could in conformity with his will, saving the honor of God and his own rank unimpaired. The Clergy of the King who assisted him and who (as was believed), feared that the peace of the Church would not be restored, as often as they heard that the words "honor of God and his rank unimpaired" should be added to the pledges, said these words supported sophistries. These ought not be accepted except by some absolute promise. Then the King said: "I shall never accept these words lest the Archbishop should seem to wish to save God's honor, and not I, who desire it still more." When the Archbishop of Canterbury answered that consistent with a long established vassallage and fealty he was bound to preserve his life, his limbs, and earthly honor,

7 At Vézelay: See letter 174.
saving his rank, and he was not going to promise anything further, the King in anger departed before peace was made. The Carthusians and the Friars of Grammont followed him. These the Lord Pope had sent to restore peace, or to hand him the threats of which one example is given. But the King won them over flattering them to outline a plan. He promised to do on counsel what he could not be forced to do by compulsion of the Counts who were present. The peace might seem forced. Therefore, he admonished them to influence the Archbishop of Canterbury to use the customary words in his oath. He was ready to correct anything that seemed harsh or unbearable in them on the advice of the Religious whom he assigned to be summoned for this purpose when he was certain that he had succeeded in bringing him over to his side. He even boasted, asserting with religious sanction, that there was no Church in the entire world which had such freedom, which rejoiced in so great peace. There was no clergy in such honor as they were endowed with in his dominion. But since the priests were very impure and very cruel, they were for the most part sacrilegious, adulterers, robbers, thieves, vandals of virgins, incendiaries, and murderers; and as a testimony of his assertion he brought forth one by one his volunteers, priests and lay persons. Foiled in their hope of peace the Religious put off their threats until another conference. They returned to the Archbishop to persuade him to give in to the King who was waiting to observe in all simplicity the customs; he had decided to repeal or abrogate them. They added that he owed it to himself to be like his predecessors "for we are no better than our Fathers." To these statements he replied that not one of his predecessors had been forced
or asked for a profession of customs, except Blessed Anselm, who for this same reason was exiled for seven years.

Not in evil things ought we to imitate our Fathers who grieved to have done things for which they would be sorry. For this reason are they Saints because they are sorry to have failed in points in which they do not want to have successors nor contemporaries. For Moses is not to be imitated in his lack of confidence, nor David in his treason or adultery, nor the Apostle in his betrayal, nor Peter in his denial, nor Paul in his imprudent zeal, nor Martin in his participation with the excommunicated, the patriarch in his incest or parricide, or the Archangel who rose in the early morn for the crime of apostasy. The failings of our forefathers have been recorded to be avoided, not that they suggest any imitation in their successor. For the Word of God is the pattern for life, not the mere assembly of those who are connivers. Hence, the Apostle: 'Be ye followers of me as I also am of Christ.' He thought that no one should imitate him but the pattern of Christ.

After they heard this the Religious withdrew, striking their breasts, that they had demanded something more than this in the public audience. The very saintly King likewise moved by spirit of penance begged pardon that he had followed the opinion of the Religious, and he had counseled that the honor of God and of his rank should be kept silent. And because the Archbishop of Canterbury could not be frightened by his enemies, the Bishop of Poitiers was sent after him as far as Étampes. He entreated him for the good of the peace which he hoped for without a doubt after hearing the promises, to transfer the entire question to the judgment of the King. But

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10 In his treason: See 2 Kings 11.
11 In his betrayal: Judas, see Matthew 26. 14-16.
12 Peter in his denial: See Mark 14. 66-72.
14 Nor Martin: St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, who befriended Priscillian, the Spanish heresiarch (316-397).
15 Patriarch in his incest: Ruben, See Genesis 35. 22.
17 Be ye followers of me: See 1 Corinthians 11. 1.
18 Bishop of Poitiers: John Belmeis.
since he had often been deluded by cozening words of this kind, and since he knew that it is the character of a shepherd off guard to entrust the sheep to the wolf, he promised, that he was going to do all for the love of the King, provided the honor of God, his own dignity, and the integrity and liberty of the Church were unimpaired, and he was not going to promise anything prejudicial to the Divine Law. After the Bishop of Poitiers returned to the King, he proposed milder measures to calm his mind, stating that the Archbishop of Canterbury entrusted himself to him before all men, and the entire question, to his judgment. He asked that as a Christian Prince he should provide for the honor of the Church. The King was overjoyed to accept such terms and promised that he would do both. He appointed the fifteenth day after the second conference of the Kings for an audience with the Archbishop. Because he had heard in the meantime through Brother Bernard that the purport of the Pope's comminatory letter was the restoration of the Archbishop's powers over himself and the Kingdom, he secretly sent messengers to the Apostolic See, to avoid the Archbishop so often mentioned under the hope of a reconciliation. The Bishop of Poitiers, however, who was himself deceived invited the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King's conference at Torino. He even wrote that it seemed to him that the stubbornness of the King was bending. The King acted so, that by pretended meekness he deceived the friends of the Archbishop of Canterbury that the petitions he was going to present at a conference with the other King be not hindered by any of them. In this way he could deceive more easily the

19 Secretly sent messengers: See letter 287.
Roman Pontiff, who would not be forewarned by a hasty embassy. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote therefore to the Bishop of Poitiers that he was not coming to the conference at Torino and he chided him that he had beyond all order and his own knowledge submitted the cause of the Church to the arbitrary will of a man who was trying to undermine ecclesiastical liberty and who had so often deceived the peace party by vain hopes. In the second meeting of the Kings after he had long taken an opposite stand and sworn that he would not accept the Apostolic Rescripts, finally, after being warned by his friends, he requested and received the threats mentioned from the Religious who had been sent for this purpose. It will be too long a story to tell how often and in how many divers ways he gave inconsistent answers who seemed justly to surpass Proteus\textsuperscript{20} in cleverness. The sum total of the action after many resolutions was this: Refraining from the word customs he said he had not driven the Archbishop of Canterbury from his Kingdom; if he wished to do what his predecessors had done and promise this truthfully and in good faith, he could return and have peace and pardon in his land, provided he tried to merit it. But this answer was given to him: The Archbishop will not enter upon any obligation, especially one that is deceptive, unless the honor of God and his rank were unimpaired. He would do what he had to do and he added the willingness of his wholehearted loyalty. Though he did not mention the word customs, still, he exacted them steadfastly by virtue of the little clause of words by which he requested for himself what he judged had been done by his predecessors.

\textsuperscript{20} Proteus: See Horace, \textit{Epistles} 1. 1, 90.
The Archbishop did not submit in any manner to agree to profess to him an observance of the customs. First, there would be introduced into the Church a new pernicious pattern as an example; secondly, it is clear that they had been condemned to a great degree as being hostile to the Divine Law by the Lord Pope who absolved him at Sens from these after a promise had been demanded. For the rest, he said, if His Majesty, the King would restore upon the Apostolic mandate peace to the Church, and the plunder to him and his friends, he was ready to return and to do anything that the Archbishop of Canterbury owes to the King, his Sovereign and Lord. Otherwise, he would use his power and right against the evil doers of the Church, his own and his friends. The King, constrained by the presence of the Religious and distinguished men, replied that he would summon in a short time the Bishops of England whose counsel he had used till now, especially in this case, and he asked that his answers should not be forwarded to the Lord Pope by writing. But since these were, as has been said, entirely inconsistent, he was in turn requested by the Religious to answer the letter in writing, what he intended to do regarding the respect, the entreaties, and the command of the Lord Pope. They promised they would write afterwards what was necessary. Thoroughly struck by this petition on their part he withdrew in anger. Then calling aside Bernard, he said he would hastily go to Grammont and comply with the will and order of the Prior who presided over these Friars. In the meantime the Bishops of England will come, and then with God's help, peace will be restored at once. This he said to

21 Go to Grammont: See letter 289.
Brother Bernard, but in reality he was waiting for the messengers whom he had sent to Rome. The Religious advised the Archbishop to spare the person of the King and his lands until they found out what the issue of that conference at Grammont would be. This is certain, as I have been reliably informed, that the Archbishop will strike with due severity some of his malefactors. The rest, the messenger will supply, whom you please will send back to me with haste. The Kings have allied themselves by mutual oath against all men; both parties added the saving clause that Richard, the son of the English King, must marry the daughter of the King of the French without dowry. The publicity of the secret documents of the betrothal which I called to your mind before, is put off to the end of next year, but if what is going on be known it can be more easily started. Upon the advice of the wise men of his party, the Teuton tyrant\(^\text{22}\) has summoned the Abbots\(^\text{23}\) of the Cistercians and of Clairvaux; he intends to discuss with them and through them, as is believed, the peace of the Church.

\(^{22}\) The Teuton tyrant: Frederick Barbarossa.

\(^{23}\) The Abbots: Alexander and Pontius.
JOHN TO ARCHDEACON BALDWIN OF EXETER

SUMMARY: John writes to Archdeacon Baldwin of Exeter to inform him of a very favorable interview which he had had with the papal legates, Vivian and Gratian at Vezelay on July 22, and to advise Bishop Bartholomew as to his policy in dealing with the King. He adds that there are hopes of a reconciliation between Frederick Barbarossa and the Church. The letter was written shortly after the above date in 1169.

Driven from what I call my own I am busy in that which is foreign to me as though I had some interchange of friendship with the men of Canterbury or their rivals. Recently on the feast of Blessed Mary Magdalene I went to Vézelay. There I met the Legates of the Lord Pope to find out, as it seemed, what the men of Canterbury had to fear or hope. For this story is believed to be the only one which busies the tongues and the ears of either kingdom, as far as the Clergy is concerned and certainly in a great way as far as the people are concerned. Really I was anxious to see Gratian who bears my name, and what is more, who is a compatriot and somehow my brother. You will recall, you were appointed his instructor at Ferentino by Pope Eugene of Blessed Memory. I'd like to speak of him confidentially as my brother; between him and me are mutual pledges of fidelity and friendship. Though we were not born in the same city, still, we have the same native land, without a doubt, a land of the brave, a land, peculiarly our own.

1 I call my own: Horace, Satires 2. 3, 19.
2 On the feast: July 22.
3 The Lord Pope: Vivian and Gratian, who were appointed peace commissioners on February 28, 1169.
4 Gratian who bears my name: Because John, that is Johanan, means gratia Domini.
5 Pope Eugene: Pope Eugene III, who was at Ferentino from November 1150 until the following summer. Both John and Baldwin were in his service then.
This, Carmentis points out\(^6\) and recalls to mind. I was received kindly and reverently by him and his companion Vivian. I was privately informed that the Lord Pope and the Roman Church favor very much the men of Canterbury, so much so that, unless the King made peace at the present time with the Archbishop of Canterbury according to the counsel of the Lord Pope, they intend to tell him that he will not only be delivered to the Archbishop, but that the Roman Pontiff himself will lay his hand heavily upon him. That you say, many are wondering on what point of the law the Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated the Bishops and others who were not convicted of guilt or made no confession of stubbornness, and (what is worse), were not even summoned once after being named, it would be truly astonishing if there were an action now taken on the point of truth. It is just the opposite, because their actions did not only precede the decision, but they were the cause of the slow and dilatory condemnation against them, so that when the time comes they will not only be convicted by men. Heaven and earth cry out against them. For this reason the aid of appeal was justly withdrawn by the Roman Pontiff, and authority with full power was given to the Archbishop against the King himself, the kingdom, and the persons of the kingdom to punish any disobedience and to check the evil agents against the Church and against himself. He proceeds therefore fully fortified with the counsel of the Apostolic See, and he was recently made secure of his position, when he received special Legates and letters from the Lord Pope. What he decides will not be changed. The Archbishop, however, is ready to

\(^6\) Carmentis points out: Ovid, *Fasti* l. 43. 19.
absolve those excommunicated⁷ according to the institution of the Fathers and the form of the Church if they show condign fruits of penance. If they decide to persist in that obstinacy in which they began (which God forbid), he will go father as long as he lives, and he will not replace the sword of the Spirit into the scabbard before the earth is cleansed of such abominations. For the sword must be drawn seven times⁸ against an unfinished work filled with dust that Syria be given to utter destruction. What Archdeacon Reginald⁹ is constantly saying (as rumor has it), that these Legates of the Lord Pope will cancel all attempts and deeds of the Archbishop by Apostolic authority, the Legates themselves deny. They affirm on oath that according to their commission they will do nothing to the detriment of the Archbishop. They could not even do so. They will look to the good and the honor of the Church as far as they are able under God. The plan has been given to them. Its terms they will not dare to exceed, because they are bound to this by oath, so much so that they were given orders, if peace were not restored, to keep their hands from any gifts of the King. They are not even allowed to receive any expenses from him. Let others say what they will. Meanwhile I have greater hope for peace than ever before. For even

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⁷ Absolve those excommunicated: At Clairvaux on Palm Sunday, April 13, 1169, Thomas excommunicated Bishops Gilbert Foliot of London and Jocelin of Salisbury, with several others. He also warned Geoffrey Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Richard Ilchester, Archdeacon of Poitiers, Richard de Lucy and others that they would be excommunicated on Ascension Day. The announcement of the excommunications was delivered to the Bishop of London on May 29, 1169.

⁸ Sword must be drawn seven times: See 4 Kings 13. 19.

⁹ Archdeacon Reginald: Archdeacon Reginald of Salisbury.
in sickness the crisis must be reached through increase of pains, so that
as nature grows stronger and the diseased condition is cleared up, health
and strength may be restored. Though some may boast that they have been
absolved by the Lord Pope, it is absolutely more certain that he absolved
none of them, because he did not know those who were under censure. But
when he learned later from pilgrims, that this censure with which we are
at present concerned was carried out, the Archdeacon Radulphus of Landau
was sent back to the Lord Pope to entreat him to absolve the excommunicated,
but it is not believed he will be heard. For, to pass over other points, the
Bishop of Meaux,\(^{10}\) having greater influence and right, will oppose him with
all his might. Soon we will hear, with God's help, what one or the other
party or both will gain, for the secret of the Legates who have come as
far as Autun, will not remain hidden for long. The end of the journey is
near; for they have almost come up to those whose interest is at stake. The
affair cannot remain in suspense much longer. And because you are interested
in your Exeter and for your own, because it is yours, I am testing mean-
while what he did, when he left from the group of the excommunicated. For
it is certain that men of that type must be avoided by the faithful till
the absolution be definitely pronounced for God\(^{11}\) must be obeyed rather
than man. This is not so very often without danger especially in the case
of those, as through many tribulations\(^{12}\) we must enter the Kingdom of God.

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10 Bishop of Meaux: Stephen de la Chapelle, Bishop of Meaux 1161-1171.
11 Pronounced for God: See Acts 5. 29.
This, my dear friend, is the road of the just, this the purifying process of faults, this, the alembic of virtues, placing the elect between hammer and anvil. But the Lord will free them, and will glorify those who have been tried with a more glorious crown. If he obtains permission to cross over (which I don't believe), I am afraid he will be forced to make an appeal not according to his own choice but the choice of him who drives him out. For if everything does not turn out at his bidding, the impatience of him will be provoked who is satisfied with nothing but the ruin of others. If everything turns out, justice will go by the board so God will be offended (and there is nothing worse or more wicked). If his passing over is stopped (which I'd rather believe), I am afraid that he, the object of so many insults, cannot subsist alone, attacked as he is by so many trickeries, exposed to all torments. Perhaps this will be inserted into the principal demands. More meekly however, if there can be a question of meekness in torments, could the lower ministers of Satan be endured than the present who received greater power from the Lord to punish offenses. Hence, I think it more advisable that so long as he can avoid an issue that he use the lesser ways of dispensation which in no wise impede justice. Let him in the meantime patiently live with the children of Cedar looking for counsel and consolation from the Lord. If the King should happen to return and harsher methods adopted to force him into union of the wicked, then let him in the liberty of spirit raise his voice worthy of a Bishop and before harming the state of the Church, let him in all honor go forth from the

midst of Babylon,\textsuperscript{14} so that he be not contaminated by touching what is impure. Let him break the chain that binds him if it can be done in any other way, so that he be not forced to sin against saving charity to the danger of his own conscience and the mark of disgrace. In the meantime, because so many troubles threaten from all sides, I counsel that as far as he can, he provide for himself, placing the greatest hope in the works of mercy and the prayers of the Saints. In this way the great Basil\textsuperscript{15} (I desire him to read that author if he did not do so far), rescued himself and his people from the snares of Julian. God certainly looks down from on high, Who will not suffer His elect to be tempted above\textsuperscript{16} that which they are able, but will make also with temptations a pleasant and glorious issue. To ease your worry, it is believed that Frederick, the Teuton tyrant, with God's help intends to make peace with the Church. He asks that the Lord Pope receive his second son\textsuperscript{17} as Emperor -- he caused him to be elected King, -- and that he would order him in ready obedience to the Apostolic See, to be consecrated by Catholic Bishops on the condition that Frederick in his own person be compelled to acknowledge no other Apostolic Successor except Peter and others who are in Heaven. Gladly would he be heard on these points, if he did not insert in the agreements that those who were ordained and consecrated by the schismatic heresiarchs remain in their ranks and dignities. The dispute on this point still exists. Either party,

\textsuperscript{14} Midst of Babylon: See \textit{Isaias} 51. 45.
\textsuperscript{15} The great Basil: See \textit{Gassiodorus, Historia Tripartita} 7. 36. It was Valens, however, for Julian died before Basil was made Bishop.
\textsuperscript{16} To be tempted above: See \textit{1 Corinthians} 10. 13.
\textsuperscript{17} His second son: Henry VI, who succeeded Frederick in 1190. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1169, being only four years old.
from certain signs is presumed to be ready to give way on a certain issue to the other. This will be more fully known when (as is hoped in a short time), the counselors of this decision, the Abbots\textsuperscript{18} of the Cistercians and of Clairvaux, return from the Church at Rome. The carrier of these presents will describe a few facts more in detail. Please take care of him until he gets better; I wish my brother,\textsuperscript{19} in as much as pertains to medicine, be solicitous for him. When any events worth while come up, they will be sent to your knowledge with God's help very quickly. Good-by, remember your friends before God.

\textsuperscript{18} The Abbots: Alexander and Pontius.
\textsuperscript{19} I wish my brother: Robert, a clerk of Exeter, who seems also to have been skilled in medicine. See letter 239.
CHAPTER III

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