



1943

# Translations of Letters Sixty-One to One-Hundred Six of John of Salisbury

Mary Patricius Cullinane  
*Loyola University Chicago*

---

## Recommended Citation

Cullinane, Mary Patricius, "Translations of Letters Sixty-One to One-Hundred Six of John of Salisbury" (1943). *Master's Theses*. Paper 478.  
[http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/478](http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/478)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact [ecommons@luc.edu](mailto:ecommons@luc.edu).



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/).  
Copyright © 1943 Mary Patricius Cullinane

**TRANSLATIONS OF LETTERS SIXTY-ONE TO ONE-HUNDRED SIX**

**OF**

**JOHN OF SALISBURY**

**by**

**Sister Mary Patricius Cullinane, O.S.F.**

**\* \* \***

**A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Loyola University**

**December, 1943**

C O N T E N T S

Chapter	I	The Historical Background of Letters Sixty-one to One-hundred Six . . . .	1
	II	Translations of Letters Sixty-one to One-hundred Six . . . . .	1
	III	Index of Proper Names . . . . .	108
	IV	Index of Quotations . . . . .	114

## CHAPTER I

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LETTERS SIXTY-ONE TO ONE-HUNDRED SIX

Henry of Anjou's newly acquired England, "a chaos of pillage and bloodshed,"<sup>1</sup> a country crippled and enervated by an era of intrigue and anarchy, relaxed, and took a deep breath. With renewed faith and confidence both people and land looked forward to the coming spring of 1155, for a firm hand had taken the helm at Westminster that eventful December day of 1154. His prowess as a warrior had been ably demonstrated, and his exhausted people seemed to have no misgivings as to his ability as a statesman. Henry, on his part, must have looked with something akin to despair at the task that faced him. The machinery of the state--legal, constitutional, and administrative--was at a deadlock. "To bring under subjection once and for all the remnant of the disturbing forces which had caused the catastrophe, and render them powerless for future harm:--to disinter from the mass of ruin the political fragments of social and political organization and build upon them a secure and lasting fabric of administration and law:"<sup>2</sup> this was the challenge to Henry's statesmanship when but twenty-two. It was his task "to bring order out of chaos, life out of decay."<sup>3</sup> How great was the exhaustion of society is evident from the fact that although there was an interregnum of almost two

---

1 John R. Greene, A Short History of the English People, Chicago, A. L. Burt Co., 130.

2 Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, New York, Macmillan and Company, 1887, l. 408.

3 Ibid., l. 408.

months<sup>4</sup> and Stephen's mercenary troops were roaming the countryside, still "no man laid hands on his neighbor."<sup>5</sup> Keen, judicious, and energetic, he lost no time in putting an end to the disorders of Stephen's reign. His uncle's disastrous failure had shown how vital to England's prosperity was the strong and ruthless despotism which the Norman kings had set up. The power of the crown had been proved necessary. It seemed the only way to save England from anarchy. Henry saw this very clearly; hence, all his energies were directed towards "the restoration and confirmation of all liberties and customs in Church and state as settled by his grandfather."<sup>6</sup> He endeavored to establish a kingly government, unembarrassed by any privilege of order or class, administered by royal servants, and in whose public administration the nobles acted simply as delegates of a sovereign.

In the initial realization of this plan of action he was singularly successful. "The first eight years of his reign passed happily and with little incident. The great energy of Henry had not procured him personal enemies nor had yet eaten inwards."<sup>7</sup> Thus it is that a span of rather uneventful years forms the background of this particular group of John of Salisbury's correspondence, a translation of which comprises the second chapter of this work. Letters 61-106 cover the years from the summer of 1156 to the winter days of 1159. During these years England was slowly finding herself once

---

4 Stephen died on the 25th of October, 1154, and Henry did not cross over until sometime later and was crowned in Westminster on the 8th of December, 1154. See Gervase of Canterbury, l. 159.

5 Gervase of Canterbury, l. 159.

6 Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, New York, Macmillan and Company, 1887, l. 427.

7 Hillaire Belloc, A History of England, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925, 2. 190.

produced in defense of claims were treated as waste paper.<sup>9</sup> He gave quarter in no direction. In these first years of restoration there was always evident on Henry's part, a desire to lose nothing that had come to him by inheritance or marriage; no right would he give up, no claim would he allow to lapse. It mattered not at all whether the land in question had been bestowed on the recipient by Empress Mathilda or by King Stephen. Henry was inexorable; all claims had to be relinquished. At Archbishop Theobald's suggestion Thomas of London—"a man endowed with many brilliant and serviceable gifts; a man of business, versatile, politic"<sup>10</sup>—was appointed chancellor of the king. In this year also de Diceto notes one other event—the destruction of six castles belonging to Bishop Henry of Winchester.<sup>11</sup> Mention is made by John of Salisbury of an abrupt departure from English shores on the part of Bishop Henry in one of his letters dated 1157. Writing for Archbishop Theobald in that year,<sup>12</sup> John pleads with him to return to his wandering flock and, gently rebuking him, observes that "the ruin of souls is by far more deplorable than the destruction of walls."<sup>13</sup> This destruction of walls evidently refers to the six castles destroyed by Henry. What prompted Bishop Henry to leave England the chronicler does not tell us, nor does Norgate hazard any guess. Poole suggests that the king's intimation of taking the Bishop's castles from him was the evident cause of his sudden departure and mentions that

---

9 Ibid., 1. 428.

10 William Stubbs, The Constitutional History of England, Oxford, 1897, 1. 498.

11 "Henricus Wintonensis episcopus absque licentia regis recessit ab Anglia; ideoque sex castella diruta sunt." R. de Diceto, Ymagines Historiarum 1. 301.

12 See Letters 76, 77, 78.

13 Ibid., 77.

he (the Bishop) had sent on his treasure secretly before him.<sup>14</sup> This seems to indicate that the trip was planned and purposeful. A letter of the fall of this year, 1156, also indicates that John, Secretary to Archbishop Theobald, upon a visit to the papal court had obtained at Ferentino the pledge and papal bull conferring the investiture of Ireland on King Henry II as we learn in letter 62 as well as in the Metalogicon.<sup>15</sup> Of this right Henry did not make immediate use, but it served him in good stead in later years when he wished to escape the ill-favor brought on his head through the murder of Thomas Becket. At the turn of the year Henry crossed the channel, his attention directed to Normandy.

Kate Norgate characterizes the year 1156-1157, the year of Henry's absence on the continent, as a year "without a history."<sup>16</sup> The winter of 1156 witnessed the attempted pacification of Henry's brother, Geoffrey, who was asserting his right to his patrimonial possessions.<sup>17</sup> In letter 61 John of Salisbury, writing to the Bishop of Norwich, refers to this trouble of Henry with his brother and to his efforts to mend the garment, "mala sarta," of fraternal good will. In response to the remonstrances of Theobald to the tax levied for Henry's expedition, John also tells the Bishop that Henry would like to acquiesce in the suggestions of Archbishop Theobald but that Henry's expenses will not permit him to remit the scutage which he is demanding.

---

14 William Hunt, "Henry of Blois," Dictionary of National Biography, 9. 567.

15 John of Salisbury, Metalogicon l. 4. 42.

16 Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, l. 430.

17 Henry had inherited Anjou, Maine, and Touraine from his father and was pledged to give these up when he came into complete possession of his mother's heritage, England. This oath he refused to keep and obtained a release from it from the pope on the ground that the oath had been extorted from him. See Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, l. 444.

Here, in this connection, an important question in the history of English taxation comes to the fore--the origin of "scutage." The term "scutage" or "shield money" was commonly used in 1159 when the siege of Toulouse was in progress. Some historians connect its institution with an earlier expedition, the Welsh campaign of 1157;<sup>18</sup> all acknowledge its existence in connection with the campaign against Toulouse where it is known as the "Great Scutage." Now letter 61 of John of Salisbury was written four years before the siege, in 1156, and is cited by Kate Norgate<sup>19</sup> to prove that this practice was observed there earlier than 1159, and that there was a "scutage" levied in 1156 by Henry to enable him to carry on his expedition against Geoffrey. This claim can be further supported by Stubbs<sup>20</sup> who mentions that the Pipe Roll of the second year of Henry II, with the account ending at Michaelmas of 1156, shows little difference in general taxation from the sort found in the roll of Henry I with the exception of the word "scutage" which did not appear in 1130. This indicates that the assessment of the knights' fees was then in use.

The division of opinion seems to rest on the definition and extent of the term scutage, for according to common opinion the "scutage" of 1156 was limited mainly to spiritual baronies, i.e., land held by churchmen as a grant from the king. The prelates who held their fiefs subject to military service were permitted to compound by a money payment. Scutage in this form was exacted stringently upon the knights' fees of those baronies held by the Church.

---

<sup>18</sup> W. H. S. Aubrey, The Rise and Growth of the English Nation, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1896, 1. 10. 183; B. Adams, History of England, London, Longmans Green and Company, 1905, 1. 269.

<sup>19</sup> Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, 1. 432.

<sup>20</sup> William Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, 1. 491.



Furthermore it seems the practice was supported wholeheartedly by Thomas, the chancellor;<sup>21</sup> was frowned upon by Archbishop Theobald, as we learn from John of Salisbury;<sup>22</sup> and, at a later date, the "Great Scutage" of 1159 was the occasion of John's incurring the stern disapproval of King Henry.

As the year of 1156 drew to a close, Theobald found himself in serious trouble with Rome<sup>23</sup> but of the nature of the trouble nothing was known save that "detractors were at work" in the sunny land over the sea and that Theobald was greatly perturbed. To silence his enemies he sent John to Rome to intercede in his behalf with Pope Adrian. John's journey must have been effective for the matter closed with letter 70.

The months of 1157-1158 are marked by several minor incidents. Back once again in England in the spring of 1157, Henry settled an old score with the county of Wales; and though his troops fled from the Welsh in disgraceful panic, the Welsh prince, Owen, deemed it prudent to make peace with him. Soon after, the King of Scots did homage at Chester; the final surrender of Northumberland and Cumberland was made; and Malcolm, King of the Scots, received as the inheritance of his grandmother, the county of Huntingdon.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the turn of the year found every bit of land lost to the crown in Stephen's reign back once more in the possession of Henry. The closing feast of the year was celebrated with great splendor and gayety at London. Henry wore his crown in the Church of St. Mary in the suburb at Wigford. It was to

---

21 Belloc, History of England, 2. 191; Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, 1. 461; William Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, 1. 494.

22 John of Salisbury, Letter 61.

23 Ibid., Letters 67; 68; 69; 70.

24 William Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, 1. 493.

this ceremony of "crown wearing" that letter 80 of December, 1157, probably has reference.<sup>25</sup> In this letter John, writing to his friend, John Belmeis, Treasurer of York, warns him to have nothing to do with any attempt of Roger, Archbishop of York, to crown Henry in the province of Canterbury. This matter of the coronation is discussed adequately in the introductory note of letter 80; consequently there is no need to give it attention here. Other than the warning to John Belmeis there is little historical material found in the nine letters of 1157. Three of the nine letters, dealing with Theobald's urgent plea that Henry return to his orphaned diocese, were treated earlier in this chapter.

Henry remained at home until June of the following year, 1158, when once again he was drawn overseas, this time by the death of his brother, Geoffrey, whom in 1156 he had satisfied with compensation in money. At that time he had also granted Geoffrey permission to accept the invitation of the men of the eastern part of Brittany to make himself Count of Nantes.<sup>26</sup> His object this time was to secure his brother's inheritance. Earlier in the year Thomas had been dispatched with an impressive retinue to secure the hand of the infant princess, Margaret of France, for Henry's eldest son.<sup>27</sup> The embassy was successful and Henry in the late summer made a formal visit to the court of King Louis where he was received and the betrothal was celebrated with due pomp and ceremony. In England itself the year is uneventful,

---

25 John of Salisbury, Letter 80

26 Cambridge Medieval History, 5. 556.

27 For an interesting account of this embassy and of the impression created by Thomas, see Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, 1. 446-448.

"marked by nothing more important than a new issue of coinage."<sup>28</sup> The year closed a happy one for the parties on both sides of the strait.

In John's letters of this year one point only calls for comment. He brings to light a case opened during the reign of King Stephen. In letter 88 Theobald, in relating the appeal and case of Osbert, Archdeacon of York, who had been accused of poisoning his archbishop, William Fitz Herbert, stated that as the accusation had been made at an earlier date in the presence of King Stephen, the king had immediately declared that the case was reserved to the lay court, and had set the day for the hearing of the case. Meanwhile, in the interval elapsing between the above incident and the day reserved for the hearing of the case, Stephen died, and Theobald in letter 88 mentions that it was with great difficulty and at a great risk that the case had been wrested from Henry's jurisdiction to be heard in the ecclesiastical court.

Thus, in this letter of 1158 there is a foreshadowing of the struggle which eventuated in 1163 in the bitter quarrel between Archbishop Thomas Becket and Henry II over the question of criminous clerks. For some time the treatment of criminal clerks had been a matter of difficulty. The ecclesiastical courts would not shed blood and were apt to let such accused clerks off with a light sentence, for they were able to inflict only spiritual penalties.<sup>29</sup> At the Council of Westminster in October, 1163, Thomas bitterly opposed the measure demanded by Henry and his advisers,<sup>30</sup> for Thomas

28 Ibid., 1. 453.

29 William Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, 1. 500.

30 Henry demanded that "accused clerks should answer the accusation in the lay court, that they should be handed over to the ecclesiastical court for trial and judgment, and that if the accused were found guilty, he should be degraded and given up to the secular power for punishment." See Cambridge Medieval History, 5. 558.

saw in it an infringement on the rights of the Church, and declared that it "would be bringing Christ again before Pontius Pilate." Henry left the assembly in anger. Later on in the Constitutions of Clarendon the question again caused bitter strife.

The year 1159 witnessed the siege of Toulouse, the exaction of the "Great Scutage," the death of Pope Adrian IV—John's close friend and the only English Pope to rule from the throne of Peter—the election of Alexander III, and the outbreak of the schism. Minor events to be noted are the return of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, to his post after nearly four years of absence, the gradual failure of Theobald's strength from whose dying hands the reins of control were slowly slipping, and John's distress consequent upon the royal displeasure which had been visited upon his head.

The court of Canterbury, if the letters of John are any gauge, was affected to no great extent by the major events of the year. Through the efforts of Arnulf of Lisieux Henry was persuaded to recognize Alexander III as the rightful Pope, and the impending storm from that direction was averted.<sup>31</sup> Contrary to what one would expect, John's letters of 1159, however, are filled with references to his personal trouble with his sovereign. The majority of historians prefer to gloss over the why and wherefore of the misunderstanding. John answers the question in a general way by ironically remarking that it is to Arnulf of Lisieux that he owes gratitude for the royal displeasure.<sup>32</sup> John returned from a visit to the papal court in 1159, and Arnulf evidently made a report of his activities to the king who was

---

<sup>31</sup> Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, 1. 502.

<sup>32</sup> Letters 89-106.

still absent on the continent. This placed John in such danger that "to stay in England was unsafe, to escape impossible or very difficult."<sup>33</sup> Kate Norgate advances the idea that indignation against the scutage of 1159, which was levied on all Church lands without distinction of tenure, was bitter and deep on the part of all the clergy. John in a later letter sorrowfully remarked that this impost was the beginning of Henry's misdoings against the Church. He reproached his friend Thomas that his share in it<sup>34</sup> was what he had to expiate so bitterly,<sup>35</sup> that his subsequent troubles were a judgment on that account. If John denounced this exaction in strong terms, as we can conclude he did, he could not have failed to suffer at least temporal disgrace. He was accused, so we learn, from his letter to Peter of Celle, of being too solicitous that the ecclesiastical party assert more emphatically the privileges of the Church.

To the unsympathetic reader of our century, John's anxious concern and deep despondency seem a little exaggerated, but the knowledge that the soul of his true and tried friend, Theobald, was slipping its bonds probably added greatly to his depression. Helen Waddell puts the matter so deftly that she can well be quoted. Referring to John's plight she says: "...John, secretary to the dying Archbishop of Canterbury, cumbered with the whole administration of the metropolitan see (*Metalogicon* l. prol.) already fighting Henry for the immunities of the Church, fell under the king's displeasure, was suspended,

---

33 Letters 96.

34 Thomas was believed to have been an ardent supporter of the idea, if not its originator. See Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, l. 461; Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, l. 494.

35 Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, l. 461.

and left to struggle with his debts...."<sup>36</sup>

His letters of that year were filled with references to the cloud of disapproval which covered him.<sup>37</sup> Frantically, so it seemed, he tapped all possible avenues of assistance--the Pope, Cardinal Boso, Thomas Becket, Abbot Peter, Ernulf (Becket's secretary)--begging them all to intercede with King Henry for him. Toward the end of 1159 he apparently regained his composure; he decided to remain at Theobald's side, to ride the storm, and to occupy himself in his enforced leisure with his beloved books. "Henry would confiscate his property and beggar his kinsmen but after that there was no more that he could do. Instans Tyrannus is helpless before a scholar."<sup>38</sup>

Thus, through the pages of John's letters there is mirrored not only the events of English history, but the characters of the men who helped to fashion the story of twelfth century England. There is Henry II, the keen, energetic, coarse-fibered man of business. There is Bishop Henry of Winchester, brother of the late King Stephen and a one-time potent influence in England. But the powerful voice is silenced, for its owner, sincerely repentant of the part played in the intrigue of the last quarter of the century, is keenly aware that the generation that had been young with him is rapidly passing away, and that only the primate and he are left alone, like survivors of a past age, in the presence of the younger generation represented by Henry of Anjou. Bernard of Clairveaux is there, in the spirit not in the flesh,

---

<sup>36</sup> Helen Waddell, "John of Salisbury," Essays and Studies, Oxford (1928) 13. 31.

<sup>37</sup> See Letters 91, 94, 96, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106.

<sup>38</sup> Helen Waddell, "John of Salisbury," Essays and Studies, Oxford (1928) 13. 35.

for Clairveaux, "the 'Bright Valley' to which men had looked from most lands for light amid the darkness," had recently become "a valley of the shadow of death as its light passed away with St. Bernard."<sup>39</sup> Thomas of Canterbury fades in and out of these pages with his irresistible personality, his vivid imagination, his dauntless spirit and guileless heart--"a standing marvel to his contemporaries for the chancellor's frivolity was all on the surface of his life;--its inner depths were pure;"<sup>40</sup> and because of that singleness of purpose his strength was to be that of ten in his hour of need. Theobald, the gentle, refined scholar, the patient, resourceful primate, the loyal adviser of Henry, who had guided the Church through so many troubled waters, is relaxing his grip on the helm and slipping away from the England he loved so well. Peter of Celle, the companion of John's young manhood, the trusted confidante to whom John pens some of his most delightful and arresting letters, is quietly ruling his monastery at Celle preferring not to fish in troubled waters. When John had departed into England and had become a figure among the great ones at the court, Peter wrote affectionately and wistfully to him in this wise:

...Time was you said you loved this place above all other places. You have greater friends now, but I loved you first. It was not my substance I shared with you, it was my heart....<sup>41</sup>

Lastly, there is John to be reckoned with, the one-time confidential secretary to the pope, an important official in the documentary department of the Curia, the contemporary of Saint Bernard, an able politician and

---

39 Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, 1. 400.

40 Ibid., 398.

41 Peter of Celle, Epist. 72, Migne, 202. c 519. Translated by Helen Waddell.

ecclesiastic, and the intimate counsellor of Archbishop Theobald. His whole life had been passed in the company of great men, and he had been present at most of the exciting and significant scenes of his day. Yet he himself did not become great. Might it be that "his essential detachment was responsible, for while his body and a part of his mind moved in the twelfth century, his heart was forever ranging among his beloved classics"?<sup>42</sup> John himself seems to affirm this conjecture of Lloyd's in his observation to his friend, Thomas Becket.

...Marvel not that I climb no single step of that stair whereby alone men rise...for I despise those things which the courtiers go about, and the things I go about they despise. Marvel rather that I do not cut or break the knot, if there's no other way of loosening it, that so long has bound me to the trifles of the Court, and holds me, struggling still, in such servitude. Well nigh twelve years frittered away...I that had set my heart on things far other."<sup>43</sup>

His familiarity with the great classics, especially Cicero and the major poets, made him the most refined Latin writer of the twelfth century. Not only are his quotations from the classics, for the most part, pertinent and gracefully interwoven, but they also exhibit a deep and wide range of acquaintance with Roman thought. Discussing John's gift of poetic expression and his love of the classics, Helen Waddell has well remarked: "The submerged city of the poets is always in John's consciousness, and in the strongest tide of controversy he hears the sound of its bells."<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Roger Lloyd, "John of Salisbury," Church Quarterly Review, London (1929) 108.19.

<sup>43</sup> John of Salisbury, Policraticus 1. prol. Translated by Helen Waddell in Essays and Studies, 13. 31.

<sup>44</sup> Helen Waddell, Wandering Scholars, London, Constable and Co. Ltd., 1927, 114.



**CHAPTER II**

**TRANSLATIONS OF LETTERS SIXTY-ONE TO ONE-HUNDRED SIX**

61. John to Bishop William of Norwich

**SUMMARY:** John writes to the bishop that the king desires to acquiesce in the archbishop's counsel and to promote the welfare of the Church, but that he is unable to remit the scutage and other exactions because he has not yet made peace with his brother Geoffrey. He then gives the latest news from France.

This letter is famous for its mention of the scutage which Henry levied in 1156 in order to meet the expenses of the war which he was conducting against his rebel brother in Anjou. Henry went to France in January, 1156, and the war ended with the capture of Chinon in July, 1156. The letter was written between the spring and early summer of 1156.

Our messengers have returned from our lord the king without mishap, promising, on the arrival of the king, that our requests will be brought to happy fruition. In all matters he will acquiesce in the plan of our lord the archbishop, and he will zealously watch over the honor and welfare of the Church with devoted care. Meanwhile, however, he is unable to remit the scutage nor to refrain from imposing certain levies since his efforts to mend the garment of fraternal<sup>1</sup> good will, which was poorly patched, have availed nothing. And the frail texture has been dangerously torn, because his brother was unwilling to forfeit to our lord the king his complete paternal inheritance,<sup>2</sup> namely, the land, the possession of which a superior force had wrested from him, although he was prepared to

---

1 Geoffrey of Anjou, died July 26, 1158.

2 Henry had pledged himself to obey his father's will, which demanded that Henry should give up his patrimonial possessions--Anjou, Touraine, and Maine--when he came into complete possession of his mother's heritage, England. Till then Geoffrey was to have only the three castles of Chinon, Loudun, and Mirabeau. Henry afterwards obtained a papal absolution from the oath, whereupon Geoffrey revolted. See Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, 1. 444-445.

yield fortifications to the king and to give hostages in the hope that he might recover the land which had been his by bequest of his father. He (Geoffrey) set out, therefore, to the King of France,<sup>3</sup> and relying on the help of Count Theobald,<sup>4</sup> he is inciting the French against us and is striving to present their throats to our wealth, our resources, and to our prosperity. Perhaps he is bringing affairs to such a pass that Fortune may accord us the great favor of delivering into our power the king and the French nation, with justice favoring our cause. In this we shall fill up the measure of our fathers, if indeed we should be content with their lot.<sup>5</sup> But, Fortune promises a greater boon to us in the recovery of Vernon.<sup>6</sup> On the advice of Count Theobald the French have declined the offer of a desired conference with us. Our lord the king, as he returns from Angers and Poitiers, will send agents to us to conduct the affairs of state, and they will redress the injuries done to him in his absence by the administration of justice.

---

3 Louis VII.

4 Theobald V, Count of Blois.

5 Matthew 23. 32.

6 Vernon in Normandy. Louis VII had captured it in September, 1153, but by the peace of August, 1154, he had engaged to restore it in return for an indemnity. See Cambridge Medieval History, 5. 610.

62. John to Pope Adrian IV

SUMMARY: Calling to mind the Pope's bounty to him at Ferentino, John recommends the cause of a suitor. This letter may be referred to the summer of 1156. See R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 272.

They honor me greatly who trust that they will be aided by my intercession with your Holiness. Would that it may be done to me according to their words. And, indeed, I always deal with you confidently, conscious not of my own merits but presuming on your kindness, always remembering with joy and happiness the words that came from your lips when as a pledge of the future, at Ferentino,<sup>1</sup> you bestowed upon me your ring and sword belt. From that day I have always trusted in these assurances, and I know that through the mercy of God and your goodness I shall not be confounded.<sup>2</sup> From that time the bearer of these presents has been a friend of mine, although in these days he has been an adherent of Henry, Archbishop of York,<sup>3</sup> of happy memory, who persecuted me, as you know. Whence my debt of gratitude to him is the greater. Intercession has been made with you in his behalf by many men--men of such standing that I should deem myself privileged were I but allowed to reverence their steps.<sup>4</sup> But I am certain that, how

---

1 It was here (between September 30 and October 17) that Adrian handed John the emerald ring conferring the investiture of Ireland on Henry II. See Metalogicon 4. 42, ed. Webb, 218.

2 Isaias 50. 7.

3 Henry Murdack, Archbishop of York, 1147-1153. There is nothing known of John's trouble with Henry, nor does it seem to be mentioned anywhere else.

4 Statius, Thebaid 12. 817. "...sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora."

great soe'er they may be, none of them is more faithful or more devoted to you than I, your least servant. Wherefore, prostrate at the feet of your mercy, I humbly beg that you may direct his cause to be advanced and that you will not allow him to be torn from the stricter way of life which he has entered upon on the advice of religious men, by the shameful importunities of those who seem to think that the Faith has triumphed if in all issues their wills shall have prevailed.

63. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald intercedes for Bishop William Turbe of Norwich, who is being persecuted by his Archdeacon Walkelin. He relates that the charges against the archdeacon had been heard at a council held in London, but that no decision could be given because of the absence of Bishop John of Pagham of Worcester. The letter was written in the summer of 1156, for the council alluded to was held in London in the first week of June, 1156. See Letters 64, 80 for further accounts of Walkelin.

The sympathy of brotherly affection for our esteemed brother William of Norwich<sup>1</sup> moves us to ask humbly that you order a fitting end to be put to the annoyances which the Archdeacon Walkelin<sup>2</sup> constantly inflicts upon him. And how necessary this may be, we have taken pains to inform your Sincerity, prompted by an aversion of evil and loathing of scandal rather than by any regard for persons. This happened recently when we met<sup>3</sup> at London because of the press of urgent matters. The above mentioned bishop entreated our venerable brother, the Bishop of London,<sup>4</sup> to whom, as also to the Bishop of Worcester,<sup>5</sup> you had delegated the hearing of the case brought against Walkelin. (He pleaded sadly) that at least on that day, which was now the third day laid down by imperative summons, after all the troubles of so many good men, his arguments be accepted; namely, that he

---

1 William Turbe, Bishop of Norwich, 1146-1175.

2 Archdeacon Walkelin of Suffolk, see Le Neve, Fasti 2. 486, ed. Hardy. He was the nephew of Everard, Bishop of Norwich, 1121-1145.

3 This was held in London in the first week of June, 1156. See Gest. Abbat. Monast. S. Albani l. 129, ed. Riley.

4 Richard de Belmeis II, Bishop of London, 1152-1162.

5 John Pagham, Bishop of Worcester, 1151-1157.

would have made restitution of property to the above mentioned archdeacon and he would have shown justice if he had not been prevented by Walkelin himself. He led into the assembly a group of religious men--abbots, archdeacons, priors, and clerics--by whose testimony he would prove his allegations. These and many other men of unimpeachable character came forward. They affirmed that for the love of justice and the confusion of evil they were willing to testify that they had often heard the aforesaid archdeacon offering to the bishop remission of all compensations which he was demanding, and, in addition, from his own pocket the sum of sixty silver marks, on the sole condition that the bishop negotiate a pardon of his misdeeds. These witnesses declared that the same bishop had refused this offer, partly because he could not enter into such an agreement, partly because he would not have it appear that he had accepted a bribe for such serious crimes. In regard to these negotiations, since the entire assembly, both clerics and laics were scandalized above measure, the Bishop of London was not able to dissemble nor did he wish to gloss over the fact that the above mentioned arguments had been produced for the third time; but (he stated) that Walkelin had not presented himself at any of the three preemptory summons, and he added that without the Bishop of Worcester, to whom the knowledge of the case had been co-delegated and who did not appear on the appointed day, he could decide nothing, nor was he obligated to a decision. Thus may it be part of your discretion, Father, if you please, to encounter with courage the subterfuges of the above mentioned archdeacon, on which he relies, and with a remedy of peace, come to the aid of this bishop harrassed by these

annoyances for so long a time.



64. John to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** John intercedes with Pope Adrian for Bishop William Turbe of Norwich, and exposes the crimes of Walkelin, Archdeacon of Suffolk. See Letters 63 and 80. Adrian was at Benevento between November, 1155 and July, 1156 (see Jaffe, Reg. Pontif. 2. 113 ff.) where he was visited by John of Salisbury. See Policraticus 6. 24, ed. Webb, 2. 67. Hence this letter must have been written after John's return, probably in the late summer of 1156. See R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 271 ff.

An unbounded love has given me such temerity that I, dust and ashes that I am,<sup>1</sup> am venturing to solicit the interest of your Apostolic Majesty in behalf of my needs and those of my friends. In truth, I plead more confidently for those whom to you, loving Father, and to the holy Roman Church I know of none more faithful. Among these there is an esteemed father, the Bishop of Norwich, who manifests a very evident and whole-hearted devotion to your apostolate and in the Church of England gives effective service. This man is attacked by such apparent calumnies and oppressed by unbecoming annoyances by reason of your orders, as you can readily understand from the written replies of your bishops. Walkelin, the archdeacon, caught in the works of his own hand, is striving to set at nought not only your mandates but also the justice of God and to escape the noose of the sacred law and the hand of the judges. Thus he is endeavoring to circumvent your obligation imposed on him under the pretext of not having received restitution--although if anything is wanting from securing

---

<sup>1</sup> Genesis 18. 27.

it, he is at fault himself. I pass over in silence the fact that in contempt of the apostolic see he promised many things in atonement for his sins. On his return from Rome he was guilty of more offenses. I come now to the insult offered your person: he ordered a bastard whom a concubine bore him upon his return from you, to be called Adrian after your most revered name. Later on the father again departed on a journey leaving her pregnant; but it was decided by a pre-ordained arrangement that if a boy should be born, they could call him Benevento because the father is at present sojourning there; if she should give birth to a girl, she would be called Adriana. Oh what a true friend of the Roman Pontiff he is! He who both commemorates you in his dissolute passions and on your goodness, which he openly derides, stamps the imprint of his own vileness! He is the one, my Lord, he it is who persecutes our good bishop for the sole reason that the bishop stands against his crimes. When you see a worthless individual whose misdeeds are ready for judgment, would you not impute to him a part of the responsibility for his wickedness? But that one, as far as in him lies, makes you a participant of his evil doing. Albeit, he should have returned from you not dejected but certainly corrected, whereas the last escapade of that man is worse than the first.<sup>2</sup> May I mention, Father, may I remark that the consensus of opinion is that he who releases this man is an enemy of justice, an accomplice in vice, a violator of righteousness, of integrity, and of continence. The Bishop of Worcester,<sup>3</sup> to whom

---

<sup>2</sup> Peter 2. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop John Pagham of Worcester died at Rome, March 31, 1157. See Annales Monastici, ed. Luard 1. 48.

this case has been entrusted, is dilatory in the execution of your order and is on the point of leaving England. May it please you, therefore, to appoint in his place any lover of justice you wish that at some time the cause of the bishop may be drawn to a close.

65. John to Abbot Peter of Celle

**SUMMARY:** John writes a witty letter to the Abbot Peter of Celle, who had dedicated his work "De Panibus" to John. In closing, he refers to a matter which is more fully discussed in the following letter. For Peter's work "De Panibus" see Migne, P. L. autumn of 1156. See R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 267-268. Poole thinks that the term "perpetual exile" does not refer to John's absence of eighteen years from England, but to a shorter period of ten months--from August or September 1155 until the following summer--which John spent with Pope Adrian IV at Ferentino and Benevento and on other business in Paris. Peter's letter 73 (Migne, P. L. 202. 519.) is an answer to this letter and in it Peter expresses his surprise that John should call Paris an exile.

It is not unusual for your generosity to provide aid in the way of nourishment, alleviating my want in a foreign land so that neither the heart of a father nor the love of a mother seemed wanting to me. It is indeed a laudable gesture so to provide for an exile that among foreign peoples I enjoy the conveniences of my native land. A far greater favor is it that your solicitude has provided with careful forethought that I should not be a perpetual exile from the sweet pleasures of my native land by which the whole human race is enthralled. For it is through your gift that I am carried back to the land of my birth. It is through your gift that I attain the esteem of prominent men, the intimacy and favor of many. It is in your gift that I seem to prosper in my native country, and with the help of God, to be preferred to many of my fellow citizens and to my contemporaries. But why should I enumerate the examples of your liberality and munificence, when the very number and extent of them so fill the mind that they flow over and surpass the wildest imaginings. Indeed, to such an extent is this true that to those favors alone, of which I do not supply a record, I owe whatever I

am and can be. I am so obligated, therefore, that I am powerless to be freed by any expression of thanks, since your magnanimity absorbs all my attempts. Especially is this true when your devotedness obligates me anew with constant benefits. For your interest in my behalf provides me with daily bread, and that fare which was accustomed to feed the poor for their temporal sustenance, now, abounding in other ways, refreshes, as it were, with the delights of eternal life. Truly, for whomsoever this food has no savor, it has been made flat by an insipid sluggishness of the palate, and I know not for what bread he longs

Now preferable to honeyed-cakes;  
And as a fugitive-slave of a priest, refuses  
the consecrated wafers.<sup>1</sup>

For in such an abundance of bread who is not refreshed, when no king gazes upon greater delicacies on his table? Who has ever heaped together a greater display of palatable bread? For here there is satiety without disgust, sweetness without weariness, and hunger without emptiness. These characteristics blend together, and by a marvelous seasoning of grace, those whom this earthly dwelling fetters, this bread elevates in favorable flight. I do not presume to lay the hand of correction upon them because I find nothing in them to correct--I who have wished to devour them with such eagerness, that as far as the substance of the thought or the appearance of the words are concerned, not the slightest morsel escapes me; for I swallow whole, with God's help, both the crumbs and the crusts. Your experience

---

<sup>1</sup> Horace, Epodes 1. 10, 11:

Utque sacerdotis fugitius liba recuso;  
Pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.

knows the rest, for "not on bread alone doth man live,"<sup>2</sup> and because a fondness for drinking has made the English famous among other nations. Wherefore, I think it but right that you offer a drink to one who has dined well, and to him to whom you have served bread, that you extend a drink also. Already I thirst, and I, a devourer of bread, will be strangled by dryness unless your kindness provide wine for me. This is easier for you to procure than the ale which by our countrymen, in common parlance, is called beer. I, nevertheless, drink both, nor do I shrink from whatever I can procure to quench my thirst; whereas you have an abundance of wine, according to the testimony of my friend, who "never unless fuddled sallied forth to the arts,"<sup>3</sup> and he composed verses which surpassed Vergilian verses in the number of syllables and feet to a line. Above all other beverages I ask wine, that it may cheer him who has been strengthened by bread. Furthermore, among other vineyards, that of the *Sieur de Soreth*<sup>4</sup> is better known to you, and all the instruments which they make for him, I do not doubt that you have also. You have built a wine-press in that same place, by the helpful agency of which wine is frequently pressed out for you in your task of arousing the consciences of sinners, for the delights of devotion, the health of brethren, and the advantage of all listeners. Now, indeed, it runs red in the chalice of the Passion, now it sparkles in the sanctity and simplicity of

2 Deuteronomy 8. 3; Matthew 4. 4; Luke 4. 4.

3 Horace, Epodes 1. 19. 8:

*Emnius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma  
Prosiluit dicenda.*

4 See the tract after the eighth prophecy before the Mass of Holy Saturday: *Vinea facta est dilecto in cornu, in loco uberi. Et maceriam circumdedit et circumfodit: et plantavit vineam Sorec, et aedificavit turrim in medio eius. Et torcular fodit in ea: vinea enim Domini Sabaoth, domus Israel est. See Isaias 5. 1, 2.*

purity, now it glows in love, now it refreshes the air in the joy of righteous conversation; sometimes it becomes exquisitely fine that it may dwell on delicate matters; now again it becomes resolute that it may advance through unknown and pathless wastes. There are those differences in quality, too long to enumerate, which, however, I prefer to Falernian or Greek wine, of which at Sicily the chancellor<sup>5</sup> had accustomed me to drink to the destruction of my safety and to my own detriment. Therefore, I pray you, perform this merciful deed for me and send me so much as ought to suffice an Englishman and a drinker. Otherwise, I shall be able to brand you with the mark of your treachery and to accuse you to deception, you, who stuff me with bread and withdraw the drink by which it can be transformed into valorous deeds. Forsooth, it is the custom of the French, that those whom they invite to dine with them, they often send away sober, never dry. But, enough of this. I remember that I wrote to you in another letter how that worthless apostate Ralph dealt with you and with our Brother Thomas,<sup>6</sup> but, shortly after, the same Ralph on account of this was publicly excommunicated and has been ordered to be seized if he can be found. Brother Thomas handed your letter to Count Hugh,<sup>7</sup> I being present and interlocutor, but it availed nothing in that the Count declared himself ignorant of the whole affair.

---

5 Roger of Salesby, an Englishman who was chancellor from 1140 or earlier until 1151. It must have been in the summer of 1150 when John, then in the service of Pope Eugene III, went to Ceprano with the papal court to interview King Roger of Sicily, and there experienced the insubriating effects of wine from Palermo and Greece. See R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 255-256.

6 See Letters, 66.

7 Possibly Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. See Letters, 66.

Brother Thomas has tarried here with us and has been our companion; he is ready to return when you order it. But because he has seen none of his relatives up to now, if your indulgence grants it, he will visit them before he returns. I, however, have found a servant and I shall give him the necessary instructions. I have this one request: that you have a high regard for our Thomas who has labored for a long time with you and for you, as I well know, so that he, as well as other Englishmen, while righteousness shall allow, may understand that my prayers have attended him. Would that you might alleviate James also, by some comfort, if it can be done. Of him I confidently assert that he serves in the monastery unwillingly, and as he himself wrote to me, he confides in those who boast that they spurn obedience, and, as a wolf, he is yielding.



66. John to Abbot Peter of Celle

**SUMMARY:** John reports to Peter of Celle that Ralph, the apostate monk, has been excommunicated by Archbishop Theobald and is now a fugitive in France, but that his companion is returning to the monastery. He sends Peter a gift and requests some books. From the mention of the feast of St. Remigius it can be conjectured that the letter was written shortly before that date, October 1, probably in 1156. This date can be deduced from the contents of Letters, 65, which is closely connected with this letter in time.

Truth alone knows how much effort I have expended in furthering the business on behalf of which you had sent your messenger into England, and would that it were not unknown to your Discretion. Although I never did entertain very high hopes concerning this trip, because I was acquainted with the character of this man who is ever contending against the Church and belittling places worthy of respect rather than promoting them; and who, whenever occasion offers, pursues a course for their destruction rather than for their development. I importuned him in his absence, at first, through a messenger and messages, and likewise at hand in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, finally, having summoned his relatives and friends, I persistently urged that if he were not able to be persuaded to give what he was reported to have promised, he should recompense the loss to your Church and your own distress by the grant of a benefice of some atonement. As for the rest, it was exactly as I had predicted; the more he was attacked, so much the more did his infamy flash forth. Having dismissed the count,<sup>1</sup> I attacked him who had deceived you, and I so arranged matters that the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the sentence

---

<sup>1</sup> See Letters, 65. It is possibly Earl Hugh Bigod of Norfolk.

of excommunication upon him, and having sent letters to the bishops, he ordered him to be seized. Wherefore, he has been made an exile from the face of the Lord, so that he might not be discovered by his followers. Concealing himself, he made the rounds of the cells and monasteries, and masqueraded now as a Cluniac monk, now as a monk of Rhiems, or of whatever profession of religious order he chose; and as we have been informed by those who saw him, he has already thrown aside his infamous name, and, as the son of perdition, erased entirely from the book of the just and from every gathering of the faithful, he denies that he is Ralph Pit.<sup>2</sup> Also, I believe, that he, who a while back cast aside the state of monkhood, has now thrown off the habit in which he fears to be detected. But I hope, God aiding, that he is granted this delay that he may be caught in the works of his own hands.<sup>3</sup> The outcome of the affair ought not be laid to the charge of the brother who had come with him, since he omitted nothing contingent to the business in hand, but was sufficiently on guard until having received the personal reply of the count, it was evident to him that he had labored in vain. He received this answer on the feast of Saint Remigius.<sup>4</sup> After that, as I recall having written to you, he tarried a little that he might visit with friends whom he had not yet seen. He is returning at length, and if he stands in need of another's protection, (and mine, what can it do?) I ask you to receive him in fatherly fashion, and to treat him with that consideration which according to his character you deem proper. Whether it be permitted or expedient to ask more, you know full well. I am aware that he

---

2 Judges 5. 15.

3 Psalms 9. 17.

4 October 1.

who is well acquainted with you either does not dare to request an unreasonable concession, or seeks it impudently. Wherefore, I should more assuredly assert this of you which Cicero long ago ascribed to his friend Cato.<sup>5</sup> I am sending you a slight gift, the more confidently, in that of old I have learned that in such matters you do not weigh so much the cost of the gift as the disposition of the donor. Yet a gift is worthy of acceptance if the signification of the gift is accompanied by the love of the giver. This salt shaker is silver embossed in gold. Well chosen, indeed, in that you have a supply of that salt which, according to the precept of the law, is the seasoning of all sacrifices.<sup>6</sup> But that (salt) you offer to God in the tested silver of chaste speech,<sup>7</sup> and the golden glow of the virtues shine forth in the mirror of work and deeds and have influence upon those who see it, so that by the imitation of those virtues, they may be a reflection of others. But the very roundness of its form accords with your perfection. However, you are aware that the sacred signs of holy things are also on cheaper material. Yet, I think, that if the gift is cheapened due to its evaluation, its appreciation grows in that the figures betoken my love and your holiness, together with your wisdom. Because Brother Thomas was alone, I gave him a groom whom, when he comes to you, as it pleases you best, you may keep or send back to me, on horse or on foot, slowly or quickly. I also furnished Master Thomas with a horse under the condition that he may not sell it in England; however, when he has gone thence from us he may use

---

5 Epistula ad Fam. 15. 4.

6 Leviticus 2. 13.

7 Psalms 11. 7.

or abuse it according to his own pleasure—as his own; nay, his very own. For no other reason have I mentioned this stipulation in regard to the donation except that I may look out for the integrity of the recipient and may provide for the necessities of the journey. For I have administered with a glad heart to all his necessary expenses, although perhaps not to all expenses wilfully incurred. Then, too, he is obliged in no wise to the groom, except, perchance, by a bond of duty to charity and friendship, by the law of community life and of society. I, if indeed I am accountable by any agreement to him, with the help of God, I shall fulfill it. Wherefore, his return or delay depends on your good judgment, and through him you may reply in writing what your pleasure is. In addition, as a treatise of Master Hugo<sup>8</sup> cannot be found among us, send it along, if you please, for I recall that you have it. Also, please forward to me by the same messenger Boethius' "De Trinitate" which you have, as well as the books which I entrusted to Master Simon,<sup>9</sup> Prior of Provins, for my brother<sup>10</sup> needs them.

---

<sup>8</sup> Master Hugh, a canon of Saint Victor, Paris. For his writings see Migne, P. L. 176.

<sup>9</sup> Prior Simon of the Cistercian monastery of St. Aigulf, Provins. Both Peter and John had lived here. See Letters, 59.

<sup>10</sup> John had two brothers, Robert, an older half-brother, and Richard, younger than John. Richard is alluded to here.

67. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald protests his fidelity to Pope Adrian, expresses the hope that he will soon see him in France, but in the meantime wishes to hear from him about the condition of the Church. He mentions his serious illness of the past summer, and begs Adrian to command the Abbot of Saint Augustine to make profession of obedience to him.

This letter may be placed in the autumn or end of 1156. Theobald mentions the trouble with King William of Sicily, which was settled by the peace of Benevento, June 9, 1156. He also mentions the Abbot of Saint Augustine, who was forced to make his profession of obedience to Theobald at Northampton on July 17, 1157. See Gervase of Canterbury, l. 164. This letter may have been sent with Letters, 68, 69, and 70, written to influential Romans on the subject.

Receiving the order of your holiness with all due respect, we have satisfied the demands of your creditors, always ready to comply with apostolic mandates, but most disposed to do so in this time of your apostolate. For through the mercy of God, neither the prison, nor the sword, nor even persecution,<sup>1</sup> which is a far greater evil, shall ever separate us from the faith of the Roman Church nor from the servitude of obedience, especially when we behold him ruling on the throne of Peter, to whom we look for solace in our sorrows. Although these afflictions are many and almost insupportable, we bear them gladly, as it is fitting we should, for the house of God; and, as a matter of fact, they are greater than what it is advisable to commit to writing. However, we hope that, in a short time, we shall more favorably lay them before you in an audience, for rumor has it that you are on your way to France.<sup>2</sup> In that event, we entreat your majesty to

1 Romans 8. 35-39.

2 No other record is had of this contemplated visit to France. On leaving Orvieto at the approach of winter in 1156, Adrian took up his home in the Latern, leaving it only in the summer for the hill-towns of Segni, Anagni, Sutri, Narni, and Ravello.

notify us of your arrival, if it pleases you, that we may rejoice the more quickly in the sight of your blessed person, so long desired, and in a conference with you. In the meantime, kindest of Fathers, we ask that we be visited at more frequent intervals by the comfort of your correspondence and by your apostolic greeting, lest the deferment of our respectful desires may seem to indicate--if not to us, albeit to others--a disdain of our service, or a decline of your regard, or forgetfulness of former friendship. Because our hearts are constantly agitated through our indefatigable interest in the trouble of our Mother, the Church of Rome, and because the number of wayward sons, who are fast quickening our mental distress to the point of physical weariness, is increasing, it is expedient for you to make known to us in letters, which we may display for the fortification of the faithful in our own nation, your status and that of the holy Roman Church--both if there is still up to the present a lull in the storm from Sicily<sup>3</sup> and if anywhere a ray of future peace gleams forth. My faults demanding it, a grievous illness brought me in the past summer to the gates of death; but the gentle hand of the Almighty drew me back from them for a little while, and, with my last will made<sup>4</sup> and all other affairs even to the slightest provision satisfactorily arranged, He has granted this little delay of life that I might weep for my sins. For the rest, the days of my life are numbered. But that my soul may depart from this prison-house of the body into the presence of

---

3 King William of Sicily, Adrian had in 1155 sided with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus against William, but had been forced to come to terms with William upon Manuel's defeat, whereupon he had incurred the enmity of Frederick Barbarossa. See Cambridge Medieval History, 5. 192 ff.

4 See Letters, 134.

the Most High and there give thanks for its benefactors with greater joy, I lie prostrate at the feet of your mercy, begging you with all the power of my soul to restore to my church the profession of obedience by the Abbot of Saint Augustine<sup>5</sup> which, enjoyed by all my predecessors, is now, at your good pleasure, withdrawn from me, the last and least of all. This is the grief that is consuming my body, tearing my soul; this is the "silent wound which lives" and grows strong "in this breast."<sup>6</sup> Would that your Clemency might listen to me patiently! I wonder and I grieve that in the past winter not even in one little petition was I able to be heard, although the monks of Saint Augustine secured a number of letters against me. To those letters<sup>7</sup> only, which our messengers bore to you in our behalf in regard to that affair--God is my witness, it is your honor and reverence which I have always desired to be preserved unsullied--to those letters alone you have given no credence; I, when it pleases them, am dragged before the assembly<sup>8</sup> of your suffragans, albeit unwillingly.

---

5 The refusal of Sylvester, Abbot of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, to make profession of obedience to Theobald lasted from 1151, when he was elected abbot, until 1157. See Gervase of Canterbury, l. 147-148, 163-165.

6 Vergil, Aeneid 4. 67:

...tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.

7 See Letters, 68. For this letter, which is dated from Benevento, January 23, 1156 (?), and is headed, "Bulla de benedictione abbatis, cum professione facienda si constiterit praedecessores fecisse, alioquin non facienda," see Hist. Monasterii S. Augustini, ed. Hardwick, 411.

8 See Letters, 68.

68. Archbishop Theobald to Cardinal Boso, the Papal Chamberlain

**SUMMARY:** Theobald begs the intercession of Boso, the Papal Chamberlain, in his difficulty with Rome. See Letters, 67, 69, 70. Because of their intimate connection with letter 67, this and the following five letters have been placed late in 1156, in spite of R. L. Poole, who places them in 1158. See Studies in Chronology and History, 277-278. Letter 67 certainly belongs to 1156, but Poole did not treat this letter when dealing with the other letters. This placing does not invalidate Poole's thesis that Theobald was in serious trouble with Rome in 1158, and on that account had sent John to the papal court to intercede for him. That may well have been the second occasion for such a trip. The first trip would have been made in the winter of 1156-1157, consequent upon this correspondence of 1156; and Poole has given evidence to show that John did actually make a hitherto unrecorded trip to Rome during that winter. See Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 273.

Boso, said to be an Englishman, was acquainted with Thomas Becket from the days of Cardinal Guido Pisanus. See Becket Materials, 6. 58. In 1156 he was created cardinal deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and became cardinal priest of Saint Pudentiana under Alexander III in 1166.

I am grateful to your goodness for the honor and assistance bestowed by you on me and mine, begging that in my regard the disposition of your charity may not lessen because the proffering of my allegiance does not abate. But because the hearts of friends should be opened to each other, I shall disclose in a few words what particularly tortures my soul. From the time that I was promoted to the bishopric I have always endeavored to serve the holy Roman Church with all my energy, believing that by a love of and reverence for justice and by a manifestation of intrepid devotion, I should be able to earn the gratitude of that very Church. It has happened otherwise. Inasmuch as through no awareness of guilt on my part some of my lord cardinals, as I hear from certain people, are persecuting me to such an extent that from it I consider this especially to be true that they are



favoring my detractors and encouraging my adversaries. Wherefore, may it be the role of your solicitude if, due to my fault I have deserved this, that by the fruit of fitting retribution they may not spurn my satisfaction; if, as I trust, I have not merited this, that they may remove, through the consideration of mercy and of the justice of God's judgments, this weight of bitter sorrow, and that they may not cast away from them the service of our loyalty. Besides, this fact distresses my soul with a heavier grief, that our Lord Pope,<sup>1</sup> who refused to receive my requests last winter, has bestowed a packet of letters<sup>2</sup> on my adversaries, namely, the monks of Saint Augustine's by which they are consuming my old age. To the Abbot of Saint Augustine's he granted letters relative to the making of profession, which, that I may speak with due reverence, were not an honor to him, and to me they have been a disgrace, and to the abbot a source of eventual contempt. For he wrote indifferently that profession should be made, but the lord cardinals instructed the abbot that he should appeal contrary to the letters. Who does not realize that letters sent from Rome to us (thence to here) impelled us to the peril of an uncertain battle? He likewise directed--for the pacification of the monks--that I, about to be arraigned, should yield before the tribunal of the Bishop of London. What more? I who have so many and such great friends in the Roman Church have not been listened to in any way; those monks have been heard in all respects. These complaints I have confided in your ears with a sorrowful heart and voice that at some time you may endeavor to obviate like situations. In regard to the rest, we have made

---

1 Adrian IV.

2 For this letter see Hist. Monasterii S. Augustini ed. Hardwick, 411.

69. Archbishop Theobald to Cardinal Roland Bandinelli,  
the Papal Chancellor

**SUMMARY:** Theobald protests his devotion to Rome, and is troubled at hearing that he has incurred the censure of certain cardinals. He requests Cardinal Roland Bandinello, the Papal Chancellor, who became Pope Alexander III in 1159, to intercede for him, and mentions the rumor about Adrian's proposed trip to France. This letter was probably written in 1156 at the same time as letters 67, 68, and 70.

I thank your paternity as far as I am able, for I cannot give adequate expression to the thanks I owe for the honors and favors always displayed by you toward me and mine, and especially because you alone among many, to whom my zeal at one time or another has been discernible, have taken care to buoy me up through your letters in the hand of my messengers with accustomed consolation. Wherefore, acceding to your suggestion, I called together those whom I should have. As you directed me, I proceeded in the letter according to your apostolic mandates, nor for temporal life am I prepared to yield not even in the slightest degree. The Roman Church may see what especially it wishes or what is advantageous; if it is necessary, I am ready to go into prison or to death for that very Church. Whoever says otherwise about me in the ears of the Roman Church lies, because he is relating an untruth. A review of my past conduct is a proof of what I shall do in the future. I have exposed myself already the third time to dangers,<sup>1</sup> nay more, to death, for your apostolic mandates. Why should I, at the end of the journey and at the close of life,<sup>2</sup> an old man, why should I exchange

---

<sup>1</sup> See Letters, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Machabees 6. 18-28.

the eternal reward of long labor and of the yoke of obedience for any deceitful promises of the moment? Let the whole world go to smash so far as I am concerned rather than that I lose God for its sake. I mention these sentiments because I hear that certain of my lord cardinals<sup>3</sup> have been kindled against me otherwise than is advantageous to me and to my church or that I have deserved according to my conscience. If I have failed--which I do not recall having done--I shall most willingly make satisfaction, with due humility as to my lords and fathers. If I have not failed, I beg through the mercy of God and His just judgments, that they may remove the stings of imagined injury; and to me, who am deserving well in full measure, they may restore their former favor. As my messengers are being received a little coldly by certain ones, I desire, if I may dare to make this demand, that this petition be presented through your hands to my lord cardinals, and that I may receive their answers through your letter. It is common talk that our lord, the Pope, is approaching France.<sup>4</sup> That we may meet the latter and you more promptly, strengthen me beforehand with your accustomed speed, if you please, through the bearer of these presents. May your paternity flourish and wax strong, mindful of me in your prayers.

---

3 See Letters, 68.

4 See Letters, 67, 70, 72.

70. Archbishop Theobald to Cardinal John of Sutri.

SUMMARY: Theobald requests the cardinal to intercede for him at Rome. See Letters, 67, 68, 69 which it probably accompanied.

From my entrance into life I have embraced obedience, and from that time I have preferred nothing to it; for its sake from the beginning did I abandon the world. When, therefore, it pleased Him, who called me, to place His own child over the See of Canterbury, albeit unworthy, I deemed nothing more desirable than to yield homage to the holy Roman Church with all fidelity, and to it to show myself a most untiring servant. To me it was a pleasure and a glory to present each year or oftener my fealty to the apostolic see. However, I marvel and I grieve immeasurably that the wrath of certain ones of my lord cardinals has kindled against me beyond my deserts, inasmuch as I am aware of no failing in reference to myself. Verily if I have erred, may they admit me to their favor when I have made satisfaction with all humility; if I have not offended, then through the mercy and intervening just judgment of God, may they in fraternal charity receive me who am always deserving well from the rest; and, ceasing to plague me, may they not spurn the compliance of our servant. May this petition be advanced through your agency, for the presence of our messengers has not been accorded a gracious reception by certain ones. This request is an earnest of my love. It is common talk, et cetera.

(See letter 103 ad finem.)

71. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald complains that his report to Rome had been lost en route by the papal messenger, and that he is now sending it by a more dependable person. He takes this occasion to protest about the monks of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, and to complain that due to this privilege of appeal, some are taking advantage of the Pope.

This letter was probably written shortly after Letters, 67-70. Theobald states that the messenger Herbert had loitered in Normandy with Thomas Becket. Now Henry II was in Normandy from January 1156 until April 1157, and Becket is known to have been with him at least part of the time. See Gervase of Canterbury, l. 162. The affair with the monks of Saint Augustine's is still unsettled, and that matter was finally settled in July 1157. Theobald (Letters, 72, 73) also mentions that he intends to send his representative to Rome to see Adrian, and R. L. Poole has established that John of Salisbury did visit Adrian during the winter of 1156-1157. See Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 273.

Our status and the status of the Church in our country we have indicated to you in letters sent through your messenger Herbert; but he either through malice has betrayed them, or through negligence has destroyed them or has deceitfully pretended that they have been lost. For, when dismissed from us he had tarried a month or more with the Chancellor of the King of England, he dispatched a messenger back into England, urging us through letters of the aforesaid chancellor to send back to him letters similar to the first, which he complained had been stolen from him, to be delivered to you more faithfully. Because he thereby showed himself so wanting in fidelity in the first instance, we prefer to choose a messenger of our own rather than to be deceived for a second time through another's messenger. You will summon your messenger at your good pleasure, and I pray you, instruct him that he should follow out your orders more cautiously and more

faithfully. As for the rest, the monks of Saint Augustine's are contriving to withdraw from us the churches situated on their estates, and because in the eyes of the Church of Rome they have found favor, if you are determined that any prosperity remain to us or your Church, do not grant their prayers further to our harm. In addition, you will understand that it is free to all to make an appeal. This will be clear from the fact that some who have appealed to you have escaped by this very remedy. Be cautious how you deal with them; and if any honor is due to us in their case, preserve it, as it pleases you.

72. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald expresses the delight he had felt on hearing the report that Adrian had intended to visit France, and the consequent sorrow on hearing that he had returned to Rome. He promises to send messengers to Adrian and asks him to suspend all action in the cases of the monks of Saint Bertin and of Osbert, the Archdeacon of York, until the messengers have arrived. This letter was probably written late in 1156, when the news had arrived that Adrian had decided to return to Rome rather than visit France. See Letters, 67-71. This letter was evidently lost by the Pope's secretaries as is learned from Letters, 73.

Great joy was ours, kindest father, hoping, as rumor had it, that we on this side of the Alps would be refreshed by the comfort of your presence. Our harp was turned into mourning,<sup>1</sup> and our joy gave way to sorrow,<sup>2</sup> from the moment that it was definitely made clear to us that the city<sup>3</sup> envying your felicity preferred to be illustrious through the glory of your Cisalpine name. Wherefore, as we are unable to visit you according to our wish, we shall supply the allegiance of our wonted visitation, in so far as we are able through messengers, using all speed. May it please your Eminence to suspend judgment in the case of the monks of Saint Bertin<sup>4</sup> and of Osbert, Archdeacon of York,<sup>5</sup> and in any other matters pertaining to us or to the kingdom of England until the arrival of these messengers, since they may inform your Discretion about all these concerns; when you have heard them, may you proceed to each case, with God's guidance, safely and advantageously.

---

1 Job 30. 31.

2 James 4. 9.

3 Rome.

4 See Letters, 86. 87.

5 See Letters, 88.

73. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

SUMMARY: This letter is a repetition of Letters, 72 p.v.

Contrary to opinion and against our expectations, your letters, the thought of which is wont to be a pleasure, have borne sorrow to us. Although we were looking forward to your arrival with greatest longing, we received word that you were returning to Rome (may it be safely!) and thus the joy of our hope vanished. Besides, our requests have failed to attain their purpose, because your secretary, as you wrote, accidentally lost our letters. We, alleviating as far as we are able the affliction of both these unfortunate incidents, are choosing messengers to the apostolic see who will visit you in our place and who will repair the loss of the letters with all speed. We request you to put off the case of the monks of Saint Bertin and Osbert, Archdeacon of York, and any other matters pertaining to us and to the kingdom of England until their arrival. When you have heard them, with the help of God, may you settle each individual case advantageously.



74. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald intercedes with Pope Adrian IV for Bishop Neal of Ely. Bishop Neal was at this time in serious difficulties with Rome; on February 22, 1156, Adrian had issued a mandate to Neal ordering him under pain of suspension to restore the possessions of Ely within three months. John was probably with the Pope at Benevento when the rescript was issued. See Chartularium Eliense, in Acta Sanctorum Iulii, 4. 581. On March 17, 1157, Adrian wrote from the Lateran extending the term. This letter may have helped to obtain that temporary extension. Hence it may be placed near the end of 1156. It was not until January 16, 1159, that the sentence was relaxed on the condition that Neal should take an oath before Archbishop Theobald to restore the property. See Chartularium Eliense, in Acta Sanctorum Iulii 578; Wharton, Anglia Sacra l. 627. For a further development of this case see Letters, 82, 83, 84.

We are aware that your Holiness is busy with many matters, as is natural for one who alone among men is ever alert for the safety of the whole Church of God. Thus, he who gains an audience with you ought to make known his requests briefly. Our petition is brief, indeed, in expression, but it is amplified through our complete affection for you, the more so because this request contributes to the advantage of the Church of England and to the glory of your name. Our esteemed brother, Bishop Neal of Ely, in executing your order concerning the recall of those possessions which a destructive storm had wrested from his church, is spending his very life's blood and fears nothing provided that he procures the prosperity of the Church entrusted to him, and that he satisfies your demands. All of us who are neighbors to him have borne his trials, expenses, and griefs, the more so because your anger against him has not yet abated, but upon his neck has your apostolic hand been placed. Notwithstanding, may your paternal ear give heed patiently to what we believe it is expedient to say. Your mandate

should not have been burdensome to him; but from the fact that he has been found obedient and faithful in its execution, he ought to have been strengthened by your support. Wherefore, if you please, may the matter be adjusted in a manner becoming a father and the Roman Pontiff, so that the aforesaid bishop may find your help in this trial which he has humbly borne in fulfillment of your order. Restore him to your favor, if you please, and he will struggle more steadfastly against the enemies of the Church. For he has to fight beasts.<sup>1</sup> Who has ever thrown out his own athlete that he may fight better? You have imposed a fight on a bishop and you hold his hands bound. Wherefore, prostrate at the feet of your Majesty, we humbly beg that after you have unbound your bishop, the punishment of deserving censure may be directed toward those who dare by a sacrilegious boldness to withhold the property of the Church against the bishop and against ourselves, nay more--a greater offense--against the apostolic sanctions. We beg that those who spurn your apostolic title may, by your goads, be forced to the path towards which they are led back more easily and happily by the bow (rainbow, i.e., peaceful means) rather than the sword.

---

1 1 Corinthians 15. 32.

75. John to Abbot Peter of Celle

**SUMMARY:** John expresses his sorrow at the news of the destruction by fire of the priory of Saint Aigulf at Provins and promises to help Peter, who is sending round relics of Saint Aigulf in order to collect funds for the rebuilding of the priory. This letter is an answer to Peter's letter 65; see Migne, P. L. 202. 514, and can be dated July or August, 1157, for John mentions that Henry II had just opened his campaign in North Wales. This was in July, 1157. See Gervase of Canterbury, l. 163.

On the arrival of your messenger the campaign of our most serene lord, King of England, who had set out to attack the Alpine and sub-Alpine Britons, caused us to be engrossed with the affairs of the entire kingdom, but especially to be concerned for the welfare of the illustrious queen of England and the children of our lord the king, who have been entrusted to the Lord of Canterbury whom I do not leave. That is why I have been unable to come to visit your eminence so speedily, not even by the agency of my messenger. As for the rest, what grief and sorrow of soul your messenger conveyed to me, I, judicious and discerning, forebear to mention lest, if I should intensify the grief of your misfortunes by mine also, you would be consumed by the double sorrow, since the sickness of a mind weakened by the recital of its woes is usually wont to be aggravated rather than alleviated by a deluge of sorrow. It is indeed a joy to recall sorrows,<sup>1</sup> but only when they have passed; then only is prostration pleasing when, stronger grown, you are well again. Unhappiness is inviting when viewed in the light of present enjoyment of a joyful heart. Thus, is the remembrance of misfortune attractive when you conquer the arrows of fortune. Who with joy beholds the

---

1 Vergil, Aeneid l. 202.

destruction of his own temples? Who gladly gazes upon his own home a mass of flames and smoke? Accordingly, my dearest friend, let us together divert our minds from the remembrance of so great a sorrow and turn to Him who does not suffer His own to be tempted above that which they are able, making indeed with temptation issue<sup>2</sup> so that for His elect all things may work together unto good.<sup>3</sup> For upon the lot of the just the rod of sinners does not rest;<sup>4</sup> and whoever abandons evil, whether he put on the appearance of prosperity or adversity, none the less, profits to salvation and is crowned with glory. For the merit of faith increases with the difficulty of the struggle, and he is more distinguished and victorious whom constancy in hardship, the endurance of dangers, and persevering patience have gone before. If anyone is confident, relying on his own resources, in what does he not fail? If he leans on the Lord, in what does he not succeed? "Without me," He says, "you can do nothing";<sup>5</sup> and in Him, by whose Spirit the apostle is strengthened, he is able to do all things.<sup>6</sup> What courageous man, even the more noble-minded, does not embrace this advice gladly?

Yield not to evil, but against it more boldly go  
Than Fortune permits you.<sup>7</sup>

What, therefore, does he whom the Word of the Father challenges to fearless deeds and strengthens in difficulties and in sorrow saying, "Trust in me, I have overcome the world"?<sup>8</sup> The Lord wished to extend His name and to spread

---

2 1 Corinthians 10. 13.

3 Romans 8. 28.

4 Psalms 124. 3.

5 John 15. 5.

6 Philippians 4. 13.

7 Vergil, Aeneid 6. 95.

8 John 16. 33.

the glory of His martyr<sup>9</sup> to other nations so that he who lay hidden, as it were, under the bushel of the Church of Sens, may resound in the midst of the nations and the throng of the populace. He suffers so great a conflagration to invade His temples so that by the aid of searching fire and the help of God, when they have been rebuilt, just as they are cleaner, so they may appear more beautiful. When it is your pleasure to solicit the Church of England, may you be careful to choose for this work prudent and God-fearing men whose faults may in no way be a disgrace to your integrity. May they come fortified with the commendatory prayers of your nobles, not that the enterprise may not be brought to a successful issue otherwise, but because a venture supported by the authority of great men is furthered more easily and with greater success. The Lord of Canterbury gives assurance of his support; the Lord will provide the actual accomplishment. What shall I say of myself, I who am completely yours and your nobles'? As for the rest, I am grateful to your liberality for the letters of Blessed Bernard<sup>10</sup> and still continue my former requests that the flowers of his words which you may be able to gather you may have transcribed for me, and if anything of this nature is prepared at your monastery, it may be brought through your messengers. In addition, you promised me tokens of blessed Aigulf for which I am not able to be sufficiently grateful; but although your favor should suffice, I pray, if it can be done, that you send me through the same messengers some of the relics of blessed Savina, Mimori, Frodoberta, and others, by whose bread I

---

9 Saint Aigulf.

10 Saint Bernard, who died in 1153. See Letters, 127.

am nourished. Whatever of this nature it will please you to send, may it be handed to the messengers, sealed by your hand and be made authentic by the follow-up of your letters.

76. Archbishop Theobald to Bishop Henry of Winchester

SUMMARY: Theobald urges Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, to quit Cluny and return to his diocese. He assures him of the king's pardon for all but two of his friends. Henry had fled England in 1155, and Theobald writes that it is now two years since the diocese had mourned his loss. Hence the letter can be dated 1157. The chroniclers note Henry's departure from England in 1155 and his return in 1161. See Ralph de Diceto, Ymagines Historiae l. 301, 304. It is only an incidental note in Richard de Anesty's diary that indicates his presence in England in the spring of 1159. See Palgrave, English Commonwealth, 2. 14.

Although previously we were not aware of the numerous and extensive evils to the Church of Christ attendant upon the absence of a shepherd, we have learned it through the damage caused by your absence alone. For two years have elapsed since the famine invaded your land, not indeed, want due to the lack of nourishment by whose surfeiting the fickle populace, dull and sluggish,<sup>1</sup> is turned from the worship of its God and for the most part becomes recalcitrant, but want due to the lack of hearing the word of God. "The little ones," indeed, "sought bread, and there was none to break it for them."<sup>2</sup> If we approach someone of the neighbors to borrow for your family only three loaves of the Gospel,<sup>3</sup> we are straightway incurring the embarrassments of creditors. A great many excuses present themselves with the result that while the children lie in the cradles scarcely anyone rises—be it said to our shame—to open to us worthy though we be. If under stress we go for aid to a stranger or a passing traveler, there is a fear that he may offer a serpent for a fish or a scorpion for an egg.<sup>4</sup> Besides, your

1 Deuteronomy 32. 15.

2 Jeremias, Lamentations 4. 4.

3 Luke 11. 5.

4 Luke 11. 12.

sheep either do not hear<sup>5</sup> or give little heed to the voice of strangers. What else? We are powerless to recount the daily losses, both material and spiritual. Wherefore give ear, most beloved brother in the Lord, to the wailing of the hungry; listen to the voices of your wandering little ones; heed the entreaty of the Spouse<sup>6</sup> who in her ardent love for you languishes and wastes away; hearken to the pleading of the Bridegroom who has placed you over His flock to give meat in due season.<sup>7</sup> Return, therefore, to your church, brighten the entire island with the rays of your wisdom and your virtue; let not the loss of temporal gain influence you when the dangers (of loss) of souls threaten you. Without doubt, it is preferable and more reasonable that you expend the vigilance of your care on the churches entrusted to you, rather than on others. Our lord the king has assured us of your safety, and with the exception of two others whom, namely he has excluded, you will be able to bring into his favor those whom you wished. We shall be overjoyed upon your return and whatever help or counsel we shall be able to extend we shall bestow with a willing heart. Farewell.

---

5 John 10.

6 Canticles 2. 5. 8.

7 Luke 12. 42.



77. Archbishop Theobald to Bishop Henry of Winchester

**SUMMARY:** Theobald again urges Bishop Henry of Winchester to return to his diocese, and tells him that the king is grieved to hear that he was demanding a safe conduct as a condition for his return. He warns the bishop that to put off his return will entail greater danger, and promises to meet him on the coast as soon as he hears of his presence at Boulogne. This and the following two letters are placed here because of their intimate relation with Letters, 76. They may have been written any time between the opening negotiations for Henry's return in 1157 and his return in 1159. The probability is that this letter was written shortly after letter 76 in 1157.

We believe that when the moment of temptation presses, a plan of action ought to be suggested to our friends, which it seems they ought to select in preference to the rest because of its aspect of probity or the advantage accruing from such a course. And although the soul of the wavering one refuses to obey him who counsels correctly, still the urgency of love does not rest until it forcibly draws the resisting friend to the good, albeit if unwillingly. Thus, most esteemed and loving brother in the Lord, we have warned your fraternity to return to your own people, for we are sure that there isn't a thing more conducive to your own position of honor or to the advantage of the Church. For to pass over other points which it would be tedious to recount, the ruin of souls is by far more deplorable than the destruction of walls;<sup>1</sup> nor should there be grief over the loss of material goods when the forfeiture of eternal values is at stake. The greater of two griefs besetting the same mind eclipses the other. Far be it, however, that anyone should dare to question your prudence that the most trivial of material

---

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the destruction of six of the bishop's castles by King Henry upon the bishop's flight from England. See Ralph de Diceto, Ymagines Historiae l. 301.

concerns, namely, wealth, may influence your attitude when danger to souls threatens. God forbid that any envy by its own persistence, is able to attack you in the words of the proverb:

What you bewail, that you have loved.<sup>2</sup>

Choose one of two paths; you wish either the risk of a quarrel, or peace. If you prefer the uncertainty of a quarrel, remember that there is nothing more disgraceful than to be vanquished by one's own weapons and, as it were, be dispatched by the point of one's own sword. If you wish peace, return and there will be peace. But you fear, yes, when there is nothing to fear; for never has it entered the mind of our most serene lord, our king, to disgrace uprightness of life, integrity of reputation, and the glory of the kingdom by such great dishonor, so that he should extend his hand for any reason whatsoever on the anointed of the Lord or allow some abuse to be inflicted by anyone. Concerning this point he was much disturbed--that you believed it necessary to request a safe-conduct when he has never harmed anyone of those who approached him, however great the misunderstandings that preceded. Wherefore why have you feared, when he calls you back through his own words and the words of all of us, as well as by letters? But the order of the Pope and the demands of your Cluniac<sup>3</sup> monks detain you. Forsooth, the Pope himself will be overjoyed upon your return, not desiring his order to be prejudicial to your welfare; and you do not doubt your presence is owed in the Churches of Winchester and Glastonbury more than at Cluny. Forsooth, you have assumed the guidance of these churches, released by the monks of Cluny.

---

<sup>2</sup> Lucan, Pharsalia 8. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Henry had been a monk of Cluny.

Well then, for what reason have you turned aside from these to those? Is it just that while these go hungry,<sup>4</sup> the latter should be sated with the bread belonging to the former? This is the complaint, not only of our lord the King, but of the majority. Certainly, whether it be just, look you to it. In addition, he complains that from the time of your absence he has been lacking your counsel and aid in the needs of the kingdom since according to the Lord's precept, to Caesar should be rendered those things that are Caesar's.<sup>5</sup> Whence many have urged that against your monks he should act sternly and that he should extend his hand on the property of the Church, even to its innermost treasures. He himself, however, although he is spurred on by the crowd, checks his hands and awaits your arrival at any time. If you expose the Church and all your clerics to the royal displeasure by this obstinacy, there is fear that greater things will happen than are now actually feared; and you may later feel more keenly the barbs which you do not wish to avoid, though you foresee them. Wherefore, we beg and in virtue of our charity we are advising you to return; and from the time that we hear that you are at Boulogne,<sup>6</sup> we shall meet you on our very shore, taking care that you arrive in the presence of our lord the king with honor and that a pleasant end may be placed upon such great hardship.

---

<sup>4</sup> Jeremias, Lamentations 4. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Matthew 22. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Boulogne.

78. Archbishop Theobald to Bishop Henry of Winchester

**SUMMARY:** Theobald assures Bishop Henry of Winchester that there is no danger in returning to England, and warns him that the king's indignation may again be kindled if he does not seize this proffered opportunity of returning. This letter is evidently a reply to Letters, 77, and was probably written shortly after Henry's return. When that was is not certain, but it is known that the bishop was in England in March, 1159. See Richards de Anesty's journal in Palgrave, English Commonwealth, 2. 14.

We are exceedingly happy over the security of your person, news of which we received from your messengers, but over that uprightness of soul which is insensible to the loss of temporal things, we are expressing our joy to the Most High, Giver of all good things. Heavy indeed would have been temptation over the loss of material gains, if it had not fallen on a brave soul. Verily, that character appears more clearly if, when tried by the fire of tribulation, he returns to the sheepfold, which, due to the absence of the shepherd, lies open to the ravages of crafty plotters. Nor is there, dearest brother, any reason for fearing us, since the king himself desires your return and reiterates his promises of both peace and all manner of security, and, lest you have any doubts concerning the arrangement, we have taken your security into our hands, ready to give a safe conduct for you from the sea to the king, a stop-over, and a return, if it be the better thing to do. If, therefore, you love your Church, if you love your soul, nay, because you love both, do not put off your return. Make use of the occasion lest, God forbid, as I have often said, the last state become worse than the first.<sup>1</sup> For the wrath of authority constituted by the Lord may be doubled if he have a presentiment that the favor proffered is being spurned.

---

<sup>1</sup> Matthew 12. 45.

79. Archbishop Theobald to the Archdeacon of Winchester

**SUMMARY:** Theobald writes to an official of the diocese of Winchester, urging him to settle the case of Henry of Hambleton, who had won his case in the time of Pope Eugene III. He encloses the pertinent documents. This letter was evidently written during Bishop Henry's absence from his diocese, and is placed here only because of its relation of Bishop Henry's absence. See Letters, 76, 77, 78.

It is a point of honor that a lover of truth bear testimony to the truth, especially when the truth is imperiled. Therefore, we have taken care to bring to your notice the case of the bearer of these presents as far as his record could be determined in our files after careful investigation. According to apostolic mandate you must bring it to a close. Wherefore, it is clear that we, urged on by the order of Pope Eugene<sup>1</sup> of happy memory, have absolved the said Henry of Hambleton<sup>2</sup> from every obligation, which had been wrung from him and according to which he apparently was held bound to our esteemed brother, the Bishop of Winchester. Wherefore, in order that the reason for this absolution may be more clearly understood by you, we have ordered apostolic letters to be copied for you. Thus, it was written to the Lord of Winchester in behalf of Henry, clerk of Hambleton. "In accordance with the suggestion of your cleric, Osbert, we remember that we wrote to your fraternity. Verily, a little later the same Osbert stood forth in our presence silenced and refuted by his lying and false insinuations, since the aforesaid Henry was neither found with weapons nor seized in robbery. For this reason, although as men we are able to be deceived at one time or another, we neither wish nor ought we permit that by occasion of our letters

---

1 Pope Eugene III, 1145-1153.

2 Hambleton, Hampshire.

Henry himself be treated unjustly or condemned. Consequently, we entrust the present instructions to you that without delay, after all Henry's possessions have been restored to him--whatever through chance has been taken from him--you absolve Henry completely and allow him to go free. If you are careless in the execution of this order, we shall not be able to tolerate your neglect with impunity." To us, moreover, the Pontiff likewise wrote in this wise, as you will be able to determine from the transcript of our letter. "We have enjoined by command on our esteemed brother Henry of Winchester through apostolic writings to absolve Henry of Hambleton entirely and to allow him to go free. If in the accomplishment of this order he is negligent, we enjoin on you by the authority of these presents that in our stead you constrain our same brother to absolve and liberate this Henry confined." Wherefore we, as is fitting, obeying the apostolic mandate with ready devotion, have taken pains that the often-mentioned Henry, absolved from any forced obligation, be freed from the custody in which he had been held bound, and having addressed our brother of Winchester according to the apostolic prescription, we have enjoined that he should not postpone restoration in its entirety of all stolen goods. These things have been accomplished here. May you, who have undertaken the order, by the help of God, arrange the remaining matters to the benefit of all.

80. John to John Belmeis, Treasurer of York

**SUMMARY:** John writes to John Belmeis that he had visited Bishop William Turbe of Norwich and that the bishop had complained about Belmeis' lack of support in his conflict with archdeacon Walkelin, but that he had offered excuses for the lack of help. He also enquires about the business of Bishop Neal of Ely, and warns John to suppress any attempt of the Archbishop of York to crown King Henry in the province of Canterbury.

R. L. Poole has assumed that the crowning referred to in the letter was the crowning of Henry as king on December 19, 1154, but other facts in the letter preclude this view. Bishop William's strife with his archdeacon Walkelin was reported in the summer of 1156. See Letters, 63, 64. Secondly, Bishop Neal's difficulties did not arise until 1156 and were settled in the beginning of 1159. See Letters, 74, 82, 83, 84. Hence the crowning must refer to one of the 'crown wearings' which occurred at Bury St. Edmunds in 1157, and at Wigford outside Lincoln on Christmas of the same year, and at Worcester on April 11, 1158. See Schramm, History of the Coronation 31-32. Now it is known that Archbishop Roger of York was with Henry in December, 1157, at Gloucester. See Historia et Chartularium Manasterii Gloucestriae, 2. 105-106. Hence it may be safe to conjecture that the letter refers to the possibility of the crowning that took place at Wigford on Christmas, 1157. The letter then would have been written in December, 1157.

After the departure of Master William and Ralph to whom with much earnestness of entreaty I entrusted the business that we had discussed, I journeyed to Norwich and there conducted your affairs with the necessary zeal and good faith. Accordingly through my insistence and that of our friends, that is, the monk, John, and Master N., I secured what was owed to you by the lord Bishop of Norwich, although he complained a great deal about you. And perhaps justly. Indeed, he said that, although he considered you the chief among his friends, you alone had failed him in a moment of need. Moreover this happened when in mortal danger he was striving against his own archdeacon at the greatest hazard of honor and reputation. Evil pressed on all

sides: on this side, apostolic authority; on that, the power of the king. Those favoring both powers threatened his life on all sides; and what he considered most dangerous, "the enemies of a man are of his own household."<sup>1</sup> He then sought the help of friends; he put their fidelity to the test; and although others stood by him with what little help they could give, you alone turned away your face in the day of battle. Accordingly, since all of his own household suffered a refusal at your hands, he himself finally approached in his own person, but he was "not heard for his own reverence."<sup>2</sup> For you were unwilling to postpone the dinner until you could see the outcome of the battle. Furthermore, the disciple who had denied the Lord with an oath, urged on by love, followed the Lord to see the end.<sup>3</sup> You, however, have approached the table, while he to whom you were vowing allegiance of love was being dragged to the cross. For these reasons he to whom you were unwilling to furnish assistance in so great a necessity believed that you spurned his kindness. To be sure I settled these and other objections as though they were spider webs, although they seemed valid to me; and finally I persuaded the man to reckon you among the most faithful of his friends. Certainly I know that in accordance with my word you will give him assistance and consideration so that with your help he may be secure from the snares of his rivals. The sixty soldi received from him I handed over to your A. who, it was proper, should adjust your affairs if he wished to check the outcries of your clerics. Whether I have acted wisely, you may make known in your

---

1 Matthew 10. 36.

2 Hebrews 5. 7.

3 Matthew 26. 58.



reply. In addition, write to me advising the best course to be pursued in the case of Master Ely--whether I should exact the money<sup>4</sup> in bulk or pure silver, for I take orders from you and from no other. I had almost passed over entirely a point that must not be omitted, since it touches the security of honor and your advantage. If the Lord Archbishop of York<sup>5</sup> attempts to crown the king or through rash suggestion to undertake anything unusual in opposition to the Church of Canterbury in our province, have nothing to do with it, but check his temerity, because the avenger of our injuries is the Lord of vengeance, the God of the men of Canterbury. Yet, if our see has hurt you northerners in any way, we are ready to make satisfaction, provided that you be burdened with us to make the move.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Letters, 83, 84.

<sup>5</sup> Roger de Pont l'Eveque, Archbishop of York, 1154-1181.

81. Archbishop Theobald to King Henry II

**SUMMARY:** Theobald denies all knowledge of a letter that he was accused of writing, in which it is stated that he regrets the promotion of Roger de Pont l'Eveque, who had been Archdeacon of Canterbury, to the see of York. There may have been some connection between this false charge and the warning in letter 80 against the Archbishop of York's attempting to crown Henry. The forged letter may have been the work of interested parties who resented Theobald's warning. If this conjecture is correct, the letter may be placed at the end of 1157 or early in 1158.

It is equivalent to a sacrilege to deceive your royal majesty with cunning artifices, especially when the trickery incurs the displeasure of authority against the innocent. Wickedness, the sower of hatred, when it works to the loss of salvation, is instrumental in destroying charity. Although God abhors all other crimes, it is this that His soul detests, because of its signal malice. Enemies have attempted to deceive your sincerity, as we have heard and grieve. For they have presented letters drawn up in our name in which it is indicated that I, deeply distressed, regret the promotion of our esteemed brother Roger to the archbishopric of York. They further claim that, as I have been denied the power of changing the point wherein I have failed, I am presenting entreaties to your majesty to correct it through the power delegated to you by the Lord who metes out justice and wreaks vengeance on nations at the acceptable time. Behold, as the Lord is my witness and my judge, I am speaking the truth in your ears. I neither wrote those letters nor have I wished them to be written, nor have I any knowledge that they were written by anyone of my household. They are false, and only a forger, whoever he be, has knowingly used them for your deception and his own destruction. He will clearly bear his own judgment and he,

according to the authority of the sacred canons, has fallen into the snare of anathema, since the spirit of God detests those who act in this wise as sowers of discord and instigators of schisms. Consequently, we beg your serenity that you order the authors of so great evil to be brought to punishment, if you please, and to be visited with so rigorous a chastisement that those who hear of the punishment may be taught and may teach that deception and malice is not pleasing to an upright and just prince.

82. John to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** John requests Adrian IV to send letters of relaxation to Bishop Neal of Ely who had complied with the orders of Boso, the papal chamberlain. See Letters, 83. As related in notes on letter 74, Neal had obtained an extension of the term in which he had been obliged to make restitution on March 17, 1157, and the letter indicates that he is now asking for the full relaxation of the sentence of suspension. This letter seems to have been sent at the same time as letter 83, which was written shortly after December 15, 1157. For further material on this case see Chartularium Eliense, in Acta Sanctorum Iulii 4. 581, and Jaffe, Reg. Pont. 10265 and 10535 ff.

The silence which I had imposed upon myself our esteemed father, the Bishop of Ely has broken. He has forced me to make known to your Majesty the proofs of his devotedness. For he believes that his cause can be aided with your Eminence through the testimony and intercession of your faithful ones. Because he has proved his pledge of love to me through the skillful management of your interests, I am begging your Serenity rather earnestly to preserve untarnished for him that favor which he received from your kindness before the Lord raised your throne above the heads of the sons of men. The Lord of Canterbury, with whom I have deposited the one hundred marks sterling which I had received from the aforesaid bishop in fulfillment of your mandate, seeks this very favor. The above-mentioned bishop leans toward allegiance to you, but he would be far more inclined if you would stretch forth the sweetness of your mercy to him, mindful of those things which were enjoined upon me as I returned from your Majesty.<sup>1</sup> I believed one of those matters committed to my care should be entrusted to him. Wherefore, in order

<sup>1</sup> John returned from his visit to the pope in the spring of 1157. See R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, 273.

that he may be more certain of your favor, if it pleases you, may you from your bounty transmit the letters of granted relaxation. May your paternity live on through the ages and may you remember accurately what all know and very few confess in your presence, "The Pope of Rome cannot be a pope for aye."

83. John to a Member of the Papal Curia (?)

**SUMMARY:** This letter was written by John to someone who was connected with the papal curia or who was about to make a journey thither. R. L. Poole conjectures that it was written to John Belmeis, treasurer of York, but it gives news of the settling of the quarrel between the Archbishop of York and the monks of Gloucester, and John Belmeis was present at this agreement. This event helps to establish the date of the letter, for the trouble between the archbishop and the monks was settled at Gloucester in King Henry's presence on December 15, 1157. See Historia et Chartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae ll. 105-6. This letter was written shortly after that, and requests the recipient to intercede for Bishop Neal of Ely. See Letters, 74, 82, 84.

Although I was disposed to be silent, the business of our lord the Pope which I have been conducting with the Lord of Ely compels me to burden your postolic ears with letters. Wherefore, it is necessary that action on your part follow up my effort. For although the affair has been handled efficiently, that which has been accomplished will be thereby strengthened by the authority of law. The Lord of Ely delivered to us in compliance with the order of the Lord Pope one hundred marks sterling as the Lord Boso had directed. He also sent to the Lord Boso<sup>1</sup> through the lord Archbishop of Canterbury and myself ten marks for the gold mark. Therefore, conduct matters in such a way with the Lord Boso that he send letters of granted relaxation to the bishop as he promised to do. He ought not to be burdened if, having received the gold, he send back word to that effect. As for the rest there is nothing new here except that between the Archbishop of York<sup>2</sup> and

---

<sup>1</sup> See Letters, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Roger de Pont L'Eveque, Archbishop of York, 1154-1181.

84. John to John Belmeis, Treasurer of York

**SUMMARY:** John relates to John Belmeis, the treasurer of York, the indignation of Bishop Robert of St. Andrews against Abbot Arnold of Kelso, who is attempting to obtain exemption from the bishop's jurisdiction. The letter seems to have been written at the same time as letter 83, at the end of 1157, for it conveys the same news of Bishop Neal of Ely's case. See Letters, 74, 82, 83.

Although I am offended by your silence, yet I greet friends even though offended. I greet you, indeed, but in another language than your negligence deserves. In truth you ought to be reprimanded for your immoderate silence, but our esteemed father, Robert, Bishop of Saint Andrews,<sup>1</sup> checked my spirit of resentment, desiring that his person and cause be commended to your zeal. The Abbot of Kelso,<sup>2</sup> roused by the example of the "headless ones"<sup>3</sup> is annoying him, and, by a way of obedience which Christ knew not, assuming a certain semblance of freedom, he is rising to the equality of episcopal authority. Truly, the Father of Canterbury, as well as I, commends the cause of the bishop to you; and He whom you will not dare to spurn, humble and just as he is, commends the case to you--His name is Christ the Lord. The offense of your silence will be atoned for somewhat in the cause of the bishop, provided that the preceding fault by its prolongation is not turned into a crime. If

---

1 Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1122-1159.

2 Arnold, Abbot of Kelso from 1147 until 1160, when he succeeded Bishop Robert in the see of St. Andrews. Kelso was in Roxburghshire, Scotland. It was founded in 1128 by King David I for monks from Tiron in Picardy, who were transferred from Selkirk, where they had been established fifteen years earlier.

3 "Acephali sunt qui nec regem nec ecclesiam nec barones aut dominos feudales agnoscunt, cum pauperes sint et nullum tenementum possideant, ratione cuius eos ut capita sua recognoscant." See Leges Henrici 1. cap. 21.

you remain silent for a longer space of time, you may not rely on being pardoned, because the message you do not give to friends, adversity may wrest from you. With us there is nothing new except that the Lord of Ely has made satisfaction according to the mandate of Lord Boso, as I have already written to him and in second place to you.



85. John to Abbot Peter of Celle

**SUMMARY:** John explains to Peter of Celle his reason for returning Brother Thomas to Troyes. He feared that the monk might be endangered; and so he preferred to incur the wrath of the reluctant monk rather than Peter's reproaches for neglecting his spiritual welfare. From the mention of Christmas in the letter, it seems to have been written shortly after that date in 1157. The letter appears to be an answer to Peter's letter 74 (see Migne P. L. 202) in which Peter excuses himself for not having sent the relics of St. Aigulf to John as he had promised and remarks that he is now sending Brother William, whose arrival John announces in this letter. The relics of St. Aigulf were being sent round in order to collect funds for rebuilding the monastery of St. Aigulf at Provins, which had been destroyed by fire in the summer of 1157, see Letters, 75.

I believe that the pledge of my devotion has long since been evident to you so that concerning it you should not believe every rumor. I have done so, that you do not believe--if Brother Thomas<sup>1</sup> dares to suggest anything untoward to your ears--for there is some feeling between him and me. I do not fear to pass under your judgment or that of any discreet person. To enable you to examine the matter more easily, I shall make it known briefly. When quite a few days had elapsed after he had arrived, it became apparent to all that his labor had been in vain and that your effort and expenses had been wasted. Then he tarried some days with us and in our vicinity, and he began in a short time to conduct himself in a light-minded manner, more so than was fitting insofar as word and action is concerned (for nothing of a slanderous nature can be charged to him). Many foolish and prudent individuals come and go here so that the chaff or the wheat is never able easily to be detected. Wherefore, as the sobriety and continency of the man

---

<sup>1</sup> See Letters, 65.

was pleasing, so his levity of word and gesture and his inconstancy of plan was displeasing. For he was swayed easily and immoderately; but he sometimes easily laid aside his wrath, and as the intimacy of the courtiers and throngs of people have never, or rarely, been advantageous to the more simple souls in their religious life, I designedly wished him to live at the monasteries and with the canons with whom I was acquainted, as long as he was staying with us. In the meantime, I also advised him to visit his relatives, whom he wished to visit, so, however, that he should in no wise give them hope of his return. For I know by experience in many cases that, although it is dangerous for a monk to be turned loose alone in a crowd of seculars, it is most dangerous in our nation. For this reason I have sent you the servant--through whom I thanked you for the bread,<sup>2</sup> begging drink also, since I do not eat more than I drink, as you know--to report your advice on his prolonged stay with us or his return. When the lad delayed, I advised Brother Thomas to return since I discerned it to be expedient. He, indeed, was annoyed, nor did I desist because of this, but, due to it, so much the more did I insist, because I saw that many who had seen him for a short time as it happened, in passing, were concerned about his being retained, and certain ones of these even came to me about it. So I was induced the more, and I gave greater attention to his return, for I withdrew support from his undertaking, I condemned his plans, and with spurs, as it were, I urged him to return. This, however, was most annoying to him, the more so because he had decided and agreed to spend the Christmas holidays among his relatives, friends, and

---

<sup>2</sup> See Letters, 65.

acquaintances in places frequented by the common herd and devoid of any mark of respectability. Wherefore, I preferred to brave his anger rather than to acquiesce in a dangerous and destructive plan. The brother is serviceable and of good will, as I believe, but too guileless at present, to be entrusted to his own guidance in gatherings of people. Aside from this levity, I find little or nothing in him of which to complain, with this exception that there is no one, or rarely anyone, in whom he does not discover something to carp at; this, I think, springs from his natural fickleness. I, indeed, saw a misunderstanding threatening me on both sides, as I ran the risk of his disfavor, or deserved to lose your regard. I confess my fault; indeed, I deliberated through more than a month, but finally having recovered my resolution of mind I steadfastly withstood his displeasure, that I might not constitute a danger to the confidence I owed to you. I have compelled him to return, and this also is my fault. He acquiesced unwillingly at last to my plan, but I am grateful that he finally agreed, although unwillingly; hence the grounds of dissension; hence the tinder of distraction; hence the defamation of my entire service and of my allegiance. At one time or another you have sent us Brother Thomas of Norwich, Brother William, and several others. All have acceded to my suggestion, but it has irked no one of them to acquiesce to my advice. Indicate whether I have failed. And as the brother is indeed simple and, as I believe, by no means malicious, I beg you to hold him dear and to use him, since he is useful, and just as he is no wise to be entrusted in public places, thus is he the more indispensable to your personal service. He will perhaps bring forth some other testimony, but nothing impels me to prevaricate. You were wont to trust me, nor have I

as yet deserved ill. The "faithful witness" of my conscience and of my word "is in heaven,"<sup>3</sup> and He it is Who punishes every untruth and recompenses the truth, so dear to him with the reward of Himself. He (Thomas) is wont to love the bearer of these presents less because I have forced him to return, believing that he (the bearer) induced me--to such a degree, indeed, that I have with difficulty compelled him to cross the strait; but it is your love that has forced me to this action to whom I owe whatever I am and can be, nay, whatever I shall be and could be, and anything more I shall be able to be. Farewell.

---

3 Psalms 88. 38.

86. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald asks for a new papal mandate in order to proceed in the dispute between the monks of St. Bertin and Hugh of Dover for possession of the church of Chilham. A papal mandate had ordered Hugh to restore the property, but he had protested that the church had never belonged to the monks, but had been given to a certain Odo by William of Ypres and Odo had gone shares with the monks in the church's revenues. Further, this transaction had been pronounced simoniacal by Archdeacon Roger and the monks had withdrawn. Hugh had sent messengers to Rome to protest against the decision, but was willing to stand trial before Theobald; but when the monks were summoned to plead their case, they refused to appear unless the property was first restored to them.

R. L. Poole places both this letter and letter 87 in the summer of 1158 (see Studies in Chronology and History, 276-277) and outlines the history of the case.

"It appears from documents preserved in transcripts at Saint Omer that the churches of Chilham and Throwley were granted to the monastery of Saint Bertin by William of Ypres, whom King Stephen had placed in a position of ascendancy in Kent. This grant was confirmed by Archbishop Theobald, by the king, and by Pope Anastasius IV of November 17, 1153. (See Round, Calendar of Documents preserved in France, Nos. 1129-32 (1899).) The archbishop afterwards declared that his confirmation was extorted under compulsion, ui et metu supradicti tyranni (letter 87)... When Henry II came to the throne, according to the Saint Bertin chronicler, he annulled the grants made by William of Ypres (see the continuation of Simon of Saint Bertin's Chartularium Sithiense 3. 7. ed. B. Guerard, 1840); and the properties seem to have reverted to the lords of the two churches. But it was not long before the monks of Saint Bertin obtained Throwley, for Hamon of Throwley's grant of the church to them was confirmed by Henry II in the summer of 1155. (Round, Calendar of Documents, 1333.) Chilham on account of the intrusion of Odo, presented greater difficulty. It had passed into the hand of the lord, Hugh of Dover; the monks of Saint Bertin were inhibited by a papal mandate from enjoying the profits of the benefice. The archbishop was forced, as he says (letter 87), to defer taking action because the days were evil. Until William of Ypres was expelled he had to dissimulate. Now the pipe roll of 2 Henry II accounts for William's lands in Kent for a full year, as property which he had then held (*habet*); but the roll for the next year gives the charge only for half a year as land which he formerly held (*habuit*). (See pipe rolls of 2,

3, and 4 Henry II, 65, 101. (1844.) His tenure, therefore, ended at Easter 1157... That an agreement was come to before long was proved by two charters, in one of which Hugh grants the church of Chilham to the monks of Saint Bertin (see Round, Calendar of Documents, 1327) and in the other this grant is confirmed by the Archbishop Theobald (see Round, Calendar of Documents, 1328)."

See Letters, 72, 73 which mention this case as well as the case of Archdeacon Osbert of York.

In accordance with the order of your Holiness we earnestly advised the excellent Hugh of Dover to restore to the monks of Saint Bertin<sup>1</sup> the Church of Chilham,<sup>2</sup> which belonging to them, so they said, according to a law of their monastery, they complain has been taken forcibly from their jurisdiction. However, he promised that he would comply with your apostolic mandates and with the law most devotedly and in all points; and he proved the actual falsity of the entreaties which the monks had poured forth to you. Indeed, in the first place he asserted that the said Church, which they had never held by his consent or by the consent of any of his predecessors, did not belong to the jurisdiction of the monastery, especially since the status of a Church cannot be changed or be subjected to rule by a founder who is willing, much less by one who violently disagrees. Then, too, he said that the monks had never possessed it in their own name but through a certain Odo, that that notorious tyrant and harsh persecutor of the Church, William of Ypres,<sup>3</sup> when the owners of the estate had been disinherited, had somehow or

---

1 Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer, Flanders.

2 Chilham, Kent.

3 William of Ypres, son of Philip of Flanders. After the death of Charles of Denmark he laid claim to Flanders, but was finally forced to flee and took service in 133 under Stephen to whom he was very loyal. He was driven from Kent by Henry II in 1157 and died about 1165.

other managed to have him (Odo) admitted to ownership. He asserted that, by a secret collusion it happened that he (Odo) ceded the aforesaid Church to them (monks), that the monks had allotted certain revenues to the aforesaid Odo, that this was even publicly known, and that thus through a simoniacal mediation, they had obtained a certain possession of the Church although our esteemed brother, now Roger of York, then<sup>4</sup> Archdeacon of Canterbury, checked this with apostolic authority. Lastly, he said that the abbot and the monks of Saint Bertin, who had been present when the above-mentioned tyrant was driven out from the kingdom of England, had renounced the quarrel and possession which they had had forever, so that he was allowed to carry away the revenues of the aforesaid church, with the permission of the lord. He promised that he would prove all these things very completely. Besides, he stated that he had already sent messengers to your Majesty, so that there he might uncover the deceit and malice of the monks; none the less, in our hearing, he was prepared to demonstrate his own innocence and justice. Wherefore, when we, wishing to understand the truth of the entreaties, as it was fitting, appointed a day for the monks, they responded that they would not submit their case, unless, without reference to the findings, they were reinstated. We, therefore, unwilling to proceed into prejudgment and contrary to law, are awaiting your mandate, ready to obey you in all things and through all things.

---

<sup>4</sup> This was before October 1154, when Roger became archbishop of York.

87. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald rehearses the case as given in letter 86, and writes that although Hugh is willing to stand trial, the monks still refuse to risk it, therefore he has sequestered the church until a decision has been reached. He warns the Pope that the charter which the monks will show signed by himself was extorted from him, and asks him not to believe tales about the treasurer of York. Finally he begs the Pope so to decide the case, that the wrath of the king and nobles does not descend upon him.

This letter was written shortly after letter 86, for it mentions that a second mandate ordering Hugh to make restitution had arrived from the Pope while Hugh's messengers were en route to Rome. Theobald is now sending this so that the Pope may be better informed of the case.

Although we have entrusted our message in verbal form to our messengers, who should consider this action a pledge of honesty and fidelity, we have taken care, by evidence of letters to your Paternity, to indicate how the case of the monks of St. Bertin relative to the Church of Chilham has proceeded. The distinguished gentleman, Hugh of Dover, when warned by us according to your mandate to restore intact the aforesaid Church, to the monks who complained that they had been despoiled of it by force, answered that restitution was not due to them by any law, since they could not be defrauded who had never been in control. He further stated that the holding of the property of the said church the possession of which they seemed to be contesting had been held not in his own but in another's name, a certain Odo, who we ourselves know had possessed the said church; but that he had renounced it to him or that he had ceded it to another, of that we were completely ignorant. We are also certain that our archdeacon, the present Archbishop of York, by entering a complaint had forbidden the monks to mix themselves up



in the concerns of that church. But as the days were evil and that infamous tyrant and very violent persecutor of the Church William a Ypres, to whom the said Odo clung threatened us, we were forced to dissimulate when, under the protection of William, spurning the suggestion of the archdeacon of York, the monks began to handle dishonestly the revenues of Odo in his name, who (Odo) in turn was looking out for himself for the future. Besides, even if it should be established that the monks had possession in his name, he (Hugh) dismissed their petition saying that they had renounced the ownership and the litigation when he permitted them to carry off the fruits of the Church. He offered to prove this to everyone's satisfaction. Wherefore, when the soldier demanded that the monks make clear their intention and that the integrity of his claim be admitted, the monks declining a conflict demanded that they be restored aside from the findings in the case. To this the soldier replied that your Majesty had not ordered that the property be governed for him but that it be restored to him, and according to the clause of restitution and from other things which were contained in your sacred command, that the findings of the case be fully entrusted to us. Because they were circumventing our person as he said, by false insinuations, and were unwilling to proceed in the trial, he said that he would refer all things to you for consideration and that he would obey you as his Father and Lord in all things. As time went on, before his messenger arrived you repeated your order concerning the submission of the soldier. Wherefore, we, manifesting due reverence and obedience to your orders, although the soldier repeatedly offered himself up to justice and the monks on the contrary evaded the outcome of the trial, we took over the church with all its appurtenances, even

though it involved great danger to us, retaining it in our hands until the truth of the case should be made known to you and your will be clearly manifest to us. If they should show a document forged in our name, that we may confess our imperfection, may you know that it was extorted from us through fear of the above-mentioned tyrant. This also may not escape the notice of your Majesty--that our devoted John,<sup>1</sup> Treasurer of York, who the monks assert had often seized the said church through lay hands, never put his hand on it or mixed himself up in its transactions in any way, except that he faithfully stood by an old friend, whom he could not fail in this necessity without dishonor and great loss of friends. Wherefore, we beg your Grace, that relative to this case you issue an order with such moderation, as it will please you, that the monks, if they have any right, may so follow out your command that we may not incur the disfavor of our lord the king and the persecution of all the nobles who are scandalized by this disagreement. We pray that you give joy by some grant of comfort to your beloved son John treasurer of York whose happiness has been blighted due to the vicious insinuations of the monks.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Belmeis, later Bishop of Poitiers and Archbishop of Lyons.

88. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald relates the appeal and states the case of Osbert, Archdeacon of York, who has been accused of poisoning his archbishop, William Fitz Herbert.

R. L. Poole places this letter in the autumn of 1158. See Letters, 86, 87, and Studies in Chronology and History, 276-7.

A certain cleric of the family of William<sup>1</sup> of blessed memory, Archbishop of York, by the name of Symphorian, at a certain important meeting<sup>2</sup> in the presence of King Stephen<sup>3</sup> and of the bishops and barons of England accused Osbert, Archdeacon of York, on a charge of poisoning. He declared the said archbishop had been killed through the poison poured for him at the table of the Lord by the archdeacon, affirming steadfastly that he would prove this by an ordeal of hot iron, boiling water, or single combat or any other form of investigation. But, Osbert, who denied the charge with the greatest insistence, declared that by the privilege of his dignity and rank he would not submit to the investigation of a lay court but only of an ecclesiastical court and that he was ready to stand his ground through it all. When both parties according to the custom of our nation had given bail relative to the investigation of the disagreement, into the hands of the king, who announced to us and to our protesting and contending brothers that this case, because

<sup>1</sup> William Fitz Herbert (Saint William) had been consecrated archbishop of York by Bishop Henry of Winchester on September 26, 1143, but because the appointment was not approved by the opponents of King Stephen, Pope Eugene consecrated Henry Murdak in his place on December 7, 1147. On Henry's death on October 14, 1153, William regained the see, and died on June 8, 1154.

<sup>2</sup> This was held in London.

<sup>3</sup> King Stephen died October 25, 1154.

the charge was serious and because it was initiated in his presence, belonged to his own jurisdiction, the controversy was deferred until the Octave of the Epiphany.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime our most serene lord, King Henry,<sup>5</sup> succeeded King Stephen. Not without the greatest difficulty, with a strong hand and with the resentment of the king and all his nobles, we have recalled the said case from his jurisdiction for ecclesiastical examination. Wherefore, when, because of many intervening delays, the question, of necessity, was drawn out and the prosecutor, Symphorian, was not able to complete the accusation according to the exactness of the law and of the canons, on the advice of our esteemed brothers, Richard of London, Hilary of Chichester, Jocelin of Salisbury, Robert of Exeter,<sup>6</sup> bishops, and of other prudent men who were present, as the news of the case was blazoned throughout the entire island, we enjoined upon the said archdeacon a purgation<sup>7</sup> at the hands of three archdeacons. Four other deacons were employed with them and we publicly ordained the day for the prescribed purgation. As the day neared, the said archdeacon approached us, declaring that he preferred to prove his innocence in the presence of the Roman Church, to which, perhaps, word had already arrived, and placing all his goods under your protection, by apostolic authority he prevented his case being settled by anyone. He also added that during the Octave of the Epiphany<sup>8</sup> he would present himself in your

---

4 January 13, 1155.

5 Henry was crowned at Westminster on December 19, 1154.

6 Richard, Bishop of London, 1152-1162; Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, 1147-1169; Jocelin, Bishop of Salisbury, 1142-1184; Robert Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter, 1155-1160.

7 See Letters, 96.

8 This would be January 13, 1159.

presence. Wherefore, we, as it is proper, giving place to your Apostolic Majesty, have reserved the decision of the case to your Holiness.

89. Archbishop Theobald to the Monks of Evesham

**SUMMARY:** Theobald warns the monks of Evesham of the dangers of being without an abbot, and sets the date for the election. Evesham was a Benedictine monastery in Worcestershire. This letter is placed early either in 1159 or 1160. William de Andeuilla was abbot from 1149 until his death on January 4, 1159. He was succeeded in 1159 by Roger, a monk of Saint Augustine's Canterbury, who died on January 4, 1160. Alfred the bishop of Worcester, who was delegated to be present at the election, which was set for the first Sunday after June 24, died on March 27, 1160. Adam, a Cluniac, was abbot from 1160 until 1191. See Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham 100.

The absence or negligence of pastors inflicts such great harm on the churches that what has perished easily and briefly in spiritual and material effects, can scarcely, with great labor, much vigilance, and through a long period of time be reestablished. For from without, robbery and multiple losses in temporal affairs threaten; from within, a more frightful monster advances to the attack; and when the shoot and the root have been severed, the lion roaring everywhere finds the exposed, whom he devours.<sup>1</sup> One who is in such a difficult position and doesn't fear is completely dead rather than lifeless. But the salvation of those who ought to encounter and heal such great maladies is endangered, unless they exercise complete watchfulness in procuring the safety of their subjects. Whence, we, in our paternal affection compassionating your desolation, have secured from our lord the king permission to select a suitable pastor for you according to the rule of sacred canons. The matter demands dispatch and care, since every delay of postponing salvation prolongs the danger; then too, the status of your church

---

<sup>1</sup> 1 Peter 5. 8.

depends on this, so that it seems your religious ought to mourn rather than procrastinate in this matter. The monastic spirit is perishing from within; material goods are being plundered, destroyed, and are disappearing; nor is there anyone at home who extends help or advice. The malady is already one of long standing, since for a long time there has been wanting one who is willing and able to ward off these evils. Wherefore, as we are unable to make known our trouble to you in your presence, we are sending to you our esteemed brothers, Walter, Bishop of Coventry, and Alfred, Bishop of Worcester,<sup>2</sup> and our beloved sons of Pershore<sup>3</sup> and of Winchcombe,<sup>4</sup> ordering you in virtue of holy obedience to the apostolic mandates, that by their advice you elect for yourselves as abbot on the following Sunday after the feast of Saint John the Baptist<sup>5</sup> a person religious in character, learned, possessed of good reputation from outsiders that he may be enabled, with the help of God, to take charge and do good. If it happens that some one of the above-named brothers is absent in body or in mind, let the plan of the rest avail notwithstanding. Moreover, we know that anyone among you who acquiesces in so religious, so advantageous a plan does not seek those things which are to his own advantage, but those things which are of Jesus Christ.<sup>6</sup> We altogether set at nought the voice of those who, resisting the Holy Spirit,<sup>7</sup> will be

---

2 Walter, Bishop of Coventry, 1149-1162; Alfred, Bishop of Worcester, 1158-March 27, 1160.

3 Pershore, a Benedictine monastery in Worcestershire. Reginald was the abbot.

4 Winchcombe, a Benedictine monastery in Gloucestershire. Gervase was the abbot.

5 Feast of St. John the Baptist: June 24.

6 Philippians 2. 21.

7 Acts 7. 51.

found by the above-mentioned brothers appointed for this purpose to risk their own salvation and that of others, as much as is in them. Nor should anyone believe that he may call upon the king, because a delay of your salvation will be annoying to him, who to us--lest the matter be postponed--has entrusted these changes in this place. Farewell.



90. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Reports a schism of the clergy of Boulogne against Milo II, their newly appointed bishop.

This letter may have been written in 1159, when Milo II, an Englishman, succeeded Milo I, who died on July 16, 1158.

The Church of Morini,<sup>1</sup> deprived as she is of the holy Bishop Milo best of fathers, ever showers maternal affection on those who are attacking her, and in her necessities has been known to confer many comforts of piety. They themselves, however, are returning evil for good,<sup>2</sup> and, seeking those things which are their own,<sup>3</sup> they are attempting to tear apart their mother; hence it is that, prostrate at the knees of your Holiness with as much zeal as we can muster, we beg that your Grace, who is accustomed to punish the ungrateful and to open the bosom of your mercy to the worthy and well-deserving, to regard the church of Milo kindly and to frustrate all attempts of evident ambition; since, indeed, your apostolic right hand is accustomed to irrigate the tender plants with the benefits of your favor that they may thrive, and to remove every detriment of choking lest they decay or wither. Indeed, if you please, you will do this more justly inasmuch as the hope is greater that our esteemed Brother Milo<sup>4</sup> who has succeeded the holy Milo in the episcopacy, may advance also in sanctity and virtue.

---

1 The diocese of Terouanne-Boulogne. Milo I died on July 16, 1158.

2 Psalms 34, 12; 37. 21.

3 Philippians 2. 21.

4 Milo II, Bishop of Terouanne-Boulogne, 1159-1169.

91. John to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** In this letter, which may be placed in the summer of 1159, John adds his recommendation of William Cumin to the letter sent by Theobald on the same subject. See Letters, 92. John also, takes the occasion to inform Pope Adrian IV that Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux was the author of the accusations that had brought down upon his head the wrath of King Henry. That John was in serious trouble with Henry during the year 1159 is indicated by several of the following letters. The occasion of the accusations levelled at John by Bishop Arnulf was a visit that John made to Rome in the winter of 1158-1159. Upon his return Arnulf had reported that John had been too solicitous for the affairs of the Church, to the detriment of those of the realm. That John made the visit during this winter is proved by the following facts. In letter 127, which is dated 1160, John says that he fell into disfavour with the king in the preceding year and in letter 101 he states he had fallen into disgrace after his return from Rome. He is known to have been in England during the summer of 1159, for it was then that he finished the Policraticus, while the siege of Toulouse was in progress, July to September, 1159. See Policraticus Prol., sub. fin.: 8. 25. The Metalogicon was finished later in the same year, when John had heard of the death of Pope Adrian IV, which occurred on August 31. See Metalogicon 4. 42. ed. Webb 217. Therefore his visit was sometime in the winter and spring of 1159. For further letters on John's trouble see letters 94, 96, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 113, 127.

In everything which your goodness has done well, nothing is more pleasing to our lord, King of the English, than the benefice which you have mercifully given to William Cumin, your faithful servant. However, a certain brother by the name of A. of Chard<sup>1</sup> is striving to annul this (would that he were of a better life and of unimpeachable character!) and desires your majesty to yield precedence to his levity and inconstance--which God forbid. It would have been entirely right not to listen to his clamoring rather than deprive him deservedly of restitution and, through no fault of his, to cast

---

<sup>1</sup> Chard in Somerset.

out the one possessing the benefice legitimately. Wherefore may it please your dignity justly to preserve what you have mercifully bestowed, and hear him kindly in his just requests. As for the rest, the Bishop of Lisieux<sup>2</sup> is a hammer of iniquity wearing down the Church of God. He has brought on poor me such great displeasure of the king that the king himself has officially announced to the Lord of Canterbury and his chancellor<sup>3</sup> that I have decreased his royal power, and for this reason must be excluded from the number of his faithful friends. You have also heard that concerning the letters, in which your benignity has pleaded my innocence, that that deceptive liar dared to say "The Lord Pope has written what he wished; I am referring to the lord king what I know to be the truth." Therefore, may your piety be solicitous for me, and may it strive to regain this friendship of the king for me.

---

2 Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, 1141-1181.

3 Thomas Becket, Archdeacon of Canterbury and Chancellor of England.

92. Archbishop Theobald to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** Theobald reports that the Church of Chard had been restored to William Cumin in compliance with the papal mandate, but that A. of Chard was on his way to Rome to appeal the case. He, therefore, commends William against the appellant.

Our esteemed brother Robert, Bishop of Bath,<sup>1</sup> has restored the Church of Chard to our beloved son, your faithful servant, William of Cumin, according to the mandate of your mercy, after he had removed all appeals through which you had ordered the same to be restored to him, if it had established that he had made satisfaction completely to the Church of Durham.<sup>2</sup> However, it is said that a certain cleric by the name of A., to invalidate this benefice of your clemency is journeying to the apostolic see. And so we extend what entreaties we can to your Majesty in behalf of William, begging that what your goodness has mercifully deigned to bestow on him, it may vouchsafe faithfully to preserve, and that you may listen kindly to his just requests.

---

1 Robert, Bishop of Bath, 1136-1166.

2 Durham.

93. John to Ralph of Sarr (?)

**SUMMARY:** John cleverly and playfully answers the complaints of a friend at Lisieux--perhaps Ralph Sarr. He speaks of the English troops passing through Poitiers on their way to the siege of Toulouse. The troops were ordered to be at Poitiers on June 21, 1159 (See Robert Torigni, Continuatio Beccensis 322) and the siege of Toulouse began shortly after. The letter may be dated July 1159.

Painters are wont to mix different types of paints and to soften in this way the harsher colors with the lighter and to bring out the finer touches with sharper contrasts, so that when they have moulded and have produced effective types of new color, the whole effect is pleasing and the combination becomes more effective than the individual colors. Hence it is perhaps for this very reason that it frequently happens that those things which are more pleasing are more avidly sought. Lack of restraint forsakes its bounds when the grace of kindness leads in the enemy who is in no way guarded against. I am not certain that you have ever been a painter, positive though I am that you imitate painters in some respects, if one can correctly be said to imitate those whom you clearly seem to surpass in producing certain types. Perhaps it was for this reason that last autumn you purchased various qualities of wine, whose purchase and transportation I recall that you wrote to me withdrew your attention from conducting other business. But though you look down upon the handiwork of common painters, still by no means can you excuse the fact that your language and your pen diffuse the strength of the universal pigments of a painter which becomes a philosopher, for both your language<sup>1</sup> has betrayed you and the letter recently sent me convinces me that you are a bluff. You make use of the talent of

<sup>1</sup> Matthew 26. 73.

Lisieux against a friend who is unskilled in speech and untaught, and you sharpen your tongue<sup>2</sup> with which from the beginning I had never intended to clash. Like a powerful speaker, strengthening your own case, tearing down that of your opponent, you have taken away every avenue of defense; indeed, had you known of all my work, you would have so cut off every avenue that I would be unable to mumble. But in this case things go well with the simple that are like myself in that the spirit of prophecy does not always illumine you wise people. Yet I should readily believe that the men of Lisieux are divine, since they know so much and because they speak out whatever they wish. Why should I, then, for any reason rashly contend with you who are equal in authority and merit with the fathers of Lisieux. Indeed, the masters of Lisieux are not only the fathers of people who possess these talents but of eloquence itself. Although they are on a par with the people of Orleans, who are skilled and accomplished in many ways, they very easily surpass them in this particular point, because here they are born and become eloquent to such an extent that the natural practice of speaking well inspires and moulds every age and sex. Wherefore, what shall I, a little man of halting tongue, reply to this great torrent of eloquence? Though I cannot meet it on equal terms, yet those charges with which you, without reason, have branded me as unjust, perhaps, if I shall be allowed to briefly run over them, I shall obtain pardon. You accuse me of being silent for a long time. Is it not permissible, nay, is it not just that he who is fumbling in speech and dull-witted be silent in the presence of the wise and eloquent? If he speak more frequently or word his response less suitably, will he not lay

---

<sup>2</sup> Psalms 63. 4; 139. 4.

bare his disgrace and perpetuate it? For the spoken word passes; the written word lives on. Do I seem reserved—I who always write back to my correspondent and at times anticipate the letters you intend to write? But perhaps the very illiterate type of my letters and the pale color of my arid tongue express rather a man who wants to write and wants to say something than a man who actually writes and says something. In that event, rightly am I spoken of as without eloquence or as silent, for by a similar figure of speech a poorly formed woman<sup>3</sup> is called misshapen and letters which have no sounds are termed mutes. As for the rest, you have described another reason for my silence mentioning my "highbrow position"—I "who from the throne of my power" with which you invest me scorn "to visit a humble friend by so much as a little note." Whence comes this accusation? Or who of those with whom I live is the author and informer of this charge? You taunt me with the throne and the exercise of power. But have you not learned a little from the experience of time, for I complain of the short time we spent together, have you not learned, I say, that in the house of my lord I do not usurp the first places (reclining at table), that of my own accord, spontaneously of my good will I give place to many? It is indeed just that in the great home of my father, as in merit and dignity so in honor and the exercise of authority, many precede me. You say "humble friend". I ask, what else is this profession of humility than a certain deceitful display of dignity and position under the pretended guise of glory and honor. "Any little note," you added. What, other than a little note,

---

3 Horace, Ars Poetica 4.

forsooth an awkward one, would an untaught and unlettered man send, who, as though another Moeris,<sup>4</sup> becomes silent, surpassed by some one from Lisieux. In this instance you had your eyes open, and you appraise my strength rightly when you await nothing from me except any little note. Again, in order that you may accuse me of haughtiness or neglect, you reproach me with the number of our men who are journeying toward Toulouse, as though I should know that all men going toward Toulouse would pass through the cities of Lisieux or Baiæ. For I do not know the location of your cities, nor do I know by what route those would journey whom royal edict has ordered to assemble in the city of Poitiers. You are the last one I expected to find there; nor had I heard that you were accompanying that successful expedition by any other means than by your prayers. I had learned from the report of many that the enterprise was not able to be conducted without the men of Lisieux, because their tongues have become the fire-brands of the war, and they themselves bearing fire and the sword in their hands are serving the Lord of Hosts. Consequently, it is evident and clearer than the light of day that from their mouths justice should be sought. For they are the custodians of knowledge, and by the authority which is uniquely theirs, they can and ought to so order that the people unite in battle. You, meanwhile, I thought were resting quietly in the ordered peace of your home; I did not know whether anyone of those who were leaving our shores would visit you. For although many returned from your parts, no one except William the physician brought any solace of a greeting to me. Yet you have seen many

---

<sup>4</sup> Vergil, Eclogues 9. 16. 25.



from home and from the household of my lord returning here. You, it is true, have done this and I have been silent. Nay more, you have been silent and I have been silent with you. I cannot deny that I have given a great deal of attention to many crossing over, some of whom, to speak very confidentially, I would more gladly have sent away bearing letters to you than with the various pieces of my household goods which they in their wickedness stripped me of. Lastly "my talents", as you say, "have been dulled either by the agreeableness of sleep or by sumptuous banquets". You know indeed that nothing else stops a lover of pleasure, for you are mindful of the concerns of my lord and of my friends but not of private duties. Wherefore, although you have branded my innocence with the mark of pride, of negligence, and of pleasure-seeking, you have mixed these reproaches in a letter using the pigments of the various painters, and because each charge was able to be harsh, you have delighted my ears beforehand with charming conversation, lest I should understand what you were saying. And you have mixed it well with the fire of love so that the entire potion might be agreeable. Wherefore, be it as you wish. I yield to greater forces,<sup>5</sup> and I interpret all things for the best and in friendly fashion.

---

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Cato, Breves Sententiae 11.

94. John to Cardinal Boso

**SUMMARY:** John thanks a person of eminence (sanctitas and sublimitas uestra) for consoling him in his troubles.

R. L. Poole conjectures that this letter was written in the summer of 1159, when John was in serious trouble, and that it may have been sent to Cardinal Boso. The news of Pope Adrian's death on August 31, had not yet reached John. See Studies in Chronology and History, 279. That the sender of the consolation was at some distance from England is indicated by per tot terrarum et maris spatia.

As much as I can, I thank your Highness and Fidelity who has vouchsafed to refresh me with the solace of a written word over so great a stretch of land and sea. I shuddered greatly at the savageness of Fortune, while she was raging against the both of us, but from the time that her fury subsided, when peace had returned to you, I seem to perceive, through the help of God and your unfailing effort, a milder breeze blowing my way, though not yet felt nor certain. But if due to my sins, it shall happen that my hope is deceived, which God forbid, I shall with a brave and joyful spirit through the mercy of God subject my body to the scourge of Divine Dispensation, certain that no adversity will harm, if I withdraw my neck from the yoke of iniquity. Furthermore, the testimony of a clear conscience makes tranquil the anxiety of my mind, which fears the judgment of Him alone before whose tribunal within a short time will come both rich and poor, and all sons of men will be forced to render an account of themselves. As for the rest, what does it profit to plead my innocence, when your Holiness knows it clearly and completely? May it be done as He wills in Heaven. He is twice an exile who is an exile in his own home. Meanwhile the grace of eternal happiness does not abandon those that are on the road.

95. John to a Member of the Chapter of Sens

SUMMARY: John writes to a member of the capitular body at Sens, who had failed in a suit at the papal court. The suit had been sent back to France for trial by delegates, and John advises him to submit to this procedure, adding that if he preferred to appeal again to Rome, he would offer his assistance, and sends along a letter to the Pope. See Letters, 96.

I am astonished and grieved, my dear friend, that the Lord Pope has recalled the grant of his indulgence and has ordered you to submit to the judgment of those who are rightly suspected by you, and who will be able to assemble only with very great and almost insurmountable difficulty. Although for the time being I am perplexed, I cannot be persuaded that the left hand of the opposing party has prevailed over the right hand of the Roman Pontiff. Yet, I recall that the maiden's chastity was violated by the offering of minor adornments<sup>1</sup> and the grandeur of Rome almost destroyed by the attack of the Senones.<sup>2</sup> Rome ought to have regarded with suspicion the Senones "when they brought gifts."<sup>3</sup> But perhaps the chancellors and the assistants of the magistrate and the most solicitous quaestors of the sacred palace have circumvented religion under the guise of defending the law and they advised that the Gauls be admitted while they were being cheated. Nor do I envy their successes,<sup>4</sup> but I compassionate the injury to you and my lord the precentor,<sup>5</sup> the more so in that I am powerless to remedy these evils. For your present condition is unknown to me; I am not able by investigation to put an

---

1 Livy 1. 11.

2 Livy 5. 47.

3 Vergil, Aeneid 2. 49.

4 Vergil, Eclogues 1. 11.

5 Matthew, afterwards Bishop of Troyes, 1169-1180.

96. John to Pope Adrian IV

**SUMMARY:** John commends the cause of the bearer, a member of the capitular body of Sens, and that of the precentor of Sens. The matter of the case is related in letter 95. John then passes to his own affairs, and ironically begs Adrian to thank Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux for having kindled the wrath of King Henry against him so that it was unsafe for him to remain in England and impossible or extremely difficult to leave.

I, who dare to disturb your ears so often, could be accused of temerity and arrogance if fatherly kindness did not urge on my rashness or the duty of fraternal charity did not plead my daring. Wherefore, by the persuasive sweetness of your piety, by the urgency of the honest poor, and by the necessity of the learned, prostrate with my entire being at the feet of your Majesty I offer prayers to your Clemency that you may kindly receive the person of the bearer of these presents and his cause and that you may not allow the consolation of life to be snatched away by the violence of the Archbishop of Sens.<sup>1</sup> You will hear what prevents his justice, as he himself relates it to you, if it pleases you. Besides, the precentor of Sens,<sup>2</sup> both by the integrity of his character and by his erudition and because of that special fealty by which he is yours, is worthy to be heard as far as justice will allow. Now to return to my interests. You will thank the Bishop of Lisieux,<sup>3</sup> when your Excellency meets him, for kindling against me, your servant, such wrath of our most serene lord the king that it is no longer safe for me to remain in England. To leave is either impossible or very difficult. Our old men

---

1 Hugh de Toucy, 1142-1168.

2 Matthew, afterwards Bishop of Troyes, 1169-1180.

3 Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, 1141-1181.

are doing well. We shall scarcely wrest anything from the Abbot of Reading<sup>4</sup> for the work of our R., since he has circumvented you with his Thomas. Osbert, Archdeacon of York,<sup>5</sup> has failed in the purgation. Whoever suggests otherwise to you, do not believe him.

---

<sup>4</sup> Reading, a Benedictine monastery in Berkshire.

<sup>5</sup> See Letters, 72, 73, 88.

97. Archbishop Theobald to the Abbess of Amesbury

**SUMMARY:** Theobald orders the Abbess of Amesbury, a Benedictine nunnery near Salisbury, Wiltshire, either to restore the Church of Froyle and its possessions to Jordan, the Treasurer of Salisbury, or to appear before him on the Octave of the Assumption, see Letters, 98.

As often as ecclesiastical individuals oppose ecclesiastical sanctions by spurning every law, they ought to be punished more severely in the measure they seem to approach the crime of sacrilege and the evil of apostacy. Upon them, indeed, is rightly inflicted the severity of the law who under the garb of religion and under an impious covering of piety attempt to overthrow justice with impunity. We have often heard that this was your course of action. If those things are true which are reported, impiety is openly breaking forth and as you employ your daring in harming the innocent, you are equally wishing joy to the Roman schismatics<sup>1</sup> who find pleasure in our infirmity. But God is able to bring peace to His own Church and to lighten our burden at His good pleasure, and to recompense you appropriately. We have deferred the punishment of suspension temporarily, but as it is reported, you will not allow the punishment to be suspended any longer. You are endeavoring to abrogate the statutes of the apostolic see, and you are sharpening the executioner's axe for the hasty severing of the root of your foundation. For it is well known that our beloved son Jordan,<sup>2</sup> treasurer of the Church of Salisbury has been established in possession of the Church of Froyle<sup>3</sup> by our Lord Pope, Adrian. You, to the harm of the apostolic see and to our hurt, with

1 After the death of Pope Adrian IV on August 31, 1159, a schism headed by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa broke out in the Church. See Letters, 115.

2 Le Neve, Fasti 2. 645.

3 Upper Froyle, Alton, Hampshire.

armed retainers--a course of action which in no way becomes a woman, nor a nun, nor any religious--have attempted, as his complaints indicate, to deprive him of the possession of this church. Wherefore, as we cannot in justice fail him, we lay upon you the command to restore the said church with all its goods in its entirety without delay, or to appear before us on the Octave of the Assumption of Mary<sup>4</sup> to answer the charges. Although, according to law, we are enabled to punish your lack of obedience, yet we prefer through patience to wait until you quickly correct your mistakes, and thus deserve to escape the threatening penalties. Jordan has been strengthened by apostolic favor; he has been fortified by your letters; he has been strengthened by a sufficient number of witnesses, as you know, and you should have remembered how faithfully and advantageously he himself and his friends have often toiled for you.

---

<sup>4</sup> August 22.

98. Archbishop Theobald to the Abbess of Amesbury

**SUMMARY:** Treats of the same case as letter 97, and was written shortly after the first letter at the king's behest. From the mention of Adrian, it can be inferred that the case arose after that Pope's death on August 31, 1159.

Royal authority forces us to avenge the injury to the holy Roman Church and, to say nothing of our own injury, the contempt of royal majesty. However, that we might not be forced to act, we have reminded you with paternal gentleness to the effect that you should restore to our beloved son Jordan, the treasurer, the possession of the Church of Froyle which it is well known had been given to him by the Roman Church during the rule of Pope Adrian, and from which, after the edict of the lord king in contempt of the Roman Church, forcibly and without judicial arrangement you ejected him, as his reiterated complaints testify. But because you have persevered in your obstinacy up to the present, we enjoin you by command to the effect that according to the order of our mistress the queen, which you have received, you allow the aforesaid Jordan to hold possession of the aforesaid church, just as he possessed it in the passage<sup>1</sup> of the lord king, by apostolic authority. Otherwise, when you will appear before us on the Octave of the Blessed Mary, you will not be able to escape unpunished this contempt of the holy Roman Church. And if the queen should correct what you committed against the edict of the king with condign punishment, we shall make that valid, since from the authority of the canons, when laws are spurned in such wise, military forces must be employed to check such evil. We are also forbidding you

---

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to the king's passage to Normandy on August 15, 1158.



through apostolic authority and that of our own, from presuming to remove the tithes and goods of the church before the trial of the court.

99. Archbishop Theobald to Archdeacon Thomas Becket

SUMMARY: Theobald informs his Archdeacon, Thomas Becket, that he proposes to abolish all the evil customs that have arisen during his archbishopric, and specifically that of the "secunda auxilia", which was begun by his brother Walter, when archdeacon of Canterbury. The letter was probably written in the autumn of 1159 when Theobald fell into his last illness. A passage in letter 104, which was written near the end of the same year, indicates that Thomas did not submit to the loss of the "auxilia" without a protest.

We are afflicted more than we could express to you or to anyone, and as yet we have not escaped happily. But we have hopes of coming out advantageously because for us, by the help of God, a plan has been proposed whereby we may satisfy our tormentor and ward off eternal punishment by immediate correction, and we are more certain of pardon the more grievously we are distressed by present punishment of the body. For God chastises every son that He receives.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore, we are prepared to accept in a patient and joyful spirit the bitter things from the hand of God, we who have so often received pleasant things for our use or abuse. Thus, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's.<sup>2</sup> Nothing else do we desire in life, although we deflect somewhat from the agreement as long as we adopt your advice or that of the lord king. In the meantime, we shall set in order our house and our souls and, with sufficient help from God, we shall adjust matters more effectually with the advice of religious men. Moreover, there is something that we have thought of as much through our spirit as from a sense of religious obligation--that all evil customs

---

1 Hebrews 12. 6.

2 Romans 14. 8.

initiated in our times and through our agency in the archbishopric, we shall correct before our death. Whence, as we seem to be living through our last days, we have promised the Lord, among other things, to destroy the custom of "secunda auxilia" which our brother,<sup>3</sup> the archdeacon, levied on the churches. Alleviating and liberating the churches from these exactions, we have prohibited under anathema that they be demanded further by anyone. And that this our grant, or rather our gift, may not be rendered invalid in future ages, we confirm it through this writing. You also, if you had seen our difficulties of the present, would be thankful for whatever you saw accomplished for our salvation, and you would prefer our spirit to be freed rather than that money and untold wealth be amassed through our sins into our damnation. Thence, it is that we cannot acquiesce at present in the exaction of this aid without damaging our promise and endangering our salvation. But if God will give us life and health, which we have not as yet successfully obtained, we hope that the Lord will so provide for you through our endeavors that you will not need such aids and will thank God because He has freed His Church from an evil practice in our times. Wherefore, we ask that you consider what we have done as worthy of thanks, for the entire world will avail little to us if we should lose our souls.<sup>4</sup>

---

3 Walter, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards, Bishop of Rochester, 1148-1182.

4 Matthew 16. 26.

100. John to Abbot Peter of Celle

**SUMMARY:** John sends his newly-finished book, Policraticus, to Peter, and asks him to correct it.

This letter can be dated about September, 1159. John finished Policraticus before the siege of Toulouse was ended, see Policraticus 8. 25, ed. Webb 424. He also speaks of Adrian IV as still living (Policraticus 8. 23). The siege ended about the beginning of October and this could not be known in England until the middle of that month, while Adrian IV died on August 31 and this news would not reach England until October 1. John probably finished the Policraticus sometime before he wrote the letter, as he complains that William de Brito had kept it for some time.

The value of friendship ordains that all things should be shared mutually and the censorship of discretion excludes from the inner sanctum of friendship those who arrogate to themselves their own affections in preference to their friends'. For who doubts that they whose soul is one ought to share their common interests if the truth of the profession in the promise of love be preserved? If, perchance, it is this that unites and fashions friends by the connecting link of love, as Chalcidius<sup>1</sup> says, so that by a remarkable interweaving of grace one spirit is formed from many, and as Plato puts it, the same spirit presides over many bodies of true lovers, who, although the soul may be one for the service of natural or kindred valor, sometimes grows quite strong more extensively in individuals or is retarded according to the quality of the bodies. Wherefore, since I have professed myself a friend of yours, I gladly recognize the comradeship in temporal and spiritual affairs, with the exception of the oppressive burden

---

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Platonis Timaeum c. 44. ed. F. G. A. Mullachius, Fragm. Philosoph. Graec., Paris, 1867 2. 147 ff.

which I have received from my father and lord<sup>2</sup> due to his lasting and critical illness. In his misfortune I desire all, the dearer in trust and in truth they are to me, to have no part. Meanwhile, may that sorrow be mine as it is not advantageous that it be yours. If this be displeasing to you, may all other interests, so far as I am concerned, be shared together in so far as they are advantageous and can be shared, and with sincerity our guiding light, let all concerns be common to us. For I do not favor those things which do not admit companionship, or destroy it. Although the arithmeticians oppose, the doctors cry out loudly against it, nay more, although nature herself is astonished, I do not favor those forces which divide an inseparable unity. Far be it that I should be the cause that we be not the same in whatever we seek or avoid.<sup>3</sup> I should prefer to exert myself that we be one heart and one soul in the Lord. Thus the lower partakes of the loftier, and the sun, although he be brilliantly clear, does not disdain to acknowledge that the streams are related to the clouds, that the earthly deposits are connected with the renewal of his heat and vigor. By reciprocal help all things endure; the heavy masses are balanced in turn by the light, and actually these bodies thus continue because at the same time the spirit of union within nourishes<sup>4</sup> so great a harmony of discordant things and a discord of concordant things and, that they may harmonize mutually, by a certain delegated assistance it arranges the parts of the worldly body as members. Thus in the human body the members sedulously serve one another

---

2 Theobald.

3 Sallust, Catiline 20. 4.

4 Vergil, Aeneid 6. 726.

in turn, and the duties of each single one are determined by general use. These are farther removed, those, less, from the mass of the structure; but, in securing the health of the body, all are united. They have various operations, but if you consider the benefit of health, they concur in the same purpose. Nor are all things equalized, but the lower members serve the higher. For the foot, which belongs on the ground, does not aspire to the rank of the head; but the head, which bears itself erect in the air, does not scorn the foot which is situated on the ground. Thus, if it is not displeasing, let us have dealings with ourselves and our friends. However, I shall reveal what I have at hand if your seriousness deigns to consider trifles. Wherefore, you requite serious things with trifles, since in Apulia I know from experience that gold is wasted on trifles.<sup>5</sup> I have brought out a book about the vanities of the courtiers<sup>6</sup> and the traditions of the philosophers which will please or displease me, dependent upon your decision. It is unpolished and is desirous, by my order, of being corrected by you, a friend. It was on its way to an illustrious man, the Chancellor<sup>7</sup> to the King of England, but check it, unless you deem it expedient to allow it to circulate. For it is garrulous and will have scarcely a friend in the court. I do not wish it to make me an enemy at the court. I beg that you polish it unhesitatingly and send it back corrected to an awaiting friend. Not, indeed, as that thief, Brito of Canterbury,<sup>8</sup> from whose hand it could

---

5 From the Old French estouppes or estoupes--trifles. The phrase is translated, "gold is wasted on trifles".

6 Policraticus siue de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum, ed. C. C. J. Webb, Oxford, 1909.

7 The book was dedicated to Thomas Becket.

8 William Brito, Sub-Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.

not be snatched before it was entirely covered with red ink, doubtless in order that it might more easily be censured when it comes before the eyes of the enemy. I had heard that this was the custom among the Greeks, but I did not know that it was the custom among the Britons.

101. John to Abbot Peter of Celle

**SUMMARY:** John writes that malevolent informers have kindled the king's wrath against him, and lists the charges that have been made. He fears that exile is near and has determined to quit England at the end of the year. This letter was written near the end of 1159. Peter of Celle was in constant touch with John during this trouble. Indeed, it may have been he who first warned John of the impending trouble. (See postscript to his letter 67, Migne, P. L. 202. 514.) Two letters of Peter concerned with this affair have been preserved, number 75, written during the summer of 1159, and number 71, written later. See Migne, P. L. 202. 522, 517.

I gratefully seized the opportunity of writing to you when I saw a man here who, I believed, was about to return to you. Therefore, although the message of your greeting was kindly undertaken by him, as far as the return of the greeting to you was concerned, I arranged with a certain amount of caution because the individual was unknown to me. Wherefore, I am describing the news around here in part. Would that I could write more joyful news. After I returned from the Roman Church, Fortune heaped upon me so great a weight of bitterness that I consider myself to have borne up to this time almost nothing of adversity. You marvel, perhaps, and are astonished at what has been able to disturb me so greatly. I shall disclose it briefly in your ears. The utter indignation of our most serene lord, most powerful king, of our unconquerable prince has been enkindled against me. If you seek the cause, perhaps I cherished him more than was just, I urged his promotion beyond what was fitting, longing with utter desire of my heart for this one thing that he, who, I believed, was living in exile by the shafts of fortune, I might behold reigning with divine mercy on the soil of our fathers and proclaiming his law to the peoples and nations. Thus, perhaps,



the Lord decreed to punish the impatience of my desire. For whatever is sought impatiently brings thorns of sorrow either by loss or gain. I do not censure this fault, but the charge directed against my innocence entirely transcends my powers, and it should be able to excuse my littleness by its very size. Alone in the kingdom, I am said to lessen the royal majesty. When they wring from me the admission of my guilt, they hurl it back into my face. When anyone invokes the Roman name here, they impute the blame to me. The fact that when elections were to be made known or ecclesiastical cases were to be examined, the Church of England dared to arrogate to herself the semblance of liberty caused the blame to be charged to me as though I alone were advising the lord of Canterbury and the other bishops regarding necessary steps. I am in terror due to these causes also, that it is believed these denunciations threaten exile for me. For the sake of justice if it is necessary, I shall endure that, not only with peace of mind but even with joy. Whence, after the first of January<sup>1</sup> I believe that I shall depart from England, and indeed, abiding by your advice, I shall either delay in France or cross to the Church in Rome. Meanwhile, as much thanks as I can I give to your goodness in behalf of the honor and liberality which you bestowed on my brother, and for me, I pray you, return thanks to the Abbot of Boullencour concerning the visitation of my brother. After the Prior of Chantemerle<sup>2</sup> has secretly inspected these letters, take care that they do not pass before the eyes and ears of more.

---

1 January 1, 1160.

2 Boullencour and Chantemerle were monasteries in the diocese of Troyes.

102. John to Thomas, the Provost of Celle

SUMMARY: John refers the prior to letter 101, and tells him that his uncle and friend are well.

After you have seen the letters which I sent to the Lord of Celle, your prudence will be able to judge my position in part. However, this especially pertains to you; you know your uncle P. is safe and sound and dwells in great prosperity. I and the Treasurer of York<sup>1</sup> saw the one whom we have entrusted with your entreaties to the lord chancellor<sup>2</sup> of the king safe and in good health, although he is not able to be entirely immune from the exactions of the king.

---

1 John Belmeis, later Bishop of Poitiers and Archbishop of Lyons.

2 Thomas Becket.

103. John to Master Ernulf

SUMMARY: John begs Ernulf to urge Thomas Becket to influence the king in his favour, and to report how the king received the petitions of the pope, the archbishop and the chancellor. This letter was written in late 1159 when John had Pope Adrian and the others interceding for him. John sent Adrian's letter of intercession to Becket (see Letters, 104), and Theobald's letter is 105.

To his very dear friend, Master Ernulf,<sup>1</sup> his John sends greetings and a pledge of his true love:

I know the Lord Chancellor burdened by the throng of pressing business and by various occupations of the curia and by the demands of home affairs is unable to be at leisure for promoting the petitions of friends except by the encouragement of another. And so, I, presuming on your friendship, beg that when you have read the letters which I sent to him, you may rouse him to renew the favor of the lord king in my regard and by return mail indicate your plan to me. Write carefully, if you please, in your letters how the lord king receives the requests of the Lord Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the chancellor. It is far more honorable, honestly and truly to forearm a friend, than artfully to deceive him. Then, too, darts which are foreseen are less injurious.<sup>2</sup>

---

1 Ernulf was secretary to Becket when archbishop; he conveyed the great seal to the king when Becket resigned the chancellorship. See Becket Materials, 4. 265.

2 See Greg. Homil. in Euange Luc. 21. 9-19. Migne P. L. 76. 1612.

104. John to Archdeacon Thomas Becket

**SUMMARY:** John entreats Becket's intercession with the king, sends him the Pope's letter of petition and assures him of Theobald's favour. He also mentions that the archbishop has stopped the "auxilia" of Becket's churches. This letter was written at the end of 1159.

Among the countless heavy injuries of raging fortune against me, I bear nothing more grievous than that destitute of the solace of friends, I find no companion in my cares nor comrade of the thoughts of my heart. You will easily be able to understand on what condition my lot depends, setting aside the evidences of my complaints from those which you see and hear and of which you have learned through long experience. That I may disclose in a few words what troubles me: from the time our friends returned from you they have won their lord to their way of thinking by promises and rumors, practically excluding me except when troubles had to be borne.

Nor indeed do I envy them; I marvel the more.<sup>1</sup>

Wherefore, if the devotion of my littleness is able to accomplish anything with Your Excellency, if there is any remembrance of an old acquaintance, if the arrow of fortune has not turned the pledge of my tried friendship, arrange matters so that the indignation conceived in my regard gratuitously may be mitigated by the favor of our most serene lord the king, so that I may plead my innocence in his good will or if in anything I have merited his friendship I may be allowed by appropriate satisfaction to secure the same. Thus, more uprightly and freely, either by the favor of letters or by the employment of another's zeal, great in its solicitude,

---

<sup>1</sup> Vergil, Eclogues 1. 11.

I shall be able to withdraw my very self from hardship, mistrust, and perils. As it is at present, if anything be done properly, credit goes to some one else; if anything evil, to me is it imputed. No evil exists in the state which I have not caused. Perhaps my absence will excuse me very opportunely that you may the more easily bend his will. I am sending the letters of our Lord Pope interceding in my behalf to your love, which, if you please, you will take care to be restored to me; these, the messenger of Lord Ely,<sup>2</sup> not having been requested to do so, brought to me without a reply. The lord of Canterbury is following up this petition of the Lord Pope with his letters.<sup>3</sup> Concerning the rest of your affairs you have ordered me to be careful; gladly do I obey, even when my toil avails nothing. Our lord has ordered the revenues of your own churches to be withdrawn from you.<sup>4</sup> When others were resisting me, vainly did I direct my arms against the torrent. But do you write to him about this. Concerning the state of the island and our own affairs, I fear to write more to you, since through the ill-will of fortune some of my letters have fallen among robbers, others are suffering shipwreck, others to my harm are impudently thrusting themselves before the eyes of my prince. In these and other concerns, write what I should do.

---

2 Neal, Bishop of Ely, 1133-1169.

3 See Letters, 105.

4 See Letters, 99.

105. Archbishop Theobald to King Henry II

**SUMMARY:** John at this time (1159) was in serious trouble with Henry II, so much so that he was thinking of withdrawing from England before the beginning of January, 1160. (See Letters, 101.) Theobald had incurred the censure of certain cardinals, and wishing to be restored to favour (See Studies in Chronology and History, 268, 278.) he sent John to Rome to bring about a reconciliation. On his return in the spring of 1159, John was attacked for his conduct of the mission by Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux, who delated him to Henry II (See Letters, 91). John must have withdrawn from public life while this storm lasted, for it was during this time that he finished and revised his two large works, the Policraticus and the Metalogicon. This letter may have been written in late 1159 or early 1160. See Letters, 104.

Love begets confidence and it is wont to deal more trustfully with him whom it loves more ardently. I believe that the affection which I have entertained for you is more properly and profitably demonstrated in deeds rather than in words. Still I have never been able to satisfy the affection in proportion to my desires. He who knows all things, realizes that the devotion which is mine in your regard ever exceeds my strength, and so I hope that your majesty, in the affection of your kindness, will condescend to me and my little ones. But long ago I recall that I commended all my children to you. Now, however, I seek your favor for him before the rest who in my obedience has labored before all others and has received very little from my hand, although by the sincerity of his fidelity and the evidence of his labor, he has merited more. Prostrate at the feet of your Clemency, therefore, with all the devotion of which I am capable I beg that you consider him recommended and that your kindness supply my deficiency in his regard and when he shall lose me may your serene highness answer him with affectionate interest and the comfort of a lost father. John of Salisbury is he whom I would commend to another had I another more powerful among my friends and lords.

106. John to Master Geoffrey, a Kinsman

**SUMMARY:** John humbly thanks his kinsman, Geoffrey, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, who has offered him some salutary advice. The advice may have been tendered in 1159, when John was seriously thinking of quitting England in face of the storm that was assailing him. If this conjecture is correct, the letter may be dated late in 1159. John tells Peter in letter 127, that friends had dissuaded him from taking such a course.

To his friend and most dear relative, Geoffrey, John of Salisbury sends his greetings and everything better than that. Although I have often received your letters, yet not as frequently as I should wish, the arrival of none of them was so pleasing as those which indicated to me under the authority of domestic instruction the necessity of the truth. For I rejoice that from the treasury of your knowledge, now at last, the example of your uprightness, which you were keeping to yourself, has been shared with me. Forsooth, by these and like manifestations I shall be enabled to be animated to courageous deeds and with the help of the Lord, to scale loftier heights, if He stretches over me the hand of His favour, provided that He make clear the end of those burdens whose beginning He remembers Himself to be. And although the remembrance of that sorrow of ours, whichever it may be, may be pleasant, and the decision seem commendable, yet He is, as I think, the consolation through whose agency anyone will be able to be delivered from his grief. Great indeed is it to be renowned by positions of honor, but without any doubt, it is greater to earn the same by the title of virtue. Whence, he who has attained the reward of virtue, even if he does not come into the possession of the wealth of this world and the scornful arrogance of honor, yet he ought to be content with the good conferred; lest if due to the

restlessness of a conscience unwilling to endure material failure, he should complain as though he had received an injury, by this very fault of ingratitude he apparently has made himself unworthy of the reward which seems to be his. But would that, if we do not secure the reward of our striving, we may not be deprived of the merit also. Nor do I propose these things for this end that I may withdraw from the instruction of an old man,<sup>1</sup> whom I have determined must be obeyed with complete exaction of mind and body. Because you fear pusillanimity of the spirit and have a dread of suspicion, you indeed act wisely and in friendly fashion. For I am not greater than Pompey, nor the one who conquered him, nor more prudent than Augustus, nor more eloquent than Cicero or Curio.<sup>2</sup> To what extent the breath of suspicion has harmed him oft-trodden succession of history has taught you. I pass over in silence how often the pussilanimity of the Jews rather than the fortitude of the Gentiles broke the spirit of a victorious Machabee. Whence, it is evident that I shall not be able to withstand, unaided, the attacks of these enemies unless, meanwhile, He supports me who protects man from pusillanimity of spirit and from the storm. In His strength I shall not fear what man may thrust upon me from without or the flesh may complain of from within. As for the rest, a swift horse, however fast he may be, as soon as the goad ceases to urge him on, slackens his pace, and as someone

---

1 This may be Bernard of Chartres, "senex Carnotensis" of whose method of teaching John gives so large a description. See Policraticus 7. 13. ed. Webb, 2. 145.

2 C. Scribonius Curio, the Elder, consul 76 B. C.; died 53 B. C. He was highly praised by Cicero as a brilliant orator. See Cicero, Brutus 59, 216.



has said:

Ease corrupts the mind; and waters  
That are not troubled quickly become stagnant.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, also, my mind, which through its own fault--I shall not say by nature--is lazy, will not lay aside its innate cowardice if it be not aroused more frequently by the stings of exhortation. Thus it will be the role of your industry and diligence more frequently to shake out the torpor of my sluggishness, so that virtue, not its own but that of another, may inspire him to better performance. For in this especially I think the pledge of true friendship lies if you deal with me in such a way that you do not spare my faults; and that they may be more carefully avoided in the future, you set them up before my face, lest by steadily becoming worse in that regard, I may be displeasing to others in that point in which, at one time or another, I shall not know I was displeasing to myself.

---

3 Ovid, ex Ponto l. 5. 5-6.

Cernis ut ignauam corrumpant otia corpus  
Ut capiant uitium, ni moueantur, aquae.

**CHAPTER III**

**INDEX OF PROPER NAMES**

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>		<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
A.....	80	48	Bath.....	92	80
	91	75	Becket, Thomas.....	68	23
	92	77		71	29
Adam.....	89	71		91	76
Adrian IV.....	64	8		99	92
	65	11		100	96
	67	20		102	100
	68	24		103	101
	69	26		104	102
	71	29	Belmeis, John.....	80	47
	72	31		83	54
	74	33		84	56
	82	52		87	67
	91	75		102	100
	94	83	Belmeis, Richard.....	63	5
	96	86	Benevento.....	64	8
	97	88		65	11
	98	90		67	20
	100	94		74	33
	103	101	Berkshire.....	96	87
Alan.....	95	85	Bernard of Chartres.....	106	106
Alexander III.....	68	23	Bigod, Count Hugh.....	65	15
	69	26		66	16
Alfred.....	89	72	Boethius.....	66	19
Alpine.....	75	35	Boso, Cardinal.....	68	23
Alps.....	72	31		82	52
Alton.....	97	88		83	54
Amesbury, Abbess of.....	97	88		84	57
	98	90		94	83
Anagni.....	67	20	Boullencour.....	101	99
Anastasius IV.....	86	62	Boulogne.....	77	41
Angers.....	61	2		90	74
Anjou.....	61	1	Brito.....	100	94
Appulia.....	100	96	Britons.....	75	35
Arnold of Kelso.....	84	56		100	97
Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux..	91	75	Bury St. Edmunds.....	106	105
	96	86	Caesar.....	77	43
	105	104	Canterbury.....	66	16
Assumption.....	97	88		67	22
	98	90		70	28
Augustus.....	106	106		71	29
Auxerre.....	95	85		75	35
Baiae.....	93	81		80	47
Bandinelli, Cardinal.....	69	26		81	50
Barbarossa, Frederick.....	67	21		82	52
	97	88		83	54

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>		<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
Canterbury.....	84	56	England.....	66	19
	86	64		71	29
	89	71		72	31
	91	76		73	32
	99	93		74	33
	100	96		75	35
	101	99		76	39
	103	101		77	41
	104	103		78	44
Cato.....	66	18		86	64
Celle.....	85	58		88	68
	101	98		91	76
	102	100		94	83
Charles of Denmark.....	86	63		96	86
Chalcidius.....	100	94		100	94
Chantemerle.....	101	99		101	98
Chard.....	91	75		105	104
	92	77		106	105
Chartres.....	106	106	Epiphany.....	88	69
Chichester.....	88	69	Ernulf.....	103	101
Chilham.....	86	62	Eugene III.....	65	14
	87	65		79	45
Chinon.....	61	1		88	68
Cicero.....	66	18	Everard.....	63	5
	106	106	Evesham.....	89	71
Cisalpine.....	72	31	Exeter.....	88	69
Cluny.....	66	17	Falerno.....	65	14
	76	39	Ferentino.....	62	3
	77	42		65	11
Comnemus.....	67	21	Flanders.....	86	63
Coventry.....	89	72	Foliot, Bishop Gilbert....	68	25
Cumin, William.....	91	75	France.....	61	1
	92	77		65	14
Curio.....	106	106		67	20
David.....	84	56		69	26
Denmark.....	86	63		72	31
Dover.....	86	62		86	62
	87	65		95	84
Durham.....	92	77		101	99
Ely.....	74	33	Froyle.....	97	88
	80	47		98	90
	82	52	Gauls.....	95	84
	83	54	Gentiles.....	106	106
	84	56	Geoffrey.....	61	1
	104	103		106	105
England.....	64	8	Gervase.....	89	72

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>		<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
Glastonbury.....	77	42	John of Salisbury.....	96	86
Gloucester.....	83	54		100	94
Greece.....	65	14		101	98
Greeks.....	100	97		102	100
Hambledon.....	79	45		103	101
Hameline, Abbot of.....	83	55		106	105
Hamon of Throwley.....	86	62	Jordan.....	97	88
Henry II.....	71	29		98	90
	75	35	Kelso.....	84	56
	77	41	Kent.....	86	62
	80	47	Lincoln.....	80	47
	81	50	Lisieux.....	91	75
	83	54		93	78
	86	62		96	86
	88	69		105	104
	91	75	London.....	63	5
	96	86		68	25
	105	104		83	55
Henry, Bishop of Winchester.	76	39		88	68
	77	41	Loudon.....	61	1
	78	44	Louis VII.....	61	2
	79	45	Lyons.....	102	100
Henry of Hambledon.....	79	45	Machabee.....	106	106
Herbert.....	71	29	Maine.....	61	1
Hilary.....	88	69	Matthew of Troyes.....	95	48
Holy Spirit.....	89	72		96	86
Hugh de Toucy.....	95	85	Milo I.....	90	74
	96	86	Milo II.....	90	74
Hugh of Dover.....	86	62	Mirabeau.....	61	1
	87	65	Moeris.....	93	81
Ireland.....	62	3	Morini.....	90	74
James.....	65	15	Murdack, Henry.....	62	3
January.....	101	99		88	68
Jews.....	106	106	N.....	80	47
Jocelyn.....	88	69	Narni.....	67	20
John, Monk.....	80	47	Neal, Bishop of Ely.....	74	33
John of Salisbury.....	66	19		80	47
	68	23		82	52
	71	29		83	54
	74	33		84	56
	75	35		104	103
	82	52	Norfolk.....	66	16
	85	58	Normandy.....	61	2
	91	75		71	29
	94	83		98	90
	95	84	Northampton.....	67	20

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>		<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
North Wales.....	75	35	Ralph of Sarr.....	93	78
Norwich.....	63	5	Ravello.....	67	20
	64	8	Reading.....	96	87
	80	47	Reginald.....	89	72
	85	60	Rheims.....	66	17
Odo.....	86	62	Richard.....	88	69
	87	65	Richard of Salisbury.....	66	19
Orleans.....	93	79	Robert.....	92	77
Orvieto.....	67	20	Robert of St. Andrews.....	84	56
Osbert.....	72	31	Robert, Bishop of Exeter..	88	69
	73	32	Robert of Salisbury.....	66	19
	79	46	Rochester.....	99	93
	86	63	Roger.....	89	71
	88	68	Roger of Salesby.....	65	14
	96	87	Roger, Archbishop of York..	80	47
P.....	102	100		81	50
Pagham, John.....	63	5		83	55
	64	10		86	62
Paris.....	65	11	Roman.....	64	8
Pershore.....	89	72		67	20
Peter of Celle.....	65	11		68	23
	66	16		69	26
	75	35		70	28
	85	58		74	34
	100	94		88	69
	101	98		95	84
	106	105		97	88
Peter's pence.....	68	25		98	90
Philip of Flanders.....	86	63		101	98
Picardy.....	84	56	Rome.....	67	21
Pisanus, Cardinal Guido....	68	23		69	26
Pit, Ralph.....	66	17		71	29
Plato.....	100	94		72	31
Poitiers.....	61	2		73	32
	87	67		74	33
	93	78		82	53
	102	100		86	62
Policraticus.....	100	94		87	65
Pompey.....	106	106		91	75
Provins.....	66	19		92	77
	75	35		95	84
	85	58		101	99
R.....	96	87		105	104
Ralph.....	65	15	Roxburghshire.....	84	56
Ralph, Master.....	80	47	St. Aigulf.....	75	35
	83	55		85	58

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>		<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
St. Andrews.....	84	56	Theobald, Archbishop.....	66	16
St. Augustine, Abbot of....	67	20		67	20
	68	24		68	23
St. Augustine, Monks.....	67	22		74	33
	68	24		76	39
	71	29		77	41
	89	71		81	50
St. Bernard.....	75	37		86	62
St. Bertin.....	68	25		88	68
	72	31		89	71
	73	32		91	75
	86	62		92	77
	87	65		97	88
SS. Cosmas and Damian.....	68	23		99	92
St. Frodoberta.....	75	38		100	95
St. John the Baptist.....	89	72		103	101
St. Mimori.....	75	38		104	102
St. Omer.....	86	63		105	104
St. Pudentiana.....	68	23	Theobald, Count.....	61	2
St. Remigius.....	66	16	Thomas, Brother.....	65	15
St. Savina.....	75	38		66	18
Salisbury.....	88	69		85	58
	97	88		96	87
	105	104	Thomas of Norwich.....	85	60
	106	105	Throwley.....	86	62
Sarr.....	93	78	Tiron.....	84	56
Scotland.....	84	56	Toulouse.....	91	75
Segni.....	67	20		93	78
Selkirk.....	84	56		100	94
Sens.....	75	37	Touraine.....	61	1
	95	84	Troyes.....	85	58
	96	86		95	84
Senones.....	95	84		96	86
Sicily.....	65	14		101	99
	67	21	Turbe, William.....	63	5
Simon.....	66	19		64	8
Somerset.....	91	75		80	47
Soreth.....	65	13	Vergil.....	65	13
Stephen, King.....	86	62	Vernon.....	61	2
	88	68	Walkelin.....	63	55
sub-Alpine.....	75	35		64	8
Suffolk.....	63	5		80	47
Sutri.....	67	20	Walter.....	89	72
Sylvester.....	67	22		99	92
Symphoria.....	88	68	Westminster.....	88	69
Terouanne-Boulogne.....	90	74	Wigford.....	80	47

Letter Page

William, Brother.....	80	47
	85	58
	93	81
William de Andeuilla.....	89	71
William Fitz Herbert.....	88	68
William of Sicily.....	67	20
William of Ypres.....	86	62
	87	66
Wiltshire.....	97	88
Winchcombe.....	89	72
Winchester.....	77	42
	78	45
	79	46
	88	68
Worcester.....	63	5
	64	10
	80	47
	89	71
Yarmouth.....	83	55
York.....	62	3
	72	31
	73	32
	80	47
	81	50
	83	54
	80	56
	86	63
	87	65
	88	68
	96	87
	102	100
Ypres.....	86	62
	87	66



**CHAPTER IV**

**INDEX OF QUOTATIONS**

SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
Acts 7.51 .....	89	72
Canticles 2.5.8.....	76	40
1 Corinthians 15.32 .....	74	34
10.13 .....	75	36
Deuteronomy 8.3 .....	65	13
32.15 .....	76	39
Genesis 18.27 .....	64	8
Hebrews 5.7 .....	80	48
12.6 .....	99	92
Isaias 50.7 .....	62	3
5.1, 2 .....	65	13
James 4.9 .....	72	31
Jeremias Lamentations 4.4 .....	76	39
4.4 .....	77	43
Job 30.31 .....	72	31
John 15.5 .....	75	36
16.33 .....	75	37
10.12 .....	76	40
Judges 5.15 .....	75	36
Leviticus 2.13 .....	66	18
Luke 4.4 .....	65	13
11.5 .....	76	39
12.42 .....	76	40
11.12 .....	76	40
Machabees 6.18-28 .....	69	26
Matthew 23.32 .....	61	2
22.21 .....	77	43
12.45 .....	78	44
10.36 .....	80	48
26.58 .....	80	48
26.73 .....	93	78
16.26 .....	99	93
Peter 2.20 .....	64	9
5.8 .....	89	71
Philippians 4.13 .....	75	36
2.21 .....	89	72
2.21 .....	90	74
Psalms 9.17 .....	66	17
11.7 .....	66	18
124.3 .....	75	36
88.38 .....	85	61
34.12; 37.21 .....	90	74
63.4; 139.4 .....	93	79
Romans 8.35-39 .....	67	20
8.28 .....	75	36
14.8 .....	99	92

CLASSICAL QUOTATIONS

	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Page</u>
Cato, Breves Sententiae 11 .....	93	82
Cicero, Brutus 59.216 .....	106	106
Cicero, Epistula ad Fam. 15.4 .....	66	18
Gregory, Homil. in Euange Luc 21.9-19 ...	103	101
Horace, Ars Poetica 4.4 .....	93	80
Horace, Epodes 110, 11 .....	65	12
Horace, Epodes 1.19.8 .....	65	13
Livy 1.11 .....	95	84
Livy 5.47 .....	95	84
Lucan, Pharsalia 8.85 .....	77	42
Ovid, ex Ponto 1.5.5-6 .....	106	107
Sallust, Catiline 20.4 .....	100	95
Statius, Thebaid 12.817 .....	62	3
Vergil, Aeneid 4.67 .....	67	22
Vergil, Aeneid 1.202 .....	75	35
Vergil, Aeneid 6.95 .....	75	37
Vergil, Aeneid 2.49 .....	95	84
Vergil, Aeneid 6.726 .....	100	95
Vergil, Eclogues 9.16.25 .....	93	81
Vergil, Eclogues 2.49 .....	95	84
Vergil, Eclogues 1.11 .....	104	102

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister Mary Patricius Cullinane, O.S.F. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classical Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

June 1, 1944  
Date

N. J. Miller ?  
Signature of Adviser