

AMICITIA JOCOSA: PETER OF CELLE AND JOHN OF SALISBURY

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Jests and laughter often characterize the best friendships. They signal a comfortable affection and mutual trust, usually developed between two individuals over a period of time. In fact, occasions of laughter, whether rooted in prosperity or adversity, sometimes become the fondest recollection of close friends, and the evocation of such memories is one of friendship's highest delights. The correspondence of Peter of Celle and John of Salisbury rewards its reader with a glimpse of such a joyous relationship.¹ In deeply troubled times these two men evidenced, through humour and good cheer, the warmth of that true friendship which, for Cicero, was heaven's finest blessing.²

An unlikely friendship existed between Peter and John. The former was a monk, a retiring man whose interests were profoundly spiritual and whose stature in the world's reckoning was relatively small.³ His activities as abbot of Montier-la-Celle and later of Saint Rémi were devoted to monastic administration, while his writings were entirely aimed at the instruction of his spiritual sons.⁴ His outlook was typically contemptuous of the mundane, yet not so severe as that of Bernard of Morval.⁵ Though he warned John of Salisbury about secular distractions at Paris, and summoned him to a life of solitude, Peter's letters reveal that he appreciated a thoughtful material gift and took sincere pleasure in a friend's worldly success.⁶ He was a

pious man of glad temperament whose interests were never far removed from religious concerns.

John of Salisbury was a secular clerk. His activities, though prompted by religious conviction, were essentially secular. He was much in the world, as student, emissary, author, and political exile.⁷ As secretary to Archbishops Theobald and Thomas of Canterbury, his endeavours brought him into contact with the most powerful men of England and the continent in the third quarter of the twelfth century. By 1159, he could write that he had crossed the Alps ten times.⁸ Later, the Becket controversy "plunged him into politics up to the neck."⁹ His wide learning and forthright style, employed in the service of his Church, secured for John's writings a reputation of authority which has only increased with the passing of time.¹⁰ He was a humanist and a diplomat who could not retreat from the world, though he clearly espoused the conviction of the "supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal ends of mankind."¹¹ Rather, he keenly observed his surroundings, and exposed folly and wickedness in their own settings: the school, cloister, and court.¹² Surely this is why the historians refer to him as "a cosmopolitan scholar," and they affirm that "no other twelfth-century figure was personally involved with so many and such a variety of important developments."¹³

Despite these contrasts, there were several points at which the temperaments and activities of the two men intersected. Though their exercise of religious conviction differed markedly, both were loyal ecclesiastics. In fact, at the close of their long careers, one succeeded the other as Bishop of Chartres.¹⁴ Both were writers: Peter sent his *De Panibus* to John, while the latter dedicated to his friend the *Historia Pontificalis*.¹⁵ Each appealed to the other for candid criticism of his work. Both were avid readers and scholars who undoubtedly stimulated each other to wider and deeper learning. John's knowledge of Scripture surely owes something to Peter, and there is no doubt that the abbot's fondness for classical allusions bespeaks John's influence. In short, the cleric and the abbot discovered in one another a spring of common interests to nourish a respectful, affectionate, and enduring friendship.

Peter of Celle and John of Salisbury met at some time in the 1140's at Paris (or Chartres), and some evidence suggests that Peter was John's student.¹⁶ There followed a period in which John resided with Peter, perhaps as his clerk,¹⁷ leaving to enter the service of the Archbishop of

Canterbury. John approached Theobald armed with a now-celebrated letter from Bernard of Clairvaux attesting to his learning, character, and poverty.¹⁸ The Abbot of Clairvaux acknowledged to Theobald that John had been recommended to him by friends, and it is likely that Peter, who would write again on John's behalf,¹⁹ was one of them. Perhaps this is the reason that Poole thought Peter was a Cistercian.²⁰ At any rate, years later (in 1157) John would express his gratitude for Peter's role in his own return to England: "It is your gift that I have returned to the land of my birth."²¹

The two men cultivated their friendship through letters and visits, until John again became a more permanent resident in Peter's monastery. As an exile during the Becket controversy, he was the guest of his old friend at Rheims from early in 1164 to November, 1170. After the momentous events of December, John would again write to Peter concerning affairs in England and the perils threatening the latter's estates there.²² In turn, Peter addressed several missives to John at Chartres between 1176 and 1180. Thus, their friendship lasted more than thirty years. The vicissitudes of this remarkable relationship, characterized by candour, mutual support, and lively wit, can be traced in the correspondence of two men for whom friendship meant the fullest realization of Christian joy on earth.

Neither writer's letters constitute a formal treatise on friendship such as we have in Aelred of Rievaulx's imitation of Cicero.²³ Though Peter and John certainly composed with an eye to posterity, their letters convey genuine expressions of the noble love of a man for his dearest friend.²⁴ The shared sentiments are never vain, never condescending or cynical; they are honest and substantial. Even when Peter develops a rather elaborate metaphor to assure John of his abiding love, comparing it to a star seeming to fall from the sky, yet remaining forever fixed in the heavens ("So, so, my dearest friend, has God impressed the star of reciprocal love in the firmament of my heart"),²⁵ we sense a heartfelt emotion beneath the rhetorical conceit.²⁶ John even sent a more enigmatic letter of this kind to Peter;²⁷ but more often the declarations of affection were notably simple, as when Peter blessed the hour in which he made John his friend:

May that day be blessed, that hour never pass away with the
failing of time, in which I made John my own, in which I found
among the sons of men such a friend.²⁸

Peter and John recognized the source of their friendship in Christ; their minds and hearts were united through participation in the love of God. Thus, they often expressed their affection for one another in religious, even monastic terms. For example, in a letter accompanying a copy of his *Policraticus* to Peter, John writes that all the possessions of friends must be shared and that even their feelings cannot be withheld. "Who doubts," he asks, "that things must be shared by those whose spirit is one?" After citing Plato and Chalcidius as ancient expositors of this unifying bond, John declares himself Peter's friend: "Therefore, since I have professed myself your friend, I freely acknowledge the sharing of possessions and minds."²⁹ Peter, in turn, reminded John of this closeness of mind between friends. In exuberant lines, echoing the great canticle of love, he exclaimed:

You are a great portion of my delights; in you are my riches;
you are the golden pillow for my head; would that, with Christ
in our midst, we might have always the same proximity of bodies
as minds.³⁰

On another occasion, Peter would write that John might find elsewhere greater worldly gains, but no keener love than his:

Indeed, you have found for yourself more fruitful gains among
others, but not greater trust or love. Others can give more, yet
they cannot love more. For I have shared with you not only my
substance, but also my soul.³¹

The two friends enjoyed such an intimate intellectual and emotional relationship that even long absences could not extinguish it. Rather, we observe them nourishing their friendship by letters, mutual aid, promises of visits, and, above all, reminiscences of past joys in each other's company. John expressed just such a sentiment in a letter to Peter composed immediately after his return to England, in December, 1170. After outlining, in ominous tones, the dangers encountered at home, John concluded the message with this recollection of Peter's abbey:

I am scarcely able without groans, sighs and tears to call to
mind our dearest brothers and lords who constantly serve Most
Blessed Remigius, recalling that I resided happily at this image

of heaven while I enjoyed the fellowship of these men, and experienced the kind of love which we long for in eternal life.³²

The hallmark of Peter and John's friendship, as this paper's title suggests, was jesting and laughter. Of course, this delightful bond was not characterized by trifling,³³ but by an engaging, lively wit. The humour was intellectual, satirical, and genial. Often, the laughter was at someone's expense, though not cruelly so. Once, for example, in the letter accompanying a copy of his *Policraticus* to Peter, John asked that his friend return the corrected text as soon as possible, unlike "that thief" (*fur ille*) of Canterbury, Brito, who had retained a copy for a long time, perhaps to show it to John's enemies. The author would expect such behaviour from Greeks but not Bretons! John's punning reproaches are intended to amuse Peter; they are surely not serious indictments of Brito, who was a close friend of John's.³⁴

Upon receiving a humorous packet from John, Peter himself characterized its tone:

As I saw your letters, my heart was filled with joy, my mouth with laughter. Indeed, you have mingled jests with serious matter, but they are restrained and without loss of dignity and modesty. Your wit is without injury, your jests without meanness.³⁵

His heart was filled with joy at a friend's greeting, but his mouth was filled with laughter at John's satire. The latter was fond of that genre, and employed the writings of classical satirists to score contemporary abuses.³⁶ Janet Martin has asserted that John used such classical material within his circle of close friends to reinforce their sense of being a small, elite group.³⁷ Although the actual identities of individuals whom John and Peter joked about are often beyond our recovery, due largely to the pseudonyms which veiled them, we can discern in the correspondence a special delight in satirical humour.³⁸

Naturally, the two friends were fond of teasing each other. One of their favourite themes was drinking. The Gallic abbot liked to remind his friend across the channel about the English reputation for imbibing:

Concerning your people and their manners, it is sufficiently known to me that they are wont to fill, in fact, to overflow their paunches, their very bellies with wine, just as with mead, without restraint!³⁹

Of course, the humour in such teasing is enhanced by Peter's clever exaggeration, underscored by the adverbs *imo* and *quinimo*, the verbs *implere* and *superinfundere*. And Peter more than once referred to the English penchant for cheap beer, in contrast to the fine wines of France.⁴⁰ John would not be outdone, however. He used a serious occasion, the receipt of Peter's treatise on the kinds of bread mentioned in Sacred Scripture, for a classic response.⁴¹

John began by noting that once before Peter had kindly nourished him, poor and in a foreign land. In serious, even sentimental tone, he acknowledges the abbot's immense generosity and his own indebtedness. Subtly, John begins to play on the word bread: Your worthiness procures for me my daily bread . . . who would not be refreshed by such an abundance of bread? . . . who ever gathered together so many kinds of delicious breads? He declares that he could wish to swallow them up, crumbs, crusts, and all! Then, suddenly, wryly, John unfolds the old theme:

Yet, your experience knows that "man does not live by bread alone," and that unceasing application to drinking has made the English famous among foreign peoples. Therefore, I think it just that you pledge one so surpassingly well fed, and extend the cup to him before whom you have set bread. For now I thirst, and this devourer of breads may be choked by dryness unless your mercy provides me wine. At any rate, wine is more at hand to you than beer, which our people commonly call *cervisia*. However, I am a drinker of either, and not loath to anything which can make me tipsy!⁴²

John continues at some length to comment on Peter's vineyards and superb wines, concluding with the remark that it is a custom of Gauls to dismiss those invited to their tables sober, but never thirsty.

The wholesome camaraderie of these jesting letters testifies to a friendship of warmth and trust. Sometimes, however, the lighthearted mood gave way to an honest reproach which no less evidenced the bond of mutual respect and affection between close friends.⁴³ In fact, the main cause of complaint between these allies was failure to write frequently, a charge borne much more often by John.⁴⁴ On occasion, Peter would array his reproaches in a series of stinging rhetorical questions: "Perhaps the waves of the sea have drowned your greetings? . . . you have no messenger to send?

. . . you know not where to find me?"⁴⁵

After John was elected Bishop of Chartres, the correspondence lapsed for more than a year, and Peter composed an emotional letter in which he recalled the "heap of letters" (*acervus epistolarum*) testifying to their old friendship (*antiqua nostra amicitia*). He went on to distinguish false friendship from true, and dismissed the pressures of pastoral care as an excuse for not writing. He reminded John that abbots are busy too, and that any profession might claim such a dispensation, finally exclaiming, "Is there no time for visiting or writing? No time for loving, nor remembering?"⁴⁶

Even if the criticism stemmed from other reasons, as it did infrequently, John and Peter would temper their remarks with guarantees of good will and affection. The latter concluded one sharp note taking John (now Bishop of Chartres) to task for maltreating the abbot of Sts. Crispin and Crispinianus with these reassurances:

For I judge nothing foreign to me which I feel concerns you. A long root is not withered nor wasted by a sudden frost.⁴⁷

A more frequent theme in the letters, by far, is mutual aid. Of course, this seems intrinsic to friendship. Yet, as Cicero had cautioned, those who fashion friendships for utility destroy them.⁴⁸ Certainly, the close bond between Peter and John depended on recognition of kindred spirit, trust, and respect, not advantage. Their correspondence indicates clearly that the appeal of one to the other for aid implied no obligation of favour for favour. Rather, the letters allude to many mutual kindnesses, and John, who loathed ingratitude,⁴⁹ seems ever-prepared to acknowledge his indebtedness to his friend.

An exchange of letters in the summer and autumn of 1157 illustrates the practical assistance one friend offered the other. Peter reported to John a disastrous fire which ruined the priory of Saint Aigulf at Provins (a dependent house of Montier-la-Celle). He depicted himself as Job ("grieving and mourning with blessed Job among the ashes of Saint Aigulf")⁵⁰ attempting to retrieve the ashes scattered by the four winds. Then he declared that from England he sought not ashes, but precious fruits of charity which his own little bed of spices [John] might bear.⁵¹ He developed his analogy of cultivation at length, thus reminding John of how diligent he, Peter, had been in nurturing his friend's success. The

letter is ornate, clearly the product of a practised rhetoric. Yet, it is not false. The author indulges the *modus epistolaris*, but we sense a sincerity and affection which have nothing to do with crass flattery. John certainly accepted the letter in this spirit, for his response was sympathetic, consolatory, and helpful.⁵² In fact, he reported on his efforts to secure donations for the priory in two more letters (33 and 34) before the end of that year. And Peter wrote again to assure John in the plainest terms that he wished to cause his friend no discomfort in carrying out this business (*negotium*):

I am always going to follow your will and do whatever you say, especially in England. For I am unwilling that this kind of business, which I do not doubt is a trouble to every decent man, be a burden to you. For whatever profits they are going to return, I am going to hold as the basest filth if either your faith or your modesty have felt the least opposed. Therefore, I charge, in fact, I adjure your most blessed friendship not to move a foot from your position of uprightness on my account, but undoubtedly you will order in return what is just and good in your eyes.⁵³

John's active political life sometimes placed him in uncomfortable circumstances. In all of these, he turned to Peter. We recall that the abbot had offered him shelter and assistance at the conclusion of his formal studies in 1148, as he would do again during John's exile from 1164 to 1170. Another perilous situation developed in 1156, when John provoked the indignation of Henry II. He immediately confided in Peter. John wrote, surely with some exaggeration, that the king's anger had grown white-hot against him, and that he alone in the realm was said to diminish the royal majesty.⁵⁴ He went on to reveal his intention to flee England, seeking refuge in France (presumably with Peter) or at Rome. Fortunately, the danger passed quickly, for by the following spring he had been restored to favour.⁵⁵ The entire affair remains enigmatic, but what is important for our purposes is to note that John had had recourse to Peter without delay. In fact, Peter would later reproach his friend for not keeping him abreast of the situation, and John apologized for that.⁵⁶

Peter's surviving correspondence indicates that he found several occasions on which to address consolatory letters to John. In one such

letter, the salutation announced the genre: Peter, by God's grace called abbot of the monastery at Celle, to John, his friend, to be consoled by the God of consolation.⁵⁷ The author went on to respond to his friend's appeal ("you seek consolation, since you feel desolation")⁵⁸ with a series of reflections on the human condition, and the example of the suffering Christ. At another time, he summoned John to the peace and solitude of the cloister, after employing at length the apocalyptic imagery of the devouring dragon as John's enemy.⁵⁹ He suggested that his friend would escape the dragon's threats in the monastery, and concluded his invitation with a host of scriptural commendations of *solitudo*.⁶⁰ Again, perhaps during the period of John's disfavour with the king, Peter exhorted his comrade to persevere, even to grow stronger in adversity.⁶¹ In effect, he denied John's need for consolation by affirming that his spirit could never be broken:

Behold the furnace, but the gold does not fear; behold the sea, but the leaf floats upon it; behold the hammer, but the stone is not shattered; behold the wind, but Mount Sion will not be moved; behold the battle, but the soldier holds his sword. One toils with needless expense who strives to assist the sun with torches. Not so is our knowledge and experience. Yet, if any consolation can come from me to you, use it as you please, and, present and absent, I am yours, and all that I have is yours.⁶²

In all these letters we observe the abbot's counsel, rooted in Sacred Scripture, exquisitely expressed and sincerely solicitous. Peter's deep spirituality, authentically Benedictine,⁶³ formed his idea of friendship. True friendship was bonded by love of Christ and by the desire to elevate the spirit always toward Him. This view removed it from the province of banal sentiments to a higher love which LeClercq has called "amitié pure."⁶⁴ This idea, met in Peter, accorded perfectly with John of Salisbury's own philosophy of *amicitia*.⁶⁵

The practice of loving friendship between Peter and John involved them in a variety of mutually supportive endeavours, as the letters we have surveyed illustrate. Since both were of scholarly disposition, their conversations quite naturally turned upon learned matters. Peter, as we might expect, was a biblical scholar, while John's knowledge of secular literature was unsurpassed in his age.⁶⁶ Yet, both reveal a remarkable

acquaintance with both secular and divine letters. John's writings display an impressive understanding of the Old and New Testaments,⁶⁷ and Peter seems entirely comfortable with his friend's classical references. Their letters are replete with allusions to Scripture and the Classics. Undoubtedly, their familiarity with such a wide field of learning is traceable to a view of friendship which promoted Christian humanism.

In addition to the omnipresent Scriptural and Classical allusions in the small collection of letters exchanged by Peter and John, there appear explicit requests for books. John asked Peter to send him a commentary by Hugh of Saint Victor, and he also requested Boethius' *De Trinitate* (for his brother, Richard).⁶⁸ On another occasion he was seeking letters of Saint Bernard, and even urged Peter to compose an anthology of the abbot of Clairvaux's works for him.⁶⁹

The two men exchanged their own compositions too, as we have noted above. Peter appealed to his colleague for close scrutiny and candid criticism of *De Panibus*, as John would do for his *Policraticus*.⁷⁰ There is some evidence that the latter also sent his *Entheticus de Dogmate Philosophorum* to Peter as well, for in commenting on "letters" received from John which caused him both joy and mirth, Peter borrowed a line from the poem itself.⁷¹ Certainly the extended satirical passages in the piece would have caused the laughter which so pleased the abbot.

The letters of Peter and John, though imbued with scholarly matter, are not didactic in tone, nor pedantic. They are intellectually engaging, and genuine. The two had been repelled by the incipient movement away from the balanced education of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* toward the preoccupation with logic-chopping in schools now recognized as the precursors of scholasticism. Peter wrote a letter (*Ep.* 73) to John denouncing these and other tendencies at Paris, while John responded with his *Metalogicon*. Thus, while the correspondence was friendly, often jesting in tone, there was present a serious purpose. Peter and John were restless in their pursuit of knowledge, understanding, and truth, and their friendship constituted one means of achieving those worthy ends.

Through themes of consolation, mutual aid, scholarly rapport and, above all, the good natured jests which pervade the correspondence of Peter and John, a modern reader glimpses a friendship of remarkable character. These men, positioned amidst the swirling moods and movements of the twelfth century "renaissance," unfold before us a firm, abiding friendship which

our own cynical age rarely seems to understand or appreciate.⁷² In their well-ordered world, a man's love for his friends found honoured place in the hierarchy of values. This outlook, in part, caused Colin Morris to describe the twelfth century as "the century of friendship."⁷³ None better exemplify the ideal of true friendship than do Peter of Celle and John of Salisbury.

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NOTES

¹ The letters of Peter of Celle are in PL 202. John of Salisbury's collected correspondence has been published in two volumes: W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler, and C.N.L. Brooke, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: The Early Letters* (London 1955); W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: The Later Letters* (Oxford 1979).

² *De Amicitia* 13, 47: solem enim e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius.

³ The only major study of Peter to date concentrates on his spirituality: Jean LeClercq, *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle* (Paris, 1946).

⁴ The several treatises of Peter on monastic life and practices appear in PL 202. He became abbot of St. Rémi in 1162.

⁵ H.C. Hoskier, ed., *De Contemptu Mundi by Bernard of Morval* (London 1929).

⁶ These sentiments are expressed in Epistles 73, 75, 120 and 124 in PL 202.

⁷ The bibliography on John of Salisbury is considerable. Perhaps the best sketch of his life is C.N.L. Brooke's in the introduction to *The Early Letters*. See also H. Liebeschütz, *Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London 1950). Recent studies include Max Kerner, *Johannes von Salisbury und Die logische Struktur seines Politicus* (Wiesbaden 1977) and Klaus Guth, *Johannes von Salisbury* (München 1978).

- ⁸ *Metalogicon* III.prol. The *Metalogicon* was edited by C.C.J. Webb (Oxford 1929).
- ⁹ Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Totowa, N.J. 1973) 102.
- ¹⁰ Two recent studies have concentrated exclusively on John's influence: Amnon Linder, "The Knowledge of John of Salisbury in the Late Middle Ages," *Studi Medievali* 18 (1977) 315-66; Walter Ullmann, "John of Salisbury's Policraticus in the Later Middle Ages," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geistiges Leben im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Hauck und H. Mordek (Cologne/Vienna 1978).
- ¹¹ J.J.N. McGurk, "John of Salisbury," *History Today* (January 1975) 40.
- ¹² John's denunciation of contemporary vices appears chiefly in the *Policraticus sive de Nugis Curialium*, ed. C.C.J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford 1909) and in the elegiac poem, "Entheticus de Dogmate Philosophorum," ed. Ronald E. Pepin, *Traditio* (1975) 127-93.
- ¹³ C.N.L. Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (New York 1969) 74; Norman F. Cantor, *Medieval History* (New York 1969) 356.
- ¹⁴ John died on October 25, 1180, Peter on March 10, 1183. See E. de Lépinos et L. Merlet, "Necrologium Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Carnotensis," *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres* 3 (Chartres 1862-65) 202 ff.
- ¹⁵ *De Panibus* is in PL 202. 927 ff.; *Historia Pontificalis* has been edited by Marjorie Chibnall (New York 1956).
- ¹⁶ Brooke in *The Early Letters* (at n. 1) xvii. John of Salisbury himself informs us that he studied on the continent for some twelve years, from 1136 to ca. 1148. See *Metalogicon* II.10.
- ¹⁷ Brooke, loc. cit.
- ¹⁸ *Epist.* 361 (PL 182. 502).
- ¹⁹ See the letter of Peter to the abbot of St. Amand, no. 143 in *The Later Letters*.
- ²⁰ R.L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* (repr. New York 1960) 186.
- ²¹ No. 33 in *The Early Letters*: "Vestrum namque munus est quod reversus sum in terram nativitatis meae."
- ²² No. 304 in *The Later Letters*.
- ²³ Aelred's *De Spirituali Amicitia* (PL 195) is largely dependent on Cicero's *De Amicitia* according to P. Delhaye, "Deux Adaptations du *De Amicitia* de Ciceron au XII^e siècle," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et*

médiévale 15 (1948) 304-31. Recent studies of Aelred include A. Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study* (Kalamazoo 1981) and James McEvoy, "Notes on the Prologue of St. Aelred of Rievaulx's 'De Spirituali Amicitia,' with a Translation," *Traditio* (1981) 396-411.

²⁴ No studies devoted to the correspondence of Peter and John have been published, though Brooke's introductions (at n. 1) include brief overviews and analyses of selected pieces. See also Sydney Evans, "John of Salisbury: A Man of Letters," *The Hatcher Review* 7 (1979) 3-18. There is a short chapter on Peter's letters ("Les Lettres D'Amitié") in LeClercq (at n. 3), but the author does not discuss those sent to John of Salisbury. Dom LeClercq also characterized monastic epistles generally in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York 1974) 220-28.

²⁵ *Epist.* 67 (PL 202.513): "Sic, sic, mi charissime, ex quo Deus in firmamento cordis nostri stellam amoris mutui impressit"

²⁶ Colin Morris discusses the elaborate imagery commonly employed in expressions of friendship at this time in *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (London 1972) 97-107.

²⁷ See Brooke's discussion of *Epist.* 112 on pages xlvi-1 in *The Early Letters*.

²⁸ *Epist.* 68 (PL 202.514): "Dies illa sit benedicta, hora nunquam pertranseat cum defectu temporis, qua Joannem meum feci, qua talem et tantum amicum in filiis hominum apprehendi." In *Epist.* 70, Peter wrote in a similar vein: "Felix anima mea, quae talem peperit, vel saltem reperit amicum. Domine Deus cordis mei, tuus erat Joannes, et mihi eum dedisti."

²⁹ No. 111 in *The Early Letters*: "Cum ergo me vobis amicum esse professus sim, participium rerum et animorum libens agnosco"

³⁰ *Epist.* 69 (PL 202.515): "Tu autem pars magna deliciarum mearum, in te opes meae; tu capitis mei reclinatorium aureum; utinam corporum eadem semper mediante Christo propinquitas esset, quae animorum." Cf. Canticum of Canticles 310.

³¹ *Epist.* 72 (PL 202.519): "Equidem tibi fecundiora lucra apud alios reperisti, sed non fidem, sed non amorem. Plus quidem donare, non tamen plus possunt amare. Communicavi namque tibi non solum substantiam, sed et animam."

³² No. 304 in *The Later Letters*: "Karissimos autem fratres nostros et dominos, qui beatissimo Remigio iugiter famulantur, vix sine gemitu et suspiriis aut madore lacrimarum possum ad animum revocare, recolens me quoddam instar paradisi feliciter incoluisse, dum illorum praesentia

fruebar et caritatis experiebar imaginem quae in aeterna vita speratur."

³³ John had no patience with "nuqae" as is immediately evident to the reader of his *Folicraticus sive de Nugis Curialium* and the longer *Entheticus*.

³⁴ John hailed Brito affectionately in the *Entheticus* (1667-70) and in the shorter poem of that title introducing the *Folicraticus* (p. 7 of Webb's edition, vol. I). During the Becket controversy, John would address several letters (nos. 242, 243, 245, 247 in *The Later Letters*) to Brito, now subprior of Christ Church, Canterbury, informing him of developments and reproaching the community of Christ Church for neglect in supporting the Archbishop.

³⁵ *Epist.* 69 (PL 202,515): "Ut vidi litteras tuas, cor meum júbilo, os meum impletum est risu. Miscuisti siquidem jocos seriis, sed temperatos et sine detrimento dignationis et verecundiae. Sales tui sine dente sunt, joci sine vilitate."

³⁶ Ronald E. Pepin, "John of Salisbury's *Entheticus* and the Classical Tradition of Satire," *Florilegium* 3 (1981).

³⁷ Janet Martin, "Uses of Tradition: Gellius, Petronius, and John of Salisbury," *Viator* 10 (1979) 68.

³⁸ See, for example, Epistles 111 and 112 in *The Early Letters*. Brooke comments on the pseudónyms in these letters in the introduction, xlviiii-xlix.

³⁹ *Epist.* 125 (PL 202,574): "De gente tua et moribus, mihi satis notum est, quia utres, imo ventres suos solent implere, quinimo superinfundere, tam de vino quam de mulso, sine reprehensione."

⁴⁰ *Epist.* 123 (PL 202,573): "Solent enim tunc fecundi calices tam apud vos, quam apud nos, nova et vetera dicere et facere. Sed de his taceamus, ne vestrates irascantur, qui potu viliori non minus inebriantur, quam nostrates vino meracissimo."

⁴¹ No. 33 in *The Early Letters* 55-58.

⁴² *Ibid.*: "Ceterum novit experientia vestra, 'quia non in solo pane vivit homo,' et quod potationis assiduitas apud exterarum nationum fecit Anglos insignes. Unde iustum arbitror ut egregie cibato propinetis, et cui apposuistis et panem, porrigatis et poculum. Iam enim sitio, poteroque vorator panum in siccitate strangulari, nisi clementia vestra michi vinum provideat. Hoc utique vobis paratius est quam caelia, quae a nostratibus usu vulgari cervisia nuncupatur. Ego tamen utriusque bibax sum, et non abhorreo quicquid inebriare potest."

⁴³ In no. 31 in *The Early Letters*, John gratefully responded to one of Peter's reproaches: "Increpationis ergo vestrae querelas gratanter accepi."

⁴⁴ John made excuses in several letters (e.g. nos. 32, 304, 310) for not writing to Peter.

⁴⁵ *Epist.* 72 (PL 202.518): "Hoc unum perpendo, quod litterarum tuarum ad nos rarissima pervenit salutatio. Et fortassis fluctus marini hoc faciunt? . . . Rursus quem mittas non habes? . . . Ignoras quo me requirere debeas?"

⁴⁶ *Epist.* 118 (PL 202.568): "Nullum fuit tempus vacuum, vel veniendi, vel scribendi, nunquid amandi? nunquid recordandi?"

⁴⁷ *Epist.* 120 (PL 202.570): "Nam a me nihil alienum aestimo, quidquid de vobis sensero. Radix enim longaeva pruina subita non arescit, neque marcescit." John must have warmly received these echoes of Terence and Ecclesiasticus.

⁴⁸ *De Amicitia* 14, 51: "Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere."

⁴⁹ John denounces ingratitude in the longer *Entheticus*, 907-8 *et passim*.

⁵⁰ *Epist.* 68 (PL 202.514): "Ecce in cineribus beati Aigulfi cum beato Job lugens et dolens . . ."

⁵¹ Peter's image (*areola aromatis*) is taken from the Canticle of Canticles 5:13 and 6:1, a favorite source for monastic expressions of friendship. See Morris (at n. 26) 106.

⁵² No. 32 in *The Early Letters* 52-54.

⁵³ *Epist.* 74 (PL 202.521): "Ad nutum enim tuum semper facturus sum, praecipue in Anglia, quidquid dixeris. Neque enim volo tibi esse oneri hoc genus negotii, quod omni honesto viro molestum esse non dubito. Cujuscunque namque emolumenti lucra reportaturi sint, pro vilissimo stercore habiturus sum, si vel ad modicum fides, vel pudor faciei tuae contra senserint. Mando igitur, imo adjuro amicitiam tuam sanctissimam, ne de statu rectitudinis tuae propter me pedum moveas, sed quod justum et bonum in oculis tuis fuerit, indubitanter remandes."

⁵⁴ No. 19 in *The Early Letters*: "Serenissimi domini, potentissimi regis, invictissimi principis nostri tota in me incanduit indignatio . . . solus in regno regiam dicor minuere maiestatem."

⁵⁵ See numbers 20-21, 27-31 in *The Early Letters*. The chronology of these events has been established by Giles Constable, "The Alleged Disgrace of John of Salisbury in 1159," *English Historical Review* 69 (1954) 67-76.

- ⁵⁶ No. 31 in *The Early Letters*: "Sed hoc, ut scribitis, renuntiasset debueram." Peter's letter has not survived.
- ⁵⁷ *Epist.* 71 (PL 202.517): "P. Dei gratia Cellensis monasterii dictus abbas, Joanni amico suo, a Deo totius consolationis consolari."
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: "Quaeris, inquam, consolationem, quia sentis desolationem."
- ⁵⁹ Apocalypse 12:3 ff.
- ⁶⁰ *Epist.* 75 (PL 202.521-22). LeClercq (at n. 24) describes such "vocation" letters on pp. 224-28.
- ⁶¹ *Epist.* 125 (PL 202.574). Peter begins with these words: "Nunquam pulsum tuum in litteris a te receptis inaequalem, aut citatum de superveniente febre regiae commotionis deprehendo."
- ⁶² *Ibid.*: "Ecce caminus, sed non timet aurum; ecce mare, sed supernatat folium; ecce malleus, sed non confringitur adamas; ecce ventus, sed mons Sion non commovebitur; ecce praelium, sed miles tenet gladium. Supervacuis impendiis laborat, qui solem facibus nititur adjuvare. Non ista et scientia et experientia. Si qua tamen tibi ex me potest fieri consolatio, utere ut libet, et praesens et absens, tuus sum, et omnia mea tua sunt."
- ⁶³ LeClercq (at n. 24) 11.
- ⁶⁴ LeClercq (at n. 3) 17.
- ⁶⁵ John of Salisbury has not left a formal statement on friendship, but in a letter (no. 97 in *The Early Letters*) to an unidentified recipient he clearly expresses its important place in his life.
- ⁶⁶ Modern scholars report John's knowledge of classical literature almost entirely in superlatives. See, for example, Dom David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York 1962) 135.; C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the 12th Century* (repr. Cleveland 1966) 99-101; Frederick Ärtz, *Renaissance Humanism* (Kent, Ohio 1966) 7-9.
- ⁶⁷ John composed a famous letter (no. 209 in *The Later Letters*) to Henry, Count of Champagne, on the canon of Sacred Scripture.
- ⁶⁸ No. 34 in *The Early Letters* 59-62.
- ⁶⁹ No. 31 in *The Early Letters* 49-51.
- ⁷⁰ Peter's letter accompanying *De Panibus* is printed in PL 202. 927-30; John sent the *Policraticus* to Peter with no. 111 in *The Early Letters* 180-82.
- ⁷¹ *Entheticus* 1601.
- ⁷² See the penetrating essay by Ronald Sharp, "Friendship," *The Kenyon Review* 2,2n.s. (1980) 1-3.

⁷³ Morris (at n. 26) 96. The author discusses twelfth-century views of friendship on pp. 96-107, though he does not mention Peter of Celle or John of Salisbury.