

of the uncle might rise again in the nephew⁴⁹. He then attempted to land the knock-out blow, continuing that Henry had succeeded to the throne as a crusader and it was fitting that he fulfil his vow, because if, as legitimate heir of King John – who had taken his own crusade vow but never departed – Henry might leave on crusade, it would be enough to satisfy the creditor (that is, God) and pay the debts of his father, who died with his vow unfulfilled⁵⁰. At this point, Henry's copy of the letter transitioned smoothly back into the main text. Just as in his appeals to the other kings, Honorius's aim was to motivate Henry, but also, according to the tradition of papal crusade encyclicals, to tread the fine line between inspiring him and shaming him enough, without alienating him, to provoke an active response⁵¹. The memory of Richard was the perfect tool at the papacy's disposal to provide the inspiration. Although Honorius did not compare Henry's deeds with those of Richard's explicitly in this copy of *Iustus Dominus*, the modified text inevitably invited its recipients to draw such comparisons themselves. Was Henry the equal of the great crusader king? Honorius suggested that he could become a new Lionheart if he went on crusade. Or would he end up like his father, John, who died with the shame of an unfulfilled crusade vow? This was a repetition of the fathers and sons motif from the *narratio*. Henry, therefore, received a double dose of unfavourable comparison with his ancestors, both the general use of the theme in the second half of the *narratio*, and the precision-targeted needling of his personal shame in the *dispositio*. The effect of this rhetoric must have been compounded by the unsettled question of his father's unfulfilled vow – a duty, and embarrassment, that Henry inherited along with the crown.

It is extremely difficult to judge the persuasive power of crusade encyclicals, but in this case of Henry, there are valuable clues which suggest that Honorius struck the desired chord with the king of England. Although original papal letters have suffered extremely high attrition rates – the overwhelming majority have long been lost, reused or destroyed – Henry's government carefully preserved and archived the original, impressively large single-sheet parchment of *Iustus Dominus*

49) Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53v: *Et forte non deest quid hostes adhuc in proximo sanguinis metuant dummodo resurgat patrum dextera in nepote.*

50) See SCHWERIN, *Die Aufrufe* (see n. 5) p. 32.

51) See, for example, the papacy treading a fine line between inspiring and shaming the people of Christendom in *Quia maior*: SMITH, *How to Craft a Crusade Call* (see n. 12).