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An Annotated Translation of the Life of St. Thomas Becket by William Fitzstephen

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE LIFE OF ST. THOMAS BECKET BY WILLIAM FITZSTEPHEN

By

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VITA

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From 1939 to 1942 he has taught the Classics and held the position of Librarian at Assumption Abbey College.

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INTRODUCTION

Present day history has much to be thankful for with regard to the facts in the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The life of this great statesman, bishop, saint, and martyr has come down to us from the records of men who were for the most part eyewitnesses of the things they relate, honest characters, accurate writers and what is of the greatest value in historical research, they were many and substantially in agreement with one another in the facts they relate.

Let us give a brief description of these biographers[1]. William of Canterbury was a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. He had been invested with the monastic habit and ordained Deacon by St. Thomas. He wrote an account of the miracles of St. Thomas. This he did with such accuracy, that historians conclude that he must have had some sort of office connected with the tomb of our Saint.

Benedict, Prior of Christ Church in 1175, also wrote

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1 Compare Rolls Series, Introduction by Robertson; John Morris S. J., Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket, London, Burns and Oates, 1885, Introduction; Dictionary of National Biography.

an account of the miracles of St. Thomas. He was one of the Archbishop's most intimate friends. He also wrote a narrative called the Passion of St. Thomas which, unfortunately, has been lost.

John of Salisbury, later Bishop of Chartres, was a very intimate friend, adviser and teacher of St. Thomas. He is described as the most outstanding English man of letters of the time. He had been a pupil of Abelard and was recommended by Bernard of Clairvaux to Archbishop Theobald, St. Thomas's predecessor. He became Bishop of Chartres in 1176 and died in 1180. His life of St. Thomas is comparatively short because he wished merely to add to the other biographers of the Archbishop.

Alan of Tewksbury was a Canon of Benevento; but was English by birth. In 1174 he entered the monastery of Christ Church and later became Prior in 1179. He was known for the firmness with which he defended the privileges of his monastery. His short biography was intended as a supplement to that of John of Salisbury. He died in 1202.

Edward Grim achieved fame for himself by receiving a wound at the martyrdom of St. Thomas. He was a secular Cleric, born at Cambridge. He enjoyed only a casual acquaintance with the Saint .

A certain Roger, monk of Pontigny, is probably the author of another Life which exists but whose authorship has not been settled with certainty.

Herbert of Bosham, Cleric, intimate friend and teacher of St. Thomas, wrote a long life of his Lord. It is tedious and wearisome. He wrote it in 1184. Besides the biography he has left another work called Liber Melorum.

Garnier de Pont S. Maxence wrote a life of St. Thomas in French verse between the second and sixth years after his death. He was edited by Immanuel Bekker in 1838 and M. Hippeau in 1859. He is not yet included in the Rolls Series.

Then we have the chronicle of Gervase, monk of Canterbury, and the so-called Thomas Saga of Iceland. This life had been written in Latin by Robert of Cricklade, Prior of St. Frideswide's in 1184. It was forgotten in England but somehow became the foundation for the Icelandic tradition concerning St. Thomas. It is valuable and interesting.

The main facts in the life of William Fitzstephen (or Stephanides, as he is sometimes called) are given by himself in his Life of St. Thomas. He tells us that he was a fellow citizen of St. Thomas, his cleric and member of his household. He was called by his master to be a

dictator in the chancery and was Subdeacon whenever the Saint sang Mass. When the Archbishop heard causes, Fitzstephen read the letters and documents concerned with the case and even conducted causes himself at his master's bidding. At the Council of Northampton, he sat at the feet of the Archbishop and did all he could to console his grieving master. When the Saint left the Council to go to the monastery of St. Andrew's, Fitzstephen went with him. Next, he tells us that, on his way to Rome, he met his old exiled master at Fleury in France. On the fatal night of the murder, he was with the Archbishop when the storming knights came. He stayed with his master to the end, and was nearby when the first blow was struck. All this he tells us himself.

But there is a strange fact connected with his life. Neither his Life nor Fitzstephen himself are spoken of with the slightest allusion by the contemporary biographers. And yet he features highly in the life of the Saint. He is not even mentioned by Herbert of Bosham who in his Catologus Eruditorum intends to include all the names of the Saint's companions. Robertson may throw some light on the mystery[2]:

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2 Rolls Series, volume III, Introduction p. xiv.

Yet the suspicions which might arise from this silence of other writers concerning Fitzstephen appear to be quite untenable. His book itself has every appearance of genuineness, and the manuscripts of it reach back almost to the time which is claimed for the composition of it. We must therefore endeavour to account for the absence of his name from contemporary writings by some other theory than that of supposing the Life to be spurious. And perhaps an explanation may be found in the conjecture that Fitzstephen may have offended the archbishop's more thorough-going partisans by conduct which they regarded as unfaithful to the cause of the church.

His Life seems to show that he had some love for the world. Note with what confidence he describes the "noble city of London" and the chancellor's magnificent visit to France, his rich table, etc. His personal welfare and safety he did not altogether despise either, as can be seen from his poem which he wrote for the King in order to win back the favor which had suffered much from his companionship with St. Thomas.

Foss in his Judges of England 1.373 identifies him with a person of the same name who, in the year of the Archibishop's death, was appointed sheriff of Gloucestershire and later itinerant justice. If this is so, we may find here the reason why the other biographers are silent about Fitzstephen. They were angry because he deserted their party for the service of the king. Mr. Foss in his Judges of England 1.373 states that he died in 1191.

William Fitzstephen wrote a clear, vigorous and highly-

rhetorical Latin. If his rhetoric is at times apt to cause amusement to a modern reader, it must on the other hand be remembered that he was merely following the precepts of the Schools in employing a style descended from the flamboyant "Asiatic" rhetoric of the first and second centuries A.D., and still clearly recognizable, despite change of outlook, idiom and grammar. He was also well-read, as his quotations and adaptations of the Classics prove. But he is not exceptional in this respect. Such quotations are a commonplace of the literary Latin of the day, and his range of reading in the ancient poets is typical of the age.

The materials for the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury are part of a larger series collected under a plan proposed to the English treasury on January 26, 1857 by the Master of the Rolls for the publication of all the materials of the History of England from the Invasion of Rome to the time of Henry VIII. The collection was to be made from the known manuscripts. The whole series is known as the Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, or, as it is popularly called, the Rolls Series. The diverse materials were to be handled by different editors. The Materials for the History of Thomas Becket was edited by

James Craigie Robertson, London, Longman, Truebner, etc., 1875-1877. It comprises all the lives and letters of St. Thomas. The present translation has been made from volume III of this collection[3].

As to the modern lives of the martyr, we could not do better than to quote Herbert Thurston S. J. from his article St. Thomas a Becket in the Catholic Encyclopedia:

By far the best English life is Morris, The Life of St. Thomas Becket (2nd ed., London, 1885); there is a somewhat fuller work of L'Huillier, Saint Thomas de Cantobery (2 vols., Paris, 1891); the volume by Demimuid, St. Thomas Becket (Paris, 1909), in the series Les Saints is not abreast of modern research. There are several excellent lives by Anglicans, of which Hutton, Thomas Becket, (London, 1900), and the account by Norgate in Dict. Nat. Biog., s. v. Thomas, known as Thomas a Becket, are probably the best. The biography by Robertson, Becket Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1859), is not sympathetic.

Nearly all the sources of the Life, as well as the books of miracles worked at the shrine, have been edited in the Rolls Series by Robertson under the title Materials for the History of Thomas Becket (7 vols., London, 1875-1883). The valuable Norse saga is edited in the same series by Magnusson, Thomas Saga Erkibyskups (2 vols., London, 1884). The chronicle of Garnier de Pont S. Maxence, Vie de St. Thomas Martyr, has been edited by Hippeau) Paris, 1859). The miracles have been specially studied from an agnostic standpoint by Abbot, Thomas of Canterbury, his death and miracles (2 vols., London, 1898). Some valuable material has been collected by Radford, Thomas of London before his consecration (Cambridge, 1894). On the relics see Morris, Relics of St. Thomas (London, 1888); Thornton,

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3 The translation of the Descriptio Londoniae is based upon a re-examination of the original MSS., a work done by W. J. Millor S. J.

Becket's Bones (Canterbury, 1900); Ward, The Canterbury Pilgrimages (London, 1904); Warner in Engl. Hist. Rev., VI (1891), 754-56.

To one who studies English Church History, it is of the greatest interest to note how the doctrine of the Catholic Church in that country has been revealed, explained, and crystallized, as it were, page by page through the strong defense that She ever put up against the challenge to that doctrine by the secular power; and how the rights and privileges of the Church have been gradually made known, respected and finally stamped into the consciousness of ruler and people through the powerful conviction that follows the spectacle of martyrs' blood. St. Thomas was not the first to fight to the end in defense of the Church against the encroachments of the secular power. We all know the famous quarrel about Investiture between William the Conqueror (1066-1087) and Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; and between William II (1097-1100) and Henry I (1100-1135) and St. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor. By the persistent defense of these two champions of the Church, the notorious abuse of Investiture was abolished; no longer did the king appoint a Bishop and invest him with staff and mitre; no longer did he expect homage from him as a secular prince. After St. Thomas other quarrels will come; but the Catholic Church of England will ever rise

glorious above the horizon, fortified and purified, its noble brow enshrined in the blood-red crowns of a Langton, Fisher and More.

No one who studies carefully the history of the time can fail to see the immense moral force which such an example lent to the cause of t he weak and to the liberties both of the Church and the people, against all forms of absolutism and tyranny. The precise quarrel for which St. Thomas gave his life was relatively a small matter. What was of supreme importance was the lesson that there was something higher, stronger, and more enduring than the will of the most powerful earthly despot[4].

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4 Herbert Thurston S. J., Catholic Encyclopedia, England.

PROLOGUE

To the Glory of Almighty God and in everlasting memory of the Blessed Thomas and for the profit and edification of all who read or hear me, I, William Fitzstephen, have been at pains to write the life and passion of Thomas himself, the good Archbishop and Martyr. I was his fellow-citizen, his clerk and a member of his household, and by his own lips I was called to partake in his anxieties. I was draughtsman[1] in his chancery, subdeacon in his chapel when he celebrated, reader of letters and instruments when he sat to hear suits, and in some of these, when he himself so ordered, advocate. I was present with him at the Council of Northampton, when matters of great import were transacted, I beheld his martyrdom at Canterbury, and very many things herein set down I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, while certain things I heard from relaters who had knowledge thereof.

Plato in a discourse set forth a form of constitution; Sallust in his History described the situation of Africa on the occasion of the Carthaginians' rebellion against the Romans and of the Romans' oft crossing of the seas for their subjugation[2]; and I shall describe the situation and the

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1 "draughtsman." For the Latin dictator there is no exact equivalent. Probably the composer of the set periods in which the formal parts of episcopal letters were expressed.

2 A reference to the Republic of Plato and to the Jugurtha of Sallust, neither of which authors had been read by Fitzstephen. Sallust does not describe the situation of Africa, and the Numidians are not Carthaginians.

constitution of London on the occasion offered me by the Blessed Thomas.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST NOBLE CITY OF LONDON

Among the noble cities of the world that are celebrated by Fame, the City of London, seat of the Monarchy of England, is one that spreads its fame wider, sends its wealth and wares further, and lifts its head higher than all others. It is blessed in the wholesomeness of its air, in its reverence for the Christian faith, in the strength of its bulwarks, the nature of its situation, the honor of its citizens, and the chastity of its matrons. It is likewise most merry in its sports and fruitful of noble men. Of these things it is my pleasure to treat, each in its own place.

There

"the mild sky doth soften hearts of men[3]",

not that they may be "weak slaves of lust[4]", but that they may not be savage and like unto beasts, may, rather, that they may be of a kindly and liberal temper.

In the Church of St. Paul is the Episcopal See. Once it was Metropolitan, and it is thought that it will be so again, if the citizens return to the island[5], unless perchance the Archiepiscopal title of the Blessed Martyr Thomas and

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3 Lucan 8.366 (slightly altered).
4 Compare Persius 5.58
5 Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Britonum 7.3

the presence of his body preserve that honor for all time at Canterbury, where it now resides. But since St. Thomas has adorned both these cities, London in his rising and Canterbury by his setting, each city has, in respect of the Saint himself, something further that it may urge not without justice, one against the other. Also as concerns Christian worship, there are both in London and the suburbs thirteen greater conventual churches, and a hundred and twenty-six lesser parochial.

On the East stands the palatine Citadel, exceeding great and strong, whose walls and bailey rise from very deep foundations, their mortar being mixed with the blood of beasts. On the West are two strongly fortified castles, while thence runs continuously a great wall and high, with seven double gates, and with towers along the North at intervals. On the South, London was once walled and towered in like fashion, but the Thames, that mighty river, teeming with fish, which runs on that side with the sea's ebb and flow, has in course of time washed away those bulwarks, undermined and cast them down. Also up-stream to the West the Royal Palace rises high above the river, a building beyond compare, with an outwork and bastions, two miles from the City and joined thereto by a populous suburb.

On all sides, beyond the houses, like the gardens of the citizens that dwell in the suburbs, planted with trees,

spacious and fair, adjoining one another.

On the North are pasture lands and a pleasant space of flat meadows, intersected by running waters, which turn revolving mill-wheels with merry din. Hard by there stretches a great forest with wooded glades and lairs of wild beasts, deer both red and fallow, wild boars and bulls. The cornfields are not of barren gravel, but rich Asian plains such as "make glad the crops[6]" and fill the barns of their farmers "with sheaves of Ceres' stalk[7]".

There are also around London in the suburbs most excellent wells, whose waters are sweet, wholesome and clear, and whose

"runnels ripple amid pebbles bright[8]".

Among those Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's Well are most famous and are visited by thicker throngs and greater multitudes of students and of the young men of the City, who go out on summer evenings to take the air. In truth a good City when it has a good Lord[9]!

This City wins honor by its men and glory by its arms and has a multitude of inhabitants, so that at the time of

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6 Virgil, Georgics 1.1
7 Virgil, Georgics 2.517
8 Anonymous, perhaps by Fitzstephen himself.
9 A hit at Henry II.

the calamitous wars of King Stephen's reign[10] the men going forth from it to be mustered were reckoned twenty thousand armed horsemen and sixty thousand foot-soldiers. The citizens of London are everywhere regarded as illustrous and renowned beyond those of all other cities for the elegance of their fine manners, raiment and table. The inhabitants of other towns are called citizens, but those of this are called barons. And with them a solemn oath ends all strife. The matrons of London are very Sabines[11].

In London the three principal churches to wit the Episcopal See of the Church of St. Paul, the Church of the Holy Trinity, and the Church of St. Martin, have famous schools by privilege and in virtue of their ancient dignity. But through the personal favor of some one or more of those learned men who are known and eminent in the study of philosophy there are other schools licensed by special grace and permission. On holy days the masters of the schools assemble their scholars at the churches whose feast day it is. The scholars dispute, some in demonstrative rhetoric, others in dialectic. Some "hurtle enthymemes[12]", others with great skill employ perfect syllogisms.

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10 Stephen was king of England from 1097 to 1154. He was the nephew of King Henry I. When Henry I died, his daughter, Matilda was heiress to the throne; but Stephen usurped the crown. As a result his reign was filled with discord instigated by the adherents of Matilda.

11 The Sabines were an Italic tribe of central Italy and contemporaneous with early Rome. Known for their simple lives and physical courage, they had a reputation for severe discipline and sturdy character.

12 Compare Juvenal 6.449.

Some are exercised in disputation for the purpose of display, which is but a wrestling bout of wit, but others that they may establish the truth for the sake of perfection. Sophists who produce fictitious arguments are accounted happy in the profusion and deluge of their words; others seek to trick their opponents by the use of fallacies. Some orators from time to time in rhetorical harangues seek to carry persuasion, taking pains to observe the precepts of their art and to omit naught that appertains thereto. Boys of different schools strive one against another in verse or contend concerning the principles of the art of grammar or the rules governing the use of past and future. There are others who employ the old wit of the cross-roads in epigrams, rhymes and metre; with "Fescennine License[13]", they lacerate their comrades outspokenly, though mentioning no names; they hurl "abuse and gibes[14]", they touch the foibles of their comrades, perchance even of their elders with Socratic wit, not to say

"bite more keenly even than Theon's tooth[15]",

in their "bold dithyrambs[16]". Their hearers

"ready to laugh their fill[17]",

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13 Compare Horace, Epistles 2.1.145
14 Compare Macrobius, Saturnalia 7.3
15 Compare Horace, Epistles 1.18.82
16 Horace, Odes 4.2.10
17 Compare Persius 1.132

"With wrinking nose repeat the loud guffaw[18]".

Those that ply their several trades, the vendors of each several thing, the hirers out of their several sorts of labors are found every morning each in their separate quarters and each engaged upon his own peculiar task. Moreover there is in London upon the river's bank, amid the wine that is sold from ships and wine-cellars, a public cookshop[19]. There daily, according to the season, you may find viands, dishes roast, fried, and boiled, fish great and small, the coarser flesh for the poor, the more delicate for the rich, such as venison and birds both big and small. If friends, weary with travel, should of a sudden come to any of the citizens, and it is not their pleasure to wait fasting till fresh food is bought and cooked,

"let servants bring water for hands and bread[20]";

meanwhile they hasten to the river, and there all things that they desire are ready to their hand. However great the infinitude of knights or foreigners that enter the city or are about to leave it, at whatever hour of night or day, that the former may not fast too long nor the latter depart without their

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18 Persius 3.87

19 This "cookshop"--for the word coquina can hardly mean "cookshop quarter"--was probably near the Vintry; the ship probably came to Dowgate.

20 Virgil, Aeneid 1.701

dinner, they turn aside thither, if it so please them, and refresh themselves each after his own manner. Those who desire to fare delicately, need not search to find sturgeon or "Guinea-fowl" or "Ionian francolin[21]", since all dainties that are found there are set forth before their eyes. Now this is a public cook-shop, appropriate to a city and pertaining to the art of civic life. Hence that saying which we read in the Gorgias of Plato, to wit that the art of cookery is a counterfeit of medicine and a flattery of the fourth part of the art of civic life[22].

In the suburb immediately outside one of the gates there is a smooth field[23], both in fact and in name. On every sixth day of the week, unless it be a major feast-day on which solemn rites are prescribed, there is a much frequented show of fine horses for sale. Thither come all the Earls, Barons and Knights who are in the City, and with them many of the citizens, whether to look or buy. It is a joy to see the ambling palfreys, their skin full of juice, their coats aglisten, as they pace softly,

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21 Horace, Epodes 2.53-54

22 Plato (Gorgias 464 B ff.) makes Socrates say that the art politics (civilitas-politike), which has two parts, viz. legislation and justice, attends to the soul, while a nameless art made up of two parts, medicine and gymnastic, attends to the body; flattery has distributed herself into four imitations of the four arts, cookery being the counterfeit of medicine. Fitzstephen calls it a flattery of the fourth part of civilitas, as though the four arts together made up politike, the nameless art (of which medicine and gymnastic are subdivisions) being ignored. There is no reason to suppose that Fitzstephen had the least idea of Plato's meaning. His knowledge of the Gorgias must have been derived from Latin allusion to the passage in question.

23 (West) Smithfield.

in alternation raising and putting down the feet on one side together; next to see the horses that best befit Esquires, moving more roughly, yet nimbly, as they raise and set down the opposite feet, fore and hind, first on one side and then on the other; then the younger colts of high breeding, unbroken and

"high-stepping with elastic tread[24]",

and after them the costly dextriers of graceful form and goodly stature,

"with quivering ears, high necks and plump buttocks[25]".

As these show their paces, the buyers watch first their gentler gait, then that swifter motion wherein their fore feet are thrown out and back together, and the hind feet also, as it were, counterwise. When a race between such trampling steeds is about to begin, or perchance between others which are likewise, after their kind, strong to carry, swift to run, a shout is raised, and horses of the baser sort are bidden to turn aside. Three boys riding these fleet-foot steeds, or at times two as may be agreed, prepare themselves for the contest. Skilled to command their horses, they

"curb their untamed mouths with jagged bits[26]",

and their chief anxiety is that their rival shall not gain

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24 Virgil, Georgics 3.76
25 Compare Virgil, Georgics 3.84,79
26 Compare Horace, Odes 1.8.6

the lead. The horses likewise after their fashion lift up their spirits for the race; "their limbs tremble; impatient of delay, they cannot stand still[27]". When the signal is given, they stretch forth their limbs, they gallop away, they rush on with obstinate speed. Their riders, passionate for renown, hoping for victory, vie with one another in spurring their swift horses and lashing them forward with their switches no less than they excite them by their cries. You would believe that "all things are in motion[28]", as Heraclitus maintained, and that the belief of Zeno was wholly false, when he claimed that motion was impossible and that no man could ever reach the finish of a race.

In another place apart stand the wares of the country folk, instruments of agriculture, long-flanked swine, cows with swollen udders, and

"wooly flocks and bodies huge of kine[29]".

Mares stand there, meet for ploughs, sledges and two-horsed carts; the bellies of some are big with young; round others move their offspring, new-born, sprightly foals, inseparable followers.

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27 Virgil, Georgics 3.84

28 Heraclitus of Ephesus (c.510 B.C.) taught that existence was perpetual change; cp. his famous saying "All things are in a state of flux." Zeno of Elatea (c.450 B.C.) sought to prove that on account of the infinite divisibility of space motion was impossible, and that therefore the slowest moving thing (e.g. the tortoise) could not be overtaken by the swiftest (e.g. Achilles).

29 A possible echo of Virgil and Ovid.

To this city, from every nation that is under heaven, merchants rejoice to bring their trade in ships.

> "Gold from Arabia, from Sabaea spice
> And incense; from the Scythians arms of steel
> Well-tempered; oil from the rich groves of palm
> That spring from the fat lands of Babylon;
> Fine gems from Nile, from China crimson silks;
> French wines; and sable, vair and miniver
> From the far lands where Russ and Norsemen dwell[30]".

London, as the chroniclers have shown[31], is far older than Rome. For, owing its birth to the same Trojan ancestors, it was founded by Brutus before Rome was founded by Romulus and Remus. Wherefore they both still use the ancient laws and like institutions. London like Rome is divided into wards. In place of Consuls it has Sheriffs every year; its senatorial order and lesser magistrates; sewers and conduits in its streets, and for the pleading of diverse causes, demonstrative, deliberative and judicial, it has its proper places, its separate courts. It also has its assemblies on appointed days. I do not think that there is any city deserving greater approval for its customs in respect to church-going, honor paid to the ordinances of God, keeping of feast-days, giving of alms, entertainment of strangers, ratifying of bethrothals, contracts of marriage, celebration of nuptials, furnishing of banquets, cheering of guests, and likewise for their care in regard to

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30 Anonymous. A doggerel inspired by Virgil, Georgics 1.56ff. and 2.114ff.
31 Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Britonum 1.17

the rites of funeral and the burial of the dead. The only plagues of London are the immoderate drinking of fools and the frequency of fires.

To that which I have said this also must be added, that almost all Bishops, Abbots and Magnates of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of the City of London, having lordly habitations there, whither they repair and wherein they make lavish outlay, when summoned to the City by our Lord the King or by his Metropolitan to councils and great assemblies, or drawn thither by their own affairs.

Furthermore let us consider also the sports of the City, since it is not meet that a city should only be useful and sober, unless it also be pleasant and merry. Wherefore on the seals of the High Pontiffs down to the time when Leo was pope, on the one side of the signet Peter the Fisherman was engraved and over him a key stretched forth from heaven as it were by the hand of God, and around it the verse,

"For me thou left'st the ship; take though the key[32]".

And on the other side was engraved a city with this device, "Golden Rome[33]". Also it was said in praise of Caesar Augustus and Rome:

"All night it rains; with dawn the shows return.
Caesar, thou shar'st thine empery with Jove[34]".

London in place of shows in the theatre and stage-plays has

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32 Compare Ciaconius, De Vitis Pontificum 1.807
33 Ausonius, De Claris Urbibus 1.210
34 Virgil; compare Donatus, Vita Virgilii 69

holier days, wherein are shown forth the miracles wrought by Holy Confessors or the sufferings which glorified the constancy of Martyrs.

Moreover, each year upon the day called Carnival--to begin with the sports of boys (for we were all boys once)--boys from the schools bring fighting-cocks to their master; and the whole forenoon is given up to boyish sport; for they have a holiday in the schools that they may watch their cocks do battle. After dinner all the youth of the City goes out into the fields to a much-frequented game of ball. The scholars of each school have their own ball, and almost all the workers of each trade have theirs also in their hands. Elder men and fathers and rich citizens come on horse-back to watch the contests of their juniors, and after their fashion are young again with the young; and it seems that the motion of their natural heat is kindled by the contemplation of such violent motion and by their partaking in the joys of untrammelled youth.

Every Sunday in Lent after dinner a "fresh swarm of young gentles[35]" goes forth on war-horses, "steeds skilled in the contest[36]", of which each is

"apt and schooled to wheel in circles round[37]".

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35 Compare Horace, Odes 1.35.30
36 Compare Horace, Ars Poetica 84
37 Compare Ovid, Ars Amatoria 3.384

From the gates burst forth in throngs the lay sons of citizens, armed with lance and shield, the younger with shafts forked at the end, with steel point removed; "they wake war's semblance[38]" and in mimic contest exercise their skill at arms. Many courtiers come too, when the King is in residence; and from the household of Earls and Barons come young men not yet invested with the belt of knighthood, that they may there contend together. Each one of them is on fire with hope of victory. The fierce horses neigh, "their limbs tremble; they champ at the bit; impatient of delay they cannot stand still[39]". When at length

"the hoof of trampling steeds careers along[40]",

the youthful riders divide their hosts; some pursue those that fly before, and cannot overtake them; others unhorse their comrades and speed by.

At the feast of Easter they make sport with naval tourneys, as it were; for a shield being strongly bound to a stout pole in mid-stream, a small vessel, driven on by many an oar and by the river's flow, carries a youth standing at the prow, who is to strike a shield with his lance. If he break the lance by striking the shield and keep his feet unshaken, he has achieved his purpose and fulfilled his desire. If, however, he strike it strongly without splintering his lance, he is

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38 Compare Virgil, Aeneid 5.674
39 Virgil, Georgics 3.84
40 Compare Horace, Satires 1.1.114

thrown into the rushing river, and the boat of its own speed passes him by. But there are on each side of the shield two vessels moored, and in them are many youths to snatch up the striker who has been sucked down by the stream, as soon as he emerges into sight or

"once more bubbles on the topmost wave[41]".

On the bridge and the galleries above the river are spectators of the sport "ready to laugh their fill[42]".

On feast-days throughout the summer the youths exercise themselves in leaping, archery and wrestling, putting the stone, and throwing the thonged javelin beyond a mark, and fighting with sword and buckler. "Cythera leads the dance of maidens and the earth is smitten with free foot at moon-rise[43]".

In winter on almost every feast-day before dinner either foaming boars and hogs, armed with "tusks lightning-swift[44]", themselves soon to be bacon, fight for their lives, or fat bulls with butting horns, or huge bears, do combat to the death against hounds let loose upon them.

When the great marsh that washes the Northern walls of

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41 Compare Persius 3.34
42 Compare Persius 1.132
43 Compare Horace, Odes 1.4.5 and 1.37.1
44 Compare Phaedrus 1.21.5

the City is frozen, dense throngs of youths go forth to disport themselves upon the ice. Some gathering speed by a run, glide along, with feet set well apart, over a vast space of ice. Others make themselves seats of ice like millstones, and are dragged along by a number who run before them holding hands. Sometimes they slip owing to the greatness of their speed and fall, every one of them upon their faces. Others there are, more skilled to sport upon the ice, who fit to their feet the shin-bones of beasts, lashing them beneath their ankles, and with iron-shod poles in their hands they strike ever and anon against the ice and are borne along swift as a bird in flight or a bolt shot from mangonel. But sometimes two by agreement run one against the other from a great distance, and, raising their poles, strike one another. One or both fall, not without bodily harm, since on falling they are borne a long way in opposite directions by the force of their own motion; and wherever the ice touches the head, it scrapes and skins it entirely. Often he that falls breaks arm or shin, if he fall upon it. But youth is an age greedy of renown, yearning for victory, and exercises itself in mimic battles that it may bear itself more boldly in true combats.

Many of the citizens delight in taking their sport with birds of the air, merlins and falcons and the like, and with

dogs that wage warfare in the woods. The citizens have the special privilege of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and all Chiltern, and in Kent as far as the river Cray. The Londoners, who are called Trinobantes, repulsed Gaius Julius Caesar[45], who

"rejoiced
To make no way save with the spilth of blood[46]".

Whence Lucan writes,

"To the Britons whom he sought He showed his coward back[47]."

The City of London has brought forth not a few men who subdued many nations and the Roman Empire to their sway, and many others whom valor has

"raised to the Gods as lords of earth[48]".

as had been promised to Brutus by the oracle of Apollo,

"Brutus, past Gal beneath the set of sun,
There lies an isle in Ocean ringed with waters.
This seek; for there shall be thine age-long home.
Here for thy sons shall rise a second Troy,
Here from thy blood shall monarchs spring, to whom
All earth subdued shall its obeisance make[49]".

And in Christian times she brought forth the great Emperor Constantine[50], who gave the city of Rome and all the insignia of Empire to God and the Blessed Peter and Sylvester the Roman Pope,

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45 Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Britonum 4.3-9
46 Lucan 2.439
47 Lucan 2.572
48 Horace, Odes 1.1.6
49 Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Britonum 1.11
50 For the forged Donation of Constantine see Edward Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chapter 49.

to whom he rendered the office of a groom and rejoiced no longer to be called emperor but rather the Defender of the Holy Roman Church. And that the peace of the Lord Pope might not be shaken with the tumult of the noise of this world by reason of his presence, he himself departed altogether from the city which he had conferred on the Lord Pope, and built for himself the city of Byzantium.

And in modern times also she has produced monarchs renowned and magnificent, the Empress Matilda[51], King Henry the Third[52], and Blessed Thomas, the Archbishop, Christ's glorious Martyr,

> She bore no whiter soul nor one more dear[53]"than whom",

to all good men of the Latin world.

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51 Empress Matilda (1102-1167) was the daughter of Henry I King of England, and wife of Emperor Henry V of Germany. She was the true heiress to the English throne after the death of Henry I; but the crown was usurped by Stephen. After the death of the latter she ruled for some time but her haughtiness made her so unpopular that when Henry II, her son became old enough, she abdicated. She played the part of mediator between Henry II and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

52 King Henry the Third is the "Young King," second son of Henry II. He was crowned at Westminster (1170) and again, with his queen, at Winchester (1172).

53 Horace, Satires 1.5.41

LIFE AND PASSION OF SAINT THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR

BY WILLIAM FITZSTEPHEN CITIZEN OF LONDON

Even before his birth, God knew St. Thomas and predestined[54] him for great things. He made known his future greatness to his mother by revelation. Before the child was born, she dreamed that she held the entire archiepiscopal Church of Canterbury in her womb. As soon as the child was brought into the world, the midwife held him in her arms and said: "I have raised an Archbishop from the earth." One night when the infant lay in the cradle, the mother dreamed that she complained to the nurse that the child had no covering. "Why, Lady, he has a very good one!" "Show me," said the mother. The nurse brought the covering and tried to unfold it entirely that the mother might see; but it was impossible. "It is so large that I cannot spread it out in this room." The mother answered, "Go into the hall and open it there." The nurse tried to do this, "but I cannot open it here either." The mother wondering, said, "Go out into the now vacant street; there you surely will be able." But even there the nurse could not succeed in spreading out the covering. "The covering is so large," she exclaimed, "that I am unable to find the end

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54 Compare Romans 8.29

of it; it seems to cover all England, and being still larger, extends beyond its borders."

Thomas therefore was born of legitimate wedlock and good parents. His father was Gilbert, one time sheriff of London; and his mother's name was Mahalt. They belonged to the middle-class of London, and avoiding all wholesale traffic in money and trade, they were content to live honorably on their modest income.

The following incident will prove that Gilbert received some sign from above concerning his child. He had entrusted the boy for some time to the care of Robert, Prior of the religious House of Canons at Merton. One day the father came to see his son. When the boy was brought before the Prior and his father, the latter prostrating himself made a humble obeisance to the child. "Are you mad, old man?", cried the indignant Prior, "you prostrate yourself at the feet of your child? It is he who should pay you that honor." The father answered him secretly, "My Lord, I know what I am doing; this boy will be a great man before the Lord."

The years of his infancy, childhood and puberty were spent in all simplicity at home and in the schools of the city. Reaching the years of early manhood, he went to Paris to continue his studies. On his return, he was initiated

into the business of the City of London, and became clerk and accountant of the sheriffs. This work he did very well. It taught him the prudence of this world which later on would enable him to handle with such care and wisdom, such success and splendor, the vast business of the whole empire, common to Church and State, just as

> "After he has barked at a deer's skin in the courtyard,
> The whelp hunts in the forests[55]".

As he advanced in years and merits, he was introduced to Theobald, of pious memory, Archbishop of Canterbury, by two brothers from Boulogne, Baldwin the Archdeacon and Master Eustace, frequent guests of his father and friends of the Archbishop. The introduction was all the easier from the fact that Thomas's father, Gilbert, besides enjoying the personal acquaintance of Theobald, came from the same village of Normandy, Thierceville, and belonged to the same equestrian order as the Archbishop. By their introduction and his father's, I repeat, from then on, Thomas was a member of the Archbishop's household, and later was to give him proof of his brave and good character. On his way to the Archbishop's court, Thomas first stopped at the village of Harrow and was accompanied by a single servant, Ralph of London.

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55 Horace, Epistles 1.2.66-67

That very night, the hostess of the boarding-house in which he spent the night dreamed that her guest was sitting on the roof of the Church and that his flowing vestments covered the whole Church. The next morning she told her dream to her husband; and she came to the conclusion that some day one of the two young men (for as yet she did not know which of the two was Thomas) would be Lord over the Church of their village.

The Clerics who belonged to that archiepiscopal court were distinguished and, above all, learned men; many of them Theobald later made Bishops of England, such as Roger of Pont-l'Eveque who became Archbishop of York. Thomas was less learned than they. Although less learned than his companions, his greater efforts after virtue and prudence made him more prominent and acceptable for strength of character and wisdom. Later he was to excel all even in learning.

Roger, whom we mentioned above, was jealous of Thomas's success and first favors. Twice he succeeded in having the Archbishop expel Thomas from court. But each time, Thomas, inexperienced and modest, conscious of no wrong, had recourse to Walter, the brother of the Archbishop, at that time Archdeacon of Canterbury, later Bishop of Rochester, who was then living at Theobald's court. At his intercession, Thomas was recalled and reinstated into the favor of the Archbishop.

As soon as the Archbishop came to know the metal of his character, he sent him on several missions to Rome on business for the Church of England. There, thanks to the grace of God and his own wisdom, Thomas was received into the full favor of the Supreme Pontiffs and the Holy Roman Church.

His countenance was calm and beautiful. He was very tall with a prominent and aquiline nose. His bodily senses were very acute; his conversation elegant. He was a man of subtle intellect and great soul. Well advanced on the way of virtue, he was friendly to all men, compassionate towards the oppressed and the poor; resisting the proud. He wished for the advancement of his colleagues; and did not hesitate to honor all good men. Generous and clever, he took care not to deceive or be deceived. Prudent in the things of this world, he did not neglect the wisdom of a life to come.

He was presented by John, the Bishop of Worcester, to the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand. Later he was given the Church of Otford as a gift from the Archbishop. Then he held a prebendal stall in the Church of St. Paul in London and another in Lincoln. Having obtained leave of his Archbishop, he studied law at Bologna for a year, and afterwards at Auxerre. After the lapse of time and increase of merit, the Archbishop thought it well to ordain Thomas deacon and appoint him Archdeacon of the Church of Canterbury. This office, next to the bishoprics and abbacies, was the highest in the Church

of England and brought him a hundred pounds of silver.

When Henry II[56] was consecrated King of England by Archbishop Theobald, the latter and Henry the noble Bishop of Winchester strongly urged and advised the King to make Thomas his Chancellor, as if preferred to all others. When the King assented, Thomas received a dignity which is above all others in the land. Conscientious, cherishing high ideals, blessed with a wide experience, he certainly was the man to fulfill this important position. Its duties he fulfilled so industriously for the glory of God and the welfare of the kingdom that it is difficult to judge whether he was more noble, more magnificent, more useful to the King in peace or in war.

The dignity of the Chancellor of England is second to that of the King. He has custody of the Great Sea and may use its reverse side to seal his own documents. He takes care of the Chapel Royal. He takes over and administers all the vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies and baronies

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56 Henry II (1133-1189) was born in Normandy and was the grandson of Henry I. He married Eleanor of Aquitaine and succeeded Stephen on the throne of England in 1154. He took up constitutional reform with the help of Archbishop Theobald and Thomas of Canterbury. He brought a large part of France under English domination. After subjugating his barons, he tried to interfere with the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts. This course led him into conflict with our indomitable defender of the Church, Thomas. The quarrel ended in the murder of St. Thomas, for which Henry did penance.

that fall in the hands of the King. He sits at all the King's councils, even when not called. He signs all documents from the Seal Bearer, his Cleric, and disposes of them according to his own counsel. If the merit of his life, with the grace of God, should warrant it and if he wishes, he does not die before he is made Archbishop or Bishop. Hence merit and not money is the necessary qualification for a candidate to the chancellorship.

In the time of King Stephen the English Kingdom had been involved in the storms of war, fed by shameful hatreds. On every side revolution raged. In almost every third village, there were castles to give refuge to the brigands. Flemish adventurers and other bandits had despoiled English nobles and taken possession of Kent and a large part of the Kingdom. When this kind of warfare had lasted for almost twenty years, and the English people despaired of ever driving the Flemish out or seeing the Kingdom restored to its pristine dignity and peace, a change came with the advent of the young King. By the mercy of God and the wisdom of the Chancellor, Clerics and barons who wished for peace, within three months after the coronation of the King, William of Ipres, the violent usurper of Kent, tearfully left the country. All the Flemish were on their way to the sea with their arms and baggage. All their castles in England were destroyed; a few old towers

and fortified towns were preserved for protection. With the removal of all these defections, the crown of England was again made whole. Those who had been despoiled were restored to their hereditary rights. The bandits left their hideouts in the forest and entered the villages, happy to share the common rights of peace. They melted their swords into ploughshares; their spears into sickles[57]. Terrified by the sight of the gallows, thieves were glad to exercise the art of farming or any other mechanical trade. Peace was everywhere. Shields were imported; sheep-folds exported. Man could now travel in security from town or camp; traders to their business; the Jews to their creditors.

By the industry and wisdom of this Chancellor, with the cooperation of the Clerics, the counts and barons, this noble Kingdom of ours was renewed as nature in spring. Holy Mother Church was held in honor. Vacant episcopates and abbacies were entrusted to worthy persons without simony. And the King, by the favor of the King of Kings, prospered in all his undertakings. The Kingdom was rich; there was abundance everywhere: the hills were cultivated; the valleys were covered with harvest; the pastures were dotted with herds; the folds packed with bleating sheep.

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57 Compare Isaias 2.4

Thomas repaired the Tower of London, the seat of the Kingdom, which had become dilapidated. This big task proceded with such speed, that the work was completed between Easter and Pentecost[58]. There were so many carpenters and other artisans employed that they had the hardest time to speak to one another and understand one another amidst the din and noise.

The Chancellor enjoyed the highest favor among the clergy, army and people. He could hold all the vacant parish Churches of villages and castles. No one could dare to refuse to come, when Thomas called anyone to his presence. Yet his magnanimous soul so conquered ambition that he returned to poor priests and clerics the Churches which had become vacant. But his generosity was rewarded with the Provostship of the Church of Beverley, the deanery of Hastings from the count of Eu, the wardenship of the Tower of London with the military service attached to it; the castlery of Eye with its honors of seven times twenty soldiers, and the Castle of Berkhampstead. He often indulged, perfunctorily of course and only lightly, in the sport of hawking and hunting with dogs; and in the game of draughts

"He played the war-game of robbers in ambush[59]".

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58 A.D. 1155.
59 Compare Martial 14.20

The home and table of the Chancellor were accessible to all the needy of every class who came to the King's court and seemed of good character. Almost every day, he dined with counts and barons whom he invited. He had given orders that each day his dining floor should be covered with new straw or hay in winter; with fresh bulrushes or green leaves in summer, so that the multitude of soldiers who could not find room on the benches might find a clean place on the floor, and thus would not soil their precious garments or beautiful linen shirts. His home was brilliant with gold and silver vessels. It was full of precious dishes and goblets. If some rare food or drink was offered for sale, no expense kept his buyers from obtaining it. Yet he ate and drank very sparingly in order that his rich table might leave a rich alms. And from the first moment of his chancellorship (and this I have heard from his confessor, Robert, the venerable Canon of Merton), he never soiled his chastity. Even the King laid plots day and night to seduce him to fall. But devout and predestined by God, he sought to keep his flesh pure and his loins girt[60]. And indeed the wise man who is intent upon the guidance of the Kingdom and engrossed in so many public and private cares, will very rarely be assailed by the enticements of the flesh. Because,

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60 Compare Ephesians 6.14; Luke 12.35; Daniel 5.6; 1 Peter 1.13

"Take away leisure and Cupid's bow is broken[61]".

The modesty of the Chancellor; his hatred of all turpitude. and impurity may be gathered from the following incident. Richard of Ambly, one of his Clerics, a man of noble stock, had seduced the wife of one of his companions who had gone far abroad, under the pretext that her husband was now dead. Thomas expelled him from his home and friendship and ordered him imprisoned and enchained for a long time in the Tower of London.

Nobles of England and surrounding countries sent their sons to the Chancellor for their training and education. He undertook to teach them himself, instilling in them solid principles and sound doctrine. After some time he discharged to their parents and relatives some of them, covered with honor and imbued with the principles and qualities necessary to their entrance in the army; others he chose to keep with himself. Even his Lord, the King, entrusted his son and heir to the throne to his care. Thomas kept personal supervision of the Prince and many other nobles of the same age, along with the train of teachers and personal servants which their station required.

By no means was he carried away by all this pomp of

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61 Ovid, Remedia Amoris 139

worldly honors; for he often received the discipline secretly on his bare back, from Ralph the Prior of Saint Trinity when he was in the neighborhood of London or from Thomas priest of St. Martin when he was in the vicinity of Canterbury. His look was modest. He was humble to the humble; stern and severe to the proud, as if there were in him an innate tendency to

"spare the humbled and to war down the proud![62]"

Many nobles and soldiers came to pay homage to the Chancellor; and he in his turn received them graciously and cherished them further as their father, but withal never forgetting his position as servant of the King.

Whenever he sailed abroad he had six or more ships in his fleet; and he refused passage to none who wished to come. He paid his pilots and sailors just as much as they asked. No day ever passed in which he did not make generous donations of horses, birds, clothes, gold and silver articles, or money. Thus these words may be very well applied to him:

"Some give their goods and always have plenty; others seize the stranger's goods[63]",

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62 Virgil, Aeneid 6.854
63 Compare Proverbs 11.24

"And something is ever wanting to fortune[64]":
and he had such a passion for giving that he was considered as the love and delight of whole Latin world. Depending on the age of each man, "he so cleverly adopted each one[65]".

By the grace of God and the persuasion of St. Thomas, the King did not keep the vacant episcopal sees and abbacies very long; for it was not his wish (which, sad to say, he did later) to enrich his coffers with the patrimony of Christ. In fact, he religiously and without great delay returned them to deserving persons.

Also at the advice of the Chancellor, the King befriended the pious Canons Regular of Merton Abbey; he completed the abbey by having a presbytery and crosses made at his own expense. He gave it a perpetual endowment. And there he often passed the last three days of Holy Week with the community. And after the night service of Tenebrae--it would be more correct to call it a service of Light--on Good Friday until three in the afternoon he would visit, for the sake of prayer, the poor churches of the neighboring villages, on foot, disguised in a cloak, accompanied with a single companion to show the way.

Thomas also influenced the King to recall from France some deserving Englishmen, monks or schoolmasters, in order

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64 Compare Horace, Odes 3.24.64
65 Horace, Epistles 1.6.55

to reward them with a more honorable position in England. Such were Robert of Melun who was promoted to the episcopal Church of Hereford and William, monk of St. Martin des Champs, who was made abbot of Ramsey.

Thus we see that the Chancellor's singular virtues, magnanimous soul and great merits endeared him to the King, the clergy, the soldiers and people. When the serious work was over, the King and his Chancellor played together like two chums, in the dining-room, in Church, assemblies, or when out riding. One stormy winter day as they were riding in the streets of London, the King caught sight of a poor old man coming down the street, some distance away. The man was clad in thin and tattered clothes. The King said to the Chancellor, "Do you see that man?" "I do." "How poor, how weak, how poorly clad he looks!" exclaimed the King, "Don't you think it would be a great alms to give him a thick and warm cloak?" "Certainly!" answered Thomas "and you ought to have a mind and eye for such an alms, O King!" In the meantime the poor man has come near and the King and Chancellor stop. The King quietly addresses him, asking whether he would not like to have a good cloak. The poor man not knowing who they were, thought it was a joke. The King turned to the Chancellor, "Well, you will give this great alms"; and laid his hand on his new and precious cloak of scarlet and gray. He tried to remove it but the Chancellor resisted and so

quite a scuffle ensued. The nobles and soldiers who followed behind hurried up wondering what could have been the cause of such a sudden struggle. No one could tell them; since both were so absorbed in their struggles that they could hardly keep their saddles. At last Thomas gave up the struggle in favor of the King who removed his cloak and gave it to the poor man. Then the King told the story to his nobles who laughed loud and long. Some of them offered their own cloaks and mantles to the Chancellor. But the old man continued his way clad in the Chancellor's cloak, rich and happy beyond expectation, giving thanks to God.

Sometimes the King would take his meal in the Chancellor's dining-room either to amuse himself or to hear what was said around his home and table. He would even enter the dining-room on horseback while the Chancellor was at table; perhaps an arrow was in his hand as he returned from or went to the chase. Sometimes he would take a drink, and having greeted the Chancellor, would leave; or jumping over t he table would sit down and ea t. In all Christian times, two men never lived in closer harmony and friendship.

At one time the Chancellor fell seriously sick at Rouen near St. Gervase. The King of France and the King of England came together to see him. When at last convalescent and on his way to recovery, he was sitting one day playing a game of chess and wearing a cloak with sleeves. Aschetin, the

Prior of Leicester, coming from the King's court at Gascony, came to visit him. Addressing Thomas with great freedom and familiarity he said: "What! do you wear a cloak with sleeves? Such a dress befits a falconer! But you are Cleric, one in person, but in office many, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dean of Hastings, Provost of Beverley, Canon of this and that place, also Procurator of the Archbishop, and as the rumor goes at court, a future Archbishop." Among other things Thomas answered: "Indeed I know three poor priests in England each of whom I would rather see elevated to the Archiepiscopate than myself; for 'I know thoroughly[66]' my Lord the King and I know for certain that if I am ever promoted to that dignity I will have to forfeit either the King's favor or (which God forbid!) my service to God Almighty." The words proved prophetic.

The King of England usually have their own ship for travelling. But the Chancellor's generosity went so far that he had made, not one but three excellent ships, fully equipped; he presented them as a gift to his Lord the King.

When the Chancellor heard that legates from Norway had come to England, he sent messengers to meet them on the way. He escorted them to the King's court and ministered to all their wants at his own expense.

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66 Persius 3.30

Nicholas the Archdeacon of London had the misfortune of offending the King, and so his family was expelled, his home closed by order of the King and confiscated to the crown. But the good Chancellor did not rest until he had obtained from the King, on that very day, the reconciliation of the Archdeacon and the restoration of his property.

His good offices were also employed in behalf of the Bishop of Le Mans and Gilo the Archdeacon of Rouen. For when Alexander was elected Pope, Octavian the anti-pope and Emperor Frederic who supported him formed a schism. Alexander, with his Cardinals and followers, sent nuncios to the King of France and the King of England who was then on the continent. These two Kings called a meeting of many Bishops and nobles at Neufmarché in order to receive the Nuncios and hear their arguments in favor of a legal election and the necessity of obedience. But because Hugo, the Archbishop of Rouen had already approved Alexander and had sent Gilo the Archdeacon, his nephew, to his suffragan Bishops to induce them to do the same, the King of England was very angry. He wished that the initiative in this matter should come from himself. He ordered the home of the Archdeacon to be torn down but did not dare anything against the Archbishop who was old, noble and much respected. Thomas suppliantly interceded before the King, "But, my Lord, the King the house which you order pulled down is the home of Gilo the Archdeacon, but it is also the hostelry where I put up when

abroad." This he said for the purpose of quieting the King and persuading him to restore the Archdeacon to his favor and return his property.

The next day the King heard that the Bishop of Le Mans had followed the example of the Archbishop of Rouen and had promised their obedience to Alexander through the Nuncios. The King was angry because they dared do this without his command or permission. The marshals, at the command of the King, went to the Bishop's hostelry where they cut the horses' halters and turned them loose. They carried his baggage into the streets and drove him in disgrace from his home and the Court. Then the King wrote briefs commanding that his home at Le Mans should be pulled down. Having signed the briefs, he held them aloft before the bystanders and said, "Soon the people of Le Mans will hear something about their Bishop ." All the Clerics who were present at the court of the two Kings were grieved at this action; the Chancellor above all. He knew full well how little interference or request would avail when the King was in such a passion. Instead he ordered the King's couriers who had been entrusted with the letter, not to hurry; that, though the journey to Le Mans could be made in two days, they should not arrive there before the fourth day. The messengers agreed. On the morrow, the Chancellor persuaded the Bishops

to go before the King and intercede for their colleague. Some agreed to go; but they found the King inexorable. Again some went before the King, at the request of the Chancellor; and again they were repulsed. Finally Thomas went himself and renewed his request the next day. When the King thought that enough time had elapsed to allow his men to tear down the Bishop's house entirely or in part, he gave in to the Chancellor's insistence. The Chancellor immediately sent orders reinstating the Bishop, by means of his own messenger, warning him that if he valued the Chancellor's friendship, he must not rest day or night till he arrived at Le Mans. He arrived with his message at Le Mans on the same day as the King's messengers. The Bishop's house was still intact. Although the King's messengers had arrived first, the Chancellor's letter was able to forestall their action. Later the King was happy that the Chancellor had played him such a useful trick; like the case in Thimeus[67] where a most fortunate deception was played with the lots of a bridal couple.

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6 7 Perhaps for comico, as there is nothing to the purpose in Plato's Timaeus and the reference may be to Terence's Andria.

Thomas had fifty Clerics in his service. Many of them were part of his train; others had charge of the vacant episcopates or abbacies or looked after his own ecclesiastical offices.

The King called a council of his Chancellor and some nobles to consider the expediency of asking the King of France for his daughter Margaret in marriage to his son Henry. The plan seemed good; and both King and noble were as one man bent on its execution;

"This thing both makes and preserves friendships[68]".

But such an important mission to such an important personage who should undertake it but the Chancellor? He is chosen; he agrees. Mindful therefore of the matter and persons involved, considering his own office and part he had to play in the negotiations, according to that saying of the poet:

"Consider how you dare; readies he himself nuptially,
"Who is sent to unite future nuptials[69]",

he prepared to display the splendor of the English Kingdom, and to lavish its wealth, in order that the mission might manifest to the whole world the high dignity of both the King and his representative. There were about two hundred men in his train: soldiers, Clerics, servants, valets, armor-bearers, sons of nobles, all fully equipped. Master

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68 Horace, Satires 1.3.54
69 Anonymous.

and attendant were dressed in gay fashion; everyone according to his rank. He also had twenty-four suits of clothes.

"Pelts of wool twice-dyed in purple[70]",

silk garments, an elegant variety of rich and foreign furs, carpets and curtain, such as could ornament the bed and chamber of a Bishop, and almost all to be given away and left on the continent. Thomas had dogs with him and every kind of hawk which Kings and nobles use. There were eight wagons, each drawn by five horses resembling war horses in size and strength. At the head of each horse was a young man dressed in a new tunic. A guide on a post-horse followed each wagon. Two wagons carried beer--a drink made from fermented grain--in iron-bound casks. It is a gift to the French who like this drink. Indeed, it is wholesome, clear, of the color of wine with better taste. The equipment from the Chancellor's chapel was carried in one wagon; his chamber had a wagon, his pantry had one and his kitchen had one. Then other wagons carried food and drink, horse-blankets, bags full of the clothes for the night, and baggage. He also had in his train twelve pack-horses, eight chests containing his gold and silver furniture, vats, cups, bowls, goblets, pitchers, basins, cellars, spoons, salvers, and dessert-

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70 Horace, Epodes 12.21

dishes. Other pack animals carried his money, enough for his many expenses and gifts, his clothing, some books and miscellaneous articles. At the head of the train a pack-horse carried the sacred vessels of the chapel, the ornaments of the altar and books. Each pack-horse had its groom becomingly ornamented. Tied to each wagon, above or below, was a huge dog, strong and terrible, who would seem able to overcome a bear or a lion. And on each pack-horse a tailed monkey was perched or

"the ape imitator of the human visage[71]".

They entered the French villages and camps in the following order. Young Englishmen led the way

"born to consume the fruits of the earth[72]",

about two hundred fifty strong, advancing in groups of six or ten or more, singing the songs of the fatherland. After an interval, come the huntsmen with their dogs. Then those wagons, iron-bound and covered with the usual large hides of animals, rattled over the stones of the streets. After an interval, there follow the sumpter-horses, with their grooms astride their haunches. Roused by the clamor, the French people rushed from their homes, asking who had come. They were told that the Chancellor of the English King had come to France on a mission to the King. "If the Chancellor of

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71 Claudianus, Eutropium 1.303
72 Horace, Epistles 1.2.27

England travels in such splendor," they said, "what must the King be?" After an interval, the pack-horses came up, followed by the squires carrying the shields of the soldiers and leading their chargers, Then other squires, some young men, falconers, carrying birds; seneschals, masters and ministers of the Chancellor's household. The soldiers and Clerics came next, all riding two by two. Last of all came the Chancellor accompanied by intimate friends.

As soon as the Chancellor had landed on the Continent, he had sent word to the King of France about his intended visit. He journeyed by way of Meulant. The King of France had answered that he would meet him at Paris on a certain day. The King, wishing to look after all the Chancellor's wants himself (for it is the custom among the French Kings and Nobles to provide everything necessary to any guest whatever as long as he abides at court), gave orders to the people of Paris, forbidding them to sell anything to the Chancellor or his men. When the Chancellor heard of this, he sent his servants in disguise to the neighboring towns of Lagny, Corbeil, Pontoise, St. Denys to buy bread, meat, fish, wine and fruit in abundance. And when he took up his lodgings at the hostelry of the Temple at Paris, his servants came to him saying that they had provided his hostelry with enough food to feed a thousand men for three days.

We have heard of the magnificence of King Solomon and of the various kinds of meats which were necessary for his daily banquets; and similarly we hear of that Chancellor that one day a dish of eels was bought which cost a hundred shillings. This caused such a sensation that it became a proverb throughout the world. This one incident, without mentioning other dishes and delicacies of his table proves to us that his fare was luxurious and rich.

I cannot find words to describe the honors which the French King and his nobles showered upon Thomas; and the generosity with which he repaid them. He showed the greatest kindness to the students and masters of the schools of Paris, even to French citizens who had debtors among the English students. We read that Hannibal after the death of Hasdrubal, sent messengers to Rome, saying to them: "Go, and satisfy every mortal with money[73]". In the same way, the Chancellor lavished gifts upon all France, upon the barons, soldiers, servants of the King and Queen, schoolmasters, scholars and nobles[74]. He gave all his gold and silver furniture; all his suits of clothes; to one he gave a mantle, to another a gray cloak, to a third a fur cloak,

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to this man he gave a palfrey, to that one a war-horse. Why say more? But he rose in favor above all men. The mission was successful; he obtained his request. On his return, he captured Guy de Laval, enemy and robber of the English Kingdom and highways, and imprisoned him in a castle at Neuf-marche. Such was Thomas the Chancellor in times of peace; let us see how he acquitted himself in the military enterprises of the King.

In the siege of Toulouse, where help was given to England from Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Brittany, and Scotland, the Chancellor led his own troop of soldiers consisting of seven hundred soldiers chosen from his household. The English King's army was so strong, that if Thomas's advice had been followed, they would have taken Toulouse and the King of France who came with a very weak force to the aid of the city at the request of his sister, Countess Constance. But moved by vain superstition and respect for the counsel of others, the English King hesitated to attack a city in which the King of France, his feudal Lord[75], was staying. But the Chancellor insisted that the King had forfeited the rights of feudal Lord when he agreed to wage war against England. Not long after, the French army relieved the city,

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75 H enry II was not only King of England but as vassal of the King of France held Normandy and Maine, Anjour and Aquitaine under the King of France as his feudal lord.

and the Kings of England and Scotland, unable to take the city, withdrew; but not before they had captured the city of Cahors and many castles in the vicinity of Toulouse which belonged to the Count of Toulouse or his vassals or which the Count had once taken from the vassals of the English King. When the King returned home, no one was willing to remain behind to retain these strongholds except the Chancellor with his household and Henry of Essex, constable and baron of the King. Afterward, clad in breastplate and helmet he led his brave little band against three very fortified castles which were thought impregnable and took them. He crossed the Garonne above the enemies' position and after reducing that whole province into submission to the King, he returned in favor and honor.

At a later date, when the King of England was at war with the King of France in the Marches on the boundaries of the territories belonging to each Kingdom, which was the land belonging to Gisors, Trie and Courcelles, the Chancellor had, besides his own seven hundred knights, twelve hundred hired knights, and four thousand soldiers for the space of forty days. Every day he gave to each knight three shillings in order to procure horses and squires. All the knights partook of the Chancellor's table. He himself, Cleric though he was, engaged the valiant French Knight,

Engelramne de Trie, in single combat. They charged at each other, with their horses at full speed. Thomas unhorsed the knight and took his charger. Of the whole English army, the knights of the Chancellor were always first, more daring and distinguished by their achievements, responding fully to the instruction, leadership and encouragement of their noble chief. They used to sound the signal for advancing or retreating on slender trumpets peculiar to their group and whose call became well known to both armies. Hence it is, that although Thomas was the enemy of the King of France and had even ravaged his country with fire and sword, he was still held in the highest esteem by that sovereign and the whole French nobility, captured no doubt by his outstanding honesty and noble character. This favor the King later had an opportunity to show. Indeed, virtue is praised even in an enemy.

At the death of Archbishop Theobald, the King decided to promote his Chancellor to the archiepiscopate, wishing to reward his merits and confident that as he had obeyed his Lord in everything as his Chancellor, Thomas would continue to do so as Archbishop. After the King's wish was made known to all the Clerics (the only thing which derogates from the election) Thomas, Chancellor, Archdeacon of Canterbury, was unanimously chosen as the Archbishop of Canterbury. Only one man, Gilbert of Hereford, afterwards Bishop of London, dis-

agreed. He was an ascetical man, wearing the habit of a monk, avoiding wine and meat as far as possible. It was thought that he disapproved of the election as illegal. But the report was also widespread that he wished the election for himself. Afterwards he said that the King had done very well in selecting a layman and knight as Archbishop.

In the year of grace 1162, on the octave of Pentecost, on the feast of the Blessed Trinity, feast of the Church of Canterbury, in the metropolitan Church before all his suffragan Bishops, Thomas was declared free and absolved of all secular obligations and presented to the Church of Canterbury by Henry the son and heir of Henry II King of England and by Richard de Luci and other English nobles representing the King who was abroad. Then he was ordained Archbishop by the hand of Henry, the venerable Bishop of Winchester. Pope Alexander III sent him the pallium through his Cleric John of Salisbury. The pallium, which is a band worn over the shoulders and breast, the Archbishop received devoutly, barefooted and on bended-knees. The pallium is a vestment peculiar to an Archbishop. It has an important significance. It stands for the golden plate which the Supreme Pontiff of the Old Law carried on his forehead and which was inscribed with the four-letter name of the Lord[76]. The two bands over

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76 Compare Exodus 39.29

the shoulders are the two Laws, manifesting the Passion of Christ. The small thorns represent the nails which fixed the Body of Christ to the Cross. In his ordination, the new Archbishop, when anointed with the visible and invisible unction of the mercy of God, throws off the man of the world and puts on Jesus Christ. And so Thomas left the worldly cares of the Chancellor to seek the things of a good Archbishop.

Yes, the new Archbishop guarded his soul with all care. His speech was serious unto the edification of his hearers; his works were mercy and piety; his judgments were based on justice and equity. He tamed the flesh with a meager diet and hair-shirt, very rough, extending to the kn ees and filled with vermin; his usual drink was water in which herbs had been boiled. Wine, however, he took in moderation and gave some to his guests and household. He ate a little of the meat set before him; but bread was his principal food. But all things are pure to the pure; the fault is not in the food but in the appetite. He often exposed his bare back to the discipline. Over his hair-shirt he wore the habit of a monk, because he was also the Abbot of the monks of Canterbury. Over that he had the canonical dress of an Archbishop in order to conform with the usages of the Clerics. Day and night he wore about his neck that sweet yoke of Christ, the stole. His face was still the same to the multitude; but

inside, things were very different. He imitated St. Sebastian and St. Cecilia. Like the former, he lived the life of a soldier of Christ hidden under his cloak of office; like the latter, he subjected his flesh with a hair-shirt concealed under precious garments. In eating and dress he studied to be pious rather than merely seem so. In the time that he spent at prayer, he endeavored to reconcile and somehow to unite his own created spirit to the Holy Spirit the Creator. Playing the part of interpretor between God and man, he recommended man to God in his prayers, and God to man in his sermons. Much given to holy reading, he found the Sacred Word his best teacher. Occasionally, after breakfast, he had conferences with his companions, listening to them and asking them questions. He enjoyed to have religious men and pious and learned Clerics as his guests. Like him, his chosen household was devoted to the entertainment and veneration of all good men. In alms-giving he was munificent, sometimes sending to hospitals and poor colleges four or five marks, sometimes some bread and meat.

Although Theobald, his predecessor of pious memory had doubled the alms of his predecessors, Thomas was moved by religious emulation to double those of Theobald. To keep up the practice of this pious work, he consecrated the tenth part of all he received for any title. Every day in a secret cell, he washed the feet of thirteen poor men, on bended

knees in memory of Christ. After giving them a good meal, he sent each of them off with four pieces of silver. If perchance, although rarely, he could not perform this office in his own person, he was very careful to have it accomplished by a delegate. When in solitude he shed tears in amazing abundance; and when he performed the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar he seemed to see in very presence the Passion of Our Lord in the Flesh. Most reverently would he handle the Divine Sacraments in order that the very handling of them would excite the faith and fervor of those who looked on.

He fed vagrants and needy in his own home. Many he clothed against the winter. At Canterbury he often resorted to the cloister, where he would sit as one of the monks, absorbed in some useful book. Afterwards he would go to visit the sick monks in order to hear and fulfill their desires. He was a consoler of the afflicted, a protector of widows, a helper of orphans. Besides he was humble to the meek, but severe to the proud. Against the injustice and insolence of the powerful he was as a strong tower erected against Damascus[77]. No prayer, not even of the King, no letter had any influence with him unless it was accompanied with justice.

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77 Compare Canticle of Canticles 7.4

More than ever was he now filled with chastity, who long ago even as Chancellor had never exceded the bounds of purity and uprightness. In some way he was another Moses, often entering and leaving the tabernacle of God: entering at the time set aside for the contemplation of God; going out for some pious act towards the neighbor. He was another Jacob who now married the fruitful Lia; now enjoyed the embraces of the beautiful Rachel[78]. He was an angel of God, who through the ladder reaching to heaven, now descended to relieve the wants of man, now ascended to view the divine majesty and supernal light; suspended above things earthly and transitory, his eager eyes were turned to Heaven. He cultivated the virtues which make even the present life happy and merit the eternal. In him reason was queen, who, like a mistress over her handmaids, governed all the desires and depraved emotions of the heart. And so under the guidance of reason he made progress in virtue, which, loving itself, spurns whatever is contrary to itself, and, arising from itself, again returns to itself, and having embraced all that belongs to its make-up, seeks nothing elsewhere. He possessed four classes of virtue: Prudence, which made him discreet in the knowledge of things, in the estimation of persons, place, and time, in fleeing evil and choosing good; Justice whereby he strove to leave to God and to man

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78 Compare Genesis 29

what belongs to them; Fortitude which, strengthening him in adversity, protected him from weakness in present evils and from fear of future evils; Temperance, which, not permitting him to do anything immoderately in times of prosperity, checked him from all lust, all cupidity for temporal things and would not allow him to seek after anything with undue haste. This is the chariot of Aminadab[79], this is the first Diatessaron[80], this is the highest harmony on earth. Such is that sweet and agreeable concord in man and among men which even fills the ears of God and moves man towards that happiness of life, which, after all evil has been excluded, is the accumulated combination of all good things.

Made happy by this happiness of life, Archbishop Thomas ever sought to do everything splendidly, gravely, honestly; to refer everything to the judgment of wisdom; to control himself; to stand by the judgments of wisdom not that of the people; not to fear the snares of fortune; to conduct himself as sheltered, fortified and impregnable in all adversities; to believe himself born not for himself but for all those who needed his help, especially his Church which he had un-

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79 Compare Canticle of Canticles 6.11
80 "From four" (Greek). A harmony of four things; here of the cardinal virtues.

dertaken to rule; to contemplate divine things on earth, to imitate Christ Who was born and sent to suffer[81], to love Him and observe His commandments unto the salvation of himself and those committed to his charge. Hence it happened that Thomas won grace before God, solid and manifest glory before men, all good men consenting in his praise. This voice of those who judged well of him was not false; it resounded correctly from virtue, as the echo resounds to the voice, as the image is the true picture of the reality. And because glory is the companion of those who live well, so, while on the one hand it must be sought by good men, neither must it be despised on the other, but attributed to God. Hence the Apostle says, "For though I should have a mind to glory, I shall not be foolish; for I will say the truth[82]". Thomas nevertheless feared this glory and spurned it, lest pride should take hold of him, mindful that it is written, "No matter how just you are, still never be secure[83]". There is a certain other false and vain glory which proud, vain, rich and hypocritical men seek: a certain shadowy image of glory in which there is no solidity of virtue worthy of praise. It is a certain similitude to true glory evident indeed in appearance but

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81 Compare John 18.37
82 2 Corinthians 12.6
83 Compare 1 Corinthians 10.12

not existing in fact. And just as good men fear the glory of true praise, so bad men and the Thrasones[84] seek this false glory; or if they should do something good, by seeking praise or reward therefrom, they lose by the very fact both the name and merit of virtue.

The glorious Archbishop Thomas had no sooner left the world against the hope of the King and all men than he suddenly was transformed by a change which is of the right hand of the Most High; so that all men admired him.

The ancient enemey was jealous of such a strong pillar[85] in the Church of the Lord, of such a light burning upon the candelabrum of God[86]. An enemy sowed cockle[87]. First he removed the King's kindness from Thomas, as if the King should consider it unworthy that he whom he had made first Chancellor, then Archbishop should now withdraw himself even from obedience to his King and should contradict him in many things. Friends of the King, seeking to please him ans his itching ears, brought detractions against the Archbishop and freely showed their hatred for him.

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84 Thraso was a braggart soldier in Terence's Eunuch; the name is applied to braggarts in general.
85 Compare Jeremias 1.8
86 Leviticus 24.4; Numbers 8.2; Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21.
87 Compare Matthew 13.25

Besides, certain courtiers and Clerics of the King, rather fearing to be deprived by the justice of the Archbishop of some of their Churches which they had wrongly acquired than to be incardinated in others or promoted to greater benefits during his life, endeavored both by themselves and through some Bishops to excite and arouse the King and his nobles against the Archbishop. There was nothing which he could do or say which was not perverted by the malice of wicked men. So much so, that they even persuaded the King that if the Archbishop's power continued, the royal dignity would surely perish and unless he provided for himself and his heirs, he at last would become king, whom the Clergy would choose and would reign as long as it pleased the Archbishop to have him reign. Indeed, light is painful to those who suffer with bleariedness or inflammation of the eyes; and our just man was hard to see for the unjust, because his works were contrary to theirs. He sought to please God alone and no man except in God; while they laid their plots for the ears of an earthly king. The friend of God is the enemy of the world. The wicked persecute the good.

This was the first cause of the persecution of the Archbishop. In this dissension many Bishops came to the side of the King and nobles, in the fear of losing their land and property which they had. The Archbishop was deprived of

their counsel and help. It angered the King and the nobles of the Kingdom still more when the Archbishop tried to recover from Roger Earl of Clare, the castle of Tunbridge and all its honor which had formerly been alienated from the Church of Canterbury. The grounds for this step were that according to the decrees, his predecessors and the managers could improve or increase Church lands, but could not lessen or alienate. Almost all the nobles of England were related by blood to this Earl of Clare. He also had a sister who was the most beautiful woman in the Kingdom and whom the King had sought for himself at one time. And yet the Archbishop had previously asked and obtained from the King permission to claim the property of the Church of Canterbury which had been wrongly alienated by his predecessors or occupied by laymen. In the same way, the Archbishop had given the Church of Eynesford to a certain layman named Lawrence. It was the Archbishop's privilege to give vacant Churches of villages belonging to his barons or the monks of Canterbury. The Lord of the village, William of Eynesford, claiming his right, expelled Lawrence's men; whereupon the Archbishop excommunicated him. The King, appealed to, wrote to the Archbishop, asking him to absolve him. Thomas answered that it was not in the power of the King to decide who should be absolved or excommunicated. The King insisted that his

royal dignity demanded that none of his subjects be excommunicated without his being consulted. Finally, to appease the King who was now offended at him and would communicate with him only through messengers, the Archbishop absolved William. The King who was at Windsor, said, "Now he no longer has our favor."

Besides, a long time before, during the time of Archbishop Theobald, the King had taken offence against the English Clergy in general, provoked by the insolence of some of them. Once when he was at York, a certain burgess of his from Scarborough came to him with the complaint that a certain dean had taken from him twenty shillings, and was prosecuting his wife on the least charges, considering her guilty of adultery without any other accuser. Against this custom the King issued a law of prohibition. At the command of the King, this dean was removed and summoned to a meeting before the King in the presence of his own Archbishop, the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, and John treasurer of York, later Bishop of Poitiers, where he answered learnedly that the woman had been accused by a certain Deacon and another layman. Although at first he denied that any money had been given him, when put to the torture, that he might be more amenable, he confessed that the burgess had given twenty shillings to his Archdeacon and two to himself. Since

that dean could not prove those things before the King by the agreement of the witnesses there present, the King ordered him to trial, saying that the Archdeacons and deans exacted more money in this way in a year from the people of the Kingdom than he himself received. Finally John the treasurer said that it seemed to him that the money should be returned to the burgess and the dean left to the mercy of his Archbishop as belonging to his office. To this Richard de Luci said: "Will you not try him by our Lord the King against whose law this man offended?" "No," says John, "because he is a Cleric." Richard answered, "I will not have part in this sentence," and leaving them he rejoined the King and the other Lords. When the Cleric was sentenced by a judgment passed by this same John, the King indignantly summoned Archbishop Theobald to appear on a certain day and told the city that the sentence was false. But a day later when the news came that his brother, Gaufridus, had died, he crossed the channel and did not continue his protest[88].

Likewise there were itinerant justices of the King at Dunstable, where an altercation arose between Simon Fitzpeter and a certain Canon of Bedford, Philip of Brois. Later Simon complained to the King that Philip had insulted

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88 July 27, 1158.

him with vile language in his own court and before a large audience. He was called to account by the King and before the Archbishop concerning this charge; and not being able to deny the fact, answered that he had been provoked to insult by the heat of anger and not by the judgment of reason. To appease the King, the Cleric decreed that Philip should be deprived of the revenue of his deanery and suffer exile for a year. It was done so; still the King was not satisfied.

The first difference between the King and St. Thomas occurred in behalf of a certain Cleric of Worcestershire who was said to have violated the daughter of an upright man and murdered her father for the sake of the girl. The King wished to examine and try this Cleric in the secular court. The Archbishop resisted and had his Bishop keep the Cleric in custody lest he should be handed over to the King's justices. Another cause of difference was in behalf of a Cleric who had stolen a silver chalice from one of the Archbishop's own Churches in London, called the Church of St. Mary in Cheap. When the Cleric was arrested, the King wished to have him tried by the secular court. The Archbishop, according to the judgment of the Church, degraded him, and to calm the King, had him branded.

Accordingly, the King, having previously taken offence against the clergy in general, and now entertaining personal animosity against Thomas the Archbishop which, fed by the instigation and jealousy of enemies, grew from day to day, decided to make an investigation of his royal dignities. A General Council was called and met at Clarendon[89]. The King proposed and set down the dignities and customs which he said, since they were ancestral, should exist in the English Kingdom. Robert the Archdeacon of Oxford who later was to be Bishop of Hereford and Jordan Archdeacon of Chichester, domestic Clerics of the Archbishop, and a few others, knowing that the anger which the King had long felt for him was growing from day to day, received permission from the Archbishop to leave. From the very moment that he had conceived bitter enmity towards the Archbishop, the King took care to remove from him two virtuous and upright Clerics who had been brought up from youth by the Archbishop himself. One of them was the Treasurer of York; the other a Canon of Salisbury. The name of both was John. He took this step lest they should become valuable to the Archbishop by their advice and help. The one he ordered chosen and ordained Bishop of Poitiers; the other he ordered in exile. It was thought that he brought Gilbert, the Bishop of Hereford,

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89 January 1164.

closer to himself by obtaining from the Pope his transfer to London in order to employ his counsel against the Archbishop.

Many chapters of those customs were concerned with the suppression of ecclesiastical liberty, and the absolute oppression of the Clergy:

That a Cleric accused of theft or rapine or some such crime must first be tried in the King's court.

Likewise, that no earl or baron, or official of the King, should be excommunicated for any crime without first consulting the King.

That no appeals can be made to the Pope, unless there is first a trial in ecclesiastical courts, before the dean, Archdeacon, Bishop, Archbishop in turn and finally in the court of the King.

That no Bishop or other Cleric should go to the Pope when called by him or appealing to him except with the permission of the King.

That all controversies concerning infidelity to oaths should be tried in Church court; but only in matters concerned with the spread of the faith, marriages, dowry or similar questions which it becomes only the Church to handle. But cases of oaths concerned with other things as debts and other things of the same nature, the King decided should be

tried in the secular court.

And that Bishops must be present at all the secular trials of the King, except in cases of blood.

Other things of the same nature were set down which openly inveighed against the sacred constitutions of Canon Law. But those constitutions had never been written nor even existed in the English Kingdom. And even if they had been, instead of insisting more on their antiquity and use than on their right, in laying down such statutes, the King should have listened to what the Lord says: "Guard my laws[90]". Also, "Woe to those who make unjust laws[91]". And furthermore, it is not known that the Lord said: "I am custom"; but He said: "I am the truth[92]". And besides, the authority of custom and long use is not so great, as a pagan emperor[93] said, as to supercede reason or law. In fact, as soon as equity and justice become manifest, use must give way to reason, as the holy Fathers have written in their decrees; against their reason and ecclesiastical liberty, therefore, a Christian King has decreed and written laws. But Archbishop Thomas, "the man upright in life

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90 Compare Proverbs 7.2
91 Compare Luke 11.46
92 John 14.6
93 Gratian, Decrees 1.8.3-9

and free from guilt[94]," could be attacked on no other grounds. The most exquisite deceit and malign art had put him in that position, so that if he affirmed these customs he would fall into the hands of God; if he rejected them he would fall into the hands of the King and condemned and killed as a disturber of the royal majesty and an enemy to the crown. It was said that this plot had been devised by Roger, Archbishop of York, Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, Gilbert, Bishop of London, and Jocelin, Bishop of Salisbury. For they were later severely rebuked by the Pope concerning this matter, and regained the esteem of men by taking an oath. Hilary however died before taking the oath.

And so the King sought the consent of the clergy to those laws. Finally a crucial argument was presented to the Archbishop and the dissenting Bishops when the agents of the King told them that if he contradicted those decrees it was as if he wished to remove the crown from the King. The Archbishop long resisted, long contradicted the Bishops who coaxed him to agree. At last the final messengers of the King came, telling secretly what the future would hold if he did not agree. From fear of death and to satisfy the King, Thomas gave his consent for a time, with the stipulation, in the word of truth, and with his seal. He and the

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94 Horace, Odes 1.22.1

Archbishop of York and all the Bishops promised to observe those statutes for the sake of the King, legitimately, without deceit and in good faith. Then the King transmitted these laws to the Pope for confirmation; but the Pope, after reading and understanding them, rejected, feared and condemned them.

The Archbishop, the elect of God, rose stronger after his fall, resumed his old courage, did penance, began to afflict himself very severely with austere food and clothes and withdrew from the Service of the Altar until by Confession and "worthy fruits of penance[95]", he merited to be absolved by the Roman Pontiff. His penance was sincere, because he prepared to revoke and correct his error as far as he could. But his co-Bishops either did not wish to recall what they had said; or did not dare to do so from fear of the King which had taken hold of them. Hearing that the King was at Woodstock at his home, surrounded by a court enclosed with a stone wall, the Archbishop journeyed thither to speak with him. But he was turned from the door and returned to Canterbury. Then the Archbishop repaired to Romney, one of his villages by the sea, intending to leave so as to avert the anger of the King for a time. He twice tried to cross; but

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95 Matthew 3.8

either there was no wind or it was unfavorable. When the King heard this he was more angry than ever.

Then the King called another General Council, designating the place as Northampton and the day as Tuesday, the octave of St. Michael[96]. The day appointed for the Council came. On that very day we came to Northampton. The Archbishop did not see the King that day because he was out hawking about rivers and streams and did not return home till late. The next morning, having said Mass and his Office, the Archbishop went to the court in the palace of the King. Admitted into an antechamber, he sat down awaiting the King, who was then hearing Mass. When the King came he rose reverently to receive him and showed a firm and quiet countenance, ready to receive modestly the usual English custom of a kiss if the King should offer it. But the King did not offer it.

The first matter which the Archbishop took up for discussion was the affair of William de Curci who had seized one of his hostelries; and he asked that the King order him out. The King did so. Then he said that he had come to make answer to the summons of the King as in the case of John the Marshal. John sought some land from the Archbishop, a part of the

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96 October 6, 1164

archiepiscopal manor of Pagham. Certain days were designated for the trial of his case, after which he came to the Archbishop's court with a brief from the King[97]. There he gained nothing, since he had no right. But as the law then stood, he finally attested a defect in the Archbishop's court; but he did so on a tropary extracted from under his cloak in spite of the remonstrances of the justices of the Archbishop's court saying that he should not use any book for that. Returning to the King, he obtained letters of citation against the Archbishop, calling him to answer in the King's court. The trial was set for the day of the Exaltation of the Cross[98]. But the Archbishop did not come on that day; instead he sent four knights with letters from himself and the sheriff of Kent testifying to the injury of John and his invalid claim. What was the result? The King was indignant that the Archbishop, when called by him, had not come in person to answer the charge. He treated his messengers with unkindness, heaping upon them his anger and threats as if they had brought a false, null and worthless excuse to court against the citation of the King. Finally he let them go but with reluctance, even though they furnished bail. And so at the instance of this same John,

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97 Here Fitzstephen interrupts his narrative to give the facts of the case of John the Marshal.

98 September 14.

another day was set (the first day of the Council) for settling that same case, letters being sent to the sheriff of Kent, ordering the citation of the Archbishop. Not only then but long before he had refused to write to him because he did not want to greet him. Nor did the Archbishop receive any other citation to the Council, solemn and before any other summons, through letters directed to himself as was the ancient custom. The Archbishop, I repeat[99], said that he came by the command of the King for the case of John. The King answered that John was employed in his service at London but would come soon and then he would look into their case. But that John was with other treasurers and collectors of revenue and public debts of London seated at a square board which is commonly called Chess from the two-colored stones used. But the board of the King is covered with coins of a white color; here also the wishes of the King's crown must be fulfilled. Nothing further on that day was transacted between the King and the Archbishop. But the King told him to go to his hostelry and return the next day for his trial. The Archbishop returned.

On the second day, at a meeting of all the Bishops, except the Bishop of Rochester who had not yet come and another one, all the earls and barons of England and many from Nor-

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99 Here the narrative is resumed.

mandy, the Archbishop was accused of Lèse-majesté to the crown of the King, because, as was said above, he had neither come nor suitably excused himself when summoned by the King for the case of John. In defense the Archbishop brought up John's injury, mentioned above, and the contention that the case was proper to his jurisdiction and to the integrity of his court; but to no avail. The King demanded a sentence. No reasons of the Archbishop's met with approval. It seemed to all that from the reverence due to the royal majesty, from the obligation of homage which the Archbishop had contracted towards his King, and from the fidelity and observance of earthly honor which he had sworn, the Archbishop had not sufficiently defended or excused himself. Because when summoned by the King, he neither came nor alleged through his messengers any infirmity of the body, or necessary business of his ecclesiastical office which could not be differed. And they said that he must be condemned to a pecuniary penalty which was the confiscation of all his movable goods to the mercy of the King. There was disagreement between the Bishops and nobles with regard to passing the sentence, each party shoved the task on the other; each one excused himself. The barons said, "You bishops ought to pronounce sentence; this does not pertain to us; we are laymen, you are ecclesiastics as he is, his fellow priests,

his fellow Bishops." To this, the Bishops, "Nay, this belongs to your office, not ours; for this is not an ecclesiastical but a secular sentence. We sit here not as Bishops but as barons. We as barons and you barons are equal here. In vain do you insist on the argument of our order; because if you consider the ordination in us, you must likewise consider it in him. But from the very fact that we are Bishops, we cannot judge our Archbishop and superior." Hearing all this controversy about passing sentence, the King became angry and ended all argument by ordering the Bishop of Winchester to pronounce sentence, a function which he unwillingly performed. The Archbishop, however, because it is not good to contradict the sentence or decision of the court of the King of England, endured the penalty at the advice of the Bishops. As it were in concession to the sentence, as is the custom, solemn bail was placed in the hands of the King to pacify and honor him. All the Bishops stood surety except Gilbert of London, who refused to stand bail when asked -- a fact which caused a sensation.

Later, on the same day, the Archbishop was called to account with respect to three hundred pounds he received from the Castelry of Eye and Berkhampstead. The Archbishop, first declining a trial, since he had not been summoned to render

an account of that money, said that he had spent that money and much more for the repairs of the Tower of London and the two castles mentioned above, as could be seen. The King did not wish to be the author of that which had been done through Thomas. He demanded judgment. The Archbishop, for the sake of the King, agreed to return this money, because he was absolutely unwilling that money, no matter how much, should be the cause of anger between them. Accordingly, he offered separate laymen as bail, the Earl of Gloucester, William of Eynesford and third man, all his own men. This closing the day, they departed.

On the third day, on a formal claim of restitution of a certain sum of money, the Archbishop was summoned by intermediaries to answer for five hundred marks which he had borrowed in the war against Toulouse, and also for another five hundred marks for which the King had stood surety for him in a loan from a certain Jew. He was also called to a suit involving his management of all the revenue of the vacant archbishopric and other bishoprics and abbacies which were vacant at the time when he was Chancellor. Of all these he was ordered to give an account to the King. The Archbishop answered that he had come without being prepared or summoned for such an account. But if it was necessary that he render such an answer, he would render to his Lord the King what was his

right in due time and place. In this matter the King exacted precautionary bail from him. The Archbishop said that he had to have the counsel of his suffragans and Clerics in this matter. The King gave in. Thomas departed, and from that day forth, the barons and other knights, knowing the mind of the King, did not come to his castle.

On the fourth day, ecclesiastical persons of all ranks came to the Archbishop's castle. He held discussions about these matters and heard their counsel, first with the Bishops separately then with the Abbots separately. According to the counsel of Henry the Bishop of Winchester, who had ordained Thomas, and who promised strong help in this trouble, the attempt was made to soften the King with money. He offered him two thousand marks. The King refused. Some of the clergy advised the Archbishop to safeguard the Church of God according to the obligation of the Office he had assumed, defend his person and dignity, and honor the King in everything that did not impair reverence to God and ecclesiastical honor; that there was nothing from the opposition which he had to fear, since no crime, no immorality could be alleged against him. He had been presented to the Church of Canterbury free of the Chancery and all secular claims of the King; considering that even any vacant abbey will not receive a stranger monk as Abbot unless he has first been discharged

free of all obedience to his Abbot. Others, secretly inclined to favor the King, entertained a far different opinion, saying, "The Lord the King was disturbed by anger against him. From certain signs we interpret the mind of the King to be this, that our Lord the Archbishop after resigning the archbishopric and everything throw himself entirely on the mercy of the King." Also among them was Hilary of Chichester, inclined to favor the King; he said to Thomas: "Would that you could remain Thomas and not be Archbishop." He also spoke other things concerning him, "Every plant which the Father of heaven hath not planted shall be uprooted[100]"; as if to say that the declared will of the King had preceded his election. Later the Archbishop in exile said to someone concerning him, "And he held the place of the traitor Judas among his brethren." Later, before the recall and peace of the Archbishop, he died as if struck by God. This man from Chichester continued, speaking for himself and some of his accomplices, "From your life with and friendship to the King as Chancellor you know him better than we. It is very clear to you which will accomplish more: resisting or submitting. In the Chancery you served him honestly and creditably, both in peace and in war; you found praise, though not without

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100 Matthew 15.13

envy. Those who envied you then, now enflame the King against you. Who can stand bail for you in such a large reckoning, in such an uncertain amount of money? It is said that the King has said that no longer will he the King and you the Archbishop be together in England. It is safer to leave everything to his mercy; unless perhaps (which God forbid) calling you as his Chancellor and treasurer to give an account of his revenues, he should retain you as guilty of extortion and with no one to offer bail, or should lay hands on you. From which the Church of England would feel sorrow and the countenance of the Kingdom would blush with shame." Someone said, "Far be it that he provide thus for himself and the safety of his body and dishonor the Church of Canterbury which chose him for herself. None of his predecessors did that and still they suffered persecutions in their day. Besides he might be able to relinquish for a time into the hands of our Lord the King the benefices from the archbishopric, manors and the like; but his Office never." And so the consultants were drawn into various opinions; one this way; another that way.

The fifth day, which was also Sunday, was given entirely to taking counsel. There was hardly any time for refection. The Archbishop did not leave his hostelry.

On the sixth day, a weakness suddenly struck him and

prevented him from going to court. In fact he trembled with cold and pain in the kidneys. It was necessary to heat pillows and apply them one after another to his side. When the King heard this, he sent all his earls, and many barons to ask the result of his counsel and to propose whether he was willing to offer bail as surety for his intention of rendering an account of his receipts from vacant Churches during the time he was Chancellor and to stand trial for them. The Archbishop answered through his Bishops that if his sickness of body permitted him to go to court on the next day, he would do what was necessary.

The next morning, he celebrated the Mass Etenim sederunt principes at the altar of St. Stephen the Protomartyr[101]. The King's informers, spying on him, immediately reported to the King the chant of that Mass, wickedly concluding that the Archbishop, as if he were another Stephen Protomartyr, celebrated that Mass for himself against the King and those who persecuted him unjustly.

Afterwards he went to court. To Alexander his crossbearer who preceded him on the way, he said, "I should have done better, if I had come in my vestments." For he had proposed to come bare-foot, in his vestments and carrying his cross, and thus enter before the King to supplicate him

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101 October 13

for peace to the Church. But his Clerics dissuaded him from this intention, neither did they think that he should carry his cross. After he had descended from his horse and was about to enter the hall of the castle, he took in his hands the cross which Alexander Llewellyn had carried on the way. There at the door of the hall stood the Bishop mentioned above, Gilbert of London. Hugh de Nunant, a certain Archdeacon of Lisieux, who had come with the Archbishop and belonged to his household, said to Bishop Gilbert: "My Lord Bishop of London, why do you let him carry his cross?" The Bishop answered, "My good man, he always was a fool, and always will be." As the Archbishop came everyone gave way. He entered the council-chamber and sat in his usual place, the Bishops being next to him, the Bishop of London closest of all. Those present were struck with amazement, and all looked at him. The Bishop of London persuaded him to give his cross to one of his Clerics, saying that he looked as if he were ready to disturb the whole Kingdom. "You hold your cross in your hands," said the Bishop of London, "what if the King should take up his sword, behold a splendid King, behold a splendid Archbishop!" The Archbishop answered, "If it were possible, I should always carry it in my own hands; but now I know what I am doing. Would indeed that I would preserve

the peace of God for my person and the Church of England. You say what you please; if you were in my place you would feel otherwise. But if our Lord the King, as you say, would now take up his sword that indeed would not be a sign of peace." Perhaps the Archbishop was thinking of his straitened circumstances at Clarendon when the messengers of the King came to him in tears.

All the Bishops were called to the King and remained within a long time. With them was Roger the Archbishop of York, who came last to court in order that his entry might be more conspicuous and he would not seem to be privy to the King's counsel. He carried his cross before him though outside of his territory, as if

"pilum threatened pilum[102]".

The Pope by letter had even prohibited him to allow his standard bearer carry his cross in the province of Canterbury. But he acted in virtue of an appeal he had made against the prohibition, claiming that the prohibition had come from a false suggestion of the Lord of Canterbury. And no wonder, if pain and lamentations and sorrow of heart obsessed the Archbishop; for he had heard that on that day either he would be seized through some sentence or if that danger

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102 Lucan 1.7

would pass by, by the plotting of wicked men against him, would be attacked and killed apparently without the knowledge of the King. In the meantime, Herbert[103] his teacher in Holy Scripture, spoke silently and secretly to the Archbishop, "Lord, if perchance they lay impious hands on you, have the form of excommunication ready against them; that nevertheless the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord[104]". William Fitzstephen who sat at the feet of the Archbishop, said to Herbert, speaking in a somewhat louder tone, so that the Archbishop might hear, "Far be it from him; not so did the holy Apostles and sublime martyrs of God when they were captured and assaulted. Rather, if this happens, let him pray for them and forgive them and possess his soul in patience[105]. For if it should happen that he suffer for the cause of justice and ecclesiastical liberty, with the help of God, his soul will be in peace, memory and benediction. If he should pronounce sentence against them, it would seem to all that out of anger and impatience he had done what he could to avenge himself. And no doubt would act against

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103 This is Herbert of Bosham also Cleric and biographer of St. Thomas.
104 1 Corinthians 5.5
105 Compare Luke 21.19

the decrees; as St. Gregory wrote to Archbishop Januarius: 'You show that you do not think of heavenly things, but prove that you have an earthly conversation, when you hurl the malediction of anathemas, which is forbidden by the sacred rules, in revenge for a personal injury[106]'". John Planeta, when he heard this, tried hard to keep back the flowing tears. And likewise, Ralph de Diceto, Archdeacon of the Church of London wept very much there on that day. Hearing these things, the Archbishop pondered them in his heart[107]. After a little while, the same William Fitzstephen wished to speak to the Archbishop, but was forbidden by a marshal of the king who standing by with a rod prevented him, saying that no one should speak to him. On which, after an interval, looking up to the Archbishop, he made signs to him with his eyes and lips indicating that he should look at the example of his cross, and the image of the Crucified which it carried and that he should occupy himself in prayer. The Archbishop understood well this sign and did so, "strengthened in the Lord[108]". Many years later, when the Archbishop was an exile in France, he met this same William at St. Benedict's on the Loire[109] who was on his way to the

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106 Gregory, Epistles 2.49; Gratian, Decrees 2.23.4.27
107 Compare Luke 2.19
108 Ephesians 6.10
109 Fleury

Pope, and recalled this incident among other remembrances of his trials.

But, O Christian King, what do you think? By reason of baronies and possessions, will the son judge his father in secular court, the subject his Archbishop, the sheep his pastor; and when the least Cleric and guilty is not bound to answer in secular court? You say no, but the King judges the baron. To which I say: It is a greater thing in you to be a Christian, to be a sheep of God, to be the son of adoption of God than to be a King. And in him it is a greater thing to be Archbishop, to be Vicar of Jesus Christ, than to be your baron. Consider the order. His possession is less than his order, but the greater judges the lesser, the more worthy the less worthy. Therefore his order ought to be stronger and more efficacious to exempt him from your court than your barony and possession to retain him there subject to punishment. And if you consider this same possession of his a little further, you find it is not his but the Church's. It was secular; but given to God it has become ecclesiastical. Its secularity has been absorbed in it by title of divine right. Whence not by reason of his possession is the Archbishop held liable to punishment by a secular court. Accordingly neither by reason of his person, nor by reason of the thing which he possesses, must he be judged by the

court. The Archbishop must be reserved to the judgment of the Pope alone; the Pope to that of God alone. If you had anything against him which could not be settled in concord and charity, you should have left him to the Pope. Called to account by him, he would answer there through the medium of our Bishops and Clerics; or you should have asked that legates with full judiciary power be sent a latere[110] from the Pope into your Kingdom. The Bishop of Hereford, Master Robert of Melun, who for more than forty years had taught dialectics and Holy Scripture at Paris, one day at a certain meeting of some Bishops and many Clerics, proposed the sad question: "If it should happen," he said, "(which God forbid), that our Lord the Archbishop should be killed in this cause for the liberty of the Church, would we ever consider him a martyr? To be a martyr is to die for faith, our mother." To which someone made reply, "Undoubtedly if it should so happen, (which God forbid), it would have to be said that he most gloriously obtained the crown of martyrdom. Faith is not the only reason for martyrdom; but there are many reasons, truth, the liberty of the Church, love of

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110 a latere (from the side). A legate a latere is a Cardinal sent by the Pope as his personal representative in important and confidential matters of Church and State.

country or neighbor, any one is a sufficient cause, provided God is included in the reason. St. John the Baptist did not treat of the articles of faith with Herod and Herodias but he died for truth, because he said: 'It is not permitted for you to have the wife of your brother[111]'. Likewise this man said, 'It is not permitted to you, O King, to oppress the Church with this servitude, so that ecclesiastical men, the ordained of God, he held liable to your constitutions which are contrary to the Canons.' Likewise, seven brothers, with their mother looking on and encouraging them to persevere manfully, suffered diverse kinds of martyrdom, because they did not wish to break the command of God and the observances of their fathers concerning the eating of swine's flesh[112]. St. Lanfranc Archbishop also consulted St. Anselm, then Abbot, concerning St. Alphege[113] whether he was to be held as a martyr; proposing that he had been killed by foreign enemies, who had sailed to England, for this reason that he refused to give the gold which they had demanded from the people of the Church of Canterbury. St. Anselm answered: 'In this must

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111 Compare Matthew 14.4
112 2 Machabees 7
113 St. Alphege, Alphage or Elphege (954-1012) was Archbishop of Canterbury. In September 1011 the Danes sacked Canterbury and took him prisoner. Refusing to give a ransom for his freedom, he was put to death.

he be considered great, that he did not prefer to defend or prolong his life to allowing his sons and neighbors be troubled with the payment of the money which the enemies had imposed. Indeed he died for the liberty and welfare of his neighbor. "Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends[114]". And the title of innocence, where no struggle preceded, makes a martyr.' Whence even Abel is said to the first one crowned with martyrdom[115]. And indeed this was the sane opinion of the pagans:

> "....the bitter fates and the crime of
> a brother's murder drive the Romans,
> ever since the blood of guiltless Remus
> flowed to the ground to be a curse
> to posterity[116]".

O Good God! How many Clerics and knights who were present, pronounced true and fine opinions concerning the contempt of the world, when the Archbishop sat there alone holding his cross, and all his suffragan Bishops and the earls and barons had been called to the King and were separated from him. Someone said, "O deceitful world! Its surface, like the tranquil sea, may sometimes be serene but within it holds hidden storms." Another said, "In every-

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114 John 15.13
115 Genesis 4
116 Horace, Epodes 7.17-20

thing there is change[117]". The love of God is not a feud. O honors of the world! In which even what may be hoped for must be feared."

The Bishops conferring within with the King, told him among other things that on the very day when they came to the Archbishop, they were accused by him of bad treatment, namely that lately they with the nobles had treated him with a very hostile attitude, and had judged him more severely than was just and in an unheard of manner; that for one absence, which they called contempt of court but which should not be considered contumacy, they should not have condemned him to the mercy of the King for the pecuniary penalty of all his movable goods. For in this way the Church of Canterbury could be destroyed, if the unmerciful King should harden himself against him and even to the Bishops and barons themselves such a judgment in such a case could be deceptive. But that it had been decided to levy a sum of money on each county for the pecuniary penalty to be paid according to the mercy of the King. On London a hundred shillings were levied. In Kent, which being closer to the sea, had to keep the pirates from shore and struck the first blow in wars against foreign

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117 Terence, Eunuch 45

enemies, there was given greater liberty according to the greater burden it had to carry. And there forty shillings were levied in this way. And each one having domicile and home in Kent, should be judged and taxed at least according to the law of Kent. The Bishops also said that still on that day, within ten days after the passing of the sentence, he had appealed to the Pope against them, and forbade them by the authority of the Pope to judge him in the future for a secular complaint which arose from the time before he was Archbishop.

The angry King sent to him his counts and barons to ask him if he confessed himself the author of this prohibition and appeal; especially since he was his liege servant and bound both by a common oath and by the stipulation, in the word of truth, made at Clarendon, to observe his dignities in good faith, without evil deceit and legitimately. Among which dignities was this one, that Bishops be present at all judgments except those of blood. Also to ask of him whether he wished to avoid giving an account of the revenues of the chancery by furnishing bail and to stand according to the sentence of the court in this matter. To which the Archbishop, having looked at the image of the Crucified, strengthening his mind and countenance, and remaining seated the while, thus to keep his dignity of Archbishop bright and

equal, and not to falter in one word, held a discourse in this wise.

"My brethren, the Counts and Barons of my Lord the King, I am bound indeed to my Lord the King my liege, by homage, by fealty and by oath; but the oath of a priest ever has justice and equity for companions. I am bound unto the honor and fealty of my Lord the King, to render him servitude in all things for God's sake, saving obedience to God and ecclesiastical dignity and the archiepiscopal honor of my person, declining trial, as one who has a summons neither to expose an account nor for any cause except the cause of John, neither am I here held liable to the making of any other r esponse in cause nor to the hearing of any sentence. I confess and recall that I have received very many administrations and dignities from my Lord the King; in which I have faithfully served him, this side of the sea and beyond; and having spent my proper revenues in his service, a thing of which I rejoice, I have even obliged myself to my creditors by very many debts. But when elected Archbishop, I had to be consecrated by divine permission and the grace of my Lord the King, before consecration I was dismissed immune by the King, and presented to the Church of Canterbury, free, tranquil, absolved of all secular complaint by the King, although now

he denies it in his anger. This fact very many of you and all ecclesiastical persons of this Kingdom know well. And I do beg, beseech and entreat that you be conscious of this truth, that you may suggest these things to my Lord the King, against whom it is not safe, though licit, to name witnesses, nor is it now necessary, for I am not pleading my cause. After my consecration I endeavored to promote in zeal and deed the honor and duty I had undertaken and to some extent help the Church of God over which I was the visible head. Wherefore if it is not given to me to help her, if I cannot advance her interests, in the face of the strong wind of adversity, I impute it not to my Lord the King, nor to anyone else, but principally to my sins. God is able to increase His grace to whom and when He wills.

"I can give no sureties for rendering the accounts. I have already bound all the Bishops and my helpful friends; neither should I be forced to this, because it has not been judged against me. Neither am I in a cause for rendering an account, because I was not summoned to that cause; neither did I have summons to any cause except to the cause of John Marshal. But as to what you urge upon me concerning the prohibition or appeal made today against the Bishops, I do recall that I said to my fellow Bishops that for one absence

not however any contempt, they have condemned me more severely than was just, and beyond the custom and example of very great antiquity. Wherefore I appealed against them, forbidding them, while this appeal was pending, to judge me again concerning some secular complaint arising from the time before I became Archbishop; and I still do appeal; and my person as well as the Church of Canterbury I place under the protection of God and my Lord the Pope."

He had finished. Some nobles returned to the King in silence, weighing and examining his words. Others said, "Behold we have heard the blasphemy of prohibition from his own mouth." Other barons and attendants of the King, walking with twisted neck, looking at him askance, spoke among themselves loud enough for him to hear: "King William, who subdued England, knew how to tame his Clerics. He imprisoned his own brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who rebelled against him. He condemned Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury to be cast into a black well and perpetually imprisoned. Even the father of our King, Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, who also subdued Normandy with a strong band, had Arnulf Bishop-elect of Seez and many of his Clerics emasculated and the mutilated members brought to him in a dish; because before Geoffrey's consent, he had given his own consent to his election to the Church of Seez and had considered himself elected."

The King, having received the answer of the Archbishop, urged the Bishops, commanding and exhorting them through the homage and fealty due and sworn to him, to pronounce sentence along with the nobles against the Archbishop. They began to excuse themselves through the prohibition which the Archbishop had interposed. The King did not agree; asserting that this simple prohibition of his did not hold against what he had done and sworn at Clarendon. On the contrary, the Bishops urged that to pass sentence belonged to the King and that the Archbishop could lay hands on them if they did not obey his prohibition and appeal; and he should be willing to consent to this prohibition both for the good of the King and the Kingdom. The King at last agreeing, the Bishops received his counsel and went to the Archbishop. Robert of Lincoln was weeping and some others could hardly restrain their tears. Then the Bishop of Chichester, mentioned above, began to speak in this wise: "Lord Archbishop, saving your grace, we have much to complain concerning you. You have offended us your Bishops very much. You have brought us into a narrow pass, you have sent us as if between the hammer and the anvil, by your prohibition, which if we do not obey we shall be guilty of disobedience, or if we do obey we shall be involved in the chains of the constitutions and the anger of

the King. For lately gathered with you at Clarendon, we were summoned by our Lord the King concerning the observing of his regal dignities; and lest perhaps we could hesitate, he showed us written copies of these same constitutions about which he spoke. At last we joined our consent and promised observance to them; you leading the way, we your suffragans following from your precept. When, besides this, our Lord the King required from us a sworn assurance and the impression of our seals to these things, we said that the sacerdotal oath should be sufficient to him, which we pronounced to him, promising to observe those regal dignities of his, in the word of truth, in good faith, without evil deceit and legitimately. Our Lord the King being persuaded gave way. And now you compel us to come against this by interdicting us lest we be able to attend the judgment which he exacts of us. From this burden and lest you add anything to our hurt, we make appeal to our Lord the Pope, and in this wise do we obey your prohibition."

The Archbishop answered: "I hear what you say, and by the help of God I will stand by the prosecution of the appeal. At Clarendon, nothing was conceded by me, nor by you through me, but saving the honor of the Church. For as you yourself say, we retained there these three determinations, in good

faith, without evil deceit, and legitimately, by which are preserved for our Churches the dignities which we have by papal right. For what is against the faith due to the Church and against the laws of God, cannot in good faith and legitimately be observed; likewise, a Christian King has no dignity which destroys ecclesiastical liberty which he has sworn. Besides, concerning these same regal dignities of which you speak, my Lord the King sent written copies of them to the Supreme Pontiff for confirmation; and they were returned condemned rather than approved. He has given us an example in doctrine, so that we also may do likewise, prepared with the Roman Church to receive what it receives, to reject what it rejects. Furthermore, if we fell at Clarendon, (for the flesh is weak), we ought to take up our courage and strive in the strength of the Holy Ghost against the ancient enemy who strives both that he who stands may fall, and he who has fallen may not rise. If under the stipulation: in the word of truth, we have there conceded or sworn unjust things, know that those who swear unlawful things are bound by no law."

The Bishops returned to the King and excused by his permission from judging the Archbishop, sat by themselves apart from the barons. But the King demanded his sentence con-

cerning the Archbishop from the counts and barons. Certain sheriffs and barons of secondary dignity, ancient of days, were called out to be added to the number and take part in the judgment. After some delay the nobles returned to the Archbishop. Robert the Count of Leicester, who excelled others by the maturity of age and morals, after urging a few others to pronounce the sentence but they refusing, began to relate article by article the negotiations held at Clarendon, as he had done before. Hilary Bishop of Chichester was sad, as if in this there had been contempt manifested at royal majesty and a transgression of the promise there made in the word of truth; and he said to the Archbishop that he should hear his judgment. But not suffering him to say more the Archbishop said, "What do you wish to do? You have come to judge me? You ought not. Judgment is a sentence brought after a trial. Today I have said nothing as for a cause. For no cause was I called hither except for the cause of John who was not tried with me. You cannot judge me for these things. I am in some way your father; you however are the nobles of the palace, lay magistrates, secular persons. I hear not your judgment." The nobles returned. After an interval, the Archbishop, rising and taking his cross, sought the door which, though it had been very strictly closed all

day, opened, as it were willingly, to him. Some evil-mouthed fellow following him said that he left as the perjurer of the King; another, that he went as a traitor and spurned the judgment of the King. In the hall full of men he hit against an unseen pile of wood, but did not fall. Mounting his horse, he took along Master Herbert who on account of the exceeding disturbance had not been able to find his own horse quickly enough, with him to the hostelry at the monastery of St. Andrew. Oh! What a martyrdom he endured in spirit on that day! But he returned more happy from the face of the council, because he was held worthy to suffer insult there for the name of Jesus[118].

Having prayed before the altar, he afterwards laid down his cross near the altar of St. Mary. He sat down and his domestics gathered around him. Then William Fitzstephen said to him, "This day indeed has been bitter." To whom the Archbishop answered, "The last will be more bitter." After a little while, he exhorted his subjects, saying, "Let each of you keep himself in silence and peace. Let no bitter word go out of your mouth. Answer nothing to any slanderer; let yourself be insulted. It is of the higher person to suffer these things; of the lower to do them. As they should be masters of their tongues, so let us be the masters of our ears. They do not slander me, but Him Who

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118 Acts 5.41

considers wicked words as said against Himself."

The King, when he heard of the departure of the Archbishop, and that his courtiers were following him with slander, asked by Robert of Melun Bishop of Hereford, or perhaps informed by someone else, before he had yet gone, sent word that a herald should cry through the streets after him that no one should in any way molest him or his attendants. The Archbishop ate late that night, among his household as was his wont. After supper, all his knights who were present, after rendering him homage and obtaining his permission, left him with tears. Later the Archbishop sent three Bishops, Walter of Rochester, his chaplain, and two whom he had ordained, Robert of Hereford and Roger of Worcester to the King to ask of him permission and safe conduct to leave on the next day. They found the King joyful; but he put off answering them till the next morning. Receiving the answer from messengers, the Archbishop feared that that delay of the answer of the King meant danger to him.

It was evening; the hour set aside for Compline. The Archbishop told his companions that he wished to watch in Church. And indeed on one of the preceding nights, he had passed the whole night in vigil and prayer in Church with his Clerics, receiving the discipline and genuflecting at the name of each saint in the Litany. Certain ones of his Clerics

said to him, "We also wish to watch with you in Church." He answered, "No indeed; I would not have you troubled." In the silence of the stormy night he left with two companions, unaccompanied by any of his Clerics or knights. When the King and all the Council heard this the next day, taking counsel as to what must be done, he sent word that all the possessions of the Church of Canterbury should remain peacefully in the Archbishop's hands and none of his officials should be removed, because from there they had made an appeal. And he sent after him at his heels to the Pope on the continent the Archbishop of York and four Bishops, Gilbert of London, Hilary of Chichester, Bartholomew of Exeter, Roger of Worcester, and two counts and two barons and three domestic Clerics of his household, who might prosecute these causes. The rest of the day and Council was spent in considering the leading of infantry against the rebellious Wales and perfidious King Rhys[119]. Upon request of the King, a promised multitude of warlike foot-soldiers as help for him was inscribed by each person present both ecclesiastic and lay. The Council was dissolved.

On the following morning, those many and distinguished envoys were going to Dover, going the faster because they

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119 A rebellious noble of Wales.

thought that the Archbishop might have preceded them. The Archbishop, hiding among men who feared God and his dependents, sometimes travelling at night, delayed in England from the fifteenth day after the feast of St. Michael to the second day of November[120], until a ship was prepared for him with pilot and sailors worthy of trust. On the same day, that is the Commemoration of the Faithful Departed, both he and the messengers sent against him, sailed across; they were driven to Southampton by a terrible storm so that the Bishop of London took off his cape and cowl; the Archbishop landed secretly at Gravelines. Thence the poor man with only two brothers went on foot as far as a certain Cistercian monastery at Clairmarais. Nevertheless with greatness of soul he was still a spurner of fortune when it snarled just as he was before when it smiled. On the way someone recognized him and said, "This indeed is that former Chancellor of England, now Archbishop of Canterbury." He answered, "Are the Archbishops of Canterbury accustomed to journey in this way?" In a certain little village, he hired a horse, since his feet could not go further; which he mounted without saddle. O Good Jesus! Many indeed are the tribulations of the just and the sufferings of this time, nevertheless

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120 October 14--November 2, 1164.

they are not equal to Thy rewards which Thou reservest unto the time of retribution[121]. Behold this Thy Servant the Archbishop has left everything; poor and in need of help he has followed Thee.

They came to that monastery. Thence he was carried by boat to Clairmarais and then to St. Omer where he was received with flowing tears and great joy by the Abbot and Community of St. Bertin. He was received with due compassion and veneration by Philip son of Thierceville, illustrious Count of Anjou when the latter was asked for safe conduct and security to go to the Lord King of France and he granted what was desired. Making some delay with the Abbot of St. Bertin he awaited there his brother priests and Clerics and some of his mangled train. There horses, a chapel, vestments and everything necessary for himself and his men who had come to him there were provided to the full by the munificence of the Count, the generosity of the Abbot and the neighboring persons. There Richard de Luci, messenger of the King of England, returning from the Lord King of France, after persuading Thomas to return to his country, rendered him homage. When he continued his journey from there to the Lord King of

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121 Compare Romans 8.8

France he already had forty horses in his prebendal stall. When his arrival was made known to his Clerics, many of whom he had in France, they hurried to join his train. Venerable persons of the Church of France ran to the street from all sides to meet him. Even Henry himself, the Archbishop of Rheims, brother to the King of France, and Bishops and Abbots, Archdeacons, Provosts of Churches, greet so great an exile with due veneration and put themselves and their goods freely at his service, and compel him with a certain insistence of devout charity to receive what is necessary.

His coming became known to the Lord King of France Louis, and to the son of King Louis, who both had compassion piously in the Lord for one who had suffered insult and rejoiced with him at his escape. Finally this rumor was divulged to Pope Alexander III who was at Sens. Alas! A schism indeed there was in the Holy Roman Church. And Frederic, would that he loved God! A turbulent emperor, fostered with all his followers, first one, then another, then a third of the schismatics of all his lands. But the arrival of the envoys of the King of England also became known to the Pope; who sympathized with due compassion with the exiled Archbishop and congratulating him for fighting for the freedom of the Church, wrote to him that he should retire for a while by himself for the purpose of relaxation

and rest and should come to him when called. All of France was moved with pity and compassion towards the Archbishop; and the spirit of all was excited against the King of England, especially against the Bishops. When the Archbishop of York and the four Bishops and others all understood this, they made Count of Arundel, William de Albini their leader; and when asked on the way to whom such a large household, to whom such a train belonged, they answered: the Count of Arundel; the names of the Bishops being suppressed, for shame! At last they came to the Pope. There flowed from all sides whoever could come to the Pope's court, from the Kingdom of France, from Burgundy, to see and hear for so many and such great envoys of the King of England; what kind of cause they had, what they would say or do. In a celebrated consistory, the Archbishop of York and all the Bishops as except Roger of Worcester; and even the Count of Arundel and Reginald of St. Valery--all of them spoke before the Pope. They were almost of the same opinion concerning the commendation of the illustrious King of England, as a Catholic Prince, a devoted son and benefactor of the Pope, for his part a patron of the Holy Catholic Church, an honest man, lover of peace, magnificent prince, venerator of ecclesiastical persons, and donor to the Churches of his Kingdom according to God and without simony. And if now there was disagreement between

him and his Archbishop, the fault was not the King's. The God of peace and love, with the help of the Pope and the Church of Rome, when it should so please Him, would quiet this storm and clear the skies of their quarrel. Some one of them, among other things, diligently related the powers and the riches of the King of England. No one said anything at all against the Archbishop's person or touching his cause with the King. To each of them the Pope answered in the same way: "It pleases us that the King of England is such a man, and so good. Would that God may make an increase of virtue in him." There were there at the feet of the Pope at the same audience, three or four Clerics of the Archbishop, whom, when they wished to speak for their Lord, the Pope repressed saying that it was not necessary, since nothing against the Archbishop would be said.

The Count of Arundel spoke more efficaciously and eloquently than the rest and thus was heard with favor and "won applause[122]". In secret they murmured in the ears of the Pope concerning the deposition of the Archbishop, tempting him with very great promises. At last it was even added that the annual Peter's Pence, which now came only from those attached to the soil and not from all and went to the

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122 Horace, Ars Poetica 343

English treasury, the King would make and confirm forever to be paid to the Church from every inhabitant of the land, from every home from which smoke ascended, from cities, castles, boroughs and villages. The annual income indeed of the Church of Rome would increase to a thousand pounds of silver beyond what it then was. But when they found the Pope immovable and a preserver of rigid honesty, as it had been commanded them not to delay beyond three days at court, nor to await the Archbishop to prosecute the causes, after receiving permission and a blessing, they departed.

Behold one day when they saw from across a certain river more than thirty men on horseback from the Archbishop's train going to the Pope, taking counsel they sent back a Cleric of the King, Guy the Dean of Waltham, to see and hear how the coming of the Archbishop of Canterbury would be received in the Roman Court. As he was approaching Sens, a great number of Cardinals came to meet him on horseback, receiving him with joy. As he entered, the Pope rose to meet him with a kiss and tears and embraced him with fatherly sympathy, consoling him with much veneration and exhortation.

On the Vigil of the following Christmas[123], the King of England received his envoys at Marlborough and the personal

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123 A.D. 1164.

Nuncio of the Pope. Having failed in his purpose, he ordered that on the day after Christmas the Archbishop should be immediately stripped of all his possessions, and the Church of Canterbury with all its lands and accessions and all the Churches and revenues of all his Clerics should be confiscated to the crown; and all the relatives of the Archbishop, and both the Clerics and laics of his household should be proscribed and banished from his Kingdom. On the second day after Christmas, the apparitors and officials of the King came to London, among whom was a certain Randulf de Broc

"a monster the blackest of mankind[124]",

to whom, layman even, and most cruel and very hostile to the Archbishop, he committed the Church of Canterbury, the primary See of England, to be guarded, nay rather to be destroyed. This man with some others, was the executor of the King's mandate; they did what was commanded, and even worse things than was commanded. All the relatives of the Archbishop found in the city of London were called outside the city to Lambeth in the very home of the Archbishop, and swore that they would go out from a seaport and from their native soil into exile at the first wind coming from the land and would go directly to the Archbishop himself; in order that thus the sight of them, his flesh, might bruise his own

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124 Virgil, Aeneid 1.347

flesh, their sorrows add to his sorrows and in order that as many of his subjects as appeared before him, exiled for his sake, might be so many swords piercing his soul. A heap of good things cannot be as enjoyable as departure is painful. His relatives of both sexes had to go out, and infants, some in their cradle, others at the breast. Also all who were found out to be his Clerics and servants; and even those who gave him shelter for one night when he was wandering in England, a fugitive from the face of the King. What then? This noble France mercifully received them all; the French King himself received some, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Counts, Barons, Provosts, Holders of fortresses, each of them received some. Religious women received the women and the children in the cradles. The noble people divided among themselves the needy co-exiles of Jesus Christ, the broken train of the good Archbishop, a desolate household; nor was there any one of them who lacked anything among those noble people of France who are not forgetful of beneficence and communion. May God reward such sacrifices!

The good exile, the servant of Jesus Christ, Thomas the Archbishop, after confessing secretly to the Pope that he had sinned because he had been elected following the manifestation of the will of the King of England and likewise because

he had consented to the decrees of Clarendon, decrees contrary to the divine decrees, is said to have resigned the Archbishopric into the hands of the Pope, as if unworthy of it on account of these wrongs; and that the Pope resisted him in this way for three days and afterwards returned his Office to him. When he understood in confession the life of the Archbishop and his interior and very sorrowful penitence, he admitted him into a fuller and more sincere love, knowing him to be a just and holy man, tending to the summit of perfection by the grace of God and the suffrages of his hidden virtues.

After some sojourn with the Pope, the Archbishop, following his counsel and desire, went to stay at Pontigny, that is, at the Abbey of monks of the Cistercian Order, who were hospitable and generous in providing what was necessary to himself, his many Clerics and his household servants. The Archbishop in the whole time of almost seven years of exile was occupied in practicing penance, purifying his conscience, sanctifying his life; and after the celebration of Mass and the contemplation of divine things, he would also give some time to the study of letters and especially to the Sacred Scriptures. He was also occupied in writing books and in seeking privileges from the Pope. He heard of no book

in all the libraries of any Church of France, which approved by antiquity and authority, he would not have transcribed; and he heard of no privilege which he would not seek for his Church, so that at no time previously was the Church of Canterbury so enriched and adorned with excellent volumes and privileges, as he now at last enriched it. Destitute of all his goods and awaiting mercy from a stranger's hand, the Archbishop sought to bear his own exile and that of his subjects with equinanimity. Placing liberty in exile before slavery at home, he patiently bore his lot. He cast his care on the Lord and he sustained him[125]. He gave him grace in the sight of all flesh[126]. The thought of the exiled Archbishop was the same as that of the Trojan: "Home is wherever it is well for man to be[127]"; and the same as that of Ovid,

"To the brave every land is his country[128]".

O England, how great art thou when good and religious people are repulsed from thee? When due liberty is denied to good Prelates, when the necessity of emigrating is imposed upon them? Albutius[129], an exile at Athens indulged

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125 Compare Psalms 54.23
126 Compare Acts 2.47
127 Compare Horace, Odes 1.7.21; Cicero Tusculan Disputations 5.37.108
128 Ovid, Fasti 1.493
129 Compare Cicero, Tusculan Disputations 5.37.108

in philosophy with a very calm mind. This would not have happened to him, if in keeping silent in the Republic, he had obeyed the laws of Epicure. When the death of some of his nephews or relatives was announced to the Archbishop in exile, he was not moved; neither when any of his Clerics or envoys sent to the Pope maliciously misrepresented him. There he was consoled by the common necessity of bearing the human lot, believing that life was as a fruit to be reaped by all, that earth to earth must be returned. Here he praised the virtue proper to each one and deplored his fate.

Some of his Clerics were co-exiles with him outside of their natal soil. Their fathers, mothers, brothers and richer relatives, were forced with them to swear that they would go into exile and would present themselves to the Archbishop. Others remained and did not follow him; of whom was William of Salisbury a priest, who was captured and detained in Corfe castle for six months. Three, more wealthy, gave money for their redemption. Stephen of Everton gave a hundred pounds; Alfred of Wathemestede also gave a hundred pounds; and Thurstan of Croydon paid a hundred marks besides being imprisoned for one whole day in a filthy dungeon of thieves in London. Other wanderers and fugitives lived in

England for whose relatives and friends it was for a long time terrifying to see them dangerous to speak to them, unlawful to help them with shelter or food. For the younger co-exiles and infants unjustly proscribed, many French people interceded before the King with tender compassion. The King of France interceded for some, the Empress, mother of the King of England, for some, the Count of Flanders for some, and indeed other Bishops and counts of France for others.

William Fitzstephen made his peace through a prayer which he had made and given to the King in the Chapel at Bruhill. This is the prayer, written in the person of the Lord King of England.

O King of all ages, O King of the heavenly citadel, Guide of Heaven, Guide of earth, King of kings most high; Who rulest even the seas, disturbest and excitest them; and when it pleaseth Thee, smoothest and calmest them. Thou hast created, and formed the heavens, earth and seas; and governest all that Thou hast made and founded. Thou art the Donor of every good, O Omnipotent; the Giver of every favor, Lord of lords.

Them that live a simple life in the world but not of the world Thou crownest and rewardest with manifold glory. They

are made happy and crowned on the threshold of eternity whose minds are glowing with the fire of the Holy Spirit.

Thou plungest into the infernal furnace of hell them that do not consider Thee the Helper of sinners, the Lord exalted, elevated above the cedars of Lebanon[130]. Thou holdest enclosed in the darksome prison of infernal Avernus[131] the guilty who dare condemn Thee, O God. There the guilty at the command of God, for their kind of sentence, weep, stiffen, burn, hiss, and twist in every way. There is fear, there is weeping, there gnashing of teeth[132]. There all punishments are full of the cries of lamentations. Here sorrows are sharper than other sorrows, here torturers are more wicked than other torturers.

My God, guilty I humiliate myself to Thee. O true God, have mercy on Thy adoptive son. Thy suppliant, Thy servant, most clement God, adores Thee, and implores the gift of Thy grace. O King of Heaven, receive me called the King of Angels. Rule this King who by his own law cannot rule himself. To minister to Thee with a whole mind, to obey

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130 Compare Psalms 103.16; Isaias 14.8
131 Poetical name for the infernal regions; Compare Ovid, Amores 3.9.27
132 Matthew 8.12; Luke 13.23

and serve Thee is to rule. Thy soldier wishes to decline from base acts of sin. Would extinguish the renewed incentives of lust; would turn from the excesses of customary false pleasures.

I do not care if I love Thee with a pure heart, O God; how I am I consider little, hardly notice. I glory much in the transient things of this day; delaying too long I die in sin. I confess, my God, that I have erred and sinned. I have disgraced and violated the rights of purity. The sores of my crimes "are putrified and corrupted[133]", and are considered like unto the sores of those who descend into the pit[134]. I have broken the law of honesty and chastity with impunity. Long in evils has my life been sleeping. Deign not Thou to correct me according to my sins Who humblest all the proud who have suffered wounds. But to me, corrected and regarded by Thee, O God, grant that by Thy grace I may praise and love Thee, purify and correct all that I have committed. Vouchsafe a hope of salvation, the reality of virtue, innocence of life, the grace of chastity and purity.

When from dire mind, I sometimes rage in anger, dear God, do Thou moderate in me what I cannot control.

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133 Psalms 37.6
134 Compare Psalms 87.5

May I have no anxiety to take away each one's rights or to violate the boundaries of the neighbor. Although they may be able to deprive me of money, arms, and sense, what "we have, possess, whatever we do not desire[135]" is in the crowns of a marauder and pagan king. May I not feel that those towns, castles and manors are lacking or wanting to me unless I first take them. The towers of kings and the huts of the poor, full of abundance or lacking the needful, fall by a similar destruction and equal death[136].

Grant that my heirs may ascend the throne after me and under Thy protection may rule a peaceful kingdom.

Grant that my Clerics may sincerely choose the right and law and love Thee with devout and undivided mind. May they live such a good life as to please Thee; may they show themselves to us a norm and form of life.

May all the people entrusted to my reign be directed and subdued to Thy rule. Look Thou upon them, defend them, show Thyself a shield to them; do Thou offer them Thy sceptre, Thy Kingdom, Who rulest nations. Remove Thou war and spare us the chastisements of Thy wrath, repel the enemy, grant us peace. Human strength is vain; Thou knowest what is in man.

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135 Anonymous
136 Compare Horace, Odes 1.4.13-14

For in our small arms we are not saved, O Lord. Often seen and trusting in itself and its help, strength bereft of counsel goes back and falls against itself[137]; but from Thy throne, celestial virtue comes for a gift, through which victory over the enemy is given and procured.

May our sowings rejoice us with tenfold fruit: May our fields multiply abundance with great harvest. So may we use and enjoy temporal good that we may rejoice and be glad with Thee in Heaven.

Have Thou mercy on the souls of my relations, absolve them and cleanse them of all stains.

To all the faithful living and dead, O Lord, bestow a peaceful and happy life in Heaven.

Amen!

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137 Compare Horace, Odes 3.4.65

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