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An Annotated Translation of the Life of St. Thomas Becket by Herbert Bosham (part Three)

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE
LIFE OF ST. THOMAS BECKET
BY HERBERT BOSHAM

(Part Three)

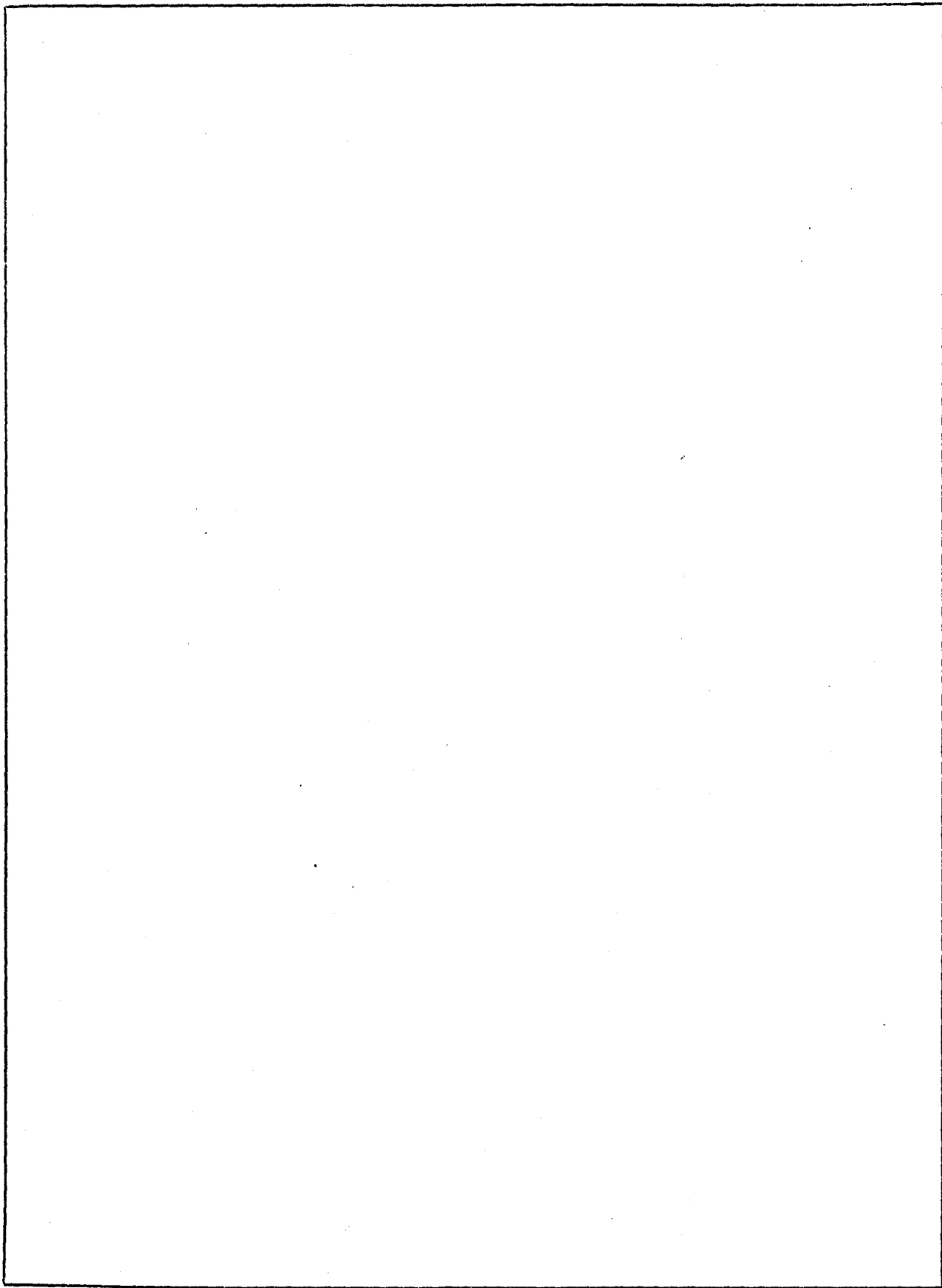
by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
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VITA

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PREFACE

The present work is a continuation of a series of translations begun in the Classics Department of the Graduate School of Loyola University. The text for this section comprises pages 318-392, chapters 1 to 17, Book IV of the life of Saint Thomas Becket written by Herbert of Bosham, in Volume III of the Rolls Series entitled Materials for the History of Thomas Becket. This series was edited by James Craigie Robertson, Canon of Canterbury, and published in 1877.

Robertson compiled the Latin text from two manuscripts,--the Oxford Ms., found in the library of Corpus Christi College, and the Arras Ms., found in the Public Library at Arras. Of these two the Arras manuscript is the more perfect, although both are defective since a number of passages have been lost from each of them. The editor had recourse to the Phillipps collection of manuscripts which contained some of the material missing from the Arras manuscript.¹

¹ J. C. Robertson, Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, (London: Longman & Co., 1877), III, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

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INTRODUCTION

The author whose work is being translated in this series of the lives of Saint Thomas Becket is Herbert of Bosham. Presumably, as his name indicates, he was a native of Bosham which is in Sussex, England. The date of his birth is unknown. However, from all indications, it appears that he may have been of approximately the same age as his lord, the archbishop, or possibly only a few years younger. A very much younger man would not presume to advise and admonish his master in such strong terms as Herbert had done on more than one occasion. The date given for Thomas Becket's birth is 1118.¹ We may reasonably assume, then, that this might serve as an approximate date for Herbert's birth.

Herbert's father became a priest, probably in his later life, since Herbert refutes a statement in which he was maliciously labeled as a "priest's son."² No in-

1 John Morris, Life and Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket (London: Burns and Oates, 1885), p. 6.

2 James Craigie Robertson, Becket--A Biography (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1859), p. 178.

formation is given concerning his mother. Nothing more seems known about his childhood or youth. However, a good part of his life must have been spent in the archbishop's service, since his name is linked with the prelate's in all the biographies of the saint. Already in the early years of Thomas Becket's promotion to the episcopacy, Herbert was known to be in attendance with the archbishop.³

The whole of the rest of his life, most of which he spent abroad, was devoted to the service of his master even after Thomas' death. It is stated by some writers that late in life he became archbishop of Benevento or Cosenza or Compsa.⁴ There is no definite evidence of this, however. The time and place of Herbert's death have not been ascertained.

A very picturesque description of Herbert's outward appearance and proud character is given by William Fitzstephen in his narrative of Thomas' biography. Herbert is depicted as tall and handsome, wearing a coat of green cloth of Auxerre, with a cloak of the same material

3 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 186.

4 Ibid., III, p. xx.

hanging down to his heels "after the fashion of the Germans," with matching ornaments.⁵ On this same occasion, Herbert is said to have departed himself in a proud and haughty manner.⁶ His pride and vanity are also discernible in the style and tone of his own writings. A headstrong determination and inflexible will are reflected in the advice and admonitions given by him to the archbishop. But one of the dominant characteristics of the author clearly perceptible throughout the whole of this biography is Herbert's love and loyalty to his master.

His writings as far as is known were the life of Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and the Liber Melorum.⁷ The life of Saint Thomas was probably written about fourteen years after the archbishop's martyrdom, according to his own words. He makes mention of the fact that he is writing the biography of the saint through the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth years after the murder of the archbishop. This would set the date for this work to about 1187.⁸

5 Ibid., III, pp. 99-101.

6 Ibid., loc. cit.

7 Ibid., p. xxiii-xxv.

8 Ibid., III, p. 192; p. 497; p. 461.

The style of the biography makes it extremely wearisome reading because of the author's constant repetitions and commentaries. So much so, in fact, that it frequently becomes troublesome to follow the narrative.

He continually digresses into long discourses which are quite beside the subject, and in themselves are mere nothingness; and when he has tried the reader's patience with tedious superfluities of this kind, he often spends a further space in vindicating his diffuseness and in telling us that we ought to be thankful for it.⁹

There has been some doubt about the authenticity of the speeches supposedly given by the archbishop and other speakers. It is more likely that the author attributed his own thoughts to these speakers in his fondness for long and prolix passages.

Nor is he content with indulging in such digressions, or with reporting speeches in the same style as having been made by himself but he puts similar orations, long, dull, and unmeaning, into the mouths of others, as in the instance of the speeches ascribed to the archbishop and his companions at pp. 362-373, which, we may be very sure, were never made by the persons to whom they are assigned.¹⁰

Countless Scriptural references and analogies recur throughout this whole biographical sketch. In fact, some of these references could not be located because of the changes he made in the original Latin text. Other

9 Ibid., III, p. xxiv.

10 Ibid., loc. cit.

references were difficult to find because of the extremely vague allusions he made to their sources.

Herbert appears to have had in mind the portrayal of a close parallel between Christ as depicted in the gospels and that of his master, Thomas Becket. This analogy too often becomes artificially overdone. Here and there the comparisons are noticeably studied and even exaggerated.

However, it must be conceded that there is a great deal of historical value in this biography by Herbert of Bosham. Having been the archbishop's constant companion, he must certainly have been a witness and even participant in many of Thomas' experiences and trials. Hence, his eye-witness accounts of these incidents are in all likelihood accurate and trustworthy. We may also gather from numerous references in his own writings that he was in the archbishop's confidence, which fact also contributes much to the documentary value of his writing. Comparisons of several biographers of the saint reveal that there are many incidents in Thomas' life recorded only by Herbert.

All in all, a more sympathetic biography of the archbishop of Canterbury will probably never be written, notwithstanding the fact that it is so lengthy and repe-

titious. Herbert was a loyal servant, a helpful confidante, and most loving biographer of the martyr bishop, Thomas Becket. A touching tribute is given him by Speaight in his St. Thomas of Canterbury:

He had been with Thomas through all his temptations and sufferings, but he now feared that he would not share his glory. Such diffidence is in the nature of good and simple men; and we need not doubt that Herbert now sits at the right hand of his master.¹¹

¹¹ Robert Speaight, St. Thomas of Canterbury (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), p. 213.

LIFE OF SAINT THOMAS

BOOK IV

(1) The flight of Thomas and its
evangelical character

After he laid aside the stole which he customarily wore over his shoulders designating the yoke of the bishop assumed solemnly and voluntarily, as we have previously pointed out,¹ Thomas fled, by this very flight proving that he was no longer able to discharge his episcopal duties unhampered, being under such great pressure. He fled, therefore, removing his stole, taking with him in his flight nothing but that insignia of the metropolitan bishops called the pallium and his official seal. With neither scrip, nor bread, nor money in his purse,² but with only his cappa over his hair shirt, he followed

1 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 195.

2 Mark 6, 8.

Jesus.³ He followed, I repeat, Jesus, Who also at one time went into exile,⁴ but Who later in His life offered Himself up fearlessly.⁵ So, in order to give an example of flight to His own followers on earth, Jesus, the Shepherd of sheep, fled; and after his Master, Paul, the greatest of teachers, went into exile;⁶ and, if we look for even earlier examples of fugitives, Jacob fled,⁷ Moses, too;⁸ as also did Elias,⁹--all obeying that command of Our Lord concerning flight: "If they shall have persecuted you in one city, flee into another."¹⁰

Thomas went into exile, therefore, so that he might fulfill the injunction of the Lord, having consideration, in this flight, for the king whom he yet loved;

3 Morris in his book, Life and Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, p. 187, interprets this previous passage: "His last preparation had been to take off his stole, which he had constantly worn since his consecration; and he took nothing with him except his pallium and his archiepiscopal seal. He wore his usual cappa, and his hair shirt next to his skin was his armour."

4 Matt. 2, 13.

5 John 18, 11; Luke 22, 53.

6 Acts 14, 50-51; et al.

7 Osee 12, 12; Gen. 31, 22.

8 Exod. 2, 15

9 3 Kings 19, 3. 10 Matt. 10, 23.

also for his own benefit, in order to assuage the anger of the king and to keep his hands free from guile. The wise man says, "For the wrath of a king is as messengers of death: and the wise man will pacify it."¹¹ It is not necessary, then, to make apology for this flight, which was not that of a hireling¹² but of a shepherd who, it is evident, was being sought for personal reasons. There was another reason for this self-inflicted exile; namely, if he remained and stood his ground against the king, he would sooner cause his own death than secure a guarantee for his life, adding grief to grief.¹³

In this same manner, the disciple of the master Paul, namely, Apollo, whom he had ordained bishop of the Corinthians, left the very ones over whom he had been recently placed in charge, because he had been powerless to conciliate them.¹⁴ Even after being earnestly besought by his own master, he had been unwilling to return to his people, fearful that his return would be of no avail if

11 Prov. 16, 14.

12 John 10, 13.

13 Cf. Jeremias 45, 3; Ps. 68, 67.

14 1 Cor. 16, 12.

they remained obstinate. In regard to him the master said to the Corinthians, "And touching Apollo, I give you to understand, that I much entreated him to come unto you: and indeed it was not his will at all to come at this time."¹⁵

In this fashion and for a like reason time and again many other shepherds, who were good men, have either completely separated from the flock once entrusted to them, or were transferred from place to place wherever they felt they were able to offer more useful service. And so there is no apology necessary for this flight; on the contrary, more blameworthy was the desertion of those provincial bishops who remained.

15 Loc. cit.

About spiritual flight in which the shepherd does not desert his flock, but the hireling

In reality those who stayed behind fled, for no one will deny that those bishops were really deserters who crossed over to the enemies' side, abandoning in the day of battle their archbishop, leader of his army. They fled in actuality just as the sons of Effrem, who, in the very act of bending and shooting their bow (when they were prepared for battle before war and were promising assistance), turned back in the day of battle.¹⁶ They were present, certainly, in the body and in the flesh, but they deserted in spirit, hiding under the bushel of fear the weapons of their military spirit and the lamp of truth,¹⁷ when they ought to have risen up against the principalities and powers of this world¹⁸ from the opposing camp, and should have risen up in battle to protect the house of Israel in the day of the Lord. But even the soldier of the Lord carries his sword in vain, for, as we have

16 Ps. 77, 9.

17 Cf. Matt. 5, 12.

18 Cf. Ephes. 6, 12.

already said, he hides his sword under the bushel of fear and flees, although he does this not in the body, but in spirit.¹⁹ This flight, not the corporeal one, but the spiritual one, is always inexcusable; namely, that which fear of the world or its love effects in hireling servants.

There are some ministers of the Lord who daily chant and read in resplendent golden temples of God and midst gilded altars, yet they flee; who, luxuriantly bedecked in gold and gems, amid throngs of attendants, feast and drink from day to day, and yet they flee; who take their rest without a care under their own fig-tree and in their own vineyard;²⁰ and yet they flee; by such desertion they gain the favor of princes and the glory of the world. Woe to our generation,--I speak of the ministers of the altar,--away with this leaven,²¹ with this kind of cowardice! Nor is he necessarily an enemy who rises up from the camp of the enemy. These men, to be sure, join psalms to psalms, prayers with prayers, and Masses with Masses and they hear them daily somewhat regularly, and, of course,

19 1 Cor. 15, 3.

20 Cf. 3 Kings 4, 25.

21 Cf. Matt. 16, 6, 11; Mark 8, 15.

the needy. But these deeds, surely, are common to all Christians, why, even the Jews and the pagans do these things.²² Yet that exalted episcopal position under the title of bishop shuns mutual intercourse with ordinary men.

The following is said to be required in the name of the bishops, in virtue of their duty. Their prerogative it is to constantly censure, to reprove, to threaten in season and out of season, to fight when the occasion demands, or to oppose the powers of earth. Theirs must be the steep ascent, and this their proper pastoral burden. Such is that excellence of the priestly title of bishop, such is the rank of bishops, such is that great privilege of their most distinguished station in the Church, by virtue of which they are obliged to excel the ordinary layman and ought to rise above us because they are placed above us and in charge of us. These same bishops, as we have already said, are equals with the rest of their inferiors in fastings, in vigils, in almsgiving, in petitions, in prayers, and other works of piety or of religion; namely, such acts which are not strictly the duties of bishops, but which are common to all Christians. But, alas, how

22 Cf. Matt. 5, 47.

very many are there of this type? Even if they perform their duties, nevertheless, in this season of the test of their courage they hide their weapons. They are the ones who, while they look for earthly comforts, while they flatter and cajole for honors, or seek higher positions through a spirit of ambition, deny that they are in opposition for fear they might lose what they love or that they might not attain what they seek after. This is the reason, surely, why our present Church is being stricken by that threat of the Lord, expressed through His prophet, "I shall take away from Jerusalem and from Juda," he says, "the valiant and the strong."²³ This fact another prophet, as the representative of the synagogue lamented in his own Threnodies,--lamented, indeed, not the destruction of the walls or of the stones of the temple, but the dearth of heroes. "He has taken away," he says, "all my mighty men out of the midst of me."²⁴ This was only predicted long ago, but now has been fully brought to pass today in Juda and Jerusalem. Few are the great-souled, few the strong and brave men; nay, rather, all are cowards, turning their backs, all fleeing; who, in their flight, aspire for such things which

23 Isaias 3, 1.

24 Lament. 1, 15.

Thomas in his flight spurned. Their manner of flight surely was not that of our fleeing Thomas. In fact, so different was it, that in his flight Thomas could truly proclaim along the way that portion of the versicle in the psalm: "Flight hath failed me: and there is no one that hath regard to my soul."²⁵ For, realizing that there should be a time for each act and that there should be a time for fleeing and that there should be a time for going forth bravely,²⁶ he fled first but later faced his enemies, as the issue of his flight and the death of the man will show.

Praiseworthy, therefore, was this flight of Thomas, and great the trust of the one fleeing, thinking nothing of the morrow,²⁷ carrying naught with him on his way beyond the faith of the Crucified and poverty, although he had been, as has been sufficiently shown above, nourished on the most choice delicacies. Thomas is then driven as a refugee throughout the entire British land, bounded on every side by the ocean, from which departure was difficult, especially since everything appeared suspicious to the exile, as one who was everywhere now considered as a public enemy.

25 Ps. 141, 5.

26 Cf. Eccles. 3, 1-8.

27 Cf. Matt. 6, 34.

But let us digress for a little while from the narrative of the journey of the fugitive and from his departure. We shall relate first, how on the following day, that is, Wednesday,²⁸ his flight already being discovered, the nobles and bishops went into council against the Lord and against His anointed one.

²⁸ October 14, 1164.

(2) The transactions of the council after the flight of the archbishop was divulged

With the dawn of the following morning and after the flight of Thomas was made public, the bishops and nobles met in conference. Exceedingly angered, the king consulted this assembly about what should be done. It was unanimously agreed that the older bishops, particularly those who had pledged themselves to the king, (as we have mentioned above)²⁹ should go to the Roman Pontiff and accuse Thomas of disrupting the order of his kingdom and the clergy and also to charge him with perjury.

In the meantime, all of the archbishop's possessions were to be left intact until the delegation would return with the decision of the Pope. Hence, in a proclamation of the king, it was announced by his herald that no one was to disturb any of the archbishop's household or his goods and that none of his property be confiscated, but that everything belonging to Thomas remain intact. In fact, they suggested this course of action, feeling confident that this would cause greater harm to the archbishop

29 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 308.

and that they would more conveniently justify their own position. Moreover, they felt that they would seriously hinder any sympathy towards the archbishop. It is evident that, despite the fact that he had rashly and shamefully aggravated the king, and that without any consideration he had thrown into confusion the concord of the kingdom and the harmony of the clergy, and also that he had abandoned his own church foolishly and inconsiderately by his nocturnal flight; yet the archbishop himself, after all this, was enjoying the benefits of the royal favor through the benevolence of the king. By these wiles, then, the bishops leagued secretly³⁰ and prepared this snare for the fugitive.

Therefore, the following set out on their way at once: Roger, then archbishop of York; Gilbert, bishop of London at that time; Roger, bishop of Worcester; Hilary, bishop of Chichester; and Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. In addition to these men and accompanying them for the purpose of providing evidence, there were dispatched a number of royal ecclesiastics and certain other distinguished and famous men from the king's own court.

The king, entrusting his messages to the above-named men, wrote to Louis of pious memory, then king of

30 Cf. Ps. 10, 8.

France, also to the noble count Philip of Flanders, complaining and intimating that Thomas, his former archbishop of Canterbury, (at any rate, such was the purport of the letter) fled like a traitor from his own realm, and requesting them not to receive him into their countries. And so this whole entourage was dispatched.

But, before anything else, the journey of the fleeing Thomas is worthy of special note as a model of humility.

(3) His itinerary in flight

As we have said, flying secretly by night and taking with himself as a guide for the journey one of the brothers of the order from Sempringham, Thomas set out in a northern direction towards that celebrated city called Lincoln. Keeping in mind the need of caution he took the by-paths, avoiding the thoroughfare, so that in this way he might more safely escape his pursuers if any were sent after him, and thus, too, he would evade their snares. That night he came to the village Graham, about twenty-five miles from Northampton. There he took a short nap, and continuing his way on the following day, he arrived at Lincoln, again a distance of about twenty-five miles. Here he was a guest at the home of a certain fuller.

Embarking here on the river which ran through the city, he sailed about forty miles to a certain isolated location in the middle of this river. This place is called the Hermitage and belongs to that holy congregation of monks from Sempringham. Because of the seclusion of the site and on account of its inaccessibility, being surrounded by water, he remained in hiding here for three

days in greater security, at the same time renewing his strength for the journey ahead of him. One day, when the brother who attended him noticed the archbishop sitting alone at table partaking of his simple fare, he was unable to refrain from tears, so deeply moved was he. Immediately he retired that his profuse weeping might not disturb the man of God at his holy meal.

From this Hermitage he went to St. Botulf ten miles away; and thence by water he traveled to a place called Haverolot belonging to the same previously mentioned congregation of monks. But the following night he was directing his way eastward to Kent where he would very easily be recognized by the people in this vicinity from his appearance. He continued his journey by night, then, but in daylight he kept himself concealed. He covered this part of his itinerary in eight nights [of the days],³¹ and afterwards arrived in Kent near the village Eastry, situated beyond the river where he intended to cross. Leaving this place, the more cautiously he continued his flight, the less perilous would be his progress, because

³¹ He probably remained in hiding during the day and traveled only at night, thus completing eight days of travel.

this was the section adjoining the site of the monastery of his own metropolitan seat, being only eight miles away from Canterbury.

The future light of the world³² remained in hiding in this village for eight days until All Souls' Day.³³ But on All Souls' Day which was Tuesday, the twenty-fifth day from that Tuesday, from that day of Mars on which he had contended with his enemies at Northampton,³⁴ towards dawn, steering clear of every vessel, he set sail in a little boat. About eventide he alighted on that shore which is well-known to the people of that place as Oye in Boulogne--one league away from the harbor named Grave-lines.

Our man of God continued his way on foot as long as he could possibly endure this wearisome mode of travel, but he was able to go on for only a very short distance. The reason for this extreme weakness was the fact that, when he had been crossing in that small vessel, a "skiff," as we call it, he had been tossed about considerably by

32 Cf. John 9, 5.

33 Dies Animarum (Day of Souls). This was the term used for All Souls' Day, November 2.

34 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 301.

the ever-swelling waves of the sea, and thus became completely exhausted after this sea voyage. So, after walking only a short way, he sat down on the ground, unable to go any further. He then said to the brothers accompanying him, "I shall not move from this spot unless I am carried by you or unless you find some conveyance for me." They searched and finally found a donkey for him which they hired for one piece of silver, but this animal had no bridle, only a halter around its neck. And they placed their own garments upon its back, and made Thomas sit upon it.³⁵

O what a spectacle, to behold Thomas, at one time riding in carriages and upon horses, now astride an ass, having in place of reins only a rope around its neck, and instead of a saddle over its back the rags of poor brethren and of his other followers! O what a strange change of circumstances has come upon thee, o Thomas! Where are those one-time numerous horses of yours or your endless retinue of knights? Where are those luxuriant and such richly-bedecked trappings of yours? Behold now, how all these accoutrements are reduced to one simple beast of burden and to one halter; and yet not your own

35 Cf. Matt. 21, 8.

beast or your own bridle, but that of another. Verily, when you leave the things of this world, all your possessions disappear; the old things are passed away, behold all things are made new.³⁶ Truly, God is wonderful in His saints,³⁷ conducting them in a wonderful way,³⁸ comforting them in tribulation,³⁹ lifting them from oppression, trying them through temptation, strengthening them in their falls, making them whole when they are stricken, restoring them to life in death. This has certainly been the case with the other saints, and with our Thomas it was proven most manifestly.

At length he arrived at the above-mentioned harbor Gravelines seated on this donkey. And so, on Tuesday, which was All Souls' Day, commonly called the day of Mars (which was, as we have already said before, twenty-five days from that day when he was at Northampton in the above-mentioned conflict), he set out across the channel.

I know not, to be sure, by what miraculous event, (indeed, if it was a miracle rather than coincidence,)

36 2 Cor. 5, 17.

37 Ps. 67, 36.

38 Cf. Wisdom 10, 17.

39 Cf. 2 Cor. 1, 4.

Thomas began his exile on Tuesday, sailed across the channel on Tuesday, came ashore on Tuesday, and on his way back to England, it was on a Tuesday that he set sail. Finally, on a Tuesday he was struck down by the sword, only a month having elapsed from that day on which he had set out on his return journey. Being, as it was, the day of Mars, it became the day of a martyr;⁴⁰ a day on which, as though by a repeated prediction of future events, Thomas was in this manner preparing for martyrdom. And so, on this particular Tuesday, which was all Souls' Day, he sailed across the channel and arrived at Gravelines in the evening.

40 Martis and martyris; note the play on the words here--both words have a common stem, mar. Yet, there is no real connection between the two since the first is Latin, the other, Greek.

(4) The fleeing Thomas is recognized by his host in the breaking of bread

And when late that day Thomas had taken his place at table with the three brothers who were his traveling companions, he was recognized by his host in the breaking of bread,⁴¹ although no more special respect was rendered him at table than to any of the others; in fact, even less, since he did not take the highest place but the last.

During this whole journey, just as he was transformed in dress, so also was he disguised in name. He was called Brother Christian by his brethren who were his companions, the name of Christian having been selected for him so that he might be completely unknown. But his keenly observant host made note of the fact that he had a special manner of eating and a singular way in passing the food. Even from that scanty portion which was placed before him at the table he would distribute and give individually to the children and others who were in the house.

⁴¹ Cf. Luke 24, 35.

The archbishop and his physical aspects

In addition to this observation, as a more definite proof of the now gradual recognition, the host continued to scrutinize the whole physique and bearing of the man, the conspicuously extraordinary height, the broad brow and serious mien, the long and delicate face, the shape of his slender hands, the evenly and delicately tapering fingers. And thus, perceiving that the man in his mode of eating, in his physical characteristics, and in his bodily carriage, was so unlike the others, he soon realized that he had lodged some great personage under his roof. He strongly suspected that it was the archbishop of Canterbury, the rumor having spread widely throughout the whole city that the archbishop of Canterbury had left secretly from Northampton and was already arrived in those parts or would soon arrive. The host thereupon summoned his wife at once and intimated in a whisper that it was the archbishop of Canterbury whom he had received in hospitality. She, impatiently hardly listening to another word, hurries to the table and after a brief look, returning immediately she said with a smile,

"To be sure, my good man, it is himself." Without delay, then, the hostess bustles about the serving table more solicitously, all aflutter in her anxiety to please, she places now nuts, now fruit, now cheese before Brother Christian. But Brother Christian, sensing from other indications that he was already recognized, preferred to dispense with those foods which the hostess so graciously placed before him, but still keeps on playing his part.

After the meal was done, the inn-keeper approached Thomas with unusual happiness reflected in his face. When Brother Christian had indicated his wish that the host be seated next to him, the latter repeatedly refused, seating himself on the ground at the feet of the archbishop. And after a brief pause, he said, "My lord, I give thanks to God that I was worthy to receive you under my roof."⁴² To whom Brother Christian in turn answered, "Who, then, am I? Am I not merely a poor brother who is called Christian?" To this the host replied, "Verily, whatever you are called, I know that you are a great man, the archbishop of Canterbury." At length, when Brother Christian could no longer escape recognition

42 Cf. Matt. 8, 8.

by his host with any more pretensions, but realized that one of the following courses of action was necessary-- either to admit the truth about himself openly or to deny it deceitfully, he confessed and did not deny that it was himself.⁴³ And, in order not to betray himself and to flatter his host he took him along on the morrow part of the way.

Behold what prolonged perils of the man of God, who, even now, when in the very port of sailing, was continually in danger.

43 Cf. John 1, 20.

(5) The reasons for his continued concealment after his crossing

The king had already both by written and verbal messages spread the news to the noble count Philip of Flanders, his brother, and to other important friends of his in that land, that Thomas, his one-time archbishop of Canterbury (for that was the general purport of the letter) had fled from his own land like a traitor. From what lengths and how far the regal hand extends, so far-reaching are the perils of the one fleeing that same royal power that everything is replete with dangerous circumstances and there is no safety for Thomas!

There was still another reason why the archbishop feared to be betrayed in this region. At the time when Thomas was still administering the affairs of the realm for his lord king of England, it happened that the brother of Philip the count of Flanders, Matthew, who was then the count of Boulogne, had contracted a sacrilegious marriage, thoroughly despicable in the eyes of all posterity, with a certain abbess, the daughter of Stephen, the former king of England. The archbishop, being then the chancellor of

the king, disapproved of this marriage because of its serious implication, and protested against it with all vehemence. This, then, was the reason why the count of Boulogne hated Thomas at that time with such deep animosity. Now such was the situation. Not without good reason, thus, did he fear for himself and was he averse to showing himself in these parts.

Hence, because of the prolonged fast of the next day and the hardship of the way, also because of the snares which he dreaded, he resumed his journey the following day at early dawn. From Gravelines the archbishop traveled on foot that entire day, although the road was muddy and slippery, especially since it was winter. He arrived about midnight at the monastery of that holy Cistercian order which in that country is called Clair-Marais. According to the computation of the natives of that place, he covered within that one day a distance of twelve leagues. There is a monastery located in the section near that illustrious castle of which we have made note previously, that of Saint Omer.

(6) The meeting-place of disciple and master

Arriving at this monastery four or five days prior to the archbishop, the disciple who wrote these memoirs awaited the arrival of his lord in that distinguished haven remarkable for its holiness, the abbey of Saint Bertin. This was the arrangement made by his master's order, as we have said before.⁴⁴ As soon as announcement was made that my lord the archbishop was coming, I left here that same night and was exceedingly glad upon meeting my lord.⁴⁵ On the other hand, I grieved for him upon hearing, when he himself related to me all the hardships and perils of his journey: how, making his way by night, he was compelled to hide by day, how he traveled on foot, and how, having put on the simple garment in which I then beheld him, he changed his name as well as his dress and was called by his associates Christian, as though that were his own name. And in the midst of these extreme hardships, how great a mortification was his

44 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 313.

45 Cf. John 20, 20.

unaccustomed fare! Just as another vessel of election,⁴⁶ he was tried in his journeying by perils in the sea, perils from nations, perils from false brethren, in labor and painfulness, in watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold, in simple garment and hair-shirt.⁴⁷ And I, indeed, who have written this account, hearing and seeing him in this state, was greatly moved and shaken in soul and body. Yet even amid this very sorrow, all my inmost devotion rendered praise and thanks for the dispositions of the Most High, Whose prerogative it is to humiliate while He lifts up and to lift up while He humiliates.⁴⁸ Exalted praise of the Almighty and thanks to heaven were rendered at once for the perseverance and the equanimity of this long-suffering man, as he repeated to me that saying of the patient Job speaking to his wife, "If," he said, "we have received good things at the hand of the Lord, why should we not receive evil?"⁴⁹ Next, I was reminded of the saying of the wise man so suitably

46 Acts 9, 15.

47 Cf. 2 Cor. 11, 26-27.

48 Cf. Ps. 144, 14; Dan. 4, 34; Job 5, 11.

49 Job 2, 10.

pronouncing these words, "Whatsoever shall befall the just man, it shall not make him sad."⁵⁰

After this conversation, he in his turn inquired about my journey, and whether I was able to carry out his instruction, because, as I mentioned above, he had ordered me to relate the details of his departure from Northampton. I was commissioned to bring with me certain silver vessels belonging to him, and only one hundred marks from his estate, which I could scarcely salvage from the country, as though snatching it from a fire.

And I added how, as soon as his flight was publicized, it had been proclaimed by a malicious council⁵¹ of learned men of the land and by an edict of the king, that all of his property was to be left unmolested. What was intended for his downfall resulted in his benefit, and "iniquity has lied to itself,"⁵² all by the disposition of the Most High which is ever opposed to malice. For, on the other hand, unless it had been announced by a proclamation of the king, the writer would have left

50 Prov. 12, 21.

51 Cf. Ps. 30, 14.

52 Ps. 26, 12.

from the country completely empty-handed; and if I had so gone forth, we and everything belonging to us would have been exposed to plunder and ruin.

But the archbishop, hearing of this state of affairs, rendered thanks to God, Who catches the wise in their craftiness.⁵³ And completely oblivious of his own recent troubles, he was consoled, so it appeared, thinking nothing about the morrow,⁵⁴ when only a hundred of the said marks and only a few silver vessels was all he had for traveling expenses during the rest of his exile which was to last more than six years.

53 Job 5, 13.

54 Cf. Matt. 6, 34.

(7) The archbishop's safe crossing and the storm-tossed trip of his adversaries

But on the very same night as that when the archbishop sailed, the previously-named agents of the king were embarking with elaborate and pompous preparations, when suddenly so perilous a storm arose that they could barely set sail amid such grave hardships and hazards. On the other hand, however, the sea was to be perfectly calm for the archbishop and his companions in their little skiff. Witnesses to this fact were the brethren who were with the archbishop in the boat and certain others who crossed in ships from the opposite shore. Truly, it was the work of Him, Whom even the winds and sea obey,⁵⁵ Who, whenever He wishes, troubles the depths of the sea, and whenever He wills, appeases the noise of its waves.⁵⁶

This miracle closely resembled the seventh plague of the Egyptians in the catalogue of Egyptian plagues:⁵⁷ when Moses extended his rod towards heaven,

55 Cf. Matt. 8, 27; Mark 4, 40.

56 Cf. Ps. 64, 8; Ps. 88, 10.

57 Cf. Exod. 7 to 10.

the Lord sent thunder and lightning running along the earth, raining hail upon the land, and hail and fire mixed with it drove on together.⁵⁸ Only in the land of Gessen where the children of Israel were, the hail fell not.⁵⁹ Then, it also corresponded to the ninth plague of the same Egyptians, when horrible darkness was spread in all the land of Egypt, but wheresoever the children of Israel dwelt, there was light.⁶⁰ In truth, the God of Israel was all-powerful in past ages as He is even now, discriminating between deserving men and those worthy of punishment, the just man from the impious one, and the devout man from the contemptuous one.⁶¹

The said envoys of the king, then, took boat on the sea the same night as the archbishop, and arrived near the castle of Saint Omer the same day as he. Since it was generally known in these parts that the archbishop of Canterbury was already in the neighborhood of that monastery of Clair-Marais towards which he now came, he had made plans to continue traveling. That same night, therefore, after the final song of the office, he set sail on that

58 Ibid., 9, 24.

59 Ibid., 9, 29.

60 Ibid., 10, 23.

61 Cf. Ps. 42, 1.

broad and vast lake over which that monastery was situated. He arrived in his skiff at a certain hidden spot isolated by the surrounding waters, called by the inhabitants Eldemenstre, the one-time hermitage of the blessed and glorious Bertin. But he was apprehensive about delaying in that monastery until the next day. It was very likely that, upon the disclosures of some, he might be pointed out on the morrow to the inhabitants here and especially to the king's deputies, and that these latter might go out of their way to accost him. Furthermore, were they to behold him in this condition, being as he was a reproach to the rich and a contempt to the proud,⁶² they might ridicule him the more readily, that he had so rashly and without warrant come down from his previous exalted station to these present miserable straits.

Consequently, the same night he withdrew and hid for three days in the same hermitage. The fourth day he came to the abbey of St. Bertin at the request of Godescall of blessed memory, the abbot at that time, and of the abbey of that place. Just as the cloudy and dark days were becoming a little more serene, this radiance

62 Ps. 122, 4.

of the true sun was now slowly rising and revealing itself to the world.⁶³

⁶³ This is probably a reference to Thomas, who was likened to Christ as lux mundi; Cf. John 8, 12.

The king's envoys and later those of the
archbishop visit the king of France;
their respective receptions

However, let us leave the archbishop at the said monastery of Saint Bertin at St. Omer, and first pursue the travels and fortunes of the king's envoys. After their departure from St. Omer early on the morrow of their arrival, on the third or fourth day they procure audience with king Louis of pious memory, then king of France, whom they find at his royal castle at Compiègne. They paid their respects to his royal majesty and submitted to him a letter in the name of the king of England. Its content-matter was like the one we mentioned before; that is, the one addressed to the count of Flanders, stating that Thomas, once archbishop of Canterbury, fled from his kingdom like a traitor.⁶⁴ For this reason, the king of England was begging Louis as his lord not to allow the archbishop to enter his country.

But when in the very beginning of the letter he read the words, "Thomas, one-time archbishop," the king,

⁶⁴ Bouquet, Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores, xvi, 107. Cf. Materials, III, p. 332.

being a most devoted son of the Church, was seized with grave misgiving and was deeply aroused by that statement. Indeed, such insolence is offensive and brings to mind, too, the saying of the wise man, "He that setteth bounds to his words, is knowing and wise."⁶⁵ The king thereupon kept demanding to know who had deposed the archbishop and added, "Why," he said, "I, too, am a king as is the king of England; yet, I have not the power to depose even the lowest of my clergy." And so this embassy which had been sent to Louis was unable to render an adequate answer to the question, nor did they receive any response to their own request, according to the plea of the king.⁶⁶

On the other hand, the disciple who has written this life account, and a certain other one from the archbishop's group, a prudent and learned man, upon the advice and injunction of the archbishop, followed the envoys day by day without their knowledge. While we trailed them in this manner, they always preceded us by one day. Thus, by this arrangement and watchfulness, it so happened that we were able to discover by a more careful and accurate method their words and designs against us.

65 Prov. 17, 27.

66 i.e., the king of England.

But when we had come to that Christian king of France, from whom the above ambassadors had departed the previous day, as soon as we were able to obtain audience with him, we greeted him with devotion and deference in the name of the archbishop. From the time of his chancellorship, the king regarded Thomas as a strong character and held him in the greatest esteem because of his high standing, his integrity, and his zeal. And, since we ourselves were unknown to him before this visit, as was his custom, he inquired whether we had come from the archbishop's household and family, and, upon learning that we had, he received us at once with a kiss of greeting and listened to us with kind attention. As soon as we had disclosed to the king, as we had been instructed by our lord the archbishop, our sad story, our trials, and difficulties, his majesty's heart was deeply moved with kingly pity. He, in turn, graciously told us how the king of England had written to him against the archbishop, and what he himself had replied. He then added, "In truth, the lord king of England, if he had been wise, before he had so harshly and so direly mistreated so great a friend of his and such a noble personage as the archbishop, ought

to have called to mind that verse, 'Be ye angry, and sin not.'⁶⁷ And the said companion of this same journey and mission answered him jesting and said, "Lord, perchance he would have been mindful of that versicle, if he had heard it as often as we do in the divine office," upon which the king smiled.

The following day, before we parted, having consulted his own men whom he then retained with him, the king granted the petition of the archbishop presented through us; namely, freedom and protection in this country for the archbishop. And, to be sure, he added, this would be conceded according to the traditional nobility of the crown of the kings of France,--that exiles and especially ecclesiastical persons, might enjoy the peace and security of these kings and of their realm, and that they would be protected from any harm from their persecutors. Verily, the fact that, to the disadvantage of the king of England, who was the duke of the Normans and Aquitanians, and count of Anjou,--that (I say) against such strong power, and so many great men of distinction (as we have shown above), and honored messengers, who were suppliants in word and writing, that we, only two lowly and ignoble men, so

67 Ps. 4, 5; Ephes. 4, 26.

quickly and so easily gained the royal concession of peace and safety,--this was happy and remarkable news to our monks.

Attributing all of this to Him, in Whose Hand are the hearts of kings, and whithersoever He wills He shall turn them,⁶⁸ it ought to be equally noted, although only in passing, how powerful are the merits of the saints, by means of whose virtue even imperfect hearts of earthly powers are bent to their pleas. These, also, stand as witnesses to this marvel, which it is needless to enumerate here,--the examples of many fathers, but this one among others, as we behold clearly in his daily experience, proves the innocence and the cause of justice of the holy archbishop Thomas, now an exile.

But about these things, more at another time; let us continue our assumed task of relating the historical order of events.

68 Cf. Prov. 21, 1.

(8) The archbishop's envoys' audience with the Pope; their reception

Thus that Christian monarch dismissed us in peace and with great joy, reassured by his promise of freedom and protection. But, not returning at once to the archbishop, nor expressing any intentions in this regard, since we were expecting to return very soon as we were ordered, we hastened to our lord the Pope. We arrived at Sens where the king's ambassadors had come before us on the preceding day. On the evening of the same day, as soon as we gained an audience with our lord the Pope, we greeted him with due deference and humble obeisance in the name of the archbishop as his father and lord. We said that only we two escaped from the house of Recab,⁶⁹ and came to the feet of His Holiness to announce that his son Joseph is living,⁷⁰ but was not ruling in the land of Egypt; but that, rather, oppressed by the Egyptians, he had been almost killed.

At this point, as he listened attentively and with sympathetic and fatherly affection, we enumerated all

69 1 Paralip. 2, 55.

70 Cf. Gen. 45, 26.

the sufferings of his son, the archbishop, his straitened circumstances and sorrows, his perilous position during that conflict at Northampton "amongst those beasts," his perils from false brethren, perils in his flight, perils in his journey, perils on sea⁷¹ and perils in the very harbor; his labor, his indigence and trial; and the disguise of name and dress in order to evade his enemies' traps. Whereupon, hearing these things, with a heart full of fatherly love for his son, the father of us all wept, unable to hide his paternal affection. He was most sympathetic towards us as we recounted these hardships. Then addressing us, he said, "Your master still lives in the flesh, as you say; nevertheless, while yet living in the flesh, he arrogates for himself the title of martyr." And since it was now rather late and we were wearied from the journey, bestowing upon us his apostolic blessing and with godspeed he sent us to our lodging. On the morrow we expected to start on our return journey.

⁷¹ 2 Cor. 11, 26.

What accusations the king's envoys
made to the Pope

But the following day, His Holiness entering the consistory granted an audience to the king's legates in the presence of his brethren, the venerable cardinals, who were almost all gathered in the council-room at that time. These messengers, formally greeting His Holiness in the name of the king, first expounded to him the reason for their coming. First of all, they accuse their own archbishop: that, as an enemy of peace, he had upset the order of the kingdom and of the clergy; that he had carried his episcopal cross with his own hands to the council-chamber of the king; that he had celebrated the Mass of blessed Stephen the proto-martyr. Finally, they continued, he went into stealthy exile in a most foolhardy manner, disgracefully deserting his own church. Furthermore, all those actions were directed against the king in dishonor and contempt, and to the ruin of the entire English Church but most especially of his own. But those among them who were more outstanding in eloquence or elegance of speech, and particularly the master Gilbert Foliot of London and master Hilary,

bishop of Chichester, became very much flustered in speech, and lost the logical trend of thought and even the correct accent and pronunciation of some of their words. This was like the statement of the wise man who compares a similar slip of the tongue to one that falls on the pavement.⁷²

All of this, then, was ascribed to Him, and in all justice should be attributed to the work and power of Him, Who opens the mouth of the dumb and confounds the tongues of learned discourses.⁷³ But the Pope did not place any credence in these accusations since he had discovered the cause of dissension between the king and the archbishop and the true state of affairs not only from our message, but also from the loyal but secret account of many others. On the contrary, he publicly exhorted the bishops in the council-room that they act with more tolerance towards their archbishop. Hence, those who had been commissioned here, upon seeing how matters stood, demanded urgently and insistently in the name of the king, that the Pope send the archbishop back to England. Also, that he send a legate from his own court, who would hear the case in England by separate appeal between the king and arch-

72 Ecclus. 20, 20.

73 Cf. Wis. 10, 21.

bishop, and would either arrange or determine the case between the two according to his own judgment. Then the veracity of these matters might be more truthfully and correctly ascertained after considering their accusations.

But the Roman Pontiff, neither granting nor refusing this petition, urged them more earnestly to await the coming of the archbishop to court. While they press their charges, or without making any accusations, they present their petitions before him. The Pope adds that nothing definite ought to be decided against the archbishop in his absence, nor that they themselves should be listened to in that form in which they were appealing to him. But, being unwilling to wait for him, because, as they said, they did not dare to make any delay beyond the time limit set for them by the king during their assembly, they demanded over and over again and insistently that he fulfill the king's proffered request. In this way, the Roman Pontiff was in a quandary, taking cognizance of the king's youth and his widespread ruling power, and that difficult and dire schism which existed at that time in God's Church. He was afraid that if the king suffered a refusal, especially of a petition presented through such distinguished and honored men, there would occur a deeper split in the Church; moreover, the very ones who were delegated to him, especially the

laymen, were threatening this very outcome.

But, on the other hand, the Pope was fearful of sending back the archbishop by his own authority to the island in which he was now regarded as a public enemy, and from which he had just left amid such extreme difficulty and such numerous dangers, as if led by God Himself. By doing this, the innocence of the archbishop and the cause of his justice might suffer harm. In this way, he might invoke the judgment of God upon himself and might become a scandal to the entire Church. He also feared to send him back to the island for the following reason. For this is the situation when one contends against the island's king,⁷⁴ just as one chained in prison he would be fighting against the keeper and the lord of the prison. Hence, the Apostolic Pontiff was hindered on all sides, especially by many of his own cardinals, particularly by those who make it a habit to be zealous in their efforts to please the great and the mighty ones of the world. These latter were of the opinion that the petition of the king ought to be granted, while some of the others fought against this.

Nevertheless, after the plan was finally deliberated upon and after receiving the inspiration of counsel

74 i.e., the king of England.

and of strength, the father of fathers could put off the case no longer and decided not to grant the said petition of the king, concocted to trouble and oppress the archbishop, except on condition that they would wait for the arrival of the latter at the council. Otherwise, nothing was to be decreed against him in his absence. But these former, unwilling to wait for him, having failed in their plea and mission, return to England without the apostolic benediction, but rather, as it should be more truthfully believed, they return with the father's malediction of the Pope. They pronounced maledictions upon themselves and upon their posterity; that is, those who did not cover their father out of reverence, but, on the contrary, were not in the least afraid to uncover him shamelessly.⁷⁵

They were also in a greater hurry to return, since it had been secretly announced to them that some of the soldiers of the country, who favored the archbishop and hated them, were preparing an ambush along the way with the intention of attacking their baggage from which they were hoping to gain a good bit of silver. For this reason, they left France in a great hurry and without much ado, thereby escaping many of them there who were all set to plunder

75 Cf. Genesis 9, 21-27.

them; that is, those who were in favor of the archbishop (as we have said). As soon as the news about the archbishop spread throughout the whole Christian world and especially throughout Gaul, the Lord gave him the grace and favor of all⁷⁶ in a remarkable and incredible manner. But upon the archbishop's adversaries He incited the hatred of all those from the opposing side.⁷⁷ When this happened to him in this way, people whom he did not even know ministered to him, and obeyed him at the hearing of the ear.⁷⁸ For it rarely happens that he who pleases the Author of all, does not please everyone else,⁷⁹ and of such a one the Author of all approves, as that saying which is read regarding one saint, namely, that "he, whom God had filled with grace, was loved by all."⁸⁰ Besides that, even those whom the persecutors of the Christian name tortured by various and cunningly-devised punishments, were nevertheless admired for the strength which the torturers beheld in these victims.

76 Cf. Ps. 83, 12. 77 Cf. Ps. 3, 8.

78 Cf. 2 Kings 22, 45; Job 42, 5.

79 Cf. Rom. 14, 18; Wis. 4, 10.

80 The exact source of this statement cannot be located. It might refer to one of the early martyrs, because of the context of the following sentence.

But about these things we shall more at another time, let us pursue the sequence of historical events already begun.

(9) Return of the messengers of the king to England;
the archbishop's visit with the French king

Therefore, not waiting for the archbishop's arrival to the curia, their errand unaccomplished, and frustrated in their proposal and plea, the envoys of the king went back to England. But the archbishop, whom we left above in Flanders, was still at St. Omer in the famous and holy abbey of Saint Bertin. He had stopped here because of the plottings of the place which (as we said before) he feared and remained a few days. He left Flanders by night with a large mounted retinue. Milo of blessed memory, then bishop of Terouanne, and the abbot of Saint Bertin at that time, whom we mentioned before, went with him as companions from the city to provide protection on his journey. In this way, then, they came to that noted city of the Gauls, Soissons. As if by God's prearrangement, the lord king of France came to this place on the day following Thomas' arrival. And, indeed, that Christian king, whom among other good qualities the distinctive mark of perfect humility royally embellished, as soon as he heard that the archbishop of Canterbury was

in this city, came down his lodging-place. He took the initiative in greeting him, eagerly receiving him with the greatest enthusiasm and every sign of joy. In his royal nobility of soul he pledged him peace and security, and by his regal liberality, he provided from his own coffers money for the archbishop's traveling expenses for as long as he would be in exile and compelled the archbishop to accept this gift. So that, thus, many might say, "The Lord gave; the Lord took away."^{80a} The Lord took away from the archbishop of Canterbury the king of England, the Lord gave him the king of France. And, to be sure, as we have said before, he had already granted the archbishop through his envoys peace and harbor.

Now the king was seen in this afore-named city by the archbishop before the messengers of peace returned to the archbishop. Having next followed those envoys of England through every step of their journey (as we have said before), they hurried on their way to the Pope at Sens ahead of the archbishop. The archbishop, however, seeing how this was the king's disposition towards himself, gave devout thanks to God and to the king, particularly offering his act of thanksgiving with highest praise

^{80a} Job 1, 21.

in heart and voice to Him in Whose Hand are the hearts of men.⁸¹

But this fact also ought to be noted here, namely, that when there remained for the archbishop a good part of his travels still to be covered, (as we have said before), traveling money was offered to him and his followers,⁸² which was taken from the king's own treasury so generously and so liberally by the king himself. But the offering of the king's munificence he absolutely refused. Indeed, he was one who had been always more prepared to give rather than to receive; just as our Lord Himself had frequently said, that it was a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive.⁸³ Nevertheless, the archbishop did not refuse altogether the proffered funds from the king, but thanking his majesty⁸⁴ he said that the time for accepting was not yet come, that there was not as yet any urgent need. And so, after the lord king and the archbishop

81 Cf. 2 Paralip. 20, 6.

82 The text here is illegible; the word ver... is unfinished and hence is not translated here. The thought seems clear without it; it might possibly have been the adverb vere.

83 Cf. Acts 20, 35.

84 From here the Arras Ms. resumes.
Cf. Robertson, Materials, III, p. 318.

remained for several days in the city, the archbishop retired in a grateful attitude with special favor from the king, hastening then to the Pope at Sens. The king immediately appointed a number of his own ministers who would procure for him the necessary supplies for the journey and would serve as guides.

(10) The archbishop's reception by the Pope;
the case of his exile

Then we come to His Holiness the Pope at Sens, who welcomed the arrival of Thomas and received him with paternal kindness, sympathizing with him like a father because of the numerous trials in such a perilous and troublesome journey. At length, after some days the archbishop decided to set before the Pope and the cardinals his case regarding his own decision and that of his followers--of the whole disagreement between the king and himself in England, and also the reason for his departure from that country.

His Holiness, the Pope, had not previously requested this explanation from him, hoping perhaps, that the archbishop, although intending to explain, would do this unasked. So he finally resolved to take the initiative. For, although the source and cause of the whole trouble had been disclosed by his own messengers bit by bit, it had also been related by others in their travels here and there. Yet it seemed more advisable that Thomas himself should set forth the pros and cons of his own case, and to relate the truth of the situation. Those indictments

which the aforesaid envoys of England attempted to bring against him, he himself would clear up by his own explanation.

Therefore, a few days after our arrival at the curia, in the presence of the cardinals, venerable men, not publicly in the consistory, of course, but in a private and more secluded chamber, he related to the lord Pope with a certain graceful and succinct brevity the whole order of events and the reason for his own departure. I say, with a graceful brevity, that is, as one whose eloquence was modest and dignified, and whose language was at all times inoffensive. And in the presentation of these constitutions, which, as we have said above, were formulated at Clarendon and committed to writing, he confessed openly that he himself had made a mistake nor did he deny it.⁸⁵ He also admitted under what circumstances he was influenced to commit this error; all of which we have shown above, when we discussed these matters.

At the same time, that lengthy and fateful document was soon disclosed in its complete form and in the original setup of the official secretary. We have made

85 Cf. John 1, 20.

sufficient reference to this paper in a former statement. Up to this time, neither the Pope nor the cardinals had yet heard the document itself, although they had heard about it. Then, without further delay, in the hearing of the Sovereign Pontiff and of the cardinals, they were all read, namely, seventeen constitutions in number. Although this piece of writing should perhaps be set down at this point, nevertheless, I have not gone to the trouble of including it here, that is, in this section of my history. This is because of the extreme harshness and impropriety contained therein, and also because of its great length, which should be avoided in a historical sketch of the type we have before us, since this book contains the case of our exile and martyr. Nay, rather, the Lord granting, when this biography is completed, it will be written up at the end.⁸⁶ Likewise, that document should always be copied at the end by everyone who might wish to translate this history. It ought to be read by those who are not familiar with it, and who wish to know the story of this glorious martyr Thomas, exile and martyr.

But when everyone had read through what was contained in the document, when some of them even read

⁸⁶ Cf. Robertson, Materials, III, p. 159, nr. 1.

and reread it, and carefully and attentively heard and studied separate clauses, His Holiness the Pope was very much aroused. He became instantly very much angered with the archbishop, reproving and bitterly rebuking him for giving consent to these, as the Pope said, not constitutions, but tyrannical infringements, and that the archbishop himself and those bishops who were with him had renounced their own priesthood and enslaved the Church of God. He further added that every possible hazard should have been suffered rather than to give consent to such overthrowing of the laws of God. He also made note of that sacred history of the seven Machabean brothers, admirable to all, certainly, but to be imitated by few. He upbraided the archbishop, saying that although they were no priests of the gospel, nor even priests of the law, but simple Judeans and young men who at that time acted as private individuals, not in defense of the evangelical law, but in defense of the law of their nation, for the sake of the law regarding the eating of swine's flesh, they suffered unutterable torments with a willing and devout heart.⁸⁷ He added and said, "Indeed, among these abominable clauses which have been read in our presence and

87 Cf. 2 Mac. 7, 1-42.

heard by us, none are good, but certain ones could be tolerated, and are such that the Church might endure them somehow or other. But the greater part of these are rejected and condemned by the early authoritative church councils, since they are positively against the sacred sanctions." Which were the former, and which the latter, there is no reason now to make any distinction. That matter will also be left to those who have more accurate knowledge of the sacred canons. Finally, the Apostolic Pontiff condemned in short shrift but nonetheless indignantly those same constitutions, which the archbishop himself condemned, and for the same reasons. Furthermore, in the same way, in the hearing of the cardinals and in our presence, he thought that they should be denounced by the Church in the future.

Then, turning to the archbishop, he finally said, "Certainly, my brother, although your mistake and that of your fellow-bishops was a great and grave one, yet we should deal more considerately with you. Though, as you yourself confess, you have fallen, you soon after your fall attempted to rise again. Because of that error you have already suffered many grave and difficult hardships. As soon as you had made that mistake, while you were yet in England, you begged from us through letters the grace

of absolution and merited it in our clemency. As though this were not yet satisfactory, since it is not customary for a confession to be made through a messenger or through a letter, now, finally, you have appealed to the apostolic authority, admitting your fault devoutly and humbly after so much labor and so many perils. For this reason, then, it is only proper that we pardon you this transgression, so that you may experience the consolation and favor of our indulgence in your difficulties so much more fully and with deeper feeling, in proportion to the greater things you left and the more grievous hardships you suffered in behalf of the liberty of the Church and in defense of faith and loyalty to us."

And so the Supreme Pontiff first scolded the archbishop with fatherly severity, afterwards he made amends for this by the gentleness of a motherly consolation; he then dismissed him. After the archbishop received this apostolic solace, we welcomed him joyfully in our lodging quarters.

(11) Thomas is accused by the cardinals of opposing the king during a time of schism

The following day, however, the archbishop was censured by some of the cardinals and a number of other famous and learned men of the curia, who were well-versed in the Scriptures (for the curia generally abounded and flourished with such men). The accusation they made was that with his own men and those who were on his side he acted with special gentleness and kindness, but, during such critical days, and more than that, at a time when schism was working the ruin of the Church, he opposed his own ruler and his great authority. They said that he ought to give way to the present conditions and support his own king, since this was the hour and the power of darkness,⁸⁸ when Peter is ordered not to draw his sword but to put it back again into the scabbard.⁸⁹ They also said that just as the cockle sown by the enemy was not to be gathered at that time by the servants in the gospel, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, they root up the

88 Luke 22, 53.

89 Cf. John 18, 11; Matt. 26, 52.

wheat also together with it; so both are suffered to grow by the order of the goodman until the time for harvest.⁹⁰ This is the advice of our teacher, who, on account of the evil of the time, advises that time must be redeemed, "Redeeming the time since the days are evil."⁹¹ So also the prophet said, "For this same reason the wise man will hold his peace at that time, since the time is evil."⁹²

Moreover, they added, the strong pillars of the Church⁹³ more strongly and more lastingly might at times, with discretion, be transformed as it were into fragile and slender reeds. For these it would be more useful to be slightly bent by the fierce blast of a storm and to give way rather than to be broken by resisting beyond their strength. This principle the master also taught and himself applied in his own life according to the light given him. When he was preaching the abolition of the old law, he himself fulfilled it in his own personal regard by yielding to the law when the occasion demanded it, and yet he advocated the abolition of this same law. His hair was

90 Matt. 13, 25-29. 91 Ephes. 5, 16.

92 This quotation is probably a combination of the following references: Prov. 11, 12; Eccclus. 20, 7.

93 Cf. Gal. 2, 9.

cut in the manner prescribed by law, he was purified in observance of the law, he attended the temple services and offered sacrifices, and even ordered Timothy to be circumcised.⁹⁴ Finally, since he, the teacher of the gentiles, the advocate of the Jews, and the greatest among the great doctors of the law, as one who had learned the gospel not from any man nor through any man,⁹⁵ he, in spite of all these distinctions, subjugated himself to earthly power by appealing to Caesar.⁹⁶ He showed, thereby, that submission must be made according to the proper occasion whenever the time so demands it and that time must be redeemed according to circumstances.

94 Cf. Acts 18, 1-28.

95 Cf. Gal. 1, 11-12.

96 Cf. Acts 25, 11.

The archbishop refutes the charges of the cardinals

In reply, the archbishop, a cautious man, thought that he was obligated to refute in the council room this charge made by the great and wise ones of the curia. On this point he had already consulted with his own followers, and had composed his speech in accordance with his own judgment of the case. With the natural wisdom and grace given him he then made answer.

"Brethren, I am well aware, as you, such learned and erudite men are saying, that surrender to circumstances must take place according to the time, and that a great deal of suffering must be endured. I admit, that in this hour and power of darkness, when such a great man as the emperor Frederick, and so renowned a person as the anti-pope Octavian, such great schismatics,--that against those princes who have not left the Church but have persevered therein, although they are deficient in many respects, I admit, that the sword of Peter should not be taken up at all but replaced, as you say. There is possible danger that a deeper split might occur in the Church of God, especially because rebellion in its weakness always seeks

to have a great following. Indeed, so great can the malice of the time become that only the mourning and sorrow of the Church is left and its cry to heaven. Then the ecclesiastical discipline which is severe will become lax, and the Church will secure salvation only through the prophetic tau.⁹⁷

This is an evil day, when there remains no hope of correcting it, but to God alone belongs the judgment, as the Lord Himself said, 'Revenge is mine.'⁹⁸ You also recalled in this connection the words of the prophet: Therefore, the wise man will remain silent at such a time since the time is evil; and then, certainly, according to the advice of the wise man, provision must be allowed for the revenge of the Almighty.⁹⁹

There is still another time, when, to wit, there is hope of the correction of these evils. Then, of course, the sufferers must patiently wait, bear their trials, and

97 Ezech. 9, 4-6. In this prophecy, all men who did penance for sin were marked on their foreheads with the letter tau (the last letter in the Hebrew alphabet). They were thus preserved from destruction.

98 Rom. 12, 19; Heb. 10, 30.

99 Cf. Eccclus. 12, 4 and 7 for the thought contained in this passage.

pray. Otherwise, as it is said by the wise man, 'Woe to them that have lost patience.'¹⁰⁰

First, then, there is a time of darkness, and the hour and power of darkness, at which time, according to the word of the Lord, the sword of Peter must be put away.¹⁰¹ Afterwards comes a time as it were of mist. At this time the sword of Peter must be kept ready and should be taken up again when the occasion calls for it. According to these different circumstances, the Scripture speaks variously either about ecclesiastical punishment¹⁰² or about the scriptural sword of Peter. Namely, at one time there is mentioned the obligation of drawing it,¹⁰³ then of putting it away.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, sometimes it speaks of the need of holding it ready and taking it up as need arises.¹⁰⁵

This you, my brethren, surely know much better

100 Ecclus. 2, 16.

101 Cf. John 18, 11; Matt. 26, 52.

102 Cf. Ezech. 21, 4; Jer. 25, 31; Isaias 27, 1.

103 Cf. Matt. 10, 34; Luke 12, 51; et al.

104 Cf. John 18, 11; Matt. 26, 52.

105 Cf. Ephes. 6, 17; et al.

than I, since you are the teachers who in this renowned school of the whole Church, daily learn or teach. But we are enumerating these points in your hearing, therefore, not that a pupil might teach his masters, but lest you suspect that I either demand or desire that this sword be drawn against my sovereign and my lord, the king of England, even though he has dealt with me quite harshly. I ought rather to suffer and eagerly seek his royal forbearance, following the advice of the wise man: 'My son, do thy works in meekness, and thou shalt be beloved above the glory of men.'¹⁰⁶ Indeed, sometimes calmness accomplishes what violence cannot avail, whence we have that saying of the pagan poet:

'Power can do by gentleness that
which violence fails to accomplish.'¹⁰⁷

And one of the doctors says, 'Oftentimes gentleness could influence those whom neither strength nor reason could overcome.'¹⁰⁸ And so, not as you accuse me, am I disobedient, but rather I do obey, and with a willing spirit

106 Ecclus. 3, 19.

107 Claudian, de Manlii Theod. Cons., 239.
Translation of these two lines taken from: Forty Thousand Quotations, compiled by C. N. Douglas, (New York: George Sully and Company, 1904), p. 825.

108 Source unknown.

give way. I do not anticipate the time. I suffer and am ready to suffer still more until, God willing, the anger of my lord and king might give way to gracious indulgence. So much so, that I would set myself in the way and would myself meet the sword which is bared against him. For, first of all, there is a time of suffering, then a time for mercy, and after that the time of justice, so that we may sing to the Lord of His mercy and judgment.¹⁰⁹

But, as I have already indicated, without taking any stand against the apostolic decrees, or in opposition to truth, when this same truth is not entirely clear, ecclesiastical punishment is not always to be meted out nor should the sword of Peter be drawn against leaders or against those who have a large following during troubled times or during a time of schism. Those princes of the people who have not abandoned the Church in time of schism but have remained true, might still be able by their disturbance of peace to tear the very sides of their own mother Church in a harsh and bitter way and completely break up her inner life. She could then reject from herself those same ones as though children born out of time--

109 Ps. 100, 1.

and as though they were pagans and publicans.¹¹⁰ For the same reason, in the early foundation of the Church the master bares the evangelical sword not only against those who attack her from the sides and deprive her of her very vitality, as is the case with those who persecute ecclesiastical persons and who disturb the Church's peace, but also against those who through various crimes mar the fair face of the Church. He says, 'If any man that is named a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or a server of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner: with such a one not so much as to eat.'¹¹¹ And in another place, 'And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed.'¹¹² See then, while the Church was still young and tender and in the very cradle of her birth, and the hands of all were turned against her, the master faithfully and courageously draws his sword in order to present

110 The figure here is a metaphor in which the womb or innards (viscera) of the mother represents the inner life of mother Church; whereas, her sides (latera) depicts the exterior life of mother Church. The use of viscera in this sense is probably borrowed from Jer. 31, 20 and Lam. 2, 11.

111 1 Cor. 5, 11.

112 2 Thessal. 3, 14.

a glorious bride to the bridegroom, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that she be holy and without blemish.¹¹³ If, then, the teacher of the gentiles displays his courage in this wise with a still tender and young Church, in a much lesser degree should she be apprehensive at this time when according to the word of the prophet the Church is set against the pride of all ages.¹¹⁴

Elsewhere also, the master writes to his disciples whom he had ordained among the first-born of the growing Church. He enjoins them in the following manner: 'For you suffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take from you, . . . if anyone strike you on the face.'¹¹⁵ Behold, what a challenge of the master against the disciples whom he had made bishops over the young Church that they tolerate no servitude of the Church. And if subservience was very little tolerated at that time, when (as we have already said) that same Church was still small and the hands of all were against her, so much the less should it be permitted at the present time.

Though a schism is in progress, as quite often

113 Ephes. 5, 27.

114 The thought of this passage is contained in Ezech. 7, 24.

115 2 Cor. 11, 20.

is the case in the Roman Church, and those who are regarded as schismatics profess the Christian faith, yet they wound the Church, although not in the least destroying her. By the mercy of the Lord they will return shortly to the obedience of the Church.

If examples from the Church are not sufficient, let us take instances from the very pagans. One of these pagan poets praises in verse a certain man, also a pagan, that this latter dared to remain good, which means free, under a hard ruler and in troubled times. He commends this man, saying:

'Thou shouldst be praised, that thou under a
hard prince,
And in evil times didst have courage to be good,'¹¹⁶

Good, he said, that is, free, thus designating the general definition of the word good.

And, surely, unless the Church freely and unflinchingly takes up the sword against those disturbers of the Church's peace, the ecclesiastical judge bears a

¹¹⁶ Martial, xii, 6. The first three words in the Latin text, Laudari debes quoniam, are not in Martial. This epigram was addressed to Nerva. The evil times here refer to the reign of Domitian. These are the last two lines of the epigram.

The translation rendered here is taken from: Martial, Epigrams, tr. by Walter C. A. Ker, (London: William Heinemann), II, p. 325.

sword in vain.¹¹⁷ This peace of the Church is disturbed not only by schismatics and heretics, but often even by tyrants who are sons of the Church. They are the ones who, as we have mentioned previously, while attacking the very life of their mother, completely destroy her interior life, persecute ecclesiastical persons, drive them out, establish new laws, and take away the liberty of the clergy, which is the glory and strength of the Church. This is how they compel the Church, which was set up against the pride of the ages, to become subservient. The result is that the people become like the priest.

Against such unfaithful sons, just as much as against the schismatics and heretics, even at a time of schism and heresy, should ecclesiastical censure be exercised and the sword of Peter be drawn. Otherwise, the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, bears this sword in vain, (as we have already said), which he does not bare but conceals as a craven coward during a time of war. In this way, the power of the Church is not strengthened in adversity but weakened. The king and prophet bewailed the above condition, saying, 'My strength is weakened through poverty.'¹¹⁸ But, on the other hand, the master Paul

117 Cf. Romans 13, 4.

118 Ps. 30, 11.

glories in the weakness of his own power: 'When I am weak,' he said, 'then am I powerful.'¹¹⁹ And in another place, he says to his disciple, 'Be mindful that the Lord Jesus Christ is risen again from the dead, . . . according to my gospel, wherein I labour even unto bonds, as an evil-doer; but the word of God is not bound.'¹²⁰

Thus, after the example of the master, one should glory in his own strength in time of stress and therefore the word of God, the sword of the Spirit, must not be bound.¹²¹ In bondage it is drawn much more gloriously. For there is no reason why the Church should hesitate or be fearful. Her one distinctive property, as one of the illustrious doctors says, is that she knows when she is criticized, that she wins out whenever she is wounded, that she gains her point whenever she is forsaken.¹²² Furthermore, as another of the doctors says in the same spirit, she rejoices in adversity, expands in restraint, is exalted in sadness, is nourished in tears, is watered with blood, is enriched by deaths, is one who has learned

119 2 Cor. 12, 10.

120 2 Tim. 2, 8-9.

121 Ephes. 6, 17.

122 Exact source unknown; probably one of the early Fathers of the Church.

how to triumph whenever she is overwhelmed with the calamities of the world; she grows from the same sources from which the world deteriorates.¹²³

The more the Ark is tossed about by the waves of the world, the higher she rises.¹²⁴ Nor is there any reason (brethren, as you have implied by certain insinuations of yours) even at this time of schism of the Church, for the Church to fear for herself, nor should the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, hesitate to draw his sword of Peter against the desecrater of ecclesiastical peace.

I repeat, there is no cause for the Church to fear for herself. Let us produce the strongest testimony and one which cannot be undermined; a witness according to the word of truth in the gospel. This Church is the home of the wise man built upon a firm rock, which ought not fear the ravages of the winds, nor the flood, built where she is. If she is raised aloft on a rock, then she is secure on the rock, standing firmly on the rock, safe

¹²³ Exact source unknown. A similar thought, however, is contained in Tertullian, The Prescription Against Heretics, Chapter 36.

¹²⁴ Heb. 11, 7; 2 Peter 2, 5. The thought of this passage is contained in these verses.

from the enemy, firm against any fall.¹²⁵ And if the rock does not suffice, then the other statement holds,--'He hath set his tabernacle in the sun.'¹²⁶ The Church has been founded in Christ, the sun of justice.¹²⁷ For this reason, too, the master said, 'A foundation has been laid which no man can change, which is Christ Jesus.'¹²⁸ Therefore, brethren, let us who have not retreated stand together, and in this loss, in this our own degradation, in this day of schism, let our strength not be weakened. But when time demands, let us be slaves not to fear of the world but servants of justice.¹²⁹

It has been written that 'Justice and peace have kissed.'¹³⁰ Kissed, it is well said, that is, in harmony and in concord. For justice gives birth to peace, nourishes her, and protects her lest she be despoiled. Likewise these two, as mother and daughter, nurse and ward, as tutor and pupil, delight in mutual kisses and show their affection for one another by frequent embraces. They are so united and in harmony with one another that neither one

125 Matt. 7, 24; Luke 6, 48.

126 Ps. 18, 6.

127 Mal. 4, 2.

128 1 Cor. 3, 11.

129 Cf. Rom. 6, 20.

130 Ps. 84, 11.

should be separated from the other. Hence, one of the illustrious doctors of the Church also spoke about the unity and harmony of these qualities, 'They love each other, these two, in such a way that one who practises justice should find peace, and not otherwise.'¹³¹

Therefore, neither in evil days, during a time of schism or heresy, when tyrants bring their power to bear upon the Church, or when they disrupt the harmony of the Church, should the weapons of justice be put aside. And even more truthfully,--but careful not to presume against the apostolic statutes or harm the truth, I believe that, according to the writings of the master¹³² and likewise obeying the exhortation of the saints, the weapons of justice should be indiscriminately unsheathed by the ministers of justice without restraint and with courage against whatever violators of the ecclesiastical unity there may be.

This is the reason, then, in these days of the wars of the Lord,¹³³ the standards of justice should advance as an aid in obtaining peace. For, as it is commonly

131 Source unknown.

132 2 Cor. 6, 7.

133 Num. 21, 14.

said, 'Arms bear peace.'¹³⁴ Justice, of course, is described as armed, but peace as wreathed with the laurel and unarmed,¹³⁵ as though she outstrips justice in a contest.

Therefore, if justice should conceal herself at a time of desecrated peace or when peace is held captive in a shameful and unworthy manner, then, unless justice should soon come to the aid of peace in captivity or on the point of losing her freedom, she would betray peace with that very kiss of peace: 'For justice and peace have kissed.'

Certainly, brethren, to speak the truth freely, the very points which you just intimated with so much dissembling in your recent speech, adding among other points that the strong pillars of the Church,¹³⁶ should even be converted into fragile and tender reeds when the occasion required it, to be sure, by this same dissembling of yours, horns are given to sinners,¹³⁷ kings become tyrants, the most excellent sons of the Church become notorious enemies of the Church, who rage in their madness against their own

134 Exact source unknown; probably ancient classical proverb.

135 Classical picture of the goddess of Peace is probably meant here.

136 Cf. Gal. 2, 9.

137 Cf. Ps. 74, 11. "Horns" here depicts power.

mother the Church. In this way, then, the strictness of the Church's discipline is weakened.

And so as the sword of infidels from without is more endurable than the revolt of the sons within, one should lament with that holy king who says, 'Behold, in peace is my bitterness most bitter.'¹³⁸ For the first type of bitterness is really bitter--namely, to suffer from enemies; the second type is more bitter still, to bear ills from one's own kinsmen; but this third type is the most bitter of all, to be attacked by one's own sons; this last is as though one's very bowels were turned into festering sores. Hence the wise man says, 'Hast thou children? Instruct and bow down their neck from their childhood.'¹³⁹

However, brethren, to speak foolishly to you¹⁴⁰-- I notice you are attempting to attribute to me the blame for something which, if I am not mistaken, should be turned to my highest and immortal glory. For behold, since I have already put my hand to the ark which is the harbinger of sanctification¹⁴¹ in order to lift it up, as befits my

138 Isaias 38, 17. From the canticle of King Ezechias.

139 Ecclus. 7, 25.

140 Cf. 2 Cor. 11, 17

141 Cf. Ps. 131, 8.

position and according to my strength, so I have likewise braced with my shoulders the falling ruins of the Church. With all the power accorded me for the restoration of the Church's ruins, I myself am almost overwhelmed amid these ruins so that the Church herself might not be destroyed.

If I must glory, (since it is not expedient indeed at this time,) ¹⁴² under the schisms of the Roman Church, as it were, with a world falling apart, my predecessors, the archbishops of Canterbury, have stood firmly with head erect, as it were, like the firmest and strong pillars of the house of God. ¹⁴³ In order to point out this one thing to you, I speak timidly and hopefully, not in rashness. I know not why you are rushing into the scandal of such a serious schism; I for my part shall not fall into that general ruin of yours, and even of the world, as it were, so long as the Lord supports me with His Own Hand. ¹⁴⁴ But you, being our lords and fathers, will do that which appears good in your sight. I, your fellow-bishop of the Supreme Pastor, --whatever kind I may be, --also the co-servant of the same Lord, the successor of such great

142 Cf. 2 Cor. 12, 1.

143 Cf. Gal. 2, 9. Cf. Note 136.

144 Cf. Ps. 36, 24.

fathers, I, albeit unworthy, will respect your example, which even if I am not able to attain, yet I wish to follow however I can.

For which reason, too, as you see¹⁴⁵ and which I also know has happened with the Lord's ordering, I am held accountable not to you but to Him to pay back with interest the talents committed to me.¹⁴⁶ I repeat, that having joy set before me, I endure the cross, despising the shame in defense of the Church.¹⁴⁷ Whether the world approve or disapprove, willy-nilly, I shall suffer, I am ready for scourges¹⁴⁸ until such time as the hand of the judging Lord that is duly extended over me should wish to be withdrawn.¹⁴⁹ I am so ready for scourges, that I choose rather to be afflicted for the Church of God, than to have the pleasure of sin for a time¹⁵⁰ and those of the palace.

The clergy is well aware, as also are the people and the rest of the world, what I was in the court and how much honor would accompany me from the palace to the Church when I assumed this office; how I obeyed the will of my lord the king in all matters, I, who at that time, in fact,

145 Gen. 50, 20.

146 Cf. Matt. 25, 15-25.

147 Cf. Heb. 12, 2.

148 Ps. 37, 18.

149 Cf. Job 13, 21.

150 Cf. Heb. 11, 25.

was distinguished with the stole of a double honor, both priestly and royal. But, surely, as I admit truthfully, for me now it is a very small thing to be judged in this case by man's day.¹⁵¹ For the present, my glory should only be the testimony of my own conscience.

And if you should wish to construe with a wise and good meaning this document, which my lord the Pope publicly denounced yesterday in your hearing, not a light cause of our present disturbance is your subservience. Moreover, I cannot admire your wisdom enough, when you seem to argue that I should have redeemed the time according to the counsel of the master; whereas, in fact, according to the same advice of the master, I believe I have so redeemed it. And if besides this word of the master the general and necessary interpretation of the saints is true, I not only think that I have redeemed the time but I most positively know it. For the master does not teach in that place the redemption of time when the loss of ecclesiastical liberty is in question.

Hence, (as we have already said above, and it is necessary to repeat here,) he reproaches the disciples whom he had appointed bishops over the still young and new Church because of their tolerance of subservience. He says: 'You

151 Cf. 1 Cor. 4, 3.

suffer if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man takes from you, if a man strike you on the face.¹⁵² See what the master says in another place when he encourages the redemption of time because of evil days.¹⁵³ He does not at all interpret the redemption of time, wherein the glory of the Church's freedom is lost, to mean an act of servitude. Indeed, under such circumstances, it is rather more correctly the destruction of time than the redemption of time; the loss to the Church is very shameful. For, according to the agreement of holy men, what is it to redeem time according to the advice of the teacher? Surely, that I might add nothing by my own interpretation, (for my knowledge is not my own, but that of the saints), many advise that time should be redeemed, but few fully understand it, still fewer carry out and undertake that which they know. What, then, according to the advice of the master and the interpretation of the saints, is it to redeem time? It is to give and to receive temporal things, to give and receive time, namely, the opportunity to serve God and to be free for things divine; from which world things, temporal and earthly occupations and cares, turn us away.

152 2 Cor. 11, 20.

153 Ephes. 5, 16. Cf. Note 91.

So then, in order to gain time, temporal occupations must give way on occasion, and in this way we redeem time. Whence also the Master of masters says in the gospel, from Whom this word of the great teacher seems to have taken its origin: 'And if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him.'¹⁵⁴ And he might say, 'Do not lose the peace and quiet of your heart on account of temporal losses or temporal cares and attachments, and thus you have less free time for your God.'¹⁵⁵ Otherwise, you will not redeem time, according to the teaching of the master, but you will lose it. The oft-repeated and old proverb of the pagans also agrees with this teaching of the Scriptures:

'Pestilence wants a penny; give it two and let it go away.'¹⁵⁶

Therefore, brethren, see, if you please, and take note whether I have not done this, whether I have not redeemed time. I have given up temporal things for the sake of time, I, who have left the riches and distinction of the

¹⁵⁴ Matt. 5, 40.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Heb. 10, 35. These words are not an exact quotation of the Scriptural text.

¹⁵⁶ Source unknown, except what is mentioned in the text here.

Church of Canterbury, which is the most resplendent among the churches of the Western world, I have set aside the favor and the glory of my lord the king for the sake of my own liberty and peace and that of the clergy entrusted to me. With the Lord's favor, I am about to receive grace for grace and glory for glory¹⁵⁷ for myself and for the Church.

For other reasons, I withdrew in flight from the country because I could do nothing of profit by remaining there. This is how Apollo, that great disciple of the master, whom Paul had ordained bishop of the Corinthians, deserted these same people by his flight, since he had been unable to quiet them. So that, even after being repeatedly besought by his master, he was unwilling to return to them, fearing he would make no headway because of their incorrigibility. With regard to him the master said to his disciples, 'And touching Apollo, I give you to understand that I much entreated him to come to you with the brethren, and indeed it was not his will at all to come to you at this time.'¹⁵⁸

In this fashion likewise many other pastors who

157 John 1, 16.

158 1 Cor. 16, 12.

were good men were either completely separated from their flock once committed to their care, or went from flock to flock, wherever they thought that the fulfillment of their pastoral care would be more useful.¹⁵⁹

Therefore, I think that any apology is out of place, either for their flight or for my own. This the more so since I have withdrawn myself not only because correction was hopeless, but also, lest by remaining, I cause my own death rather than retain my life. Certainly, by remaining in that country and by resisting the king in his intense anger, I would have easily heaped up sorrow upon sorrow to the great loss of the Church's liberty. For, according to the saying of the wise man, 'As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of the king.'¹⁶⁰ For anger has no mercy, nor fury when it breaks forth: and who can bear the violence of one provoked?¹⁶¹ So then, it is more advisable to yield. Otherwise, that man appears more like an insane and rash man, than as a guide of souls, who, with full knowledge and foresight, resists the roaring lion, or

¹⁵⁹ This paragraph is a repetition, almost word for word, of the end of Chapter 1, page 3 of this thesis. Cf. Robertson, Materials, III, 319.

¹⁶⁰ Prov. 20, 2.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Prov. 27, 4.

who swims against the violent current of a torrent. The wise man clearly notes this by saying, 'Resist not against the face of the mighty, and do not strive against the stream of the river.'¹⁶² I have followed this advice and left my country. At present, the heart of the prince which, as the world knows, was once in my power, is hardened against me because of my sins. This is why, as I have already said, I have gone far off flying away,¹⁶³ giving face by this flight without sanction to that subservience recently brought into the English Church. But in spite of this, it will become all the stronger of its own power, and with the grace of God and His aid, I will completely throw off that yoke of bondage.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, a more effective riddance of this subservience is manifest by my flight, as our previous words testify, if I am not mistaken, than had I rashly resisted at that time. By the very fact that I have fled, I have shown my opposition.

I do not say these things nor have I fled in this manner to give an example of flight to my successors, unless this happens by chance and the crisis should call for such

162 Ecclus. 4, 32.

163 Ps. 54, 8.

164 Cf. Gal. 5, 1.

a flight. But this I say because the archbishop of Canterbury fights with honor against his own prince, especially if he has cause to fight, but he always fights at his own peril.

Such is the case then, when the metropolitan bishop takes his stand against the insular king on his island. It is just as if one in chains and in a dark prison would provoke the keeper of the prison against himself. This peril, forsooth, almost every one of my predecessors has experienced. This is and always has been the fierce and dangerous struggle of practically all the Canterbury archbishops; namely, that either they remain in a hostile position on the island, or having recourse to flight, if this be more expedient, they leave the island notwithstanding the many hindrances of the snares and the narrow escapes.

At this point I cite to you the case of one of my most recent predecessors, my father and lord of happy memory, Theobald the archbishop.¹⁶⁵ Just as I was his inseparable companion in many other dangers and troubles, so also in this present undertaking which I am about to relate now.

¹⁶⁵ Anecdote of archbishop Theobald and Pope Eugenius III.

There arose a dispute, as frequently happens, between the Holy Pontiff of holy memory, Eugene, and the king of England, at that time Stephen. The archbishop and other people of the kingdom, contrary to the Pope's order, were prevented by the king from crossing the channel to the council at Rheims, its name at that time. But the archbishop, anxious to be obedient in every possible way, secretly and to his own danger, entrusted himself at night in a small and fragile skiff to the waves and winds with two or three companions who knew very little of the sea. Even without a sailor or oar, he came to Rheims. When he presented himself at the council, the Supreme Pontiff had already learned of his perilous journey, and immediately publicly in the hearing of the assembly said, 'Here is our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, who, more by swimming than by rowing, has crossed the ocean in order to come to us.'

And in this manner this spiritual father of mine fled at that time for the same reason as I have done now. Otherwise, if there is a weighty reason, if he did neither of these things, he would be regarded as a degenerate by his own fathers, not as a legitimate son, but as an illegitimate one, nor would he belong to Canterbury. For such a one, perchance, cannot be disciplined, if all of his

fathers are participants."

When they heard the extraordinary zeal of the archbishop, some commended the necessary flight from his country. Others, after hearing these things, were less convinced of this same zeal which they previously blamed, and claimed that it would have been better to remain and suffer in his own country at such a time. But the Pope, as we have said above, criticized only one point, that Thomas had given consent to the above-mentioned constitutions for no good reason.

Since we had such a patron for our departure, leaving for the time being the other questions they asked, let us continue the historical chronicle we have undertaken.

(12) The archbishop selects Pontigny
for his retreat

Now that we had already spent some days in the curia, the archbishop takes counsel with his own men and considers in which of the religious houses we could more conveniently retire and more fittingly wait for the outcome of our exile as disposed by God. When it seemed more advisable to us, who were pleading the cause of the Church, to retire to some one of the monasteries, we chose in preference to the rest, to stay at a certain monastery of that holy Cistercian order because of its religious standing. This place, then, was our choice, first, because of the remarkable religious fervor of the order, and secondly, because of the great peace and recollection of this order, where the religious are detached from the world both in heart and body. And from all the monasteries of that order the one we selected, called Pontigny, was situated in Burgundy. The religious observance in that monastery was regarded as extraordinary and remarkable. This place was also near that earlier named city of Sens, being only twelve leagues away, where His Holiness the Pope remained at that

time owing to the schism. Since, also, the revenue of the monastery thus far was sufficiently large, much charity was dispensed.

Therefore the Holy Pontiff summoned, at our request, the abbot of this house and the more influential of the monks. The abbot and the monks had then recognized with greater assurance the integrity and virtue of the archbishop, and the cause of which he was champion, both from the communication of the Holy Father himself and from what they had heard prior to this from repeated rumors. They straightway rendered most fervent thanks to the Lord, at Whose inspiration His own champion chose this particular place as a sort of exercising-ground for his contests.

We came to Pontigny, then, after we had spent about three weeks after our arrival in the curia, with the Pope's permission and his apostolic blessing.¹⁶⁶ We were received by the whole community with such joy and pleasure one might think we were a gift from heaven. They showed us every courtesy and gave us with eager and willing spirit meat for food and certain other provisions despite the custom of the order. The kindness and hospitality of the entire order was manifest all around us beyond the power

¹⁶⁶ November 30, 1164.

of words and time required to tell it.

On the third or fourth day after our arrival, the archbishop entered the chapter-room and recommended to the Lord and to the prayers of those present the cause of the Church which he was then defending. All our baggage was set in order. We were given individual adjoining rooms within the enclosure of the monastery. We, each according to his station, began at once to apply ourselves zealously to the study of Sacred Scripture.

But after the great commotion, the archbishop, as we have shown above, as though after stormy weather, began at once to turn his whole heart to the peace and tranquillity of the light that comes from on high, giving himself completely to study, prayer, and meditation. Indeed, this was the opportunity which he had earnestly desired while still amid the worldly emptiness from the very beginning of his elevation to assuming the dignity of archbishop. Even at the time of his chancellorship, as I heard it from his own lips, he realized, according to the saying of the wise man, "Wisdom is written in leisure,"¹⁶⁷ that this is the way it is both learned and taught.

Therefore, that monastery of ours was for us, as

167 Cf. Prov. 12, 11; 28, 19.

it were, an exercising ground of competition, where we were being mutually exercised, and as a school of virtue where we were being drilled for battle, so that we might daily say to the Lord, "It is good for us that thou hast humbled us, that we may learn thy justifications."¹⁶⁸

(13) The banishment from England and the proscription of those in the archbishop's favor

But during this period of deep seclusion and leisurely study, while we were thus receiving our training, after some days, there came from England one who brought bitter news.¹⁶⁹ He announced that upon the return from the Holy Father of the formerly cited messengers, (as we have already shown) because they had returned with their request rejected and their mission unfulfilled, by an edict of the king all the possessions, both movable and immovable, of the archbishop and of his followers who were with him, were declared confiscated. And so he will proclaim to another Job: "Behold, the Sabaeans rushed in, and took all away."¹⁷⁰ But this, also, we bore joyously, accepting the plunder of our goods with gladness, exclaiming with that brave warrior, "The Lord gave, the Lord took away: as it hath pleased the Lord so is it done."¹⁷¹ But the bearer of this news added, and by this announcement we

169 Christmas, 1164.

170 Job 1, 15.

171 Ibid., 21.

were more grievously stricken, namely, that those who sympathized with the sufferers, that is, the whole family of the archbishop and whoever remained of his household, or even anyone who had received any favor from him while they were under his patronage, were all banished and proscribed and were forced to forswear their own country. This was also incorporated in the oath they were to take; that is, that they were not to waste any time on their way until they would present themselves personally to the archbishop wherever he was to be found. This was done so that for this reason, the archbishop becoming all the more embittered, his anger might aggravate his suffering. An equally vengeful wrath raged against the kinsmen of those, too, who had followed the archbishop out of the country. There were banished and proscribed at the same time both the former and the latter, the family of one and the family of the other. All, thereupon, forswore the land of their birth, unless there were by some chance those who had been able to buy themselves off by paying a money fine. Although, even despite this, permission to remain was granted only to a few.

Whereupon at this edict a great multitude left their country in extreme poverty and want because all of their property was confiscated. Husbands and wives there

were, youths and maidens, the old with the young, servants and maid-servants, even babes from the cradles and still clinging to their mothers' breasts. No sex was spared, no age was respected, no condition was considered. And here again it might be spoken to another Job, "Behold a violent wind from the side of the desert, which shakes the house, and it fell upon thy children and they are dead."¹⁷²

However, in charge of all these confiscations and for the execution of these penalties there was appointed a certain court attendant who was filled with unconcealed hatred of the archbishop, one who hated him with a deep-seated animosity. To fulfill this work of malice such a man was chosen so that the archbishop would be all the more aggrieved. It was well believed that as far as he was concerned, he would not allow a single jot of the law to pass.¹⁷³ This man was Ranulf, his surname, de Broc. He, it is believed, of his own devising also added suffering upon suffering over and beyond those which were ordered.

Indeed, malice even if very limited in strength, yet always has many outlets; whence, also, on some occasion when the power for inflicting suffering is granted from a

172 Job 1, 19.

173 Cf. Matt. 5, 18.

higher authority, malice always tends towards the extreme and exceeds the limits set for the execution of this evil.

This malice, and something unheard of to the present, the more wicked it is the more is it spreading itself. For as prayer was daily offered up by the Church for the archbishop now in exile,¹⁷⁴ it was prohibited by a public proclamation throughout the land that it be discontinued in the future. And thus, we are deprived of the suffrages of the Church, regarded as public enemies, deprived of water and fire. This all-embracing law of a loving and kind Lord, extends even to heretics, Jews, pagans, to the very ones who were the crucifiers of Christ. Nevertheless, here, while our father is in exile and, as it were, in constant peril, to stop all aid to him even the mouths of his children are closed, so that, even in this way help to their father became in danger.

They ought to be afraid, if I am not mistaken, that, by the arrangement of the true and just God, it might sometime happen, that with whatever measure it was measured to us to them also who have meted so to us it shall be meted out.¹⁷⁵ Sons may rise up against the father, and

174 Cf. Acts 12, 5.

175 Matt. 7, 2; Luke 6, 38; Rom. 2, 1.

father against the sons, and two will be divided against three and three against two, and from division there shall be total destruction.¹⁷⁶ O malice, how active, how efficient, how subtle thou art, who thus woundest man, the very image of God, not so much by slightly striking him but by a deeper wound, and thus thou drainest out from man as if from a native fountain of devotion, every comfort of human kindness, so that it is forbidden for the sons to give that to their own father which they owe even to those who persecute and calumniate them.¹⁷⁷

Man, to be sure, is man by nature, and is human by nature; in fact, to express this more plainly, not more emphatically but more appropriately, man himself has by his own created nature the very germs of kindness and integrity, like ingrafted and inborn seeds. These same qualities the most High has retained for Himself alone from the very beginning as a special prerogative of His own Divine Nature. Nevertheless, that same wise and only good and sublime merciful Creator of all things, in creating man, beautified and embellished with these virtues His own image. Except

176 Cf. Matt. 10, 21.

177 Cf. Ibid. 5, 44. "But I say to you, Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you."

that, (alas!) immediately, through the avenging anger of the justly judging Lord, dark blotches stained that same image because of disobedience. But when His image is cleansed and fashioned anew by the Hand of the kind Creator, in no more effective way is that old enemy more quickly put to flight and flees from this image of God, than if it should behold itself embellished and adorned with goodness and mercy, as though with the richest hues. Soon, then, man becomes as if overwhelmed by that loathsome spectacle so harmful to himself, and the power of darkness is put to flight and flees and fears to approach.

But malice, having in this act for its guide the most bitter anger, has held imprisoned in this way, to the disgrace of all ages, the nature of man against the very nature of man's character, so that man,--if he might still be called man,--surpassed here the ferocity of all beasts. For, to repeat in tears that which must be bewailed over and over again, and should be repeated in grief, what is more inhuman than this atrocity; nay more, to make myself still clearer, what is more unmanly in man or more degrading? On the one hand, there are evicted from their own land and proscribed, poor mothers with children still at the breast. On the other hand, there is taken away from sons even for their own father, a right which is commonly

due to all people, the common suffrage of prayer; and the lips of children praying to God for their father in peril are ordered closed. Turn and review the entire course of history, read and see whether a deed of such enormity was ever heard of by any age in any persecution or proscription.

The exhortation of the archbishop's
learned men to him

But the archbishop, at first only hearing, afterwards actually witnessing these occurrences, became downcast and sorrowful. His whole facial aspect of previous days changed. Whereupon, the archbishop's counsellors, who were the companions of his sojourn, noticing this transformation, spoke to him in these encouraging and comforting words:

"Master, why has your countenance fallen¹⁷⁸ and why has your face changed so to a different expression, at hearing this latest news from England? We, who are now speaking to you, beg of you to bear with us a while. Yours and ours, who have remained with you, is a common cause, a common suffering, a common struggle, and by the Lord's grace, we shall obtain a common victory and a common crown.

But this recently added trial of the exiled and proscribed people has now been added to all your other troubles. If this is a punishment common to you and to us, it is more a remedial medicine than a punishment. It

178 Gen. 4, 5.

appears to us that it must be regarded more in the capacity of a healing element than of a harmful factor. Above all, it should be looked upon as though it were a kind of pungent poultice applied by the Divine Physician to the wounds of our sins. Therefore let us not thrust aside impatiently from ourselves the hand of the healing Physician, nor let us be wearied when we are rebuked by the Father, no, not even if our Father should add scourges to scourges upon our backs.¹⁷⁹

Let us not grow faint nor grieve because of the scourgings, but let us sing with the penitent and scourged prophet, each one saying: 'For I am ready for scourges.'¹⁸⁰ Perhaps in this way, the avenging Lord will be avenged for all the devices of our harmful deeds and our evil doings. It is for this reason that by the same prophet, God is said to have been propitious to Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, since he was avenged because of all their devices, 'O Lord, our God, . . . Thou wast a merciful God to them, and taking vengeance on all their inventions.'¹⁸¹ Verily, mighty is the anger of God when wickedness goes unpunished. And so

179 Cf. Heb. 12, 5.

180 Ps. 37, 18.

181 Ps. 98, 8.

the prophet who was at first prosperous and later chastised said, 'Envy not the man who prospereth in his way.'¹⁸²

Wherefore, the Lord Himself also said through another prophet, that such a one is like a sheep which is fattened and led to its slaughter.¹⁸³ The Lord gave this answer to the prophet, when the prophet asked of the Lord: 'Why doth the way of the wicked prosper: why is it well with all them that transgress, and do wickedly?'¹⁸⁴ To whom the Lord replied, 'Gather them together as sheep for a sacrifice, and prepare them for the day of slaughter.'¹⁸⁵ as though he might say to the prophet: Foretell and announce with prophetic spirit: to gather them together as sheep for a sacrifice.¹⁸⁶

Truly such great good fortune in this life which has no hindrance or chastisement is a great manifestation of the mercy of God; the mercy of God is such that it transcends all His wrath.¹⁸⁷ For this mercy, according to one of the prophets, is 'as a morning cloud, and as the early dew that passeth away, (as the foam over the face of the deep), as the dust that is driven with a whirlwind out of

182 Ps. 36, 7.

184 Ibid., 1.

186 Loc. cit.

183 Jer. 12, 3.

185 Ibid., 3.

187 Cf. Eccclus. 5, 6-7.

the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney.'¹⁸⁸ And therefore, the more merciful the Lord is, so much the more wrathfully does He speak to the sinning synagogue, 'My mercy has departed from thee . . . nor shall I be angry with thee any further.'¹⁸⁹ In still another place, he says through another prophet, 'So I let them go according to the desires of their heart: they shall walk in their own inventions.'¹⁹⁰

Look at the advantages of this world and of this life, which flow like dregs through the streets, while the oil is squeezed out in the press and is later packed away in storehouses.¹⁹¹ You also, o master, (for I might say this without offending our master since we speak the words of God Himself), you have been for some time like the dregs flowing along in the streets, everything falling in line with you at your every beck and call without hindrance. But now it seems that He Who changes water into wine is desirous of transforming these dregs into good oil. If,

¹⁸⁸ Osee 13, 3. The phrase in parentheses is not contained in the scriptural verse.

¹⁸⁹ Isaias 54, 9-10. Latin text here is not exact.

¹⁹⁰ Ps. 80, 13.

¹⁹¹ The idea for this metaphor is probably taken from Pliny 15, 8, 8, #33, or Vergil, Georgics 3, 4 and 8.

then, you wish to be this same oil, you must suffer the crush of the oil-press, until you flow down from the press into the storehouses.¹⁹²

We are greatly troubled over the anxiety and sadness you are showing after hearing this latest news of that cruel edict. We were hoping that in this solitude wherein we have followed you, you would prove yourself another Moses to us, and under such a great leader we would with confidence wage the wars of our Lord.¹⁹³ But if you have not shown yourself such a one up to now, it is imperative that you do so now when the crowd begins to follow you into retreat. Therefore, languish not with grief, be not disheartened in this trial, nor grow faint with fear; let not loss of patience wear you out, nor over-anxiety distract you, nor worries eat your heart away.¹⁹⁴ You ought, instead, to mingle with the crowd without being disturbed, wearing a carefree attitude in the midst of cares. (It is your bounden duty to encourage your own people in the

192 Cf. Prov. 3, 10-11.

193 Exodus 14-15.

194 Cf. Ezech. 21, 6-7. The thought of this passage, although not exact, is parallel to that contained in these scriptural verses.

crisis of this your retirement, and strengthen them by word and example. So it will happen that while the malicious flaunt their insolence, the poor who follow you will be encouraged by the force of the inspiration--because the fire from heaven will fall in benediction on these, the fire of pride on the former.)¹⁹⁵ Let them burn like gold in the furnace, so that tried out they be refined and like iron in the fire they be entirely inflamed with love.¹⁹⁶ This wind of pride, which is now so hostile to you, and which dissipates the multitude of exiled and proscribed paupers from the island; this same wind of a proud and puffed-up spirit, I say, even you yourself have displayed while you were in the world in the company of the sons of pride. Now, surely, you are reaping a just whirlwind. From such a seed springs the same fruit, as that saying wherein one of the prophets speaks of the excessive pride of schismatic Israel, 'For they shall sow wind, and reap a whirlwind.'¹⁹⁷

195 The passage enclosed in parentheses was inserted in the margin of the Corpus Christi College MS of this life of Saint Thomas.

196 Prov. 27, 21.

197 Osee 8, 7.

But even if the recent events in England done to oppress us might be compared to a whirlwind of puffed-up pride, which scatters and blows away a crowd of poor over the deep sea, yet that same storm cannot and ought not in the least disturb those of us who are with you, as long as the Lord comforts and guides us. If this tempest can give you great anxiety, you whom we have followed, that is your concern. It cannot nor must it throw us into confusion. On the contrary, this wild storm should calm us rather than upset us; we look upon this whirlwind as a gentle breeze wherein we might better and more conveniently sail to port. With God's marvelous direction, as the psalmist says: 'Wonderful are the surges of the sea;'¹⁹⁸ on the other hand, 'wonderful is the Lord on high.'¹⁹⁹ According to the same psalm, He changed the storm to calm, 'and He turned the storm into a breeze.'²⁰⁰ And, in fact, even if we do not realize it yet, we shall soon know that by the wonder-working power of the Lord, this recent whirlwind will become calm, and this storm will be turned into a gentle breeze. This phenomenon can easily be understood

198 Ps. 92, 4.

199 Loc. cit.

200 Ps. 106, 29.

even by men of little intelligence.

Surely, now at the very outset, by this very fact our exile is ennobled, our weakness is invigorated, strength to bear our trials is granted us, and the cause of the Church is defended, and the good will of the world will turn against the worldly prince in favor of us; finally, the world will denounce the atrocity of this deed.

Meanwhile, pass this over in silence, (our eyes will shortly see this come to pass and our heart will then rejoice); the fact that, as we began to say at the very beginning, our sojourn is made illustrious and a natural outcome of this, the cause of the Church which we undertook will be safely defended. Over and above all others of every age, every sex, every condition, we have deserved to have the innocent, little children still at their mothers' breast, as the companions of our exile. These are the new pleaders of the cause of the Church before the Judge's face. Certainly the cry of these children sounds more sweetly and more convincingly in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth,²⁰¹ than all the strength and cleverness of learned lawyers.

As a result of this edict, therefore, there should

201 Cf. James 5, 4; Cant. 2, 4.

remain for us only joy and gladness since it seems, that in the awe-inspiring presence of Him Who takes away completely the spirit of princes,²⁰² such a powerful patronage of so many people in exile falls to our lot. Then, too, if we have faith, we should not hesitate, and even if we strive earnestly, as all contests are difficult, especially against so powerful and harsh an adversary, the outcome of our cause will eventually be much happier.

You, therefore, lord, in behalf of our exiled and proscrip't people, who come to us in such straits, put away every anxiety and grief, and expect the Lord, do manfully, and let your heart take courage, and wait for the Lord.²⁰³ For here in wooded groves, among these lonely crags and stones, in this solitary retreat, as in a kind of school of strife, we must either surrender disgracefully or maintain a fight with glory.

Even if we are cut off from the common suffrage of the Church, if the God of our hearts is with us, then, too, their hearts are even more so with us, since their lips are sealed in this regard. Assuredly, when public prayer is thus prohibited, so much the more now will the

202 Ps. 75, 13.

203 Ps. 26, 14.

prayer of the heart cry out as though with redoubled fervor, so will it supplicate with greater devotion, thus will it beat in greater security, and be answered more readily by Almighty God."

The archbishop's reply to his attendants

But the archbishop, listening attentively to those words of his own men, after a brief interval of silence, replied to them in a sorrowful and contrite tone:

"Blessed is the Lord, Who, by your learning, teaches my hands and has made my arms like a brazen bow,²⁰⁴ Who has given me such untiring, such wise and such vigorous comrades in my contest. Now, indeed, I see for myself that you are much more courageous in this match than I am, I, whom you call your master and leader. For which I render fervent thanks to Him, through Whose generosity I have such extraordinary helpmates, that it behooves me rather to follow them more safely than that those same ones should follow me.

In all truth, brethren, as you say, for a long time I have flowed as the oil-dregs through the wide and spacious streets of this life, surrendering myself to the beck and call of the vanities and pleasures of this life.

204 Ps. 17, 35.

And in this way giving free rein to my desires, as though uncontrollable and unrestrained, I have gone along the unfrequented roads of the world, I have wandered off on impassable roads and away from the main path. Wherefore, now, even in this great crisis which threatens me in this retreat, it is not safe to follow me. Rather, it is more fitting that I follow you wherever you go, as men learned, as my leaders and directors and exercised in these things which are of God.

So, as of this day and from this hour I commend into your hands this cause of the Church, yours as well as mine, as you say so truly. It is a cause to be fostered by your plans, to be kept in safety through your efforts. Encouraged by your example, then, and stimulated by your speech, as I have said, I ought to follow you henceforth, and with the Lord thus cherishing and enlarging my footsteps under me up to the end and my tread should not falter in following you.²⁰⁵

Indeed, as you say, I have been the oil-dregs, but I now desire, if the Lord will deign to work in His wondrous way, to be converted into oil. So, from this time forward, supported by the strength of your advice

and aid, I have resolved to bear with a braver and stronger spirit the crush of the oil-press. Perchance in this way, the Father of mercy, the Lord of all power, will wish to bring me out of misery and the mire of dregs.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, you, brethren of mine, co-helpers of Christ, such vigorous, such indispensable helpers in this present suffering of Christ, do not wonder at this, that I am deeply moved over these recent events, that I feel compassion and sorrow. For behold, I'll take the initiative from you who have followed me, though you have not received anything from me, but have lost all on my account. All this on my account, I say, I who repay you ill for good, banishment and exile for obedience, to you who are exiled and proscribed with me and for me. But now, not only you and your possessions, but also your own people and your whole family have been likewise exiled and proscribed, through no fault of theirs, but on my account and yours, nay rather, entirely through my own fault. Moreover, that the old parable and complaint in the old law, passed away, might be revived and take on new life and become a proverb now: 'The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the teeth of the children are set on edge.'²⁰⁷

206 Ps. 39, 3.

207 Jer. 31, 29.

I alone have sinned, I alone have fallen; it is I alone who should bear the burden of the wrath of the Lord. For, to pass over in silence all the rest, what has that flock of infants as yet on their mothers' breasts done, what has it merited? These very ones are not even my own kinsmen, and yet the former and even the latter have been exiled and banished on my account. They are now breasting the perils of the deep and the hardships of the roads because of me. Those suffer, also, who have not yet any sense-perceptions, nay more, they who have not the power of expression, neither voice nor senses,--some of them still in their mothers' womb are on the road before they are born, strangers and exiles before they are even brought into this world.

There are those of you who have followed me, who belong to you. As far as my own relatives are concerned, who are banished and proscribed, I could suffer this with all humility and patience, although I am not aware of any scandalous crimes of theirs for which any human law would command such an order to be carried out. But, to repeat, I would patiently endure this in respect to my own family, but how can I cover up my pity and grief for your own family? Certainly your words, in fact, the very words of God, of Whom you have been an instrument,

truly living and efficacious, have had not a little influence on me. Henceforth, encouraged and consoled by this exhortation of yours, according to the multitude of the sorrows in my heart, your comforts have given joy to my soul.²⁰⁸ From what I have heard, I realize that in following me you follow God rather than man, eternity rather than time, and the cause of justice rather than the prize of temporal rewards. But more so, these present exiled ones, the condemned, the despoiled, you embrace with joy. From this I clearly recognize that you follow the cause of God and not booty; because, as you say, the cause is common, you also accept the common punishment. I see this and rejoice exceedingly on your behalf. I rejoice, I say, to behold you strengthened with the glory of wisdom and with the virtue of patience. I see that this forbearance of yours keeps your wisdom humble, that it subjects itself of its own volition to the burden of poverty; in fine, knowledge teaches patience to rejoice with its whole heart under such a burden. Indeed, patience having knowledge as its companion has always been wont to rejoice in adversities even as knowledge having patience as a companion suffers adversities. Accordingly, you, true to the patience and knowledge given you, have shown that there

should be only joy and gladness in this new and added pain of our exiled and proscribed people; you have wisely shown us that where sin abounded, grace did more abound.²⁰⁹ By this very fact, the approbation of the world will be bestowed on us with greater sympathy and support. Indeed, it very often happens that every excess of malice, by the very fact that it exceeds the limits, will always result in the greatest harm to its own perpetrators and supporters. For a crooked bow full of defects is one which cannot be shot to a distance, but turns back the arrows upon itself, so that it becomes a source of an increase of grace to those against whom it brought excessive pain.

Nevertheless, there is a proper measure in all things, everywhere there is discretion, everywhere there is a necessary limit, especially in the administration of punishment. In this case, however, as we see and realize now, anger and envy, the evil counsellors of the powerful, are always wont to do their worst. In this connection, Scripture also says, 'For the anger of man worketh not the justice of God.'²¹⁰

That is why that Christian emperor Theodosius,

209 Rom. 5, 20.

210 James 1, 20.

as you know much better than I, after performing public penance in all submission openly and humbly, laid aside his regal adornment, sanctioned laws for the future, that the public sentence pronounced over princes as a corrective measure, be delayed by the executioners to the thirtieth day. In this way, opportunity for mercy would be given, or if the case could be settled by repentance, that he would not be the loser.²¹¹

Hence, if according to the natural law it is permissible to resist force by force, yet pagan princes have decreed that this is to be done with moderation, saying that this is allowed but with moderation, for the protection of the innocent. The same applied also to other punishments, according to this law; namely, always to mitigate rather than increase these penalties. Consequently, it is also clear that even among pagan princes mercy exalted itself above justice,²¹² as that old proverb of the Greeks says, 'Never to excess.'²¹³

However, my brethren, we fully realize now that, as far as this matter is concerned, I deservedly bring upon

211 Codex Theodosianus, ix, xl, 13.

212 James 2, 13.

213 Terence, Andria 1, 1, 34; Greek source: Solon, one of the seven Greek sages.

myself this malice inflicted through anger and envy, despising mercy in their judgment of me. So much so, that even the innocent are accused of crime, those in whom the prince of this world has not anything.²¹⁴ Still they are proscribed by the prince of this world through anger and envy (as we have said before). These are the worst type of counsellors.

This is why then, over and above everything else, I grieve for my lord, my king, whom I have always loved as my own heart and soul, and also from whose love neither tribulation nor difficulty nor persecution is able to separate me even now.²¹⁵ For him alone I mourn, for him I lament, for him I have deep and continual sorrow in my heart.²¹⁶ Those very enemies of mine who are (I say) the false friends and in reality the enemies of that king himself, are the ones who transform that same noble king into a tyrant, and who counsel him with a kind of Herodian wickedness and compel him to rage against little children, since there is in no way he can injure me more.

Therefore, who (with the prophet) will now give

214 John 14, 30.

215 Rom. 8, 39.

216 Rom. 9, 2.

water to my head and a fountain of tears to my eyes, and I will weep?²¹⁷ I will weep, I say, not for myself, not for you, not for our exiled and proscribed people, not for the loss of our goods, not for the empty churches. I will rather weep that so great a lord, so illustrious a king, at the suggestion of evil men, has brought suffering into his realm and disgrace upon himself. In this way a new and unheard of suffering is devised,²¹⁸ so that, in addition to all these other trials, he might inflict a new sorrow upon us, and by that act he would more bitterly afflict those already suffering. In this way, the more bitter the grief, the more commonly-shared it was, including even the innocent, where there was no pity for sex, no discrimination of age, no regard for condition in life. Saving our lord, the anointed of the Lord, our king, woe to those through whose instrumentality this deed has been done, by whom this latest atrocity has been inflicted, through whom this new scandal comes. Let their way be dark and slippery,²¹⁹ who have inflicted such troublesome and dangerous journeys, through unknown lands, over untraveled seas, upon innocent children, upon

217 Jer. 9, 1.

218 The words nova excogitata seem to be marked for omission in the Arras Ms. Cf. Robertson, Materials III, p. 371.

219 Ps. 34, 6.

pregnant and nursing mothers. Thus they carry out that warning of our Lord, 'Woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days.'²²⁰ Their flight occurred in the winter,²²¹ so that this savage cruelty rises above itself in its cruel application; while the bitter cold of the season indirectly adds other inconveniences to these poor and weak people.

After their judgment, may they who have judged without mercy leave the judgment condemned men;²²² and let there be judgment without mercy to them that have not done mercy in their judgment.²²³ But surely this is the work of those who were slandering me, who were my enemies in the palace, first, secretly like serpents because of fear, who now openly rear their heads and spit out their poison. But, as it is commonly said, and truthfully so, he revenges his own sorrow evilly who increases it.²²⁴ As you have taught us above, these men have not increased our grief by this deed, as they hope, but have increased more truly their

220 Matt. 24, 10; Mark 13, 17; Luke 21, 23.

221 Christmas, 1164.

222 Ps. 108, 7.

223 James 2, 13.

224 Source unknown.

own. For I shall pass over for the time being the anger of God, which has already come upon those wicked men. In this deed they have surely piled up for themselves a lasting disgrace over and above the grief and anger which they hold against us.

That the next generation might learn of this atrocious deed,--the children that should be born and should rise up, will declare them to their children.²²⁵

Hence those evil-minded men who in their wickedness did not give advice, but rather, instilled poison, they ought, I say, first to have kept in mind that the lifespan of even kingly powers is always brief, and that there follows after this life an immortal life either of glory or of incurable wounds and ruined reputation. Wherefore, nothing is more fitting or important to royal authority than a spirit of counsel and knowledge. With this spirit, he who is in charge of all things, being in the highest position, even though he has greater power, still maintains a moderation in all things, not imposing, not transcending, not exceeding this position beyond its limit. For this reason and before all else, it is important that he, who is the chastening rod of the obstinate, the flail of the

225 Ps. 77, 6.

rebellious, the hammer of the haughty, and finally the conqueror of all hostile nations;--I mean the king,--ought to be in complete control of himself and of everyone else.

It is necessary, I say, that he first and foremost take his wrath into his own hands so that he might be able to say, 'My wrath is always in my hands, so that even should he be angry, (for not in the might of kings must there be anger), yet he sins not.'²²⁶ Otherwise, if he should sin in anger, this anger which has slipped from his grasp is no longer under control. Thus, the sinner himself falls an easier prey to the power of that same wrath as its victim, if he is neither master of himself nor of anger. As a result of this strong and violent onset of rage, when the spirit of wisdom and counsel has been extinguished, the very moderation which comes from it perishes. These qualities are like children born of the same mother; justice, whereby royal power is strengthened, and mercy, with which that same power is adorned; and both equally perish. Through these same two characteristics, an immortal life of blessed and happy glory is prepared for rulers after this life. So much so, that those who have left this world are restored

²²⁶ The source for this passage is unknown. The last phrase, yet he sins not is taken from: Ps. 4, 6; Ephes. 4, 26.

to it by a benefit of immortal glory, as it were. They abide in holiness and joy in the present Church even after their death, who while still living here in the flesh,²²⁷ retained a strict discipline, seeking justice and mercy. For this reason only that king is considered blessed who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly.²²⁸ Since if he did walk without the spirit of wisdom and counsel, he is now no longer regarded as the king of the people, but rather the lowest dregs, no longer is he the anointed of the Lord, but a caricature of the anointed, a painted image, and not the ruler of his people. Or, according to the saying of the wise king, 'he is like a precious stone immersed in mercury.'²²⁹

But be it so; let them banish and drive us out, let them proscribe, afflict, and remove us, let them set upon us and rage in their madness; this is the time for suffering. We shall be patient and ready for scourges. Meanwhile, we shall repay good for evil, love for hatred, prayer for abuse, just as he so truly said of that disciple of the Master, 'Instead of making me a return of love, they detracted me; but I give myself to prayer.'²³⁰

227 Cf. 1 Peter 4, 2.

228 Ps. 1, 1.

229 Source unknown.

230 Ps. 108, 4.

After these words, having encouraged one another mutually, refreshed and renewed in courage, we betook ourselves to the cells which were assigned to us within the enclosure of the monastery, as we mentioned before. However, a new crowd of exiles kept pouring in to us every day, except that a great many who, by the absolution of the Apostolic authority, were freed from the oath they had made earlier remained in Flanders. These were especially those who, because of the weakness of age or sex, and on account of the inclemency of the weather, were unable to come to the archbishop, on oath, without great inconvenience to themselves. But the rest of them continued to come to us in groups, weeping and mourning because they were thus banished from their native soil to strange countries, all their possessions confiscated, and withdrawn from friends and kinsmen.

So, every day the poor and destitute, knocking at the gate of mercy of the Almighty, were a continual source of suffering to the archbishop. How could he remain unmoved, when all his deepest feelings of devotedness were shaken at the plaintive cries of those who were exiled on his account. Of course, he was deeply disturbed, but just like a precious perfume, the more it is shaken, the farther does it diffuse its aroma; or like a grain of mustard, when

anyone grinds it with greater force, its strength is increased; and then truly like a silver trumpet, the more forcefully it is hammered, the more perfect will be its shape and form.

All at once, he seemed to have been completely transformed into the purest oil under the pressure of the oil-press, with his face still pleasant even in the oil, so that he was always of such a calm, composed, and staunch spirit, that in every crushing movement, it could be said that he scarcely felt any pressure. Of this composure, the prophet chants in one verse, saying, "neither sad nor troublesome."²³¹ But he was always joyful, always pleasant, agreeable in spirit, of pleasing appearance, always happy and calm. The wise man says, "A holy man continueth in wisdom as the sun: but a fool is changed as the moon."²³²

Therefore, he continued the same in every season, in evil fortune as well as in good fortune; as he was in prosperity, so also was he in adversity. The sun did not burn him by day; nor the moon by night.²³³ Obeying that apostolic admonition in his own regard, he said, "My brethren,

231 Isaias 42, 4.

232 Ecclus. 27, 12.

233 Ps. 120, 6.

count it all joy, when you shall fall into divers temptations."²³⁴ The master said to his disciples, "Rejoice always."²³⁵ For the master says in order to teach his other disciples, "The sorrow of the world worketh death."²³⁶ To which corresponds the following advice of the wise man, "Give not thy soul to sadness, . . . for sadness hath killed many."²³⁷ Wherefore the wise king also says, "All the days of the poor are evil: a secure mind is like a continual feast."²³⁸ Such is the disposition of this our director, as though he were present at a continual feast, and lived in continual joy. By that same token, I have most clearly learned that real feeling of the master as if in a certain book of life; namely, that even as charity is the fruit of the Spirit so is joy. He said, "The fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy."²³⁹ Those wicked ones who have not the Spirit, lack this fruit of the Spirit not only in the words of the master but also in those of the prophet. For there

234 James 1, 2.

235 Philip. 4, 4.

236 2 Cor. 7, 10; Prov. 12, 25; 15, 13; 17, 22; Ecclus. 30, 22, 25.

237 Ecclus. 30, 22, 25; Prov. 12, 25.

238 Prov. 15, 15.

239 Gal. 5, 22.

is no joy for wicked men, God says through His prophet.

But let it be enough to have made only a mention of this affair to the praise and glory of so great an archbishop. We must return to our little ones and those other exiled and banished people so as to keep the order of the historical sequence.

When the Apostolic Pontiff and the rulers of lands, nations, and kingdoms, heard of these exiles and proscribed people of ours, they were stupefied at the first report. Strongly condemning²⁴⁰ this atrocity, they were all filled with deepest pity for this immense crowd of exiles coming to the archbishop. In this way, the archbishop had heard that what had been mutually promised earlier, was already fulfilled; that is, as a result of this deed, through the wonderful providence of God, he noticed that the approbation of the world turned against the prince of the world in our favor.

Since the archbishop could not keep with him such a great multitude, he apportioned them throughout various provinces, nations, and kingdoms; certain ones he sent to churchmen, others to some influential people, all with his

240 This is the translation of profanantes; another reading given is propalantes.

personal recommendations. Indeed, all those exiles who were sent were received kindly by the ones to whom they were dispatched; first, in condemnation of such great malice, secondly, through their love of the sender. Thus, in this reception, even people who were strangers to him ministered to him; so influential was his standing among the people and so great the sympathy for the exiles. But what? In this way, with the help of God, provision was made in such a short time for all these exiles, that not one of them was left in want, in fact, many of them were happier in exile than they were in their land. For all this, the exile Thomas was happy and truly so; he was fortunate in the cause of justice, enjoying the favor of the world, rejoicing in the great virtue and perseverance of the exiles, happy even in the prerogative of their innocence, in the glory of their virginity, in the grace of their widowhood, and in the beauty of their conjugal integrity. Not even to their own country was such a truly happy exile extended.

(14) The archbishop assumes
a more rigid discipline

But despite the fact that our exiled people were cared for in this way by the providence of God, yet, the archbishop, noticing that our own exile was made more grievous and our suffering more bitter because of such a great multitude of exiled and proscrip't people, determined at the same time to increase the rigor of his own penance. So, in addition to the hair-shirt which he constantly wore, and the frequent scourgings which he secretly inflicted on himself, he also began living more austerely than was his wont.

Consequently, one day he prevailed upon one of the monks who ordinarily ministered to him at table to place before him every day the regular conventual fare together with the richer foods which he had been accustomed to eating, but to do this cautiously so that no one would notice. This alone he had arranged to use to make his repast. In order that this might be done with more caution and secrecy, the table was set daily for him alone apart from us. For several days, then, he subsisted only on dry and tasteless

herbs, as the rule of the Cistercian order required. However, (as we have made mention of above in our writing when we were treating of his physical fare and manner of dining),²⁴¹ since he had been nourished upon delicate foods from his youth, he was unable, therefore, to partake of harsher foods. But (as we said), due to the great number of exiles and proscribed people the bitterness of his own exile was increased,--for this reason and others, his penance was intensified by the strictness of his mode of life. Mortifying himself for some time in this way and living so abstemiously in contrast to his former habits, he was stricken by illness after a few days. When the disciple who has written this history made his morning visit for the sacred lesson,--his orders were to confer with the archbishop about Sacred Scripture, and he was either to be taught by him or he himself was to instruct the archbishop,--to his sorrow he discovered what befell the archbishop. Coming closer, he tried to ascertain what could be the cause of such a sudden ailment. However, as I soon realized, (as soon as I referred to it), he refused to give any reason, but changed the subject. Nevertheless, I began to be instant in season, out of season,²⁴² as much as I

241 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 233-34.

242 2 Tim. 4, 2.

might dare. Finally, he revealed the cause to me upon my insistent pressing, but that I was to keep it secret. Yet he was not definite, but said that he only suspected that the illness befell him in this way because of that rigid austerity and abstinence which were so strange to his earlier life.

The advice of the disciple to the archbishop

Forthwith, then, I said to him, "Master, please give me a little attention. This temptation appears to be not of human origin, but rather of the devil, who seeks to subvert through excessive or unaccustomed fasting him whom he cannot overcome by gluttony.

On the other hand, this is what the master, being cognizant of the wiles of that sly one, treating of the chastisement of the bodies, said concerning the mortification of the flesh, 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God.'²⁴³ He then added, 'your reasonable service,'²⁴⁴ as if to say, in this chastisement of the bodies prudence must be practiced. When he said, 'reasonable,' it is evident he means with moderation, namely, lest anything go beyond the norm either on one side or the other. He said reasonable, so that natural adaptability be taken into consideration, not the will of the one fasting. He said reasonable, so that the age also

243 Rom. 12, 1.

244 Loc. cit.

might be taken into account, and the state of life, and whatever might be suitably fitted to each man. If, therefore, master, you desire this, that in the chastisement of your body its service be reasonable, it is necessary that reason attend service in fasting and direct your will, and not allow the impetuosity of your own will to draw you to what appears strongly tending towards the good. On this point the wise man says, 'Be not over just,'²⁴⁵ and also, 'Be not more wise than is necessary.'²⁴⁶

So, then, be not too just, nor too wise, likewise be not too abstemious. In these few words, which the wise man clearly enuntiates, many things are implied which are not stated expressly. For, as it is said, the wise man teaches with a few words.²⁴⁷ Therefore, let us do nothing to excess, for, as a certain one says, 'everything which is in excess turns to vice.'²⁴⁸ Whence we also have that saying of the wise man, 'A just man perisheth in his justice.'²⁴⁹ So also the one who fasts perishes in his own fast. Surely,

245 Eccles. 7, 17.

246 Loc. cit.

247 Source unknown

248 Terence, Andria 1, 1, 34.

249 Eccles. 7, 16.

in fasting the infirmity of the flesh must be taken into consideration, as also the limits of nature, and the practice of daily habit. Very often, indeed, it happens that as the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak,²⁵⁰ so nature is powerless and habit rebels.

Therefore, it is necessary that, by restraining the rigor you yield to these two.²⁵¹ For, according to what the wise man says, 'He that nourisheth his servant delicately from his childhood, afterwards shall find him stubborn.'²⁵² You have done this, you who have always nourished your body from childhood upon delicacies, now feel a rebellion within yourself since you are depriving yourself of this same food.

Therefore, whatever is the will of God in this regard should likewise be pleasing to you. Since you are incapable of more rigid practices, you should partake of food that is better fitted for you. And, as my teaching is not my own, listen, if you please, to what one of the wise men, in addition to these above arguments, speaks about bodily sustenance. He says, 'In all such things,

250 Matt. 26, 41.

251 i.e., nature and habit.

252 Prov. 29, 21.

not the use is at fault but inordinate passion.²⁵³ For it can so happen that a wise man might partake of the most expensive food without any fault; on the other hand, the foolish man may be inflamed by the foulest flash of gluttony towards the cheapest food. Would anyone prefer to eat fish as our Lord than the lentils Esau ate?²⁵⁴ Or would anyone feed upon the barley in the manner of cattle? For not on that account are most beasts more continent than we are, because they partake of cheaper food. Since it is not from the nature of things we use that whatever we do must either be approved or condemned, but because of our motive in using them or the method of our seeking them. See, master, this teaching is not mine but rather the teaching of right thinking men."

After these few words, the archbishop directed his attention immediately to what was obligatory, according to the saying of the wise man, "Give an occasion to a wise man, and wisdom shall be added to him."²⁵⁵ Hence, shortly

253 Probably Cleobulus, the Greek sage who taught the doctrine, "Moderation is the chief good." Cf. Harry Thurston Peck, ed., Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, (New York: American Book Co., 1923), p. 1459.

254 Cf. Matt. 15, 36; Gen. 25, 34.

255 Prov. 9, 9.

after he was restored to health by God's favor, in a very marvelous way beyond all power of description. As we previously pointed out briefly when we were treating of the archbishop's bodily fare, he afterwards prudently partook of the food which was most agreeable for him. Moreover, all this about the zealous spirit of the holy and devout archbishop and about his physical weakness is inserted here for the edification of the readers. Now then, let us proceed with the chronological order of the story.

As we began to say, when our exiled and proscrip-
t people were solaced in this way through the mercy of the Lord, we were hidden and retired far from the world in the solitude of Pontigny amid its rocky seclusion and monastic cloisters. The greater the quiet there, the greater the freedom we enjoyed; the greater the seclusion, the richer was our fruit,--in such an environment we devoted our whole attention to spiritual matters.

But the archbishop far more than the rest was carried away by an astonishing eagerness for study. Like a great luminary, he shone in the heavens with all his attention centered on Sacred Scripture, on the apostolic traditions, especially on theology. This was the opportunity (as we said previously) which he had always longed for, by means of which he might repair the loss of his long-

squandered days. This is the way, then, that he who was chosen as a guide of souls, at some time, even though late, was to acquire knowledge for himself for the direction of souls. Such a great lover of the holy writings was he, that after the regular daily hours of the Divine Office, the sacred codices scarcely left his hands through the entire day; especially those two holy books, namely, the Psalms and the Epistles, as if they were two spiritual eyes, the mystical and the moral. He was taught ethics perfectly by the first of these two books, as he said, and theory for the most part by the other. Moreover, from this love of the Scriptures he made so much progress in a short time, that very frequently even the most perplexing and intricate questions of the Scriptures he understood even better than those teaching. Such, then, was our stay at Pontigny.

(15) Zeal for justice becomes the ruling spirit of the archbishop in the second year of his exile

In the second year of our sojourn, the archbishop realized that the heart of our enemies remained obdurate, that there were as yet no outward indications of repentance for the excessive crimes they perpetrated against us. In fact, our enemies were bent on still further injury against us. Since they were now powerless to prevail upon us by force, with their slanderous tongues they persecuted from a distance those of us remaining in this retirement. After the archbishop made note of this state of affairs, I repeat, he began to think with himself²⁵⁶ and to meditate with his own heart,²⁵⁷ and in this interior reflection a fire flamed out,²⁵⁸ not with the heat of taking vengeance but of love.²⁵⁹ He saw his own sons, though now become his enemies, yet daily going to their death and falling into the precipice.

256 Esdras 5, 7.

257 Ps. 76, 7.

258 Ibid. 38, 4.

259 Deut. 32, 22; 1 Peter 2, 24.

Being a father of fathers, he could no longer feign indifference. For, although they had withdrawn their filial loyalty from him, nevertheless, in no wise was the priestly perfection of his paternal love for them withdrawn. From the very depths of his heart, he softened towards these perishing sons of his. With these thoughts his zealous spirit was kindled, not with a craving for revenge, but out of eagerness for justice in his sons' regard and out of fatherly compassion for them. This is the way the father pities his sons and wishes to show mercy to them, even when he visits their iniquities with the rod, and their sins with stripes.²⁶⁰ Hence, on the one hand, a burning zeal for justice took full possession of him, since this zeal in regard to stubborn subjects is the special office of the priest; secondly, a zeal which is especially applicable to fathers, namely, a deep feeling of mercy for their erring sons.

And so, he who was silent up to this time, who suffered so long in all resignation, seeing and realizing that his own long-suffering was arrogantly spurned, now no longer submissive, nor sleeping, but rising up and bestirring himself just as a true son of those alert de-

260 Ps. 88, 83.

fenders, he began at once to take counsel with his own brethren about the steps to be taken, mindful of that warning of the Lord in the prophetic writings, like one suddenly disturbed and aroused: "Son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: . . . If thou declare it not to him, nor speak to him, that he may be converted from his wicked way, and live: the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand."²⁶¹ Therefore, he first addresses us, the companions of his trials, in this deliberate way as follows:

²⁶¹ Ezech. 3, 17-18.

The archbishop's proposals to his companions

"Men, brethren," he says,²⁶² "Christ's co-helpers with me in the cause of the Church, you understand and know me very well. You know, too, that all things have their season, a time for suffering and a time for rebelling, a time for compassion, and a time for judging.²⁶³ 'When I shall take a time,' he said, 'I will judge justices.'²⁶⁴ The master said to his disciples, 'Serving unto this purpose.'²⁶⁵ However, we have been biding our time up to the present, until this day we have suffered, up to now as laborers, tolerant of everyone, we have borne the sinners upon the shoulders of the Church, but they have lengthened their iniquity.²⁶⁶ Day by day they abuse our goodness and patience, and heaping sins upon sins, they treasure up for themselves only wrath,²⁶⁷ not mercy. Since the Lord said by the prophet in regard to those who are hardened and

262 Acts 2, 37.

263 Cf. Eccles. 3, 2-8.

264 Ps. 74, 3.

265 Rom. 13, 6.

266 Cf. Ps. 128, 3.

267 Cf. Rom. 2, 5.

unrepentant, but always set on sinning still more, 'Shall I not oppose him in three or four sins?'²⁶⁸

Take counsel, brethren, see what we must do in the future. For, although we have been silent up to now, shall we always be silent in this wise? 'Woe is me,' says the prophet, 'because I have held my peace.'²⁶⁹ Shall we, in spite of all this, still remain silent, though we have been admonished by the prophet? We, who up to now have taken our rest in this solitude and these rocks and in the company of these monks,--should we not throw ourselves into the fight and be on the alert? To be sure, it is good and sweet for us to be here,²⁷⁰ to rest in this way and to enjoy so long the sweet embraces of our desirable Rachel.²⁷¹ Of course, this is rest that is good and pleasant. On the other hand, under the present circumstances, I am not suggesting anything which does not admit of a better plan; however, it now appears to me, that henceforth our deepest concern should be that of a spouse and the obligation of our office should impel us to accomplish the work at hand

268 Exact source unknown. Cf. Isaias 1, 5.

269 Isaias 6, 5.

270 Cf. Matt. 17, 4.

271 Cf. Prov. 7, 18.

which we have assumed with the obligation of a bishop.

For, behold how the foxes destroy the vines and the wolves do not stop attacking openly the sheep-folds.²⁷² Especially if there are any apostates who return not to the heart,²⁷³ but who would perhaps be converted if they were hit hard. Otherwise, why else does the shepherd carry his staff, except to ward off the wolves; for what other reason does the judge bear a sword, unless to threaten transgressors; it is useless for the priest to have received the keys of the church, were he not to eject unworthy ones.²⁷⁴ Now, I speak of these things particularly to you, my brethren, since that wickedness was directed against us (I say) and our exiles and proscrip people. Consequently, exaction of justice from our adversaries must be made without delay.

It is customarily proper that weakness or indifference be tolerated rather than out-and-out malice. Therefore, because our duty renders this imperative, it appears to me that from now on we must proceed in this way. We must no longer sleep so that together with our spouse

272 Cf. Cant. 2, 15.

273 Cf. Isaias 46, 8.

274 Matt. 16, 18-19.

we might catch the foxes that destroy the vines.²⁷⁵ Together with our beloved let us arise from the couch, let us go forth into the field, let us abide in the villages, and let us work in the vineyards, according to the words of the spouse, 'Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us abide in the villages. Let us get up early to the vineyards.'²⁷⁶ For the work of a spouse perishes, has no value, if it does not have the help of the beloved. Therefore, o beloved, if you agree, let us rise, let us go forth, and let us labor, tearing up with our prophetic rake,²⁷⁷ destroying and scattering the harmful weeds, lest through our sloth or negligence they increase further and cause harm, and outgrow the whole garden of the Lord. Otherwise, we shall be condemned of sloth and negligence by the Master of the garden; just as the slothful and negligent gardeners.²⁷⁸ Let us act as the Master of the garden instructed one of his gardeners, to whom he had committed the care of his garden: 'Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms, to root up, and

275 Cant. 2, 15.

276 Ibid. 7, 11-12.

277 Isaias 7, 25.

278 Cf. Matt. 21, 33-40.

to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.²⁷⁹

Surely, my brethren, you, as men well-versed in the Scriptures and knowing well the examples of many fathers, you are in a better position than I to know what ought to be done in these and in similar circumstances. Nevertheless, I am telling you what I think, as my conscience dictates. Moreover, in order to add now to my previous remarks, among other considerations, the following thought occurs to me. If we wish to be imitators of Him Whose disciples we are, according to the example of that Samaritan of the gospel, who was a true guardian and physician; to cure the wounds of sins we should first pour in the oil, and afterwards the wine,²⁸⁰ if this is still necessary. Consequently, first the most soothing oil of lenience should be applied, since this is especially potent in the healing of wounds. This means that our Lord the King should first be met with every meekness and humility. Perhaps, this way his anger and indignation being satiated now with our misfortunes, he might regard us with the kindness of a king, because of our lowly condition."

279 Jer. 1, 10.

280 Cf. Luke 10, 33.

After this case was set forth by the archbishop, his proposal was agreeable to us, that is, to as many of us who approved of the suggestions offered.

(16) The outcome of the first mission to the king

One of the abbots of the Cistercian order belonging to the monastery at Pontigny by special jurisdiction was commissioned with the archbishop's message. This abbot's name was Urban and he was really urbane; Urban in name and urbane in both character and speech.²⁸¹ Certainly, only such a one was fitted for the execution of so important an assignment. Consequently, this monk was sent, bearing to his majesty the king a most persuasive document in the name of the archbishop, one that was merely an entreaty, not a threat or reproach. To achieve his purpose, the archbishop had searched for suitable words, soft and peaceful ones, and composed the mildest sounding sentences, ones that would be most likely to soften the heart of the king. Several days went by and the messenger returned. In reply to our kind words, in lieu of our gentle and peaceable ones, he reported nothing but bitterness, harshness, and more trouble, the feelings of the king were so set against us.

²⁸¹ Note the play on words here in the name Urban.

The second meeting and its issue

Nevertheless, the archbishop did not refrain from contacting the king yet a second time through this same messenger. He enjoined his envoy to speak harsher words, no longer the mild ones as previously.²⁸² He also addressed a letter to his majesty worded with somewhat greater severity, in which the archbishop admonished the king, but still in a spirit of lenience and mildness. This time, too, the courier returned in a very short time. In this second mission he likewise reported back that neither the archbishop's verbal nor written messages were of any avail. Upon hearing this, fully realizing now that he would accomplish nothing by kindness and mercy, in a spirit of justice and zeal, in burning indignation, the archbishop wrote a third letter. In this one he used strong and stern expressions. Now, not as before, rebuking the king patiently, but taking him to task severely, as, since it was his duty as bishop, he set down his arguments with all authority.

²⁸² Note that in this case, the message brought to the king was both verbal and written.

He was like a disciple of the true Samaritan, who first pours in the oil, and afterwards the wine.²⁸³ He was also like the scriptural animal depicted by the prophet,²⁸⁴ having the face of a man and the face of a lion, and in this same regard, he followed his master: "If anyone," said the master, "be overtaken in any fault, you, who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness."²⁸⁵ In another place, instructing his disciple in the obligation of his episcopal office, he said, "But the servant of the Lord must not wrangle: but be mild . . . with modesty admonishing them that resist the truth."²⁸⁶ See his mild spirit and unassuming disposition! In still another place he himself again says to his disciple, "Wherefore," he said, "rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith."²⁸⁷ Note first the mildness and modesty, then observe how stern a reproof is given! This is the Samaritan's oil and wine; these are the evangelical semblances in the prophet,--the image of a man and the image of a lion;

283 Cf. Luke 10, 33.

284 Cf. Ezech. 1, 10.

285 Gal. 6, 1.

286 2 Tim. 2, 24-25.

287 Titus 1, 13.

this is the ecclesiastical discipline, and the strictness of the church law. In order that infection may not set in, the tumor of arrogance is lanced with a knife.

This is why, then, our doctor of the Church, I refer to the archbishop, resorting to this method, proceeded in the following manner. For this more difficult task now, one strictly religious man was chosen because of his extraordinary piety, a man ragged and poor, always walking barefoot: for which reason he was named "discalced." Girard was his real name, a man constantly aspiring for death and living his earthly days with resignation. His greatest solicitude ever was to reconcile those at variance. Therefore, only such a one would be suited to carry out this mission. In fact, with such men there is usually a certain freedom in confidently speaking the words of God and of doing many great things, inasmuch as the inspiration of the Lord works in them. This man was sent, therefore; and besides the letter he carried, the archbishop also entrusted to him a personal message from himself. He was commissioned and another monk was to accompany him.

These messengers carried out their injunctions faithfully, but not even they were able to achieve any success. Rather, having laid down stricter measures even much harsher than in the previous missions, they returned with much harsher responses than ever before.

(17) The archbishop is checked
by the still incorrigible king

The archbishop, hearing how matters stood, began to be troubled and sorrowful,²⁸⁸ realizing now that the king's animosity would not relent towards himself by either one means or another. Even that Christian king Louis and many princes of other lands had made repeated attempts to appease the king. But neither these influential men, nor even the archbishop's own messengers, were able to accomplish anything by either exercising gentleness on one occasion or greater severity on another later occasion. In fact, the pride of them that hate us ascends continually.²⁸⁹ Thereupon, the deeply disturbed archbishop began to call upon the Lord more fervently, to spend more time in prayer, to fast, and to continually grieve over the king, seeing that he remained adamant to all these efforts.

So, he was in a dilemma when he noted this great disorder in the Church, and that the king's disposition remained unchanged. On the one hand, he was anxious to be

288 Mark 14, 33; John 14, 21.

289 Ps. 73, 23.

relieved of the care and obligation that falls to a bishop, and on the other, he felt an eagerness to persevere in behalf of the cause of the Church which he had undertaken to protect. After a great deal of debating with himself, he finally summoned his learned followers to discuss this problem with them. He barely mentioned the fact that he intended to resign his position, when, scandalized at the very thought of it, they unanimously exclaimed that he ought rather to die than to desert and in this way to die in the Lord's battle even before the fight.²⁹⁰ Being men versed in spiritual matters, they pointed out the many reasons for which an archbishop is sometimes permitted to transfer from see to see, or even to resign altogether. But, they argued, there was no such reason here; on the contrary, it would be a shameful scandal for posterity. This action was compared to that of the man at the prow of a ship who, becoming cowardly distraught in the face of the fierce winds of a storm abandons his ship in the midst of the waters. Or just as a pusillanimous prince who has set out for battle, but when he sees the tents of the enemies, becomes thoroughly terrified and flees alone to save himself, thereby dooming the line of camp; although

290 Cf. 1 Mac. 3, 59.

he himself had been prepared to hold his stand bravely. Therefore, as our learned men usually exhort us in their customary wisdom,--this was no time for fleeing but for strong opposition, particularly since only the life of the Church was being attacked by the enemies, the position of the clergy defamed and its independence destroyed.

Because the archbishop grieved over his king who had been contacted in this way and remained unreasonably unflinching, his men gave the following advice. Continuing in the same example of his own long-suffering, he should try to soften the heart of the king, although he had still been unable to effect any change in him by his words. When nothing else changes the heart of an irate man and turns him to charity, then let this be accomplished by the determination to suffer longer in patience in behalf of the angered one.

The archbishop, convinced from the forceful and sound advice of his learned men, now no longer contemplated the desertion of his pastoral post but rather considered carrying out the necessary steps in a brave spirit of determination as soon as possible. Then, mustering up courage and taking heart, he no longer thinks about flight nor about rest, but only about his responsibility and struggle. After some inner reflection, he decided, after all previous

measures, to threaten with his bishop's authority²⁹¹ the king who had not been affected by the more lenient chastisement of his rod of correction.²⁹²

So, he pondered within himself and made plans, but he neither expressed this decision to his learned associates, nor did he make any definite conclusions from their suggestions. He then acted with great care and earnestness, sparing his own followers in this procedure, lest those who by following him had already incurred the bitter anger of the king on this account, might inadvertently bring upon themselves a deeper and more lasting hatred if they should give such advice against the king. This might militate, not necessarily against the will of the king, but to their own disadvantage.²⁹³ Hence, he meditated along these lines within himself, not discussing this idea with his own men, not consulting them beforehand, intending to strike (as we said) with the crozier of more severe castigation his own

291 This is probably the figurative idea of the crozier of the bishop used to represent his authority; baculus would then mean crozier.

292 The figure continues in this same passage wherein rod (virga) represents the milder reproofs Thomas had used in his messages to the king.

293 Utilitati in this sentence is ambiguous; it might be used with the king or Thomas' men. It is translated in the latter sense.

king and son, who hitherto had been insensible to the touch of the rod. Perhaps by some chance, after the chastisement with the crozier, he might be dissuaded from his erring ways. I reiterate, then, he reflected interiorly in this manner, yet he was still doubtful and hesitant about what should be done about this situation. For he was not, as we said, willing to make this deduction from that consultation with his own men because of the aforementioned reason, nor did he wish to seek their advice.

Therefore, deliberating in silence within himself for some time, he was wavering one way and another, irresolute and hesitant. He had certainly read this statement in the law, "And the prince of thy people thou shalt not curse,"²⁹⁴ and that of the sinner king, "To thee only have I sinned."²⁹⁵ Truly, the king sins only to God. For, as one of the doctors and leaders of the Church teaches about that quotation, "If anyone of the common people should err, he sins to God and to the king; but the king does not have a man who will judge his deeds."²⁹⁶

294 Exod. 22, 28.

295 Ps. 50, 6.

296 Exact source unknown. Probably by Saint Augustine.

He had read similar expressions in the law and in the psalmist; he had also read many other accounts which learned and experienced teachers of the Church had set down regarding such cases. One of them said, "Correction that is made by many cannot be salutary unless the one corrected has many friends."²⁹⁷ Likewise, "When anyone of the brethren has been in some such sin, that he is regarded as worthy of anathema, let him be where there is no danger of schism."²⁹⁸ He had read these sayings and other statements in this same vein.

As we have said before, there was in the Church of Rome at this period a serious schism caused by that noted emperor Frederick and the noble Octavian, the anti-pope, at that time separated from the Church and resulting in schism. Therefore, at that time, without a grave reason did it appear the provocation for a still greater and serious schism if the sword of the word would be unsheathed against such a powerful ruler, I mean against the king of England. He who was of so youthful an age, so splendidly governed so much territory on this and the other side of

297 Saint Augustine, Contra litteras Parmeniani, iii, 13-4.

298 Source unknown.

the sea. This baring of the sword might cause separation from the Church since it was possible that the king being so strongly influenced because of his youth, might easily cross over to the enemy factions of the Church. In addition to all these reasons, there was a possibility that the authority of the Apostolic See would be seriously imperiled on this account. This (as we said) could easily happen, whatever plan or connivance he himself might decide upon, since that very act might aggravate the king completely. They advised the following modes of action: namely, that he replace his own sword, and not to strike with the bishop's crozier.

However, from the opposite faction, they were talking of other measures; that is, they were urging him to use the sword even to the shedding of blood,²⁹⁹ and to strike with his staff. For, as he had heard in the law a point we mentioned above, namely, "And the prince of thy people thou shalt not curse."³⁰⁰ He had likewise read in the law that the leaders of the synagogue were known to be much more sinful than those others who were compelled to

299 The shedding of blood by means of the sword is used in a figurative sense here, not literal.

300 Exod. 22, 28. Cf. Note 294.

remain outside the synagogue; by no means did it mean to curse the prince. This was forbidden by law, but then excommunication was a much severer kind of disciplinary punishment. Just as in those days, so now, to speak anathema against the prince, which the law forbids, means to control with disciplinary measures the prince as a son of the Church, and as one wounded and torn by thieves might, through the ministrations of the Samaritan, have his wound lanced with the knife that it might not become infected.

He had also read in the prophet, "Woe to me," he said, "because I have held my peace."³⁰¹ To himself alone the prophet says, "Woe," that is, that he did not reprimand the king Achab by that very authority which he should have used, nor did he compel him in virtue of the power given to him. For, as we have inferred above, because the king who was an adulterer and murderer had proclaimed to God, "To thee alone have I sinned,"³⁰² he did not for that reason say that at that time the power of compulsion against kings was taken away from the prophets and from the priests of the synagogue. This is why he admonished the king for his sin; on that account, he said,

301 Isaias 6, 5.

302 Ps. 50, 6. Cf. Note 295.

"To thee alone," speaking to God, because both kings and prophets represented the authority of the Lord, and were themselves as though the Lord Himself, Whose vicars they were. Hence, they themselves administer punishment; this punishment is of God alone, the application of which belongs to us. And just as in the past, so also now, even if the Church or the priest should punish the king, yet God alone is said to be the one punishing. For he who performs the function of the Lord on earth is the one who punishes, he who on earth was given as God to the people, according to that saying of the Lord to Moses, "Behold, I have appointed thee the God of Pharaoh."³⁰³ The priests, too, it is found, are called gods very frequently. He had read this in the law and in the prophet, and similarly throughout various places of the scriptures in regard to the admonition of kings.

So now, not so much by divine examples, but let us consider the examples of the early Fathers of the Church and others. He had heard and had read of a similar case--namely, of that leader of the Church, so learned, so keen-minded, and such a famous doctor, Ambrose, who had excommunicated Theodosius the great emperor and had barred him

303 Exod. 7, 1.

from the Church.³⁰⁴ Not looking for instances from afar, however, he had also heard that Ivo of blessed memory, bishop of Chartres, who just like an armory of the Scriptures in our times, spread the light of knowledge to his own flock and made himself a salutary influence among them. He had heard (I say), that this bishop had excommunicated king Philip of the Franks and excluded him entirely from the Church.

The archbishop had read and heard both the former and the latter cases. For this reason, then, hemmed in by the first and the second course of action, he feared above all else, that, if he should remain silent, woe to himself; but if he should speak, there was danger of schism. He was not afraid of what was mentioned above contrary to his intentions, seeing that he was versed in the Scriptures himself; but above all else, he feared this more seriously, that is, the danger of schism. Nevertheless, revolving the first and second viewpoints in his mind in this way, he finally concluded that his own king, his own son and lord, whom he had known more truly and more intimately from their long and familiar contact, would never be a son of schism but of peace. He also believed that no matter

³⁰⁴ Cf. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, A.D. 390, 2-30.

how bitterly the king threatened by his speech, yet he would never tear open the womb of his own mother the Church in order to throw himself out. Thinking in this wise (I say), he firmly determined in his own heart that he would chastise him with his bishop's authority, so that, by some chance, the one wandering and transgressing justice might return. However, (as we said above) he was still afraid that his own Church of Rome, which is at the head of all, might evict him by her authority since he himself had applied every means of justice. He was afraid of this, but nevertheless, whatever the Church of Rome would do as a mother and mistress, she exacted greater satisfaction in following the duty of her office rather than to leave evil-doing unpunished by her own silence and dissimulation, thus condoning transgressions. Thinking (and rightly so) he must least of all demand the blood of the impious, even though greater power might come from this demand, yet it might affect the accomplishment of the work of justice.

Therefore, by the dictates of his own conscience, (as he himself disclosed to me), upon its insistence on this course of action of which we have spoken, he maintained the most firm ecclesiastical discipline against the king in his own mind. Otherwise, it seemed to him that the shepherd of the gospel bore his staff without justification,

and the ecclesiastical judge without cause the sword, and the priest of the Lord had received the keys of the Church to no purpose,³⁰⁵ except that he had this authority and power as beritting those who are obliged to admit or exclude anyone from the Church.

When he had decided upon his future course, he determined that it be done not covertly, not secretly, but publicly and solemnly, since our cause and the public scandal of the opposite side was already known throughout the whole Church. He set out for that famous place named Vezelay, and at that celebrated season close upon the specially prominent feast of the Church. This was the feast day of the blessed Mary Magdalen, in whose honor the church was built, and whose body rested there in glory. For this reason, also, many nations traveled to this church from different kingdoms for the festive day.

At that famous and festive season, then, we came to that renowned place, one day's travel from our lodging-place at the monastery of Pontigny. We started out and arrived the day before the feast. The reason for our visit to this place was unknown to those of us who accompanied him (for he did not inform us of his intention, which we

305 Matt. 16, 18-19.

have spoken about above.) We were under the impression that he had gone only because of the feast day celebration. But the following day, that is, on the feast day, after the celebration of a public Mass requested by the abbot and the convent, he ascended the pulpit at the end of the gospel and gave the people an eloquent sermon from which much fruit could be drawn. Finally, he revealed, in the hearing of the people, the reason of the disagreement between himself and the king; how grievously and harshly he himself and his own people were treated; how the king even contacted so many times was not repentant but all the more obstinate. He recommended to their prayers the cause of the Church, himself, and all of his followers. Thereupon, in the hearing of all and to their astonishment, extremely saddened, in a sorrowful voice and with sincerest sympathy he sent out an edict against Henry, king of England, threatening him by name.

We, the companions of his struggle, hearing this announcement so unexpectedly, were stupefied by the fact that it was made without consulting us. He, himself, however, soon pointed out to us, that he hid this from us with all forethought and wisdom, because of the above-mentioned reason, stating why he had done this without consulting us. But this act was soon spread abroad throughout all the lands

by the many and various nations who had gathered together for the feast day and who had heard this edict with their own ears. It most surely came to the ears of the king. The king, and everyone else with him, were very deeply disturbed over this, and not without good reason,--but about this there is no time either to speak or to write.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister M. Benetta Luomas, C.S.C. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classical Languages.

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

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

January 20, 1950
Date

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Signature of Adviser

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE
LIFE OF ST. THOMAS BECKET
BY HERBERT BOSHAM

(Part Three)

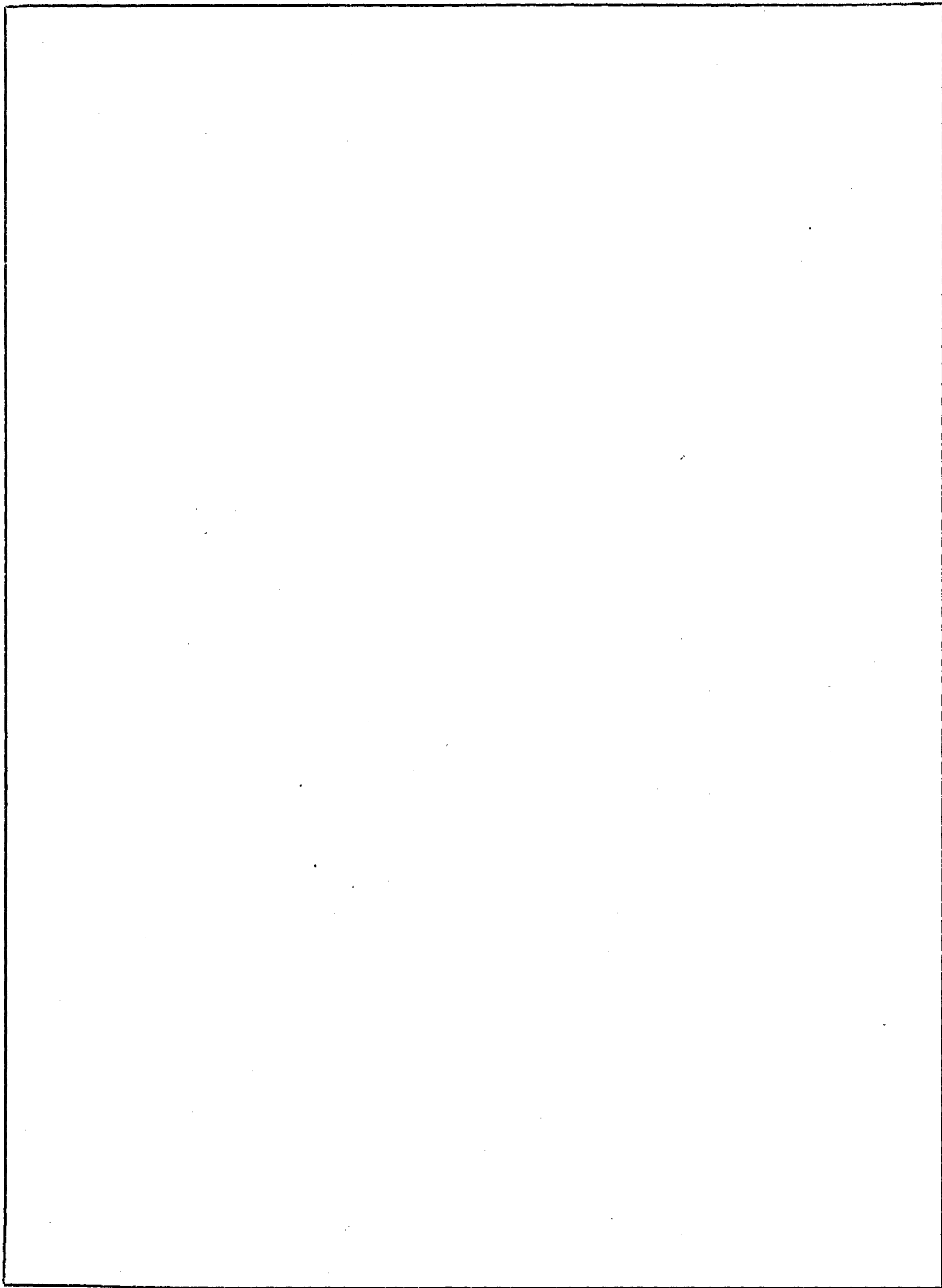
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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Master
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February

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PREFACE

The present work is a continuation of a series of translations begun in the Classics Department of the Graduate School of Loyola University. The text for this section comprises pages 318-392, chapters 1 to 17, Book IV of the life of Saint Thomas Becket written by Herbert of Bosham, in Volume III of the Rolls Series entitled Materials for the History of Thomas Becket. This series was edited by James Craigie Robertson, Canon of Canterbury, and published in 1877.

Robertson compiled the Latin text from two manuscripts,--the Oxford Ms., found in the library of Corpus Christi College, and the Arras Ms., found in the Public Library at Arras. Of these two the Arras manuscript is the more perfect, although both are defective since a number of passages have been lost from each of them. The editor had recourse to the Phillipps collection of manuscripts which contained some of the material missing from the Arras manuscript.¹

¹ J. C. Robertson, Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, (London: Longman & Co., 1877), III, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

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INTRODUCTION

The author whose work is being translated in this series of the lives of Saint Thomas Becket is Herbert of Bosham. Presumably, as his name indicates, he was a native of Bosham which is in Sussex, England. The date of his birth is unknown. However, from all indications, it appears that he may have been of approximately the same age as his lord, the archbishop, or possibly only a few years younger. A very much younger man would not presume to advise and admonish his master in such strong terms as Herbert had done on more than one occasion. The date given for Thomas Becket's birth is 1118.¹ We may reasonably assume, then, that this might serve as an approximate date for Herbert's birth.

Herbert's father became a priest, probably in his later life, since Herbert refutes a statement in which he was maliciously labeled as a "priest's son."² No in-

1 John Morris, Life and Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket (London: Burns and Oates, 1885), p. 6.

2 James Craigie Robertson, Becket--A Biography (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1859), p. 178.

formation is given concerning his mother. Nothing more seems known about his childhood or youth. However, a good part of his life must have been spent in the archbishop's service, since his name is linked with the prelate's in all the biographies of the saint. Already in the early years of Thomas Becket's promotion to the episcopacy, Herbert was known to be in attendance with the archbishop.³

The whole of the rest of his life, most of which he spent abroad, was devoted to the service of his master even after Thomas' death. It is stated by some writers that late in life he became archbishop of Benevento or Cosenza or Compsa.⁴ There is no definite evidence of this, however. The time and place of Herbert's death have not been ascertained.

A very picturesque description of Herbert's outward appearance and proud character is given by William Fitzstephen in his narrative of Thomas' biography. Herbert is depicted as tall and handsome, wearing a coat of green cloth of Auxerre, with a cloak of the same material

3 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 186.

4 Ibid., III, p. xx.

hanging down to his heels "after the fashion of the Germans," with matching ornaments.⁵ On this same occasion, Herbert is said to have departed himself in a proud and haughty manner.⁶ His pride and vanity are also discernible in the style and tone of his own writings. A headstrong determination and inflexible will are reflected in the advice and admonitions given by him to the archbishop. But one of the dominant characteristics of the author clearly perceptible throughout the whole of this biography is Herbert's love and loyalty to his master.

His writings as far as is known were the life of Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and the Liber Melorum.⁷ The life of Saint Thomas was probably written about fourteen years after the archbishop's martyrdom, according to his own words. He makes mention of the fact that he is writing the biography of the saint through the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth years after the murder of the archbishop. This would set the date for this work to about 1187.⁸

5 Ibid., III, pp. 99-101.

6 Ibid., loc. cit.

7 Ibid., p. xxiii-xxv.

8 Ibid., III, p. 192; p. 497; p. 461.

The style of the biography makes it extremely wearisome reading because of the author's constant repetitions and commentaries. So much so, in fact, that it frequently becomes troublesome to follow the narrative.

He continually digresses into long discourses which are quite beside the subject, and in themselves are mere nothingness; and when he has tried the reader's patience with tedious superfluities of this kind, he often spends a further space in vindicating his diffuseness and in telling us that we ought to be thankful for it.⁹

There has been some doubt about the authenticity of the speeches supposedly given by the archbishop and other speakers. It is more likely that the author attributed his own thoughts to these speakers in his fondness for long and prolix passages.

Nor is he content with indulging in such digressions, or with reporting speeches in the same style as having been made by himself but he puts similar orations, long, dull, and unmeaning, into the mouths of others, as in the instance of the speeches ascribed to the archbishop and his companions at pp. 362-373, which, we may be very sure, were never made by the persons to whom they are assigned.¹⁰

Countless Scriptural references and analogies recur throughout this whole biographical sketch. In fact, some of these references could not be located because of the changes he made in the original Latin text. Other

9 Ibid., III, p. xxiv.

10 Ibid., loc. cit.

references were difficult to find because of the extremely vague allusions he made to their sources.

Herbert appears to have had in mind the portrayal of a close parallel between Christ as depicted in the gospels and that of his master, Thomas Becket. This analogy too often becomes artificially overdone. Here and there the comparisons are noticeably studied and even exaggerated.

However, it must be conceded that there is a great deal of historical value in this biography by Herbert of Bosham. Having been the archbishop's constant companion, he must certainly have been a witness and even participant in many of Thomas' experiences and trials. Hence, his eye-witness accounts of these incidents are in all likelihood accurate and trustworthy. We may also gather from numerous references in his own writings that he was in the archbishop's confidence, which fact also contributes much to the documentary value of his writing. Comparisons of several biographers of the saint reveal that there are many incidents in Thomas' life recorded only by Herbert.

All in all, a more sympathetic biography of the archbishop of Canterbury will probably never be written, notwithstanding the fact that it is so lengthy and repe-

titious. Herbert was a loyal servant, a helpful confidante, and most loving biographer of the martyr bishop, Thomas Becket. A touching tribute is given him by Speaight in his St. Thomas of Canterbury:

He had been with Thomas through all his temptations and sufferings, but he now feared that he would not share his glory. Such diffidence is in the nature of good and simple men; and we need not doubt that Herbert now sits at the right hand of his master.¹¹

¹¹ Robert Speaight, St. Thomas of Canterbury (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), p. 213.

LIFE OF SAINT THOMAS

BOOK IV

(1) The flight of Thomas and its
evangelical character

After he laid aside the stole which he customarily wore over his shoulders designating the yoke of the bishop assumed solemnly and voluntarily, as we have previously pointed out,¹ Thomas fled, by this very flight proving that he was no longer able to discharge his episcopal duties unhampered, being under such great pressure. He fled, therefore, removing his stole, taking with him in his flight nothing but that insignia of the metropolitan bishops called the pallium and his official seal. With neither scrip, nor bread, nor money in his purse,² but with only his cappa over his hair shirt, he followed

1 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 195.

2 Mark 6, 8.

Jesus.³ He followed, I repeat, Jesus, Who also at one time went into exile,⁴ but Who later in His life offered Himself up fearlessly.⁵ So, in order to give an example of flight to His own followers on earth, Jesus, the Shepherd of sheep, fled; and after his Master, Paul, the greatest of teachers, went into exile;⁶ and, if we look for even earlier examples of fugitives, Jacob fled,⁷ Moses, too;⁸ as also did Elias,⁹--all obeying that command of Our Lord concerning flight: "If they shall have persecuted you in one city, flee into another."¹⁰

Thomas went into exile, therefore, so that he might fulfill the injunction of the Lord, having consideration, in this flight, for the king whom he yet loved;

3 Morris in his book, Life and Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, p. 187, interprets this previous passage: "His last preparation had been to take off his stole, which he had constantly worn since his consecration; and he took nothing with him except his pallium and his archiepiscopal seal. He wore his usual cappa, and his hair shirt next to his skin was his armour."

4 Matt. 2, 13.

5 John 18, 11; Luke 22, 53.

6 Acts 14, 50-51; et al.

7 Osee 12, 12; Gen. 31, 22.

8 Exod. 2, 15

9 3 Kings 19, 3. 10 Matt. 10, 23.

also for his own benefit, in order to assuage the anger of the king and to keep his hands free from guile. The wise man says, "For the wrath of a king is as messengers of death: and the wise man will pacify it."¹¹ It is not necessary, then, to make apology for this flight, which was not that of a hireling¹² but of a shepherd who, it is evident, was being sought for personal reasons. There was another reason for this self-inflicted exile; namely, if he remained and stood his ground against the king, he would sooner cause his own death than secure a guarantee for his life, adding grief to grief.¹³

In this same manner, the disciple of the master Paul, namely, Apollo, whom he had ordained bishop of the Corinthians, left the very ones over whom he had been recently placed in charge, because he had been powerless to conciliate them.¹⁴ Even after being earnestly besought by his own master, he had been unwilling to return to his people, fearful that his return would be of no avail if

11 Prov. 16, 14.

12 John 10, 13.

13 Cf. Jeremias 45, 3; Ps. 68, 67.

14 1 Cor. 16, 12.

they remained obstinate. In regard to him the master said to the Corinthians, "And touching Apollo, I give you to understand, that I much entreated him to come unto you: and indeed it was not his will at all to come at this time."¹⁵

In this fashion and for a like reason time and again many other shepherds, who were good men, have either completely separated from the flock once entrusted to them, or were transferred from place to place wherever they felt they were able to offer more useful service. And so there is no apology necessary for this flight; on the contrary, more blameworthy was the desertion of those provincial bishops who remained.

15 Loc. cit.

About spiritual flight in which the shepherd does not desert his flock, but the hireling

In reality those who stayed behind fled, for no one will deny that those bishops were really deserters who crossed over to the enemies' side, abandoning in the day of battle their archbishop, leader of his army. They fled in actuality just as the sons of Effrem, who, in the very act of bending and shooting their bow (when they were prepared for battle before war and were promising assistance), turned back in the day of battle.¹⁶ They were present, certainly, in the body and in the flesh, but they deserted in spirit, hiding under the bushel of fear the weapons of their military spirit and the lamp of truth,¹⁷ when they ought to have risen up against the principalities and powers of this world¹⁸ from the opposing camp, and should have risen up in battle to protect the house of Israel in the day of the Lord. But even the soldier of the Lord carries his sword in vain, for, as we have

16 Ps. 77, 9.

17 Cf. Matt. 5, 12.

18 Cf. Ephes. 6, 12.

already said, he hides his sword under the bushel of fear and flees, although he does this not in the body, but in spirit.¹⁹ This flight, not the corporeal one, but the spiritual one, is always inexcusable; namely, that which fear of the world or its love effects in hireling servants.

There are some ministers of the Lord who daily chant and read in resplendent golden temples of God and midst gilded altars, yet they flee; who, luxuriantly bedecked in gold and gems, amid throngs of attendants, feast and drink from day to day, and yet they flee; who take their rest without a care under their own fig-tree and in their own vineyard;²⁰ and yet they flee; by such desertion they gain the favor of princes and the glory of the world. Woe to our generation,--I speak of the ministers of the altar,--away with this leaven,²¹ with this kind of cowardice! Nor is he necessarily an enemy who rises up from the camp of the enemy. These men, to be sure, join psalms to psalms, prayers with prayers, and Masses with Masses and they hear them daily somewhat regularly, and, of course,

19 1 Cor. 15, 3.

20 Cf. 3 Kings 4, 25.

21 Cf. Matt. 16, 6, 11; Mark 8, 15.

the needy. But these deeds, surely, are common to all Christians, why, even the Jews and the pagans do these things.²² Yet that exalted episcopal position under the title of bishop shuns mutual intercourse with ordinary men.

The following is said to be required in the name of the bishops, in virtue of their duty. Their prerogative it is to constantly censure, to reprove, to threaten in season and out of season, to fight when the occasion demands, or to oppose the powers of earth. Theirs must be the steep ascent, and this their proper pastoral burden. Such is that excellence of the priestly title of bishop, such is the rank of bishops, such is that great privilege of their most distinguished station in the Church, by virtue of which they are obliged to excel the ordinary layman and ought to rise above us because they are placed above us and in charge of us. These same bishops, as we have already said, are equals with the rest of their inferiors in fastings, in vigils, in almsgiving, in petitions, in prayers, and other works of piety or of religion; namely, such acts which are not strictly the duties of bishops, but which are common to all Christians. But, alas, how

22 Cf. Matt. 5, 47.

very many are there of this type? Even if they perform their duties, nevertheless, in this season of the test of their courage they hide their weapons. They are the ones who, while they look for earthly comforts, while they flatter and cajole for honors, or seek higher positions through a spirit of ambition, deny that they are in opposition for fear they might lose what they love or that they might not attain what they seek after. This is the reason, surely, why our present Church is being stricken by that threat of the Lord, expressed through His prophet, "I shall take away from Jerusalem and from Juda," he says, "the valiant and the strong."²³ This fact another prophet, as the representative of the synagogue lamented in his own Threnodies,--lamented, indeed, not the destruction of the walls or of the stones of the temple, but the dearth of heroes. "He has taken away," he says, "all my mighty men out of the midst of me."²⁴ This was only predicted long ago, but now has been fully brought to pass today in Juda and Jerusalem. Few are the great-souled, few the strong and brave men; nay, rather, all are cowards, turning their backs, all fleeing; who, in their flight, aspire for such things which

23 Isaias 3, 1.

24 Lament. 1, 15.

Thomas in his flight spurned. Their manner of flight surely was not that of our fleeing Thomas. In fact, so different was it, that in his flight Thomas could truly proclaim along the way that portion of the versicle in the psalm: "Flight hath failed me: and there is no one that hath regard to my soul."²⁵ For, realizing that there should be a time for each act and that there should be a time for fleeing and that there should be a time for going forth bravely,²⁶ he fled first but later faced his enemies, as the issue of his flight and the death of the man will show.

Praiseworthy, therefore, was this flight of Thomas, and great the trust of the one fleeing, thinking nothing of the morrow,²⁷ carrying naught with him on his way beyond the faith of the Crucified and poverty, although he had been, as has been sufficiently shown above, nourished on the most choice delicacies. Thomas is then driven as a refugee throughout the entire British land, bounded on every side by the ocean, from which departure was difficult, especially since everything appeared suspicious to the exile, as one who was everywhere now considered as a public enemy.

25 Ps. 141, 5.

26 Cf. Eccles. 3, 1-8.

27 Cf. Matt. 6, 34.

But let us digress for a little while from the narrative of the journey of the fugitive and from his departure. We shall relate first, how on the following day, that is, Wednesday,²⁸ his flight already being discovered, the nobles and bishops went into council against the Lord and against His anointed one.

²⁸ October 14, 1164.

(2) The transactions of the council after the flight of the archbishop was divulged

With the dawn of the following morning and after the flight of Thomas was made public, the bishops and nobles met in conference. Exceedingly angered, the king consulted this assembly about what should be done. It was unanimously agreed that the older bishops, particularly those who had pledged themselves to the king, (as we have mentioned above)²⁹ should go to the Roman Pontiff and accuse Thomas of disrupting the order of his kingdom and the clergy and also to charge him with perjury.

In the meantime, all of the archbishop's possessions were to be left intact until the delegation would return with the decision of the Pope. Hence, in a proclamation of the king, it was announced by his herald that no one was to disturb any of the archbishop's household or his goods and that none of his property be confiscated, but that everything belonging to Thomas remain intact. In fact, they suggested this course of action, feeling confident that this would cause greater harm to the archbishop

29 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 308.

and that they would more conveniently justify their own position. Moreover, they felt that they would seriously hinder any sympathy towards the archbishop. It is evident that, despite the fact that he had rashly and shamefully aggravated the king, and that without any consideration he had thrown into confusion the concord of the kingdom and the harmony of the clergy, and also that he had abandoned his own church foolishly and inconsiderately by his nocturnal flight; yet the archbishop himself, after all this, was enjoying the benefits of the royal favor through the benevolence of the king. By these wiles, then, the bishops leagued secretly³⁰ and prepared this snare for the fugitive.

Therefore, the following set out on their way at once: Roger, then archbishop of York; Gilbert, bishop of London at that time; Roger, bishop of Worcester; Hilary, bishop of Chichester; and Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. In addition to these men and accompanying them for the purpose of providing evidence, there were dispatched a number of royal ecclesiastics and certain other distinguished and famous men from the king's own court.

The king, entrusting his messages to the above-named men, wrote to Louis of pious memory, then king of

30 Cf. Ps. 10, 8.

France, also to the noble count Philip of Flanders, complaining and intimating that Thomas, his former archbishop of Canterbury, (at any rate, such was the purport of the letter) fled like a traitor from his own realm, and requesting them not to receive him into their countries. And so this whole entourage was dispatched.

But, before anything else, the journey of the fleeing Thomas is worthy of special note as a model of humility.

(3) His itinerary in flight

As we have said, flying secretly by night and taking with himself as a guide for the journey one of the brothers of the order from Sempringham, Thomas set out in a northern direction towards that celebrated city called Lincoln. Keeping in mind the need of caution he took the by-paths, avoiding the thoroughfare, so that in this way he might more safely escape his pursuers if any were sent after him, and thus, too, he would evade their snares. That night he came to the village Graham, about twenty-five miles from Northampton. There he took a short nap, and continuing his way on the following day, he arrived at Lincoln, again a distance of about twenty-five miles. Here he was a guest at the home of a certain fuller.

Embarking here on the river which ran through the city, he sailed about forty miles to a certain isolated location in the middle of this river. This place is called the Hermitage and belongs to that holy congregation of monks from Sempringham. Because of the seclusion of the site and on account of its inaccessibility, being surrounded by water, he remained in hiding here for three

days in greater security, at the same time renewing his strength for the journey ahead of him. One day, when the brother who attended him noticed the archbishop sitting alone at table partaking of his simple fare, he was unable to refrain from tears, so deeply moved was he. Immediately he retired that his profuse weeping might not disturb the man of God at his holy meal.

From this Hermitage he went to St. Botulf ten miles away; and thence by water he traveled to a place called Haverolot belonging to the same previously mentioned congregation of monks. But the following night he was directing his way eastward to Kent where he would very easily be recognized by the people in this vicinity from his appearance. He continued his journey by night, then, but in daylight he kept himself concealed. He covered this part of his itinerary in eight nights [of the days],³¹ and afterwards arrived in Kent near the village Eastry, situated beyond the river where he intended to cross. Leaving this place, the more cautiously he continued his flight, the less perilous would be his progress, because

³¹ He probably remained in hiding during the day and traveled only at night, thus completing eight days of travel.

this was the section adjoining the site of the monastery of his own metropolitan seat, being only eight miles away from Canterbury.

The future light of the world³² remained in hiding in this village for eight days until All Souls' Day.³³ But on All Souls' Day which was Tuesday, the twenty-fifth day from that Tuesday, from that day of Mars on which he had contended with his enemies at Northampton,³⁴ towards dawn, steering clear of every vessel, he set sail in a little boat. About eventide he alighted on that shore which is well-known to the people of that place as Oye in Boulogne--one league away from the harbor named Grave-lines.

Our man of God continued his way on foot as long as he could possibly endure this wearisome mode of travel, but he was able to go on for only a very short distance. The reason for this extreme weakness was the fact that, when he had been crossing in that small vessel, a "skiff," as we call it, he had been tossed about considerably by

32 Cf. John 9, 5.

33 Dies Animarum (Day of Souls). This was the term used for All Souls' Day, November 2.

34 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 301.

the ever-swelling waves of the sea, and thus became completely exhausted after this sea voyage. So, after walking only a short way, he sat down on the ground, unable to go any further. He then said to the brothers accompanying him, "I shall not move from this spot unless I am carried by you or unless you find some conveyance for me." They searched and finally found a donkey for him which they hired for one piece of silver, but this animal had no bridle, only a halter around its neck. And they placed their own garments upon its back, and made Thomas sit upon it.³⁵

O what a spectacle, to behold Thomas, at one time riding in carriages and upon horses, now astride an ass, having in place of reins only a rope around its neck, and instead of a saddle over its back the rags of poor brethren and of his other followers! O what a strange change of circumstances has come upon thee, o Thomas! Where are those one-time numerous horses of yours or your endless retinue of knights? Where are those luxuriant and such richly-bedecked trappings of yours? Behold now, how all these accoutrements are reduced to one simple beast of burden and to one halter; and yet not your own

35 Cf. Matt. 21, 8.

beast or your own bridle, but that of another. Verily, when you leave the things of this world, all your possessions disappear; the old things are passed away, behold all things are made new.³⁶ Truly, God is wonderful in His saints,³⁷ conducting them in a wonderful way,³⁸ comforting them in tribulation,³⁹ lifting them from oppression, trying them through temptation, strengthening them in their falls, making them whole when they are stricken, restoring them to life in death. This has certainly been the case with the other saints, and with our Thomas it was proven most manifestly.

At length he arrived at the above-mentioned harbor Gravelines seated on this donkey. And so, on Tuesday, which was All Souls' Day, commonly called the day of Mars (which was, as we have already said before, twenty-five days from that day when he was at Northampton in the above-mentioned conflict), he set out across the channel.

I know not, to be sure, by what miraculous event, (indeed, if it was a miracle rather than coincidence,)

36 2 Cor. 5, 17.

37 Ps. 67, 36.

38 Cf. Wisdom 10, 17.

39 Cf. 2 Cor. 1, 4.

Thomas began his exile on Tuesday, sailed across the channel on Tuesday, came ashore on Tuesday, and on his way back to England, it was on a Tuesday that he set sail. Finally, on a Tuesday he was struck down by the sword, only a month having elapsed from that day on which he had set out on his return journey. Being, as it was, the day of Mars, it became the day of a martyr;⁴⁰ a day on which, as though by a repeated prediction of future events, Thomas was in this manner preparing for martyrdom. And so, on this particular Tuesday, which was all Souls' Day, he sailed across the channel and arrived at Gravelines in the evening.

40 Martis and martyris; note the play on the words here--both words have a common stem, mar. Yet, there is no real connection between the two since the first is Latin, the other, Greek.

(4) The fleeing Thomas is recognized by his host in the breaking of bread

And when late that day Thomas had taken his place at table with the three brothers who were his traveling companions, he was recognized by his host in the breaking of bread,⁴¹ although no more special respect was rendered him at table than to any of the others; in fact, even less, since he did not take the highest place but the last.

During this whole journey, just as he was transformed in dress, so also was he disguised in name. He was called Brother Christian by his brethren who were his companions, the name of Christian having been selected for him so that he might be completely unknown. But his keenly observant host made note of the fact that he had a special manner of eating and a singular way in passing the food. Even from that scanty portion which was placed before him at the table he would distribute and give individually to the children and others who were in the house.

⁴¹ Cf. Luke 24, 35.

The archbishop and his physical aspects

In addition to this observation, as a more definite proof of the now gradual recognition, the host continued to scrutinize the whole physique and bearing of the man, the conspicuously extraordinary height, the broad brow and serious mien, the long and delicate face, the shape of his slender hands, the evenly and delicately tapering fingers. And thus, perceiving that the man in his mode of eating, in his physical characteristics, and in his bodily carriage, was so unlike the others, he soon realized that he had lodged some great personage under his roof. He strongly suspected that it was the archbishop of Canterbury, the rumor having spread widely throughout the whole city that the archbishop of Canterbury had left secretly from Northampton and was already arrived in those parts or would soon arrive. The host thereupon summoned his wife at once and intimated in a whisper that it was the archbishop of Canterbury whom he had received in hospitality. She, impatiently hardly listening to another word, hurries to the table and after a brief look, returning immediately she said with a smile,

"To be sure, my good man, it is himself." Without delay, then, the hostess bustles about the serving table more solicitously, all aflutter in her anxiety to please, she places now nuts, now fruit, now cheese before Brother Christian. But Brother Christian, sensing from other indications that he was already recognized, preferred to dispense with those foods which the hostess so graciously placed before him, but still keeps on playing his part.

After the meal was done, the inn-keeper approached Thomas with unusual happiness reflected in his face. When Brother Christian had indicated his wish that the host be seated next to him, the latter repeatedly refused, seating himself on the ground at the feet of the archbishop. And after a brief pause, he said, "My lord, I give thanks to God that I was worthy to receive you under my roof."⁴² To whom Brother Christian in turn answered, "Who, then, am I? Am I not merely a poor brother who is called Christian?" To this the host replied, "Verily, whatever you are called, I know that you are a great man, the archbishop of Canterbury." At length, when Brother Christian could no longer escape recognition

42 Cf. Matt. 8, 8.

by his host with any more pretensions, but realized that one of the following courses of action was necessary-- either to admit the truth about himself openly or to deny it deceitfully, he confessed and did not deny that it was himself.⁴³ And, in order not to betray himself and to flatter his host he took him along on the morrow part of the way.

Behold what prolonged perils of the man of God, who, even now, when in the very port of sailing, was continually in danger.

43 Cf. John 1, 20.

(5) The reasons for his continued concealment after his crossing

The king had already both by written and verbal messages spread the news to the noble count Philip of Flanders, his brother, and to other important friends of his in that land, that Thomas, his one-time archbishop of Canterbury (for that was the general purport of the letter) had fled from his own land like a traitor. From what lengths and how far the regal hand extends, so far-reaching are the perils of the one fleeing that same royal power that everything is replete with dangerous circumstances and there is no safety for Thomas!

There was still another reason why the archbishop feared to be betrayed in this region. At the time when Thomas was still administering the affairs of the realm for his lord king of England, it happened that the brother of Philip the count of Flanders, Matthew, who was then the count of Boulogne, had contracted a sacrilegious marriage, thoroughly despicable in the eyes of all posterity, with a certain abbess, the daughter of Stephen, the former king of England. The archbishop, being then the chancellor of

the king, disapproved of this marriage because of its serious implication, and protested against it with all vehemence. This, then, was the reason why the count of Boulogne hated Thomas at that time with such deep animosity. Now such was the situation. Not without good reason, thus, did he fear for himself and was he averse to showing himself in these parts.

Hence, because of the prolonged fast of the next day and the hardship of the way, also because of the snares which he dreaded, he resumed his journey the following day at early dawn. From Gravelines the archbishop traveled on foot that entire day, although the road was muddy and slippery, especially since it was winter. He arrived about midnight at the monastery of that holy Cistercian order which in that country is called Clair-Marais. According to the computation of the natives of that place, he covered within that one day a distance of twelve leagues. There is a monastery located in the section near that illustrious castle of which we have made note previously, that of Saint Omer.

(6) The meeting-place of disciple and master

Arriving at this monastery four or five days prior to the archbishop, the disciple who wrote these memoirs awaited the arrival of his lord in that distinguished haven remarkable for its holiness, the abbey of Saint Bertin. This was the arrangement made by his master's order, as we have said before.⁴⁴ As soon as announcement was made that my lord the archbishop was coming, I left here that same night and was exceedingly glad upon meeting my lord.⁴⁵ On the other hand, I grieved for him upon hearing, when he himself related to me all the hardships and perils of his journey: how, making his way by night, he was compelled to hide by day, how he traveled on foot, and how, having put on the simple garment in which I then beheld him, he changed his name as well as his dress and was called by his associates Christian, as though that were his own name. And in the midst of these extreme hardships, how great a mortification was his

44 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 313.

45 Cf. John 20, 20.

unaccustomed fare! Just as another vessel of election,⁴⁶ he was tried in his journeying by perils in the sea, perils from nations, perils from false brethren, in labor and painfulness, in watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold, in simple garment and hair-shirt.⁴⁷ And I, indeed, who have written this account, hearing and seeing him in this state, was greatly moved and shaken in soul and body. Yet even amid this very sorrow, all my inmost devotion rendered praise and thanks for the dispositions of the Most High, Whose prerogative it is to humiliate while He lifts up and to lift up while He humiliates.⁴⁸ Exalted praise of the Almighty and thanks to heaven were rendered at once for the perseverance and the equanimity of this long-suffering man, as he repeated to me that saying of the patient Job speaking to his wife, "If," he said, "we have received good things at the hand of the Lord, why should we not receive evil?"⁴⁹ Next, I was reminded of the saying of the wise man so suitably

46 Acts 9, 15.

47 Cf. 2 Cor. 11, 26-27.

48 Cf. Ps. 144, 14; Dan. 4, 34; Job 5, 11.

49 Job 2, 10.

pronouncing these words, "Whatsoever shall befall the just man, it shall not make him sad."⁵⁰

After this conversation, he in his turn inquired about my journey, and whether I was able to carry out his instruction, because, as I mentioned above, he had ordered me to relate the details of his departure from Northampton. I was commissioned to bring with me certain silver vessels belonging to him, and only one hundred marks from his estate, which I could scarcely salvage from the country, as though snatching it from a fire.

And I added how, as soon as his flight was publicized, it had been proclaimed by a malicious council⁵¹ of learned men of the land and by an edict of the king, that all of his property was to be left unmolested. What was intended for his downfall resulted in his benefit, and "iniquity has lied to itself,"⁵² all by the disposition of the Most High which is ever opposed to malice. For, on the other hand, unless it had been announced by a proclamation of the king, the writer would have left

50 Prov. 12, 21.

51 Cf. Ps. 30, 14.

52 Ps. 26, 12.

from the country completely empty-handed; and if I had so gone forth, we and everything belonging to us would have been exposed to plunder and ruin.

But the archbishop, hearing of this state of affairs, rendered thanks to God, Who catches the wise in their craftiness.⁵³ And completely oblivious of his own recent troubles, he was consoled, so it appeared, thinking nothing about the morrow,⁵⁴ when only a hundred of the said marks and only a few silver vessels was all he had for traveling expenses during the rest of his exile which was to last more than six years.

53 Job 5, 13.

54 Cf. Matt. 6, 34.

(7) The archbishop's safe crossing and the storm-tossed trip of his adversaries

But on the very same night as that when the archbishop sailed, the previously-named agents of the king were embarking with elaborate and pompous preparations, when suddenly so perilous a storm arose that they could barely set sail amid such grave hardships and hazards. On the other hand, however, the sea was to be perfectly calm for the archbishop and his companions in their little skiff. Witnesses to this fact were the brethren who were with the archbishop in the boat and certain others who crossed in ships from the opposite shore. Truly, it was the work of Him, Whom even the winds and sea obey,⁵⁵ Who, whenever He wishes, troubles the depths of the sea, and whenever He wills, appeases the noise of its waves.⁵⁶

This miracle closely resembled the seventh plague of the Egyptians in the catalogue of Egyptian plagues:⁵⁷ when Moses extended his rod towards heaven,

55 Cf. Matt. 8, 27; Mark 4, 40.

56 Cf. Ps. 64, 8; Ps. 88, 10.

57 Cf. Exod. 7 to 10.

the Lord sent thunder and lightning running along the earth, raining hail upon the land, and hail and fire mixed with it drove on together.⁵⁸ Only in the land of Gessen where the children of Israel were, the hail fell not.⁵⁹ Then, it also corresponded to the ninth plague of the same Egyptians, when horrible darkness was spread in all the land of Egypt, but wheresoever the children of Israel dwelt, there was light.⁶⁰ In truth, the God of Israel was all-powerful in past ages as He is even now, discriminating between deserving men and those worthy of punishment, the just man from the impious one, and the devout man from the contemptuous one.⁶¹

The said envoys of the king, then, took boat on the sea the same night as the archbishop, and arrived near the castle of Saint Omer the same day as he. Since it was generally known in these parts that the archbishop of Canterbury was already in the neighborhood of that monastery of Clair-Marais towards which he now came, he had made plans to continue traveling. That same night, therefore, after the final song of the office, he set sail on that

58 Ibid., 9, 24.

59 Ibid., 9, 29.

60 Ibid., 10, 23.

61 Cf. Ps. 42, 1.

broad and vast lake over which that monastery was situated. He arrived in his skiff at a certain hidden spot isolated by the surrounding waters, called by the inhabitants Eldemenstre, the one-time hermitage of the blessed and glorious Bertin. But he was apprehensive about delaying in that monastery until the next day. It was very likely that, upon the disclosures of some, he might be pointed out on the morrow to the inhabitants here and especially to the king's deputies, and that these latter might go out of their way to accost him. Furthermore, were they to behold him in this condition, being as he was a reproach to the rich and a contempt to the proud,⁶² they might ridicule him the more readily, that he had so rashly and without warrant come down from his previous exalted station to these present miserable straits.

Consequently, the same night he withdrew and hid for three days in the same hermitage. The fourth day he came to the abbey of St. Bertin at the request of Godescall of blessed memory, the abbot at that time, and of the abbey of that place. Just as the cloudy and dark days were becoming a little more serene, this radiance

62 Ps. 122, 4.

of the true sun was now slowly rising and revealing itself to the world.⁶³

⁶³ This is probably a reference to Thomas, who was likened to Christ as lux mundi; Cf. John 8, 12.

The king's envoys and later those of the
archbishop visit the king of France;
their respective receptions

However, let us leave the archbishop at the said monastery of Saint Bertin at St. Omer, and first pursue the travels and fortunes of the king's envoys. After their departure from St. Omer early on the morrow of their arrival, on the third or fourth day they procure audience with king Louis of pious memory, then king of France, whom they find at his royal castle at Compiègne. They paid their respects to his royal majesty and submitted to him a letter in the name of the king of England. Its content-matter was like the one we mentioned before; that is, the one addressed to the count of Flanders, stating that Thomas, once archbishop of Canterbury, fled from his kingdom like a traitor.⁶⁴ For this reason, the king of England was begging Louis as his lord not to allow the archbishop to enter his country.

But when in the very beginning of the letter he read the words, "Thomas, one-time archbishop," the king,

⁶⁴ Bouquet, Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores, xvi, 107. Cf. Materials, III, p. 332.

being a most devoted son of the Church, was seized with grave misgiving and was deeply aroused by that statement. Indeed, such insolence is offensive and brings to mind, too, the saying of the wise man, "He that setteth bounds to his words, is knowing and wise."⁶⁵ The king thereupon kept demanding to know who had deposed the archbishop and added, "Why," he said, "I, too, am a king as is the king of England; yet, I have not the power to depose even the lowest of my clergy." And so this embassy which had been sent to Louis was unable to render an adequate answer to the question, nor did they receive any response to their own request, according to the plea of the king.⁶⁶

On the other hand, the disciple who has written this life account, and a certain other one from the archbishop's group, a prudent and learned man, upon the advice and injunction of the archbishop, followed the envoys day by day without their knowledge. While we trailed them in this manner, they always preceded us by one day. Thus, by this arrangement and watchfulness, it so happened that we were able to discover by a more careful and accurate method their words and designs against us.

65 Prov. 17, 27.

66 i.e., the king of England.

But when we had come to that Christian king of France, from whom the above ambassadors had departed the previous day, as soon as we were able to obtain audience with him, we greeted him with devotion and deference in the name of the archbishop. From the time of his chancellorship, the king regarded Thomas as a strong character and held him in the greatest esteem because of his high standing, his integrity, and his zeal. And, since we ourselves were unknown to him before this visit, as was his custom, he inquired whether we had come from the archbishop's household and family, and, upon learning that we had, he received us at once with a kiss of greeting and listened to us with kind attention. As soon as we had disclosed to the king, as we had been instructed by our lord the archbishop, our sad story, our trials, and difficulties, his majesty's heart was deeply moved with kingly pity. He, in turn, graciously told us how the king of England had written to him against the archbishop, and what he himself had replied. He then added, "In truth, the lord king of England, if he had been wise, before he had so harshly and so direly mistreated so great a friend of his and such a noble personage as the archbishop, ought

to have called to mind that verse, 'Be ye angry, and sin not.'⁶⁷ And the said companion of this same journey and mission answered him jesting and said, "Lord, perchance he would have been mindful of that versicle, if he had heard it as often as we do in the divine office," upon which the king smiled.

The following day, before we parted, having consulted his own men whom he then retained with him, the king granted the petition of the archbishop presented through us; namely, freedom and protection in this country for the archbishop. And, to be sure, he added, this would be conceded according to the traditional nobility of the crown of the kings of France,--that exiles and especially ecclesiastical persons, might enjoy the peace and security of these kings and of their realm, and that they would be protected from any harm from their persecutors. Verily, the fact that, to the disadvantage of the king of England, who was the duke of the Normans and Aquitanians, and count of Anjou,--that (I say) against such strong power, and so many great men of distinction (as we have shown above), and honored messengers, who were suppliants in word and writing, that we, only two lowly and ignoble men, so

67 Ps. 4, 5; Ephes. 4, 26.

quickly and so easily gained the royal concession of peace and safety,--this was happy and remarkable news to our monks.

Attributing all of this to Him, in Whose Hand are the hearts of kings, and whithersoever He wills He shall turn them,⁶⁸ it ought to be equally noted, although only in passing, how powerful are the merits of the saints, by means of whose virtue even imperfect hearts of earthly powers are bent to their pleas. These, also, stand as witnesses to this marvel, which it is needless to enumerate here,--the examples of many fathers, but this one among others, as we behold clearly in his daily experience, proves the innocence and the cause of justice of the holy archbishop Thomas, now an exile.

But about these things, more at another time; let us continue our assumed task of relating the historical order of events.

68 Cf. Prov. 21, 1.

(8) The archbishop's envoys' audience with the Pope; their reception

Thus that Christian monarch dismissed us in peace and with great joy, reassured by his promise of freedom and protection. But, not returning at once to the archbishop, nor expressing any intentions in this regard, since we were expecting to return very soon as we were ordered, we hastened to our lord the Pope. We arrived at Sens where the king's ambassadors had come before us on the preceding day. On the evening of the same day, as soon as we gained an audience with our lord the Pope, we greeted him with due deference and humble obeisance in the name of the archbishop as his father and lord. We said that only we two escaped from the house of Recab,⁶⁹ and came to the feet of His Holiness to announce that his son Joseph is living,⁷⁰ but was not ruling in the land of Egypt; but that, rather, oppressed by the Egyptians, he had been almost killed.

At this point, as he listened attentively and with sympathetic and fatherly affection, we enumerated all

69 1 Paralip. 2, 55.

70 Cf. Gen. 45, 26.

the sufferings of his son, the archbishop, his straitened circumstances and sorrows, his perilous position during that conflict at Northampton "amongst those beasts," his perils from false brethren, perils in his flight, perils in his journey, perils on sea⁷¹ and perils in the very harbor; his labor, his indigence and trial; and the disguise of name and dress in order to evade his enemies' traps. Whereupon, hearing these things, with a heart full of fatherly love for his son, the father of us all wept, unable to hide his paternal affection. He was most sympathetic towards us as we recounted these hardships. Then addressing us, he said, "Your master still lives in the flesh, as you say; nevertheless, while yet living in the flesh, he arrogates for himself the title of martyr." And since it was now rather late and we were wearied from the journey, bestowing upon us his apostolic blessing and with godspeed he sent us to our lodging. On the morrow we expected to start on our return journey.

71 2 Cor. 11, 26.

What accusations the king's envoys
made to the Pope

But the following day, His Holiness entering the consistory granted an audience to the king's legates in the presence of his brethren, the venerable cardinals, who were almost all gathered in the council-room at that time. These messengers, formally greeting His Holiness in the name of the king, first expounded to him the reason for their coming. First of all, they accuse their own archbishop: that, as an enemy of peace, he had upset the order of the kingdom and of the clergy; that he had carried his episcopal cross with his own hands to the council-chamber of the king; that he had celebrated the Mass of blessed Stephen the proto-martyr. Finally, they continued, he went into stealthy exile in a most foolhardy manner, disgracefully deserting his own church. Furthermore, all those actions were directed against the king in dishonor and contempt, and to the ruin of the entire English Church but most especially of his own. But those among them who were more outstanding in eloquence or elegance of speech, and particularly the master Gilbert Foliot of London and master Hilary,

bishop of Chichester, became very much flustered in speech, and lost the logical trend of thought and even the correct accent and pronunciation of some of their words. This was like the statement of the wise man who compares a similar slip of the tongue to one that falls on the pavement.⁷²

All of this, then, was ascribed to Him, and in all justice should be attributed to the work and power of Him, Who opens the mouth of the dumb and confounds the tongues of learned discourses.⁷³ But the Pope did not place any credence in these accusations since he had discovered the cause of dissension between the king and the archbishop and the true state of affairs not only from our message, but also from the loyal but secret account of many others. On the contrary, he publicly exhorted the bishops in the council-room that they act with more tolerance towards their archbishop. Hence, those who had been commissioned here, upon seeing how matters stood, demanded urgently and insistently in the name of the king, that the Pope send the archbishop back to England. Also, that he send a legate from his own court, who would hear the case in England by separate appeal between the king and arch-

72 Ecclus. 20, 20.

73 Cf. Wis. 10, 21.

bishop, and would either arrange or determine the case between the two according to his own judgment. Then the veracity of these matters might be more truthfully and correctly ascertained after considering their accusations.

But the Roman Pontiff, neither granting nor refusing this petition, urged them more earnestly to await the coming of the archbishop to court. While they press their charges, or without making any accusations, they present their petitions before him. The Pope adds that nothing definite ought to be decided against the archbishop in his absence, nor that they themselves should be listened to in that form in which they were appealing to him. But, being unwilling to wait for him, because, as they said, they did not dare to make any delay beyond the time limit set for them by the king during their assembly, they demanded over and over again and insistently that he fulfill the king's proffered request. In this way, the Roman Pontiff was in a quandary, taking cognizance of the king's youth and his widespread ruling power, and that difficult and dire schism which existed at that time in God's Church. He was afraid that if the king suffered a refusal, especially of a petition presented through such distinguished and honored men, there would occur a deeper split in the Church; moreover, the very ones who were delegated to him, especially the

laymen, were threatening this very outcome.

But, on the other hand, the Pope was fearful of sending back the archbishop by his own authority to the island in which he was now regarded as a public enemy, and from which he had just left amid such extreme difficulty and such numerous dangers, as if led by God Himself. By doing this, the innocence of the archbishop and the cause of his justice might suffer harm. In this way, he might invoke the judgment of God upon himself and might become a scandal to the entire Church. He also feared to send him back to the island for the following reason. For this is the situation when one contends against the island's king,⁷⁴ just as one chained in prison he would be fighting against the keeper and the lord of the prison. Hence, the Apostolic Pontiff was hindered on all sides, especially by many of his own cardinals, particularly by those who make it a habit to be zealous in their efforts to please the great and the mighty ones of the world. These latter were of the opinion that the petition of the king ought to be granted, while some of the others fought against this.

Nevertheless, after the plan was finally deliberated upon and after receiving the inspiration of counsel

74 i.e., the king of England.

and of strength, the father of fathers could put off the case no longer and decided not to grant the said petition of the king, concocted to trouble and oppress the archbishop, except on condition that they would wait for the arrival of the latter at the council. Otherwise, nothing was to be decreed against him in his absence. But these former, unwilling to wait for him, having failed in their plea and mission, return to England without the apostolic benediction, but rather, as it should be more truthfully believed, they return with the father's malediction of the Pope. They pronounced maledictions upon themselves and upon their posterity; that is, those who did not cover their father out of reverence, but, on the contrary, were not in the least afraid to uncover him shamelessly.⁷⁵

They were also in a greater hurry to return, since it had been secretly announced to them that some of the soldiers of the country, who favored the archbishop and hated them, were preparing an ambush along the way with the intention of attacking their baggage from which they were hoping to gain a good bit of silver. For this reason, they left France in a great hurry and without much ado, thereby escaping many of them there who were all set to plunder

75 Cf. Genesis 9, 21-27.

them; that is, those who were in favor of the archbishop (as we have said). As soon as the news about the archbishop spread throughout the whole Christian world and especially throughout Gaul, the Lord gave him the grace and favor of all⁷⁶ in a remarkable and incredible manner. But upon the archbishop's adversaries He incited the hatred of all those from the opposing side.⁷⁷ When this happened to him in this way, people whom he did not even know ministered to him, and obeyed him at the hearing of the ear.⁷⁸ For it rarely happens that he who pleases the Author of all, does not please everyone else,⁷⁹ and of such a one the Author of all approves, as that saying which is read regarding one saint, namely, that "he, whom God had filled with grace, was loved by all."⁸⁰ Besides that, even those whom the persecutors of the Christian name tortured by various and cunningly-devised punishments, were nevertheless admired for the strength which the torturers beheld in these victims.

76 Cf. Ps. 83, 12. 77 Cf. Ps. 3, 8.

78 Cf. 2 Kings 22, 45; Job 42, 5.

79 Cf. Rom. 14, 18; Wis. 4, 10.

80 The exact source of this statement cannot be located. It might refer to one of the early martyrs, because of the context of the following sentence.

But about these things we shall more at another time, let us pursue the sequence of historical events already begun.

(9) Return of the messengers of the king to England;
the archbishop's visit with the French king

Therefore, not waiting for the archbishop's arrival to the curia, their errand unaccomplished, and frustrated in their proposal and plea, the envoys of the king went back to England. But the archbishop, whom we left above in Flanders, was still at St. Omer in the famous and holy abbey of Saint Bertin. He had stopped here because of the plottings of the place which (as we said before) he feared and remained a few days. He left Flanders by night with a large mounted retinue. Milo of blessed memory, then bishop of Terouanne, and the abbot of Saint Bertin at that time, whom we mentioned before, went with him as companions from the city to provide protection on his journey. In this way, then, they came to that noted city of the Gauls, Soissons. As if by God's prearrangement, the lord king of France came to this place on the day following Thomas' arrival. And, indeed, that Christian king, whom among other good qualities the distinctive mark of perfect humility royally embellished, as soon as he heard that the archbishop of Canterbury was

in this city, came down his lodging-place. He took the initiative in greeting him, eagerly receiving him with the greatest enthusiasm and every sign of joy. In his royal nobility of soul he pledged him peace and security, and by his regal liberality, he provided from his own coffers money for the archbishop's traveling expenses for as long as he would be in exile and compelled the archbishop to accept this gift. So that, thus, many might say, "The Lord gave; the Lord took away."^{80a} The Lord took away from the archbishop of Canterbury the king of England, the Lord gave him the king of France. And, to be sure, as we have said before, he had already granted the archbishop through his envoys peace and harbor.

Now the king was seen in this afore-named city by the archbishop before the messengers of peace returned to the archbishop. Having next followed those envoys of England through every step of their journey (as we have said before), they hurried on their way to the Pope at Sens ahead of the archbishop. The archbishop, however, seeing how this was the king's disposition towards himself, gave devout thanks to God and to the king, particularly offering his act of thanksgiving with highest praise

^{80a} Job 1, 21.

in heart and voice to Him in Whose Hand are the hearts of men.⁸¹

But this fact also ought to be noted here, namely, that when there remained for the archbishop a good part of his travels still to be covered, (as we have said before), traveling money was offered to him and his followers,⁸² which was taken from the king's own treasury so generously and so liberally by the king himself. But the offering of the king's munificence he absolutely refused. Indeed, he was one who had been always more prepared to give rather than to receive; just as our Lord Himself had frequently said, that it was a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive.⁸³ Nevertheless, the archbishop did not refuse altogether the proffered funds from the king, but thanking his majesty⁸⁴ he said that the time for accepting was not yet come, that there was not as yet any urgent need. And so, after the lord king and the archbishop

81 Cf. 2 Paralip. 20, 6.

82 The text here is illegible; the word ver... is unfinished and hence is not translated here. The thought seems clear without it; it might possibly have been the adverb vere.

83 Cf. Acts 20, 35.

84 From here the Arras Ms. resumes.
Cf. Robertson, Materials, III, p. 318.

remained for several days in the city, the archbishop retired in a grateful attitude with special favor from the king, hastening then to the Pope at Sens. The king immediately appointed a number of his own ministers who would procure for him the necessary supplies for the journey and would serve as guides.

(10) The archbishop's reception by the Pope;
the case of his exile

Then we come to His Holiness the Pope at Sens, who welcomed the arrival of Thomas and received him with paternal kindness, sympathizing with him like a father because of the numerous trials in such a perilous and troublesome journey. At length, after some days the archbishop decided to set before the Pope and the cardinals his case regarding his own decision and that of his followers--of the whole disagreement between the king and himself in England, and also the reason for his departure from that country.

His Holiness, the Pope, had not previously requested this explanation from him, hoping perhaps, that the archbishop, although intending to explain, would do this unasked. So he finally resolved to take the initiative. For, although the source and cause of the whole trouble had been disclosed by his own messengers bit by bit, it had also been related by others in their travels here and there. Yet it seemed more advisable that Thomas himself should set forth the pros and cons of his own case, and to relate the truth of the situation. Those indictments

which the aforesaid envoys of England attempted to bring against him, he himself would clear up by his own explanation.

Therefore, a few days after our arrival at the curia, in the presence of the cardinals, venerable men, not publicly in the consistory, of course, but in a private and more secluded chamber, he related to the lord Pope with a certain graceful and succinct brevity the whole order of events and the reason for his own departure. I say, with a graceful brevity, that is, as one whose eloquence was modest and dignified, and whose language was at all times inoffensive. And in the presentation of these constitutions, which, as we have said above, were formulated at Clarendon and committed to writing, he confessed openly that he himself had made a mistake nor did he deny it.⁸⁵ He also admitted under what circumstances he was influenced to commit this error; all of which we have shown above, when we discussed these matters.

At the same time, that lengthy and fateful document was soon disclosed in its complete form and in the original setup of the official secretary. We have made

85 Cf. John 1, 20.

sufficient reference to this paper in a former statement. Up to this time, neither the Pope nor the cardinals had yet heard the document itself, although they had heard about it. Then, without further delay, in the hearing of the Sovereign Pontiff and of the cardinals, they were all read, namely, seventeen constitutions in number. Although this piece of writing should perhaps be set down at this point, nevertheless, I have not gone to the trouble of including it here, that is, in this section of my history. This is because of the extreme harshness and impropriety contained therein, and also because of its great length, which should be avoided in a historical sketch of the type we have before us, since this book contains the case of our exile and martyr. Nay, rather, the Lord granting, when this biography is completed, it will be written up at the end.⁸⁶ Likewise, that document should always be copied at the end by everyone who might wish to translate this history. It ought to be read by those who are not familiar with it, and who wish to know the story of this glorious martyr Thomas, exile and martyr.

But when everyone had read through what was contained in the document, when some of them even read

⁸⁶ Cf. Robertson, Materials, III, p. 159, nr. 1.

and reread it, and carefully and attentively heard and studied separate clauses, His Holiness the Pope was very much aroused. He became instantly very much angered with the archbishop, reproving and bitterly rebuking him for giving consent to these, as the Pope said, not constitutions, but tyrannical infringements, and that the archbishop himself and those bishops who were with him had renounced their own priesthood and enslaved the Church of God. He further added that every possible hazard should have been suffered rather than to give consent to such overthrowing of the laws of God. He also made note of that sacred history of the seven Machabean brothers, admirable to all, certainly, but to be imitated by few. He upbraided the archbishop, saying that although they were no priests of the gospel, nor even priests of the law, but simple Judeans and young men who at that time acted as private individuals, not in defense of the evangelical law, but in defense of the law of their nation, for the sake of the law regarding the eating of swine's flesh, they suffered unutterable torments with a willing and devout heart.⁸⁷ He added and said, "Indeed, among these abominable clauses which have been read in our presence and

87 Cf. 2 Mac. 7, 1-42.

heard by us, none are good, but certain ones could be tolerated, and are such that the Church might endure them somehow or other. But the greater part of these are rejected and condemned by the early authoritative church councils, since they are positively against the sacred sanctions." Which were the former, and which the latter, there is no reason now to make any distinction. That matter will also be left to those who have more accurate knowledge of the sacred canons. Finally, the Apostolic Pontiff condemned in short shrift but nonetheless indignantly those same constitutions, which the archbishop himself condemned, and for the same reasons. Furthermore, in the same way, in the hearing of the cardinals and in our presence, he thought that they should be denounced by the Church in the future.

Then, turning to the archbishop, he finally said, "Certainly, my brother, although your mistake and that of your fellow-bishops was a great and grave one, yet we should deal more considerately with you. Though, as you yourself confess, you have fallen, you soon after your fall attempted to rise again. Because of that error you have already suffered many grave and difficult hardships. As soon as you had made that mistake, while you were yet in England, you begged from us through letters the grace

of absolution and merited it in our clemency. As though this were not yet satisfactory, since it is not customary for a confession to be made through a messenger or through a letter, now, finally, you have appealed to the apostolic authority, admitting your fault devoutly and humbly after so much labor and so many perils. For this reason, then, it is only proper that we pardon you this transgression, so that you may experience the consolation and favor of our indulgence in your difficulties so much more fully and with deeper feeling, in proportion to the greater things you left and the more grievous hardships you suffered in behalf of the liberty of the Church and in defense of faith and loyalty to us."

And so the Supreme Pontiff first scolded the archbishop with fatherly severity, afterwards he made amends for this by the gentleness of a motherly consolation; he then dismissed him. After the archbishop received this apostolic solace, we welcomed him joyfully in our lodging quarters.

(11) Thomas is accused by the cardinals of opposing the king during a time of schism

The following day, however, the archbishop was censured by some of the cardinals and a number of other famous and learned men of the curia, who were well-versed in the Scriptures (for the curia generally abounded and flourished with such men). The accusation they made was that with his own men and those who were on his side he acted with special gentleness and kindness, but, during such critical days, and more than that, at a time when schism was working the ruin of the Church, he opposed his own ruler and his great authority. They said that he ought to give way to the present conditions and support his own king, since this was the hour and the power of darkness,⁸⁸ when Peter is ordered not to draw his sword but to put it back again into the scabbard.⁸⁹ They also said that just as the cockle sown by the enemy was not to be gathered at that time by the servants in the gospel, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, they root up the

88 Luke 22, 53.

89 Cf. John 18, 11; Matt. 26, 52.

wheat also together with it; so both are suffered to grow by the order of the goodman until the time for harvest.⁹⁰ This is the advice of our teacher, who, on account of the evil of the time, advises that time must be redeemed, "Redeeming the time since the days are evil."⁹¹ So also the prophet said, "For this same reason the wise man will hold his peace at that time, since the time is evil."⁹²

Moreover, they added, the strong pillars of the Church⁹³ more strongly and more lastingly might at times, with discretion, be transformed as it were into fragile and slender reeds. For these it would be more useful to be slightly bent by the fierce blast of a storm and to give way rather than to be broken by resisting beyond their strength. This principle the master also taught and himself applied in his own life according to the light given him. When he was preaching the abolition of the old law, he himself fulfilled it in his own personal regard by yielding to the law when the occasion demanded it, and yet he advocated the abolition of this same law. His hair was

90 Matt. 13, 25-29. 91 Ephes. 5, 16.

92 This quotation is probably a combination of the following references: Prov. 11, 12; Eccclus. 20, 7.

93 Cf. Gal. 2, 9.

cut in the manner prescribed by law, he was purified in observance of the law, he attended the temple services and offered sacrifices, and even ordered Timothy to be circumcised.⁹⁴ Finally, since he, the teacher of the gentiles, the advocate of the Jews, and the greatest among the great doctors of the law, as one who had learned the gospel not from any man nor through any man,⁹⁵ he, in spite of all these distinctions, subjugated himself to earthly power by appealing to Caesar.⁹⁶ He showed, thereby, that submission must be made according to the proper occasion whenever the time so demands it and that time must be redeemed according to circumstances.

94 Cf. Acts 18, 1-28.

95 Cf. Gal. 1, 11-12.

96 Cf. Acts 25, 11.

The archbishop refutes the charges of the cardinals

In reply, the archbishop, a cautious man, thought that he was obligated to refute in the council room this charge made by the great and wise ones of the curia. On this point he had already consulted with his own followers, and had composed his speech in accordance with his own judgment of the case. With the natural wisdom and grace given him he then made answer.

"Brethren, I am well aware, as you, such learned and erudite men are saying, that surrender to circumstances must take place according to the time, and that a great deal of suffering must be endured. I admit, that in this hour and power of darkness, when such a great man as the emperor Frederick, and so renowned a person as the anti-pope Octavian, such great schismatics,--that against those princes who have not left the Church but have persevered therein, although they are deficient in many respects, I admit, that the sword of Peter should not be taken up at all but replaced, as you say. There is possible danger that a deeper split might occur in the Church of God, especially because rebellion in its weakness always seeks

to have a great following. Indeed, so great can the malice of the time become that only the mourning and sorrow of the Church is left and its cry to heaven. Then the ecclesiastical discipline which is severe will become lax, and the Church will secure salvation only through the prophetic tau.⁹⁷

This is an evil day, when there remains no hope of correcting it, but to God alone belongs the judgment, as the Lord Himself said, 'Revenge is mine.'⁹⁸ You also recalled in this connection the words of the prophet: Therefore, the wise man will remain silent at such a time since the time is evil; and then, certainly, according to the advice of the wise man, provision must be allowed for the revenge of the Almighty.⁹⁹

There is still another time, when, to wit, there is hope of the correction of these evils. Then, of course, the sufferers must patiently wait, bear their trials, and

97 Ezech. 9, 4-6. In this prophecy, all men who did penance for sin were marked on their foreheads with the letter tau (the last letter in the Hebrew alphabet). They were thus preserved from destruction.

98 Rom. 12, 19; Heb. 10, 30.

99 Cf. Eccclus. 12, 4 and 7 for the thought contained in this passage.

pray. Otherwise, as it is said by the wise man, 'Woe to them that have lost patience.'¹⁰⁰

First, then, there is a time of darkness, and the hour and power of darkness, at which time, according to the word of the Lord, the sword of Peter must be put away.¹⁰¹ Afterwards comes a time as it were of mist. At this time the sword of Peter must be kept ready and should be taken up again when the occasion calls for it. According to these different circumstances, the Scripture speaks variously either about ecclesiastical punishment¹⁰² or about the scriptural sword of Peter. Namely, at one time there is mentioned the obligation of drawing it,¹⁰³ then of putting it away.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, sometimes it speaks of the need of holding it ready and taking it up as need arises.¹⁰⁵

This you, my brethren, surely know much better

100 Ecclus. 2, 16.

101 Cf. John 18, 11; Matt. 26, 52.

102 Cf. Ezech. 21, 4; Jer. 25, 31; Isaias 27, 1.

103 Cf. Matt. 10, 34; Luke 12, 51; et al.

104 Cf. John 18, 11; Matt. 26, 52.

105 Cf. Ephes. 6, 17; et al.

than I, since you are the teachers who in this renowned school of the whole Church, daily learn or teach. But we are enumerating these points in your hearing, therefore, not that a pupil might teach his masters, but lest you suspect that I either demand or desire that this sword be drawn against my sovereign and my lord, the king of England, even though he has dealt with me quite harshly. I ought rather to suffer and eagerly seek his royal forbearance, following the advice of the wise man: 'My son, do thy works in meekness, and thou shalt be beloved above the glory of men.'¹⁰⁶ Indeed, sometimes calmness accomplishes what violence cannot avail, whence we have that saying of the pagan poet:

'Power can do by gentleness that
which violence fails to accomplish.'¹⁰⁷

And one of the doctors says, 'Oftentimes gentleness could influence those whom neither strength nor reason could overcome.'¹⁰⁸ And so, not as you accuse me, am I disobedient, but rather I do obey, and with a willing spirit

106 Ecclus. 3, 19.

107 Claudian, de Manlii Theod. Cons., 239.
Translation of these two lines taken from: Forty Thousand Quotations, compiled by C. N. Douglas, (New York: George Sully and Company, 1904), p. 825.

108 Source unknown.

give way. I do not anticipate the time. I suffer and am ready to suffer still more until, God willing, the anger of my lord and king might give way to gracious indulgence. So much so, that I would set myself in the way and would myself meet the sword which is bared against him. For, first of all, there is a time of suffering, then a time for mercy, and after that the time of justice, so that we may sing to the Lord of His mercy and judgment.¹⁰⁹

But, as I have already indicated, without taking any stand against the apostolic decrees, or in opposition to truth, when this same truth is not entirely clear, ecclesiastical punishment is not always to be meted out nor should the sword of Peter be drawn against leaders or against those who have a large following during troubled times or during a time of schism. Those princes of the people who have not abandoned the Church in time of schism but have remained true, might still be able by their disturbance of peace to tear the very sides of their own mother Church in a harsh and bitter way and completely break up her inner life. She could then reject from herself those same ones as though children born out of time--

109 Ps. 100, 1.

and as though they were pagans and publicans.¹¹⁰ For the same reason, in the early foundation of the Church the master bares the evangelical sword not only against those who attack her from the sides and deprive her of her very vitality, as is the case with those who persecute ecclesiastical persons and who disturb the Church's peace, but also against those who through various crimes mar the fair face of the Church. He says, 'If any man that is named a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or a server of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner: with such a one not so much as to eat.'¹¹¹ And in another place, 'And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed.'¹¹² See then, while the Church was still young and tender and in the very cradle of her birth, and the hands of all were turned against her, the master faithfully and courageously draws his sword in order to present

110 The figure here is a metaphor in which the womb or innards (viscera) of the mother represents the inner life of mother Church; whereas, her sides (latera) depicts the exterior life of mother Church. The use of viscera in this sense is probably borrowed from Jer. 31, 20 and Lam. 2, 11.

111 1 Cor. 5, 11.

112 2 Thessal. 3, 14.

a glorious bride to the bridegroom, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that she be holy and without blemish.¹¹³ If, then, the teacher of the gentiles displays his courage in this wise with a still tender and young Church, in a much lesser degree should she be apprehensive at this time when according to the word of the prophet the Church is set against the pride of all ages.¹¹⁴

Elsewhere also, the master writes to his disciples whom he had ordained among the first-born of the growing Church. He enjoins them in the following manner: 'For you suffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take from you, . . . if anyone strike you on the face.'¹¹⁵ Behold, what a challenge of the master against the disciples whom he had made bishops over the young Church that they tolerate no servitude of the Church. And if subservience was very little tolerated at that time, when (as we have already said) that same Church was still small and the hands of all were against her, so much the less should it be permitted at the present time.

Though a schism is in progress, as quite often

113 Ephes. 5, 27.

114 The thought of this passage is contained in Ezech. 7, 24.

115 2 Cor. 11, 20.

is the case in the Roman Church, and those who are regarded as schismatics profess the Christian faith, yet they wound the Church, although not in the least destroying her. By the mercy of the Lord they will return shortly to the obedience of the Church.

If examples from the Church are not sufficient, let us take instances from the very pagans. One of these pagan poets praises in verse a certain man, also a pagan, that this latter dared to remain good, which means free, under a hard ruler and in troubled times. He commends this man, saying:

'Thou shouldst be praised, that thou under a
hard prince,
And in evil times didst have courage to be good,'¹¹⁶

Good, he said, that is, free, thus designating the general definition of the word good.

And, surely, unless the Church freely and unflinchingly takes up the sword against those disturbers of the Church's peace, the ecclesiastical judge bears a

¹¹⁶ Martial, xii, 6. The first three words in the Latin text, Laudari debes quoniam, are not in Martial. This epigram was addressed to Nerva. The evil times here refer to the reign of Domitian. These are the last two lines of the epigram.

The translation rendered here is taken from: Martial, Epigrams, tr. by Walter C. A. Ker, (London: William Heinemann), II, p. 325.

sword in vain.¹¹⁷ This peace of the Church is disturbed not only by schismatics and heretics, but often even by tyrants who are sons of the Church. They are the ones who, as we have mentioned previously, while attacking the very life of their mother, completely destroy her interior life, persecute ecclesiastical persons, drive them out, establish new laws, and take away the liberty of the clergy, which is the glory and strength of the Church. This is how they compel the Church, which was set up against the pride of the ages, to become subservient. The result is that the people become like the priest.

Against such unfaithful sons, just as much as against the schismatics and heretics, even at a time of schism and heresy, should ecclesiastical censure be exercised and the sword of Peter be drawn. Otherwise, the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, bears this sword in vain, (as we have already said), which he does not bare but conceals as a craven coward during a time of war. In this way, the power of the Church is not strengthened in adversity but weakened. The king and prophet bewailed the above condition, saying, 'My strength is weakened through poverty.'¹¹⁸ But, on the other hand, the master Paul

117 Cf. Romans 13, 4.

118 Ps. 30, 11.

glories in the weakness of his own power: 'When I am weak,' he said, 'then am I powerful.'¹¹⁹ And in another place, he says to his disciple, 'Be mindful that the Lord Jesus Christ is risen again from the dead, . . . according to my gospel, wherein I labour even unto bonds, as an evil-doer; but the word of God is not bound.'¹²⁰

Thus, after the example of the master, one should glory in his own strength in time of stress and therefore the word of God, the sword of the Spirit, must not be bound.¹²¹ In bondage it is drawn much more gloriously. For there is no reason why the Church should hesitate or be fearful. Her one distinctive property, as one of the illustrious doctors says, is that she knows when she is criticized, that she wins out whenever she is wounded, that she gains her point whenever she is forsaken.¹²² Furthermore, as another of the doctors says in the same spirit, she rejoices in adversity, expands in restraint, is exalted in sadness, is nourished in tears, is watered with blood, is enriched by deaths, is one who has learned

119 2 Cor. 12, 10.

120 2 Tim. 2, 8-9.

121 Ephes. 6, 17.

122 Exact source unknown; probably one of the early Fathers of the Church.

how to triumph whenever she is overwhelmed with the calamities of the world; she grows from the same sources from which the world deteriorates.¹²³

The more the Ark is tossed about by the waves of the world, the higher she rises.¹²⁴ Nor is there any reason (brethren, as you have implied by certain insinuations of yours) even at this time of schism of the Church, for the Church to fear for herself, nor should the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, hesitate to draw his sword of Peter against the desecrater of ecclesiastical peace.

I repeat, there is no cause for the Church to fear for herself. Let us produce the strongest testimony and one which cannot be undermined; a witness according to the word of truth in the gospel. This Church is the home of the wise man built upon a firm rock, which ought not fear the ravages of the winds, nor the flood, built where she is. If she is raised aloft on a rock, then she is secure on the rock, standing firmly on the rock, safe

¹²³ Exact source unknown. A similar thought, however, is contained in Tertullian, The Prescription Against Heretics, Chapter 36.

¹²⁴ Heb. 11, 7; 2 Peter 2, 5. The thought of this passage is contained in these verses.

from the enemy, firm against any fall.¹²⁵ And if the rock does not suffice, then the other statement holds,--'He hath set his tabernacle in the sun.'¹²⁶ The Church has been founded in Christ, the sun of justice.¹²⁷ For this reason, too, the master said, 'A foundation has been laid which no man can change, which is Christ Jesus.'¹²⁸ Therefore, brethren, let us who have not retreated stand together, and in this loss, in this our own degradation, in this day of schism, let our strength not be weakened. But when time demands, let us be slaves not to fear of the world but servants of justice.¹²⁹

It has been written that 'Justice and peace have kissed.'¹³⁰ Kissed, it is well said, that is, in harmony and in concord. For justice gives birth to peace, nourishes her, and protects her lest she be despoiled. Likewise these two, as mother and daughter, nurse and ward, as tutor and pupil, delight in mutual kisses and show their affection for one another by frequent embraces. They are so united and in harmony with one another that neither one

125 Matt. 7, 24; Luke 6, 48.

126 Ps. 18, 6.

127 Mal. 4, 2.

128 1 Cor. 3, 11.

129 Cf. Rom. 6, 20.

130 Ps. 84, 11.

should be separated from the other. Hence, one of the illustrious doctors of the Church also spoke about the unity and harmony of these qualities, 'They love each other, these two, in such a way that one who practises justice should find peace, and not otherwise.'¹³¹

Therefore, neither in evil days, during a time of schism or heresy, when tyrants bring their power to bear upon the Church, or when they disrupt the harmony of the Church, should the weapons of justice be put aside. And even more truthfully,--but careful not to presume against the apostolic statutes or harm the truth, I believe that, according to the writings of the master¹³² and likewise obeying the exhortation of the saints, the weapons of justice should be indiscriminately unsheathed by the ministers of justice without restraint and with courage against whatever violators of the ecclesiastical unity there may be.

This is the reason, then, in these days of the wars of the Lord,¹³³ the standards of justice should advance as an aid in obtaining peace. For, as it is commonly

131 Source unknown.

132 2 Cor. 6, 7.

133 Num. 21, 14.

said, 'Arms bear peace.'¹³⁴ Justice, of course, is described as armed, but peace as wreathed with the laurel and unarmed,¹³⁵ as though she outstrips justice in a contest.

Therefore, if justice should conceal herself at a time of desecrated peace or when peace is held captive in a shameful and unworthy manner, then, unless justice should soon come to the aid of peace in captivity or on the point of losing her freedom, she would betray peace with that very kiss of peace: 'For justice and peace have kissed.'

Certainly, brethren, to speak the truth freely, the very points which you just intimated with so much dissembling in your recent speech, adding among other points that the strong pillars of the Church,¹³⁶ should even be converted into fragile and tender reeds when the occasion required it, to be sure, by this same dissembling of yours, horns are given to sinners,¹³⁷ kings become tyrants, the most excellent sons of the Church become notorious enemies of the Church, who rage in their madness against their own

134 Exact source unknown; probably ancient classical proverb.

135 Classical picture of the goddess of Peace is probably meant here.

136 Cf. Gal. 2, 9.

137 Cf. Ps. 74, 11. "Horns" here depicts power.

mother the Church. In this way, then, the strictness of the Church's discipline is weakened.

And so as the sword of infidels from without is more endurable than the revolt of the sons within, one should lament with that holy king who says, 'Behold, in peace is my bitterness most bitter.'¹³⁸ For the first type of bitterness is really bitter--namely, to suffer from enemies; the second type is more bitter still, to bear ills from one's own kinsmen; but this third type is the most bitter of all, to be attacked by one's own sons; this last is as though one's very bowels were turned into festering sores. Hence the wise man says, 'Hast thou children? Instruct and bow down their neck from their childhood.'¹³⁹

However, brethren, to speak foolishly to you¹⁴⁰-- I notice you are attempting to attribute to me the blame for something which, if I am not mistaken, should be turned to my highest and immortal glory. For behold, since I have already put my hand to the ark which is the harbinger of sanctification¹⁴¹ in order to lift it up, as befits my

138 Isaias 38, 17. From the canticle of King Ezechias.

139 Ecclus. 7, 25.

140 Cf. 2 Cor. 11, 17

141 Cf. Ps. 131, 8.

position and according to my strength, so I have likewise braced with my shoulders the falling ruins of the Church. With all the power accorded me for the restoration of the Church's ruins, I myself am almost overwhelmed amid these ruins so that the Church herself might not be destroyed.

If I must glory, (since it is not expedient indeed at this time,) ¹⁴² under the schisms of the Roman Church, as it were, with a world falling apart, my predecessors, the archbishops of Canterbury, have stood firmly with head erect, as it were, like the firmest and strong pillars of the house of God. ¹⁴³ In order to point out this one thing to you, I speak timidly and hopefully, not in rashness. I know not why you are rushing into the scandal of such a serious schism; I for my part shall not fall into that general ruin of yours, and even of the world, as it were, so long as the Lord supports me with His Own Hand. ¹⁴⁴ But you, being our lords and fathers, will do that which appears good in your sight. I, your fellow-bishop of the Supreme Pastor, --whatever kind I may be, --also the co-servant of the same Lord, the successor of such great

142 Cf. 2 Cor. 12, 1.

143 Cf. Gal. 2, 9. Cf. Note 136.

144 Cf. Ps. 36, 24.

fathers, I, albeit unworthy, will respect your example, which even if I am not able to attain, yet I wish to follow however I can.

For which reason, too, as you see¹⁴⁵ and which I also know has happened with the Lord's ordering, I am held accountable not to you but to Him to pay back with interest the talents committed to me.¹⁴⁶ I repeat, that having joy set before me, I endure the cross, despising the shame in defense of the Church.¹⁴⁷ Whether the world approve or disapprove, willy-nilly, I shall suffer, I am ready for scourges¹⁴⁸ until such time as the hand of the judging Lord that is duly extended over me should wish to be withdrawn.¹⁴⁹ I am so ready for scourges, that I choose rather to be afflicted for the Church of God, than to have the pleasure of sin for a time¹⁵⁰ and those of the palace.

The clergy is well aware, as also are the people and the rest of the world, what I was in the court and how much honor would accompany me from the palace to the Church when I assumed this office; how I obeyed the will of my lord the king in all matters, I, who at that time, in fact,

145 Gen. 50, 20.

146 Cf. Matt. 25, 15-25.

147 Cf. Heb. 12, 2.

148 Ps. 37, 18.

149 Cf. Job 13, 21.

150 Cf. Heb. 11, 25.

was distinguished with the stole of a double honor, both priestly and royal. But, surely, as I admit truthfully, for me now it is a very small thing to be judged in this case by man's day.¹⁵¹ For the present, my glory should only be the testimony of my own conscience.

And if you should wish to construe with a wise and good meaning this document, which my lord the Pope publicly denounced yesterday in your hearing, not a light cause of our present disturbance is your subservience. Moreover, I cannot admire your wisdom enough, when you seem to argue that I should have redeemed the time according to the counsel of the master; whereas, in fact, according to the same advice of the master, I believe I have so redeemed it. And if besides this word of the master the general and necessary interpretation of the saints is true, I not only think that I have redeemed the time but I most positively know it. For the master does not teach in that place the redemption of time when the loss of ecclesiastical liberty is in question.

Hence, (as we have already said above, and it is necessary to repeat here,) he reproaches the disciples whom he had appointed bishops over the still young and new Church because of their tolerance of subservience. He says: 'You

151 Cf. 1 Cor. 4, 3.

suffer if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man takes from you, if a man strike you on the face.¹⁵² See what the master says in another place when he encourages the redemption of time because of evil days.¹⁵³ He does not at all interpret the redemption of time, wherein the glory of the Church's freedom is lost, to mean an act of servitude. Indeed, under such circumstances, it is rather more correctly the destruction of time than the redemption of time; the loss to the Church is very shameful. For, according to the agreement of holy men, what is it to redeem time according to the advice of the teacher? Surely, that I might add nothing by my own interpretation, (for my knowledge is not my own, but that of the saints), many advise that time should be redeemed, but few fully understand it, still fewer carry out and undertake that which they know. What, then, according to the advice of the master and the interpretation of the saints, is it to redeem time? It is to give and to receive temporal things, to give and receive time, namely, the opportunity to serve God and to be free for things divine; from which world things, temporal and earthly occupations and cares, turn us away.

152 2 Cor. 11, 20.

153 Ephes. 5, 16. Cf. Note 91.

So then, in order to gain time, temporal occupations must give way on occasion, and in this way we redeem time. Whence also the Master of masters says in the gospel, from Whom this word of the great teacher seems to have taken its origin: 'And if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him.'¹⁵⁴ And he might say, 'Do not lose the peace and quiet of your heart on account of temporal losses or temporal cares and attachments, and thus you have less free time for your God.'¹⁵⁵ Otherwise, you will not redeem time, according to the teaching of the master, but you will lose it. The oft-repeated and old proverb of the pagans also agrees with this teaching of the Scriptures:

'Pestilence wants a penny; give it two and let it go away.'¹⁵⁶

Therefore, brethren, see, if you please, and take note whether I have not done this, whether I have not redeemed time. I have given up temporal things for the sake of time, I, who have left the riches and distinction of the

¹⁵⁴ Matt. 5, 40.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Heb. 10, 35. These words are not an exact quotation of the Scriptural text.

¹⁵⁶ Source unknown, except what is mentioned in the text here.

Church of Canterbury, which is the most resplendent among the churches of the Western world, I have set aside the favor and the glory of my lord the king for the sake of my own liberty and peace and that of the clergy entrusted to me. With the Lord's favor, I am about to receive grace for grace and glory for glory¹⁵⁷ for myself and for the Church.

For other reasons, I withdrew in flight from the country because I could do nothing of profit by remaining there. This is how Apollo, that great disciple of the master, whom Paul had ordained bishop of the Corinthians, deserted these same people by his flight, since he had been unable to quiet them. So that, even after being repeatedly besought by his master, he was unwilling to return to them, fearing he would make no headway because of their incorrigibility. With regard to him the master said to his disciples, 'And touching Apollo, I give you to understand that I much entreated him to come to you with the brethren, and indeed it was not his will at all to come to you at this time.'¹⁵⁸

In this fashion likewise many other pastors who

157 John 1, 16.

158 1 Cor. 16, 12.

were good men were either completely separated from their flock once committed to their care, or went from flock to flock, wherever they thought that the fulfillment of their pastoral care would be more useful.¹⁵⁹

Therefore, I think that any apology is out of place, either for their flight or for my own. This the more so since I have withdrawn myself not only because correction was hopeless, but also, lest by remaining, I cause my own death rather than retain my life. Certainly, by remaining in that country and by resisting the king in his intense anger, I would have easily heaped up sorrow upon sorrow to the great loss of the Church's liberty. For, according to the saying of the wise man, 'As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of the king.'¹⁶⁰ For anger has no mercy, nor fury when it breaks forth: and who can bear the violence of one provoked?¹⁶¹ So then, it is more advisable to yield. Otherwise, that man appears more like an insane and rash man, than as a guide of souls, who, with full knowledge and foresight, resists the roaring lion, or

¹⁵⁹ This paragraph is a repetition, almost word for word, of the end of Chapter 1, page 3 of this thesis. Cf. Robertson, Materials, III, 319.

¹⁶⁰ Prov. 20, 2.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Prov. 27, 4.

who swims against the violent current of a torrent. The wise man clearly notes this by saying, 'Resist not against the face of the mighty, and do not strive against the stream of the river.'¹⁶² I have followed this advice and left my country. At present, the heart of the prince which, as the world knows, was once in my power, is hardened against me because of my sins. This is why, as I have already said, I have gone far off flying away,¹⁶³ giving face by this flight without sanction to that subservience recently brought into the English Church. But in spite of this, it will become all the stronger of its own power, and with the grace of God and His aid, I will completely throw off that yoke of bondage.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, a more effective riddance of this subservience is manifest by my flight, as our previous words testify, if I am not mistaken, than had I rashly resisted at that time. By the very fact that I have fled, I have shown my opposition.

I do not say these things nor have I fled in this manner to give an example of flight to my successors, unless this happens by chance and the crisis should call for such

162 Ecclus. 4, 32.

163 Ps. 54, 8.

164 Cf. Gal. 5, 1.

a flight. But this I say because the archbishop of Canterbury fights with honor against his own prince, especially if he has cause to fight, but he always fights at his own peril.

Such is the case then, when the metropolitan bishop takes his stand against the insular king on his island. It is just as if one in chains and in a dark prison would provoke the keeper of the prison against himself. This peril, forsooth, almost every one of my predecessors has experienced. This is and always has been the fierce and dangerous struggle of practically all the Canterbury archbishops; namely, that either they remain in a hostile position on the island, or having recourse to flight, if this be more expedient, they leave the island notwithstanding the many hindrances of the snares and the narrow escapes.

At this point I cite to you the case of one of my most recent predecessors, my father and lord of happy memory, Theobald the archbishop.¹⁶⁵ Just as I was his inseparable companion in many other dangers and troubles, so also in this present undertaking which I am about to relate now.

¹⁶⁵ Anecdote of archbishop Theobald and Pope Eugenius III.

There arose a dispute, as frequently happens, between the Holy Pontiff of holy memory, Eugene, and the king of England, at that time Stephen. The archbishop and other people of the kingdom, contrary to the Pope's order, were prevented by the king from crossing the channel to the council at Rheims, its name at that time. But the archbishop, anxious to be obedient in every possible way, secretly and to his own danger, entrusted himself at night in a small and fragile skiff to the waves and winds with two or three companions who knew very little of the sea. Even without a sailor or oar, he came to Rheims. When he presented himself at the council, the Supreme Pontiff had already learned of his perilous journey, and immediately publicly in the hearing of the assembly said, 'Here is our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, who, more by swimming than by rowing, has crossed the ocean in order to come to us.'

And in this manner this spiritual father of mine fled at that time for the same reason as I have done now. Otherwise, if there is a weighty reason, if he did neither of these things, he would be regarded as a degenerate by his own fathers, not as a legitimate son, but as an illegitimate one, nor would he belong to Canterbury. For such a one, perchance, cannot be disciplined, if all of his

fathers are participants."

When they heard the extraordinary zeal of the archbishop, some commended the necessary flight from his country. Others, after hearing these things, were less convinced of this same zeal which they previously blamed, and claimed that it would have been better to remain and suffer in his own country at such a time. But the Pope, as we have said above, criticized only one point, that Thomas had given consent to the above-mentioned constitutions for no good reason.

Since we had such a patron for our departure, leaving for the time being the other questions they asked, let us continue the historical chronicle we have undertaken.

(12) The archbishop selects Pontigny
for his retreat

Now that we had already spent some days in the curia, the archbishop takes counsel with his own men and considers in which of the religious houses we could more conveniently retire and more fittingly wait for the outcome of our exile as disposed by God. When it seemed more advisable to us, who were pleading the cause of the Church, to retire to some one of the monasteries, we chose in preference to the rest, to stay at a certain monastery of that holy Cistercian order because of its religious standing. This place, then, was our choice, first, because of the remarkable religious fervor of the order, and secondly, because of the great peace and recollection of this order, where the religious are detached from the world both in heart and body. And from all the monasteries of that order the one we selected, called Pontigny, was situated in Burgundy. The religious observance in that monastery was regarded as extraordinary and remarkable. This place was also near that earlier named city of Sens, being only twelve leagues away, where His Holiness the Pope remained at that

time owing to the schism. Since, also, the revenue of the monastery thus far was sufficiently large, much charity was dispensed.

Therefore the Holy Pontiff summoned, at our request, the abbot of this house and the more influential of the monks. The abbot and the monks had then recognized with greater assurance the integrity and virtue of the archbishop, and the cause of which he was champion, both from the communication of the Holy Father himself and from what they had heard prior to this from repeated rumors. They straightway rendered most fervent thanks to the Lord, at Whose inspiration His own champion chose this particular place as a sort of exercising-ground for his contests.

We came to Pontigny, then, after we had spent about three weeks after our arrival in the curia, with the Pope's permission and his apostolic blessing.¹⁶⁶ We were received by the whole community with such joy and pleasure one might think we were a gift from heaven. They showed us every courtesy and gave us with eager and willing spirit meat for food and certain other provisions despite the custom of the order. The kindness and hospitality of the entire order was manifest all around us beyond the power

¹⁶⁶ November 30, 1164.

of words and time required to tell it.

On the third or fourth day after our arrival, the archbishop entered the chapter-room and recommended to the Lord and to the prayers of those present the cause of the Church which he was then defending. All our baggage was set in order. We were given individual adjoining rooms within the enclosure of the monastery. We, each according to his station, began at once to apply ourselves zealously to the study of Sacred Scripture.

But after the great commotion, the archbishop, as we have shown above, as though after stormy weather, began at once to turn his whole heart to the peace and tranquillity of the light that comes from on high, giving himself completely to study, prayer, and meditation. Indeed, this was the opportunity which he had earnestly desired while still amid the worldly emptiness from the very beginning of his elevation to assuming the dignity of archbishop. Even at the time of his chancellorship, as I heard it from his own lips, he realized, according to the saying of the wise man, "Wisdom is written in leisure,"¹⁶⁷ that this is the way it is both learned and taught.

Therefore, that monastery of ours was for us, as

167 Cf. Prov. 12, 11; 28, 19.

it were, an exercising ground of competition, where we were being mutually exercised, and as a school of virtue where we were being drilled for battle, so that we might daily say to the Lord, "It is good for us that thou hast humbled us, that we may learn thy justifications."¹⁶⁸

(13) The banishment from England and the proscription of those in the archbishop's favor

But during this period of deep seclusion and leisurely study, while we were thus receiving our training, after some days, there came from England one who brought bitter news.¹⁶⁹ He announced that upon the return from the Holy Father of the formerly cited messengers, (as we have already shown) because they had returned with their request rejected and their mission unfulfilled, by an edict of the king all the possessions, both movable and immovable, of the archbishop and of his followers who were with him, were declared confiscated. And so he will proclaim to another Job: "Behold, the Sabaeans rushed in, and took all away."¹⁷⁰ But this, also, we bore joyously, accepting the plunder of our goods with gladness, exclaiming with that brave warrior, "The Lord gave, the Lord took away: as it hath pleased the Lord so is it done."¹⁷¹ But the bearer of this news added, and by this announcement we

169 Christmas, 1164.

170 Job 1, 15.

171 Ibid., 21.

were more grievously stricken, namely, that those who sympathized with the sufferers, that is, the whole family of the archbishop and whoever remained of his household, or even anyone who had received any favor from him while they were under his patronage, were all banished and proscribed and were forced to forswear their own country. This was also incorporated in the oath they were to take; that is, that they were not to waste any time on their way until they would present themselves personally to the archbishop wherever he was to be found. This was done so that for this reason, the archbishop becoming all the more embittered, his anger might aggravate his suffering. An equally vengeful wrath raged against the kinsmen of those, too, who had followed the archbishop out of the country. There were banished and proscribed at the same time both the former and the latter, the family of one and the family of the other. All, thereupon, forswore the land of their birth, unless there were by some chance those who had been able to buy themselves off by paying a money fine. Although, even despite this, permission to remain was granted only to a few.

Whereupon at this edict a great multitude left their country in extreme poverty and want because all of their property was confiscated. Husbands and wives there

were, youths and maidens, the old with the young, servants and maid-servants, even babes from the cradles and still clinging to their mothers' breasts. No sex was spared, no age was respected, no condition was considered. And here again it might be spoken to another Job, "Behold a violent wind from the side of the desert, which shakes the house, and it fell upon thy children and they are dead."¹⁷²

However, in charge of all these confiscations and for the execution of these penalties there was appointed a certain court attendant who was filled with unconcealed hatred of the archbishop, one who hated him with a deep-seated animosity. To fulfill this work of malice such a man was chosen so that the archbishop would be all the more aggrieved. It was well believed that as far as he was concerned, he would not allow a single jot of the law to pass.¹⁷³ This man was Ranulf, his surname, de Broc. He, it is believed, of his own devising also added suffering upon suffering over and beyond those which were ordered.

Indeed, malice even if very limited in strength, yet always has many outlets; whence, also, on some occasion when the power for inflicting suffering is granted from a

172 Job 1, 19.

173 Cf. Matt. 5, 18.

higher authority, malice always tends towards the extreme and exceeds the limits set for the execution of this evil.

This malice, and something unheard of to the present, the more wicked it is the more is it spreading itself. For as prayer was daily offered up by the Church for the archbishop now in exile,¹⁷⁴ it was prohibited by a public proclamation throughout the land that it be discontinued in the future. And thus, we are deprived of the suffrages of the Church, regarded as public enemies, deprived of water and fire. This all-embracing law of a loving and kind Lord, extends even to heretics, Jews, pagans, to the very ones who were the crucifiers of Christ. Nevertheless, here, while our father is in exile and, as it were, in constant peril, to stop all aid to him even the mouths of his children are closed, so that, even in this way help to their father became in danger.

They ought to be afraid, if I am not mistaken, that, by the arrangement of the true and just God, it might sometime happen, that with whatever measure it was measured to us to them also who have meted so to us it shall be meted out.¹⁷⁵ Sons may rise up against the father, and

174 Cf. Acts 12, 5.

175 Matt. 7, 2; Luke 6, 38; Rom. 2, 1.

father against the sons, and two will be divided against three and three against two, and from division there shall be total destruction.¹⁷⁶ O malice, how active, how efficient, how subtle thou art, who thus woundest man, the very image of God, not so much by slightly striking him but by a deeper wound, and thus thou drainest out from man as if from a native fountain of devotion, every comfort of human kindness, so that it is forbidden for the sons to give that to their own father which they owe even to those who persecute and calumniate them.¹⁷⁷

Man, to be sure, is man by nature, and is human by nature; in fact, to express this more plainly, not more emphatically but more appropriately, man himself has by his own created nature the very germs of kindness and integrity, like ingrafted and inborn seeds. These same qualities the most High has retained for Himself alone from the very beginning as a special prerogative of His own Divine Nature. Nevertheless, that same wise and only good and sublime merciful Creator of all things, in creating man, beautified and embellished with these virtues His own image. Except

176 Cf. Matt. 10, 21.

177 Cf. Ibid. 5, 44. "But I say to you, Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you."

that, (alas!) immediately, through the avenging anger of the justly judging Lord, dark blotches stained that same image because of disobedience. But when His image is cleansed and fashioned anew by the Hand of the kind Creator, in no more effective way is that old enemy more quickly put to flight and flees from this image of God, than if it should behold itself embellished and adorned with goodness and mercy, as though with the richest hues. Soon, then, man becomes as if overwhelmed by that loathsome spectacle so harmful to himself, and the power of darkness is put to flight and flees and fears to approach.

But malice, having in this act for its guide the most bitter anger, has held imprisoned in this way, to the disgrace of all ages, the nature of man against the very nature of man's character, so that man,--if he might still be called man,--surpassed here the ferocity of all beasts. For, to repeat in tears that which must be bewailed over and over again, and should be repeated in grief, what is more inhuman than this atrocity; nay more, to make myself still clearer, what is more unmanly in man or more degrading? On the one hand, there are evicted from their own land and proscribed, poor mothers with children still at the breast. On the other hand, there is taken away from sons even for their own father, a right which is commonly

due to all people, the common suffrage of prayer; and the lips of children praying to God for their father in peril are ordered closed. Turn and review the entire course of history, read and see whether a deed of such enormity was ever heard of by any age in any persecution or proscription.

The exhortation of the archbishop's
learned men to him

But the archbishop, at first only hearing, afterwards actually witnessing these occurrences, became downcast and sorrowful. His whole facial aspect of previous days changed. Whereupon, the archbishop's counsellors, who were the companions of his sojourn, noticing this transformation, spoke to him in these encouraging and comforting words:

"Master, why has your countenance fallen¹⁷⁸ and why has your face changed so to a different expression, at hearing this latest news from England? We, who are now speaking to you, beg of you to bear with us a while. Yours and ours, who have remained with you, is a common cause, a common suffering, a common struggle, and by the Lord's grace, we shall obtain a common victory and a common crown.

But this recently added trial of the exiled and proscribed people has now been added to all your other troubles. If this is a punishment common to you and to us, it is more a remedial medicine than a punishment. It

¹⁷⁸ Gen. 4, 5.

appears to us that it must be regarded more in the capacity of a healing element than of a harmful factor. Above all, it should be looked upon as though it were a kind of pungent poultice applied by the Divine Physician to the wounds of our sins. Therefore let us not thrust aside impatiently from ourselves the hand of the healing Physician, nor let us be wearied when we are rebuked by the Father, no, not even if our Father should add scourges to scourges upon our backs.¹⁷⁹

Let us not grow faint nor grieve because of the scourgings, but let us sing with the penitent and scourged prophet, each one saying: 'For I am ready for scourges.'¹⁸⁰ Perhaps in this way, the avenging Lord will be avenged for all the devices of our harmful deeds and our evil doings. It is for this reason that by the same prophet, God is said to have been propitious to Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, since he was avenged because of all their devices, 'O Lord, our God, . . . Thou wast a merciful God to them, and taking vengeance on all their inventions.'¹⁸¹ Verily, mighty is the anger of God when wickedness goes unpunished. And so

179 Cf. Heb. 12, 5.

180 Ps. 37, 18.

181 Ps. 98, 8.

the prophet who was at first prosperous and later chastised said, 'Envy not the man who prospereth in his way.'¹⁸²

Wherefore, the Lord Himself also said through another prophet, that such a one is like a sheep which is fattened and led to its slaughter.¹⁸³ The Lord gave this answer to the prophet, when the prophet asked of the Lord: 'Why doth the way of the wicked prosper: why is it well with all them that transgress, and do wickedly?'¹⁸⁴ To whom the Lord replied, 'Gather them together as sheep for a sacrifice, and prepare them for the day of slaughter.'¹⁸⁵ as though he might say to the prophet: Foretell and announce with prophetic spirit: to gather them together as sheep for a sacrifice.¹⁸⁶

Truly such great good fortune in this life which has no hindrance or chastisement is a great manifestation of the mercy of God; the mercy of God is such that it transcends all His wrath.¹⁸⁷ For this mercy, according to one of the prophets, is 'as a morning cloud, and as the early dew that passeth away, (as the foam over the face of the deep), as the dust that is driven with a whirlwind out of

182 Ps. 36, 7.

183 Jer. 12, 3.

184 Ibid., 1.

185 Ibid., 3.

186 Loc. cit.

187 Cf. Eccclus. 5, 6-7.

the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney.'¹⁸⁸ And therefore, the more merciful the Lord is, so much the more wrathfully does He speak to the sinning synagogue, 'My mercy has departed from thee . . . nor shall I be angry with thee any further.'¹⁸⁹ In still another place, he says through another prophet, 'So I let them go according to the desires of their heart: they shall walk in their own inventions.'¹⁹⁰

Look at the advantages of this world and of this life, which flow like dregs through the streets, while the oil is squeezed out in the press and is later packed away in storehouses.¹⁹¹ You also, o master, (for I might say this without offending our master since we speak the words of God Himself), you have been for some time like the dregs flowing along in the streets, everything falling in line with you at your every beck and call without hindrance. But now it seems that He Who changes water into wine is desirous of transforming these dregs into good oil. If,

¹⁸⁸ Osee 13, 3. The phrase in parentheses is not contained in the scriptural verse.

¹⁸⁹ Isaias 54, 9-10. Latin text here is not exact.

¹⁹⁰ Ps. 80, 13.

¹⁹¹ The idea for this metaphor is probably taken from Pliny 15, 8, 8, #33, or Vergil, Georgics 3, 4 and 8.

then, you wish to be this same oil, you must suffer the crush of the oil-press, until you flow down from the press into the storehouses.¹⁹²

We are greatly troubled over the anxiety and sadness you are showing after hearing this latest news of that cruel edict. We were hoping that in this solitude wherein we have followed you, you would prove yourself another Moses to us, and under such a great leader we would with confidence wage the wars of our Lord.¹⁹³ But if you have not shown yourself such a one up to now, it is imperative that you do so now when the crowd begins to follow you into retreat. Therefore, languish not with grief, be not disheartened in this trial, nor grow faint with fear; let not loss of patience wear you out, nor over-anxiety distract you, nor worries eat your heart away.¹⁹⁴ You ought, instead, to mingle with the crowd without being disturbed, wearing a carefree attitude in the midst of cares. (It is your bounden duty to encourage your own people in the

192 Cf. Prov. 3, 10-11.

193 Exodus 14-15.

194 Cf. Ezech. 21, 6-7. The thought of this passage, although not exact, is parallel to that contained in these scriptural verses.

crisis of this your retirement, and strengthen them by word and example. So it will happen that while the malicious flaunt their insolence, the poor who follow you will be encouraged by the force of the inspiration--because the fire from heaven will fall in benediction on these, the fire of pride on the former.)¹⁹⁵ Let them burn like gold in the furnace, so that tried out they be refined and like iron in the fire they be entirely inflamed with love.¹⁹⁶ This wind of pride, which is now so hostile to you, and which dissipates the multitude of exiled and proscribed paupers from the island; this same wind of a proud and puffed-up spirit, I say, even you yourself have displayed while you were in the world in the company of the sons of pride. Now, surely, you are reaping a just whirlwind. From such a seed springs the same fruit, as that saying wherein one of the prophets speaks of the excessive pride of schismatic Israel, 'For they shall sow wind, and reap a whirlwind.'¹⁹⁷

195 The passage enclosed in parentheses was inserted in the margin of the Corpus Christi College MS of this life of Saint Thomas.

196 Prov. 27, 21.

197 Osee 8, 7.

But even if the recent events in England done to oppress us might be compared to a whirlwind of puffed-up pride, which scatters and blows away a crowd of poor over the deep sea, yet that same storm cannot and ought not in the least disturb those of us who are with you, as long as the Lord comforts and guides us. If this tempest can give you great anxiety, you whom we have followed, that is your concern. It cannot nor must it throw us into confusion. On the contrary, this wild storm should calm us rather than upset us; we look upon this whirlwind as a gentle breeze wherein we might better and more conveniently sail to port. With God's marvelous direction, as the psalmist says: 'Wonderful are the surges of the sea;'¹⁹⁸ on the other hand, 'wonderful is the Lord on high.'¹⁹⁹ According to the same psalm, He changed the storm to calm, 'and He turned the storm into a breeze.'²⁰⁰ And, in fact, even if we do not realize it yet, we shall soon know that by the wonder-working power of the Lord, this recent whirlwind will become calm, and this storm will be turned into a gentle breeze. This phenomenon can easily be understood

198 Ps. 92, 4.

199 Loc. cit.

200 Ps. 106, 29.

even by men of little intelligence.

Surely, now at the very outset, by this very fact our exile is ennobled, our weakness is invigorated, strength to bear our trials is granted us, and the cause of the Church is defended, and the good will of the world will turn against the worldly prince in favor of us; finally, the world will denounce the atrocity of this deed.

Meanwhile, pass this over in silence, (our eyes will shortly see this come to pass and our heart will then rejoice); the fact that, as we began to say at the very beginning, our sojourn is made illustrious and a natural outcome of this, the cause of the Church which we undertook will be safely defended. Over and above all others of every age, every sex, every condition, we have deserved to have the innocent, little children still at their mothers' breast, as the companions of our exile. These are the new pleaders of the cause of the Church before the Judge's face. Certainly the cry of these children sounds more sweetly and more convincingly in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth,²⁰¹ than all the strength and cleverness of learned lawyers.

As a result of this edict, therefore, there should

201 Cf. James 5, 4; Cant. 2, 4.

remain for us only joy and gladness since it seems, that in the awe-inspiring presence of Him Who takes away completely the spirit of princes,²⁰² such a powerful patronage of so many people in exile falls to our lot. Then, too, if we have faith, we should not hesitate, and even if we strive earnestly, as all contests are difficult, especially against so powerful and harsh an adversary, the outcome of our cause will eventually be much happier.

You, therefore, lord, in behalf of our exiled and proscrip't people, who come to us in such straits, put away every anxiety and grief, and expect the Lord, do manfully, and let your heart take courage, and wait for the Lord.²⁰³ For here in wooded groves, among these lonely crags and stones, in this solitary retreat, as in a kind of school of strife, we must either surrender disgracefully or maintain a fight with glory.

Even if we are cut off from the common suffrage of the Church, if the God of our hearts is with us, then, too, their hearts are even more so with us, since their lips are sealed in this regard. Assuredly, when public prayer is thus prohibited, so much the more now will the

202 Ps. 75, 13.

203 Ps. 26, 14.

prayer of the heart cry out as though with redoubled fervor, so will it supplicate with greater devotion, thus will it beat in greater security, and be answered more readily by Almighty God."

The archbishop's reply to his attendants

But the archbishop, listening attentively to those words of his own men, after a brief interval of silence, replied to them in a sorrowful and contrite tone:

"Blessed is the Lord, Who, by your learning, teaches my hands and has made my arms like a brazen bow,²⁰⁴ Who has given me such untiring, such wise and such vigorous comrades in my contest. Now, indeed, I see for myself that you are much more courageous in this match than I am, I, whom you call your master and leader. For which I render fervent thanks to Him, through Whose generosity I have such extraordinary helpmates, that it behooves me rather to follow them more safely than that those same ones should follow me.

In all truth, brethren, as you say, for a long time I have flowed as the oil-dregs through the wide and spacious streets of this life, surrendering myself to the beck and call of the vanities and pleasures of this life.

204 Ps. 17, 35.

And in this way giving free rein to my desires, as though uncontrollable and unrestrained, I have gone along the unfrequented roads of the world, I have wandered off on impassable roads and away from the main path. Wherefore, now, even in this great crisis which threatens me in this retreat, it is not safe to follow me. Rather, it is more fitting that I follow you wherever you go, as men learned, as my leaders and directors and exercised in these things which are of God.

So, as of this day and from this hour I commend into your hands this cause of the Church, yours as well as mine, as you say so truly. It is a cause to be fostered by your plans, to be kept in safety through your efforts. Encouraged by your example, then, and stimulated by your speech, as I have said, I ought to follow you henceforth, and with the Lord thus cherishing and enlarging my footsteps under me up to the end and my tread should not falter in following you.²⁰⁵

Indeed, as you say, I have been the oil-dregs, but I now desire, if the Lord will deign to work in His wondrous way, to be converted into oil. So, from this time forward, supported by the strength of your advice

and aid, I have resolved to bear with a braver and stronger spirit the crush of the oil-press. Perchance in this way, the Father of mercy, the Lord of all power, will wish to bring me out of misery and the mire of dregs.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, you, brethren of mine, co-helpers of Christ, such vigorous, such indispensable helpers in this present suffering of Christ, do not wonder at this, that I am deeply moved over these recent events, that I feel compassion and sorrow. For behold, I'll take the initiative from you who have followed me, though you have not received anything from me, but have lost all on my account. All this on my account, I say, I who repay you ill for good, banishment and exile for obedience, to you who are exiled and proscribed with me and for me. But now, not only you and your possessions, but also your own people and your whole family have been likewise exiled and proscribed, through no fault of theirs, but on my account and yours, nay rather, entirely through my own fault. Moreover, that the old parable and complaint in the old law, passed away, might be revived and take on new life and become a proverb now: 'The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the teeth of the children are set on edge.'²⁰⁷

206 Ps. 39, 3.

207 Jer. 31, 29.

I alone have sinned, I alone have fallen; it is I alone who should bear the burden of the wrath of the Lord. For, to pass over in silence all the rest, what has that flock of infants as yet on their mothers' breasts done, what has it merited? These very ones are not even my own kinsmen, and yet the former and even the latter have been exiled and banished on my account. They are now breasting the perils of the deep and the hardships of the roads because of me. Those suffer, also, who have not yet any sense-perceptions, nay more, they who have not the power of expression, neither voice nor senses,--some of them still in their mothers' womb are on the road before they are born, strangers and exiles before they are even brought into this world.

There are those of you who have followed me, who belong to you. As far as my own relatives are concerned, who are banished and proscribed, I could suffer this with all humility and patience, although I am not aware of any scandalous crimes of theirs for which any human law would command such an order to be carried out. But, to repeat, I would patiently endure this in respect to my own family, but how can I cover up my pity and grief for your own family? Certainly your words, in fact, the very words of God, of Whom you have been an instrument,

truly living and efficacious, have had not a little influence on me. Henceforth, encouraged and consoled by this exhortation of yours, according to the multitude of the sorrows in my heart, your comforts have given joy to my soul.²⁰⁸ From what I have heard, I realize that in following me you follow God rather than man, eternity rather than time, and the cause of justice rather than the prize of temporal rewards. But more so, these present exiled ones, the condemned, the despoiled, you embrace with joy. From this I clearly recognize that you follow the cause of God and not booty; because, as you say, the cause is common, you also accept the common punishment. I see this and rejoice exceedingly on your behalf. I rejoice, I say, to behold you strengthened with the glory of wisdom and with the virtue of patience. I see that this forbearance of yours keeps your wisdom humble, that it subjects itself of its own volition to the burden of poverty; in fine, knowledge teaches patience to rejoice with its whole heart under such a burden. Indeed, patience having knowledge as its companion has always been wont to rejoice in adversities even as knowledge having patience as a companion suffers adversities. Accordingly, you, true to the patience and knowledge given you, have shown that there

should be only joy and gladness in this new and added pain of our exiled and proscribed people; you have wisely shown us that where sin abounded, grace did more abound.²⁰⁹ By this very fact, the approbation of the world will be bestowed on us with greater sympathy and support. Indeed, it very often happens that every excess of malice, by the very fact that it exceeds the limits, will always result in the greatest harm to its own perpetrators and supporters. For a crooked bow full of defects is one which cannot be shot to a distance, but turns back the arrows upon itself, so that it becomes a source of an increase of grace to those against whom it brought excessive pain.

Nevertheless, there is a proper measure in all things, everywhere there is discretion, everywhere there is a necessary limit, especially in the administration of punishment. In this case, however, as we see and realize now, anger and envy, the evil counsellors of the powerful, are always wont to do their worst. In this connection, Scripture also says, 'For the anger of man worketh not the justice of God.'²¹⁰

That is why that Christian emperor Theodosius,

209 Rom. 5, 20.

210 James 1, 20.

as you know much better than I, after performing public penance in all submission openly and humbly, laid aside his regal adornment, sanctioned laws for the future, that the public sentence pronounced over princes as a corrective measure, be delayed by the executioners to the thirtieth day. In this way, opportunity for mercy would be given, or if the case could be settled by repentance, that he would not be the loser.²¹¹

Hence, if according to the natural law it is permissible to resist force by force, yet pagan princes have decreed that this is to be done with moderation, saying that this is allowed but with moderation, for the protection of the innocent. The same applied also to other punishments, according to this law; namely, always to mitigate rather than increase these penalties. Consequently, it is also clear that even among pagan princes mercy exalted itself above justice,²¹² as that old proverb of the Greeks says, 'Never to excess.'²¹³

However, my brethren, we fully realize now that, as far as this matter is concerned, I deservedly bring upon

211 Codex Theodosianus, ix, xl, 13.

212 James 2, 13.

213 Terence, Andria 1, 1, 34; Greek source: Solon, one of the seven Greek sages.

myself this malice inflicted through anger and envy, despising mercy in their judgment of me. So much so, that even the innocent are accused of crime, those in whom the prince of this world has not anything.²¹⁴ Still they are proscribed by the prince of this world through anger and envy (as we have said before). These are the worst type of counsellors.

This is why then, over and above everything else, I grieve for my lord, my king, whom I have always loved as my own heart and soul, and also from whose love neither tribulation nor difficulty nor persecution is able to separate me even now.²¹⁵ For him alone I mourn, for him I lament, for him I have deep and continual sorrow in my heart.²¹⁶ Those very enemies of mine who are (I say) the false friends and in reality the enemies of that king himself, are the ones who transform that same noble king into a tyrant, and who counsel him with a kind of Herodian wickedness and compel him to rage against little children, since there is in no way he can injure me more.

Therefore, who (with the prophet) will now give

214 John 14, 30.

215 Rom. 8, 39.

216 Rom. 9, 2.

water to my head and a fountain of tears to my eyes, and I will weep?²¹⁷ I will weep, I say, not for myself, not for you, not for our exiled and proscribed people, not for the loss of our goods, not for the empty churches. I will rather weep that so great a lord, so illustrious a king, at the suggestion of evil men, has brought suffering into his realm and disgrace upon himself. In this way a new and unheard of suffering is devised,²¹⁸ so that, in addition to all these other trials, he might inflict a new sorrow upon us, and by that act he would more bitterly afflict those already suffering. In this way, the more bitter the grief, the more commonly-shared it was, including even the innocent, where there was no pity for sex, no discrimination of age, no regard for condition in life. Saving our lord, the anointed of the Lord, our king, woe to those through whose instrumentality this deed has been done, by whom this latest atrocity has been inflicted, through whom this new scandal comes. Let their way be dark and slippery,²¹⁹ who have inflicted such troublesome and dangerous journeys, through unknown lands, over untraveled seas, upon innocent children, upon

217 Jer. 9, 1.

218 The words nova excogitata seem to be marked for omission in the Arras Ms. Cf. Robertson, Materials III, p. 371.

219 Ps. 34, 6.

pregnant and nursing mothers. Thus they carry out that warning of our Lord, 'Woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days.'²²⁰ Their flight occurred in the winter,²²¹ so that this savage cruelty rises above itself in its cruel application; while the bitter cold of the season indirectly adds other inconveniences to these poor and weak people.

After their judgment, may they who have judged without mercy leave the judgment condemned men;²²² and let there be judgment without mercy to them that have not done mercy in their judgment.²²³ But surely this is the work of those who were slandering me, who were my enemies in the palace, first, secretly like serpents because of fear, who now openly rear their heads and spit out their poison. But, as it is commonly said, and truthfully so, he revenges his own sorrow evilly who increases it.²²⁴ As you have taught us above, these men have not increased our grief by this deed, as they hope, but have increased more truly their

220 Matt. 24, 10; Mark 13, 17; Luke 21, 23.

221 Christmas, 1164.

222 Ps. 108, 7.

223 James 2, 13.

224 Source unknown.

own. For I shall pass over for the time being the anger of God, which has already come upon those wicked men. In this deed they have surely piled up for themselves a lasting disgrace over and above the grief and anger which they hold against us.

That the next generation might learn of this atrocious deed,--the children that should be born and should rise up, will declare them to their children.²²⁵

Hence those evil-minded men who in their wickedness did not give advice, but rather, instilled poison, they ought, I say, first to have kept in mind that the lifespan of even kingly powers is always brief, and that there follows after this life an immortal life either of glory or of incurable wounds and ruined reputation. Wherefore, nothing is more fitting or important to royal authority than a spirit of counsel and knowledge. With this spirit, he who is in charge of all things, being in the highest position, even though he has greater power, still maintains a moderation in all things, not imposing, not transcending, not exceeding this position beyond its limit. For this reason and before all else, it is important that he, who is the chastening rod of the obstinate, the flail of the

225 Ps. 77, 6.

rebellious, the hammer of the haughty, and finally the conqueror of all hostile nations;--I mean the king,--ought to be in complete control of himself and of everyone else.

It is necessary, I say, that he first and foremost take his wrath into his own hands so that he might be able to say, 'My wrath is always in my hands, so that even should he be angry, (for not in the might of kings must there be anger), yet he sins not.'²²⁶ Otherwise, if he should sin in anger, this anger which has slipped from his grasp is no longer under control. Thus, the sinner himself falls an easier prey to the power of that same wrath as its victim, if he is neither master of himself nor of anger. As a result of this strong and violent onset of rage, when the spirit of wisdom and counsel has been extinguished, the very moderation which comes from it perishes. These qualities are like children born of the same mother; justice, whereby royal power is strengthened, and mercy, with which that same power is adorned; and both equally perish. Through these same two characteristics, an immortal life of blessed and happy glory is prepared for rulers after this life. So much so, that those who have left this world are restored

²²⁶ The source for this passage is unknown. The last phrase, yet he sins not is taken from: Ps. 4, 6; Ephes. 4, 26.

to it by a benefit of immortal glory, as it were. They abide in holiness and joy in the present Church even after their death, who while still living here in the flesh,²²⁷ retained a strict discipline, seeking justice and mercy. For this reason only that king is considered blessed who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly.²²⁸ Since if he did walk without the spirit of wisdom and counsel, he is now no longer regarded as the king of the people, but rather the lowest dregs, no longer is he the anointed of the Lord, but a caricature of the anointed, a painted image, and not the ruler of his people. Or, according to the saying of the wise king, 'he is like a precious stone immersed in mercury.'²²⁹

But be it so; let them banish and drive us out, let them proscribe, afflict, and remove us, let them set upon us and rage in their madness; this is the time for suffering. We shall be patient and ready for scourges. Meanwhile, we shall repay good for evil, love for hatred, prayer for abuse, just as he so truly said of that disciple of the Master, 'Instead of making me a return of love, they detracted me; but I give myself to prayer.'²³⁰

227 Cf. 1 Peter 4, 2.

228 Ps. 1, 1.

229 Source unknown.

230 Ps. 108, 4.

After these words, having encouraged one another mutually, refreshed and renewed in courage, we betook ourselves to the cells which were assigned to us within the enclosure of the monastery, as we mentioned before. However, a new crowd of exiles kept pouring in to us every day, except that a great many who, by the absolution of the Apostolic authority, were freed from the oath they had made earlier remained in Flanders. These were especially those who, because of the weakness of age or sex, and on account of the inclemency of the weather, were unable to come to the archbishop, on oath, without great inconvenience to themselves. But the rest of them continued to come to us in groups, weeping and mourning because they were thus banished from their native soil to strange countries, all their possessions confiscated, and withdrawn from friends and kinsmen.

So, every day the poor and destitute, knocking at the gate of mercy of the Almighty, were a continual source of suffering to the archbishop. How could he remain unmoved, when all his deepest feelings of devotedness were shaken at the plaintive cries of those who were exiled on his account. Of course, he was deeply disturbed, but just like a precious perfume, the more it is shaken, the farther does it diffuse its aroma; or like a grain of mustard, when

anyone grinds it with greater force, its strength is increased; and then truly like a silver trumpet, the more forcefully it is hammered, the more perfect will be its shape and form.

All at once, he seemed to have been completely transformed into the purest oil under the pressure of the oil-press, with his face still pleasant even in the oil, so that he was always of such a calm, composed, and staunch spirit, that in every crushing movement, it could be said that he scarcely felt any pressure. Of this composure, the prophet chants in one verse, saying, "neither sad nor troublesome."²³¹ But he was always joyful, always pleasant, agreeable in spirit, of pleasing appearance, always happy and calm. The wise man says, "A holy man continueth in wisdom as the sun: but a fool is changed as the moon."²³²

Therefore, he continued the same in every season, in evil fortune as well as in good fortune; as he was in prosperity, so also was he in adversity. The sun did not burn him by day; nor the moon by night.²³³ Obeying that apostolic admonition in his own regard, he said, "My brethren,

231 Isaias 42, 4.

232 Ecclus. 27, 12.

233 Ps. 120, 6.

count it all joy, when you shall fall into divers temptations."²³⁴ The master said to his disciples, "Rejoice always."²³⁵ For the master says in order to teach his other disciples, "The sorrow of the world worketh death."²³⁶ To which corresponds the following advice of the wise man, "Give not thy soul to sadness, . . . for sadness hath killed many."²³⁷ Wherefore the wise king also says, "All the days of the poor are evil: a secure mind is like a continual feast."²³⁸ Such is the disposition of this our director, as though he were present at a continual feast, and lived in continual joy. By that same token, I have most clearly learned that real feeling of the master as if in a certain book of life; namely, that even as charity is the fruit of the Spirit so is joy. He said, "The fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy."²³⁹ Those wicked ones who have not the Spirit, lack this fruit of the Spirit not only in the words of the master but also in those of the prophet. For there

234 James 1, 2.

235 Philip. 4, 4.

236 2 Cor. 7, 10; Prov. 12, 25; 15, 13; 17, 22; Ecclus. 30, 22, 25.

237 Ecclus. 30, 22, 25; Prov. 12, 25.

238 Prov. 15, 15.

239 Gal. 5, 22.

is no joy for wicked men, God says through His prophet.

But let it be enough to have made only a mention of this affair to the praise and glory of so great an archbishop. We must return to our little ones and those other exiled and banished people so as to keep the order of the historical sequence.

When the Apostolic Pontiff and the rulers of lands, nations, and kingdoms, heard of these exiles and proscribed people of ours, they were stupefied at the first report. Strongly condemning²⁴⁰ this atrocity, they were all filled with deepest pity for this immense crowd of exiles coming to the archbishop. In this way, the archbishop had heard that what had been mutually promised earlier, was already fulfilled; that is, as a result of this deed, through the wonderful providence of God, he noticed that the approbation of the world turned against the prince of the world in our favor.

Since the archbishop could not keep with him such a great multitude, he apportioned them throughout various provinces, nations, and kingdoms; certain ones he sent to churchmen, others to some influential people, all with his

240 This is the translation of profanantes; another reading given is propalantes.

personal recommendations. Indeed, all those exiles who were sent were received kindly by the ones to whom they were dispatched; first, in condemnation of such great malice, secondly, through their love of the sender. Thus, in this reception, even people who were strangers to him ministered to him; so influential was his standing among the people and so great the sympathy for the exiles. But what? In this way, with the help of God, provision was made in such a short time for all these exiles, that not one of them was left in want, in fact, many of them were happier in exile than they were in their land. For all this, the exile Thomas was happy and truly so; he was fortunate in the cause of justice, enjoying the favor of the world, rejoicing in the great virtue and perseverance of the exiles, happy even in the prerogative of their innocence, in the glory of their virginity, in the grace of their widowhood, and in the beauty of their conjugal integrity. Not even to their own country was such a truly happy exile extended.

(14) The archbishop assumes
a more rigid discipline

But despite the fact that our exiled people were cared for in this way by the providence of God, yet, the archbishop, noticing that our own exile was made more grievous and our suffering more bitter because of such a great multitude of exiled and proscribed people, determined at the same time to increase the rigor of his own penance. So, in addition to the hair-shirt which he constantly wore, and the frequent scourgings which he secretly inflicted on himself, he also began living more austerely than was his wont.

Consequently, one day he prevailed upon one of the monks who ordinarily ministered to him at table to place before him every day the regular conventual fare together with the richer foods which he had been accustomed to eating, but to do this cautiously so that no one would notice. This alone he had arranged to use to make his repast. In order that this might be done with more caution and secrecy, the table was set daily for him alone apart from us. For several days, then, he subsisted only on dry and tasteless

herbs, as the rule of the Cistercian order required. However, (as we have made mention of above in our writing when we were treating of his physical fare and manner of dining),²⁴¹ since he had been nourished upon delicate foods from his youth, he was unable, therefore, to partake of harsher foods. But (as we said), due to the great number of exiles and proscribed people the bitterness of his own exile was increased,--for this reason and others, his penance was intensified by the strictness of his mode of life. Mortifying himself for some time in this way and living so abstemiously in contrast to his former habits, he was stricken by illness after a few days. When the disciple who has written this history made his morning visit for the sacred lesson,--his orders were to confer with the archbishop about Sacred Scripture, and he was either to be taught by him or he himself was to instruct the archbishop,--to his sorrow he discovered what befell the archbishop. Coming closer, he tried to ascertain what could be the cause of such a sudden ailment. However, as I soon realized, (as soon as I referred to it), he refused to give any reason, but changed the subject. Nevertheless, I began to be instant in season, out of season,²⁴² as much as I

241 Robertson, Materials, III, p. 233-34.

242 2 Tim. 4, 2.

might dare. Finally, he revealed the cause to me upon my insistent pressing, but that I was to keep it secret. Yet he was not definite, but said that he only suspected that the illness befell him in this way because of that rigid austerity and abstinence which were so strange to his earlier life.

The advice of the disciple to the archbishop

Forthwith, then, I said to him, "Master, please give me a little attention. This temptation appears to be not of human origin, but rather of the devil, who seeks to subvert through excessive or unaccustomed fasting him whom he cannot overcome by gluttony.

On the other hand, this is what the master, being cognizant of the wiles of that sly one, treating of the chastisement of the bodies, said concerning the mortification of the flesh, 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God.'²⁴³ He then added, 'your reasonable service,'²⁴⁴ as if to say, in this chastisement of the bodies prudence must be practiced. When he said, 'reasonable,' it is evident he means with moderation, namely, lest anything go beyond the norm either on one side or the other. He said reasonable, so that natural adaptability be taken into consideration, not the will of the one fasting. He said reasonable, so that the age also

243 Rom. 12, 1.

244 Loc. cit.

might be taken into account, and the state of life, and whatever might be suitably fitted to each man. If, therefore, master, you desire this, that in the chastisement of your body its service be reasonable, it is necessary that reason attend service in fasting and direct your will, and not allow the impetuosity of your own will to draw you to what appears strongly tending towards the good. On this point the wise man says, 'Be not over just,'²⁴⁵ and also, 'Be not more wise than is necessary.'²⁴⁶

So, then, be not too just, nor too wise, likewise be not too abstemious. In these few words, which the wise man clearly enuntiates, many things are implied which are not stated expressly. For, as it is said, the wise man teaches with a few words.²⁴⁷ Therefore, let us do nothing to excess, for, as a certain one says, 'everything which is in excess turns to vice.'²⁴⁸ Whence we also have that saying of the wise man, 'A just man perisheth in his justice.'²⁴⁹ So also the one who fasts perishes in his own fast. Surely,

245 Eccles. 7, 17.

246 Loc. cit.

247 Source unknown

248 Terence, Andria 1, 1, 34.

249 Eccles. 7, 16.

in fasting the infirmity of the flesh must be taken into consideration, as also the limits of nature, and the practice of daily habit. Very often, indeed, it happens that as the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak,²⁵⁰ so nature is powerless and habit rebels.

Therefore, it is necessary that, by restraining the rigor you yield to these two.²⁵¹ For, according to what the wise man says, 'He that nourisheth his servant delicately from his childhood, afterwards shall find him stubborn.'²⁵² You have done this, you who have always nourished your body from childhood upon delicacies, now feel a rebellion within yourself since you are depriving yourself of this same food.

Therefore, whatever is the will of God in this regard should likewise be pleasing to you. Since you are incapable of more rigid practices, you should partake of food that is better fitted for you. And, as my teaching is not my own, listen, if you please, to what one of the wise men, in addition to these above arguments, speaks about bodily sustenance. He says, 'In all such things,

250 Matt. 26, 41.

251 i.e., nature and habit.

252 Prov. 29, 21.

not the use is at fault but inordinate passion.²⁵³ For it can so happen that a wise man might partake of the most expensive food without any fault; on the other hand, the foolish man may be inflamed by the foulest flash of gluttony towards the cheapest food. Would anyone prefer to eat fish as our Lord than the lentils Esau ate?²⁵⁴ Or would anyone feed upon the barley in the manner of cattle? For not on that account are most beasts more continent than we are, because they partake of cheaper food. Since it is not from the nature of things we use that whatever we do must either be approved or condemned, but because of our motive in using them or the method of our seeking them. See, master, this teaching is not mine but rather the teaching of right thinking men."

After these few words, the archbishop directed his attention immediately to what was obligatory, according to the saying of the wise man, "Give an occasion to a wise man, and wisdom shall be added to him."²⁵⁵ Hence, shortly

253 Probably Cleobulus, the Greek sage who taught the doctrine, "Moderation is the chief good." Cf. Harry Thurston Peck, ed., Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, (New York: American Book Co., 1923), p. 1459.

254 Cf. Matt. 15, 36; Gen. 25, 34.

255 Prov. 9, 9.

after he was restored to health by God's favor, in a very marvelous way beyond all power of description. As we previously pointed out briefly when we were treating of the archbishop's bodily fare, he afterwards prudently partook of the food which was most agreeable for him. Moreover, all this about the zealous spirit of the holy and devout archbishop and about his physical weakness is inserted here for the edification of the readers. Now then, let us proceed with the chronological order of the story.

As we began to say, when our exiled and proscrip-
t people were solaced in this way through the mercy of the Lord, we were hidden and retired far from the world in the solitude of Pontigny amid its rocky seclusion and monastic cloisters. The greater the quiet there, the greater the freedom we enjoyed; the greater the seclusion, the richer was our fruit,--in such an environment we devoted our whole attention to spiritual matters.

But the archbishop far more than the rest was carried away by an astonishing eagerness for study. Like a great luminary, he shone in the heavens with all his attention centered on Sacred Scripture, on the apostolic traditions, especially on theology. This was the opportunity (as we said previously) which he had always longed for, by means of which he might repair the loss of his long-

squandered days. This is the way, then, that he who was chosen as a guide of souls, at some time, even though late, was to acquire knowledge for himself for the direction of souls. Such a great lover of the holy writings was he, that after the regular daily hours of the Divine Office, the sacred codices scarcely left his hands through the entire day; especially those two holy books, namely, the Psalms and the Epistles, as if they were two spiritual eyes, the mystical and the moral. He was taught ethics perfectly by the first of these two books, as he said, and theory for the most part by the other. Moreover, from this love of the Scriptures he made so much progress in a short time, that very frequently even the most perplexing and intricate questions of the Scriptures he understood even better than those teaching. Such, then, was our stay at Pontigny.

(15) Zeal for justice becomes the ruling spirit of the archbishop in the second year of his exile

In the second year of our sojourn, the archbishop realized that the heart of our enemies remained obdurate, that there were as yet no outward indications of repentance for the excessive crimes they perpetrated against us. In fact, our enemies were bent on still further injury against us. Since they were now powerless to prevail upon us by force, with their slanderous tongues they persecuted from a distance those of us remaining in this retirement. After the archbishop made note of this state of affairs, I repeat, he began to think with himself²⁵⁶ and to meditate with his own heart,²⁵⁷ and in this interior reflection a fire flamed out,²⁵⁸ not with the heat of taking vengeance but of love.²⁵⁹ He saw his own sons, though now become his enemies, yet daily going to their death and falling into the precipice.

256 Esdras 5, 7.

257 Ps. 76, 7.

258 Ibid. 38, 4.

259 Deut. 32, 22; 1 Peter 2, 24.

Being a father of fathers, he could no longer feign indifference. For, although they had withdrawn their filial loyalty from him, nevertheless, in no wise was the priestly perfection of his paternal love for them withdrawn. From the very depths of his heart, he softened towards these perishing sons of his. With these thoughts his zealous spirit was kindled, not with a craving for revenge, but out of eagerness for justice in his sons' regard and out of fatherly compassion for them. This is the way the father pities his sons and wishes to show mercy to them, even when he visits their iniquities with the rod, and their sins with stripes.²⁶⁰ Hence, on the one hand, a burning zeal for justice took full possession of him, since this zeal in regard to stubborn subjects is the special office of the priest; secondly, a zeal which is especially applicable to fathers, namely, a deep feeling of mercy for their erring sons.

And so, he who was silent up to this time, who suffered so long in all resignation, seeing and realizing that his own long-suffering was arrogantly spurned, now no longer submissive, nor sleeping, but rising up and bestirring himself just as a true son of those alert de-

260 Ps. 88, 83.

fenders, he began at once to take counsel with his own brethren about the steps to be taken, mindful of that warning of the Lord in the prophetic writings, like one suddenly disturbed and aroused: "Son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: . . . If thou declare it not to him, nor speak to him, that he may be converted from his wicked way, and live: the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand."²⁶¹ Therefore, he first addresses us, the companions of his trials, in this deliberate way as follows:

²⁶¹ Ezech. 3, 17-18.

The archbishop's proposals to his companions

"Men, brethren," he says,²⁶² "Christ's co-helpers with me in the cause of the Church, you understand and know me very well. You know, too, that all things have their season, a time for suffering and a time for rebelling, a time for compassion, and a time for judging.²⁶³ 'When I shall take a time,' he said, 'I will judge justices.'²⁶⁴ The master said to his disciples, 'Serving unto this purpose.'²⁶⁵ However, we have been biding our time up to the present, until this day we have suffered, up to now as laborers, tolerant of everyone, we have borne the sinners upon the shoulders of the Church, but they have lengthened their iniquity.²⁶⁶ Day by day they abuse our goodness and patience, and heaping sins upon sins, they treasure up for themselves only wrath,²⁶⁷ not mercy. Since the Lord said by the prophet in regard to those who are hardened and

262 Acts 2, 37.

263 Cf. Eccles. 3, 2-8.

264 Ps. 74, 3.

265 Rom. 13, 6.

266 Cf. Ps. 128, 3.

267 Cf. Rom. 2, 5.

unrepentant, but always set on sinning still more, 'Shall I not oppose him in three or four sins?'²⁶⁸

Take counsel, brethren, see what we must do in the future. For, although we have been silent up to now, shall we always be silent in this wise? 'Woe is me,' says the prophet, 'because I have held my peace.'²⁶⁹ Shall we, in spite of all this, still remain silent, though we have been admonished by the prophet? We, who up to now have taken our rest in this solitude and these rocks and in the company of these monks,--should we not throw ourselves into the fight and be on the alert? To be sure, it is good and sweet for us to be here,²⁷⁰ to rest in this way and to enjoy so long the sweet embraces of our desirable Rachel.²⁷¹ Of course, this is rest that is good and pleasant. On the other hand, under the present circumstances, I am not suggesting anything which does not admit of a better plan; however, it now appears to me, that henceforth our deepest concern should be that of a spouse and the obligation of our office should impel us to accomplish the work at hand

268 Exact source unknown. Cf. Isaias 1, 5.

269 Isaias 6, 5.

270 Cf. Matt. 17, 4.

271 Cf. Prov. 7, 18.

which we have assumed with the obligation of a bishop.

For, behold how the foxes destroy the vines and the wolves do not stop attacking openly the sheep-folds.²⁷² Especially if there are any apostates who return not to the heart,²⁷³ but who would perhaps be converted if they were hit hard. Otherwise, why else does the shepherd carry his staff, except to ward off the wolves; for what other reason does the judge bear a sword, unless to threaten transgressors; it is useless for the priest to have received the keys of the church, were he not to eject unworthy ones.²⁷⁴ Now, I speak of these things particularly to you, my brethren, since that wickedness was directed against us (I say) and our exiles and proscrip people. Consequently, exaction of justice from our adversaries must be made without delay.

It is customarily proper that weakness or indifference be tolerated rather than out-and-out malice. Therefore, because our duty renders this imperative, it appears to me that from now on we must proceed in this way. We must no longer sleep so that together with our spouse

272 Cf. Cant. 2, 15.

273 Cf. Isaias 46, 8.

274 Matt. 16, 18-19.

we might catch the foxes that destroy the vines.²⁷⁵ Together with our beloved let us arise from the couch, let us go forth into the field, let us abide in the villages, and let us work in the vineyards, according to the words of the spouse, 'Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us abide in the villages. Let us get up early to the vineyards.'²⁷⁶ For the work of a spouse perishes, has no value, if it does not have the help of the beloved. Therefore, o beloved, if you agree, let us rise, let us go forth, and let us labor, tearing up with our prophetic rake,²⁷⁷ destroying and scattering the harmful weeds, lest through our sloth or negligence they increase further and cause harm, and outgrow the whole garden of the Lord. Otherwise, we shall be condemned of sloth and negligence by the Master of the garden; just as the slothful and negligent gardeners.²⁷⁸ Let us act as the Master of the garden instructed one of his gardeners, to whom he had committed the care of his garden: 'Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms, to root up, and

275 Cant. 2, 15.

276 Ibid. 7, 11-12.

277 Isaias 7, 25.

278 Cf. Matt. 21, 33-40.

to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.²⁷⁹

Surely, my brethren, you, as men well-versed in the Scriptures and knowing well the examples of many fathers, you are in a better position than I to know what ought to be done in these and in similar circumstances. Nevertheless, I am telling you what I think, as my conscience dictates. Moreover, in order to add now to my previous remarks, among other considerations, the following thought occurs to me. If we wish to be imitators of Him Whose disciples we are, according to the example of that Samaritan of the gospel, who was a true guardian and physician; to cure the wounds of sins we should first pour in the oil, and afterwards the wine,²⁸⁰ if this is still necessary. Consequently, first the most soothing oil of lenience should be applied, since this is especially potent in the healing of wounds. This means that our Lord the King should first be met with every meekness and humility. Perhaps, this way his anger and indignation being satiated now with our misfortunes, he might regard us with the kindness of a king, because of our lowly condition."

279 Jer. 1, 10.

280 Cf. Luke 10, 33.

After this case was set forth by the archbishop, his proposal was agreeable to us, that is, to as many of us who approved of the suggestions offered.

(16) The outcome of the first mission to the king

One of the abbots of the Cistercian order belonging to the monastery at Pontigny by special jurisdiction was commissioned with the archbishop's message. This abbot's name was Urban and he was really urbane; Urban in name and urbane in both character and speech.²⁸¹ Certainly, only such a one was fitted for the execution of so important an assignment. Consequently, this monk was sent, bearing to his majesty the king a most persuasive document in the name of the archbishop, one that was merely an entreaty, not a threat or reproach. To achieve his purpose, the archbishop had searched for suitable words, soft and peaceful ones, and composed the mildest sounding sentences, ones that would be most likely to soften the heart of the king. Several days went by and the messenger returned. In reply to our kind words, in lieu of our gentle and peaceable ones, he reported nothing but bitterness, harshness, and more trouble, the feelings of the king were so set against us.

²⁸¹ Note the play on words here in the name Urban.

The second meeting and its issue

Nevertheless, the archbishop did not refrain from contacting the king yet a second time through this same messenger. He enjoined his envoy to speak harsher words, no longer the mild ones as previously.²⁸² He also addressed a letter to his majesty worded with somewhat greater severity, in which the archbishop admonished the king, but still in a spirit of lenience and mildness. This time, too, the courier returned in a very short time. In this second mission he likewise reported back that neither the archbishop's verbal nor written messages were of any avail. Upon hearing this, fully realizing now that he would accomplish nothing by kindness and mercy, in a spirit of justice and zeal, in burning indignation, the archbishop wrote a third letter. In this one he used strong and stern expressions. Now, not as before, rebuking the king patiently, but taking him to task severely, as, since it was his duty as bishop, he set down his arguments with all authority.

²⁸² Note that in this case, the message brought to the king was both verbal and written.

He was like a disciple of the true Samaritan, who first pours in the oil, and afterwards the wine.²⁸³ He was also like the scriptural animal depicted by the prophet,²⁸⁴ having the face of a man and the face of a lion, and in this same regard, he followed his master: "If anyone," said the master, "be overtaken in any fault, you, who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness."²⁸⁵ In another place, instructing his disciple in the obligation of his episcopal office, he said, "But the servant of the Lord must not wrangle: but be mild . . . with modesty admonishing them that resist the truth."²⁸⁶ See his mild spirit and unassuming disposition! In still another place he himself again says to his disciple, "Wherefore," he said, "rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith."²⁸⁷ Note first the mildness and modesty, then observe how stern a reproof is given! This is the Samaritan's oil and wine; these are the evangelical semblances in the prophet,--the image of a man and the image of a lion;

283 Cf. Luke 10, 33.

284 Cf. Ezech. 1, 10.

285 Gal. 6, 1.

286 2 Tim. 2, 24-25.

287 Titus 1, 13.

this is the ecclesiastical discipline, and the strictness of the church law. In order that infection may not set in, the tumor of arrogance is lanced with a knife.

This is why, then, our doctor of the Church, I refer to the archbishop, resorting to this method, proceeded in the following manner. For this more difficult task now, one strictly religious man was chosen because of his extraordinary piety, a man ragged and poor, always walking barefoot: for which reason he was named "discalced." Girard was his real name, a man constantly aspiring for death and living his earthly days with resignation. His greatest solicitude ever was to reconcile those at variance. Therefore, only such a one would be suited to carry out this mission. In fact, with such men there is usually a certain freedom in confidently speaking the words of God and of doing many great things, inasmuch as the inspiration of the Lord works in them. This man was sent, therefore; and besides the letter he carried, the archbishop also entrusted to him a personal message from himself. He was commissioned and another monk was to accompany him.

These messengers carried out their injunctions faithfully, but not even they were able to achieve any success. Rather, having laid down stricter measures even much harsher than in the previous missions, they returned with much harsher responses than ever before.

(17) The archbishop is checked
by the still incorrigible king

The archbishop, hearing how matters stood, began to be troubled and sorrowful,²⁸⁸ realizing now that the king's animosity would not relent towards himself by either one means or another. Even that Christian king Louis and many princes of other lands had made repeated attempts to appease the king. But neither these influential men, nor even the archbishop's own messengers, were able to accomplish anything by either exercising gentleness on one occasion or greater severity on another later occasion. In fact, the pride of them that hate us ascends continually.²⁸⁹ Thereupon, the deeply disturbed archbishop began to call upon the Lord more fervently, to spend more time in prayer, to fast, and to continually grieve over the king, seeing that he remained adamant to all these efforts.

So, he was in a dilemma when he noted this great disorder in the Church, and that the king's disposition remained unchanged. On the one hand, he was anxious to be

288 Mark 14, 33; John 14, 21.

289 Ps. 73, 23.

relieved of the care and obligation that falls to a bishop, and on the other, he felt an eagerness to persevere in behalf of the cause of the Church which he had undertaken to protect. After a great deal of debating with himself, he finally summoned his learned followers to discuss this problem with them. He barely mentioned the fact that he intended to resign his position, when, scandalized at the very thought of it, they unanimously exclaimed that he ought rather to die than to desert and in this way to die in the Lord's battle even before the fight.²⁹⁰ Being men versed in spiritual matters, they pointed out the many reasons for which an archbishop is sometimes permitted to transfer from see to see, or even to resign altogether. But, they argued, there was no such reason here; on the contrary, it would be a shameful scandal for posterity. This action was compared to that of the man at the prow of a ship who, becoming cowardly distraught in the face of the fierce winds of a storm abandons his ship in the midst of the waters. Or just as a pusillanimous prince who has set out for battle, but when he sees the tents of the enemies, becomes thoroughly terrified and flees alone to save himself, thereby dooming the line of camp; although

290 Cf. 1 Mac. 3, 59.

he himself had been prepared to hold his stand bravely. Therefore, as our learned men usually exhort us in their customary wisdom,--this was no time for fleeing but for strong opposition, particularly since only the life of the Church was being attacked by the enemies, the position of the clergy defamed and its independence destroyed.

Because the archbishop grieved over his king who had been contacted in this way and remained unreasonably unflinching, his men gave the following advice. Continuing in the same example of his own long-suffering, he should try to soften the heart of the king, although he had still been unable to effect any change in him by his words. When nothing else changes the heart of an irate man and turns him to charity, then let this be accomplished by the determination to suffer longer in patience in behalf of the angered one.

The archbishop, convinced from the forceful and sound advice of his learned men, now no longer contemplated the desertion of his pastoral post but rather considered carrying out the necessary steps in a brave spirit of determination as soon as possible. Then, mustering up courage and taking heart, he no longer thinks about flight nor about rest, but only about his responsibility and struggle. After some inner reflection, he decided, after all previous

measures, to threaten with his bishop's authority²⁹¹ the king who had not been affected by the more lenient chastisement of his rod of correction.²⁹²

So, he pondered within himself and made plans, but he neither expressed this decision to his learned associates, nor did he make any definite conclusions from their suggestions. He then acted with great care and earnestness, sparing his own followers in this procedure, lest those who by following him had already incurred the bitter anger of the king on this account, might inadvertently bring upon themselves a deeper and more lasting hatred if they should give such advice against the king. This might militate, not necessarily against the will of the king, but to their own disadvantage.²⁹³ Hence, he meditated along these lines within himself, not discussing this idea with his own men, not consulting them beforehand, intending to strike (as we said) with the crozier of more severe castigation his own

291 This is probably the figurative idea of the crozier of the bishop used to represent his authority; baculus would then mean crozier.

292 The figure continues in this same passage wherein rod (virga) represents the milder reproofs Thomas had used in his messages to the king.

293 Utilitati in this sentence is ambiguous; it might be used with the king or Thomas' men. It is translated in the latter sense.

king and son, who hitherto had been insensible to the touch of the rod. Perhaps by some chance, after the chastisement with the crozier, he might be dissuaded from his erring ways. I reiterate, then, he reflected interiorly in this manner, yet he was still doubtful and hesitant about what should be done about this situation. For he was not, as we said, willing to make this deduction from that consultation with his own men because of the aforementioned reason, nor did he wish to seek their advice.

Therefore, deliberating in silence within himself for some time, he was wavering one way and another, irresolute and hesitant. He had certainly read this statement in the law, "And the prince of thy people thou shalt not curse,"²⁹⁴ and that of the sinner king, "To thee only have I sinned."²⁹⁵ Truly, the king sins only to God. For, as one of the doctors and leaders of the Church teaches about that quotation, "If anyone of the common people should err, he sins to God and to the king; but the king does not have a man who will judge his deeds."²⁹⁶

294 Exod. 22, 28.

295 Ps. 50, 6.

296 Exact source unknown. Probably by Saint Augustine.

He had read similar expressions in the law and in the psalmist; he had also read many other accounts which learned and experienced teachers of the Church had set down regarding such cases. One of them said, "Correction that is made by many cannot be salutary unless the one corrected has many friends."²⁹⁷ Likewise, "When anyone of the brethren has been in some such sin, that he is regarded as worthy of anathema, let him be where there is no danger of schism."²⁹⁸ He had read these sayings and other statements in this same vein.

As we have said before, there was in the Church of Rome at this period a serious schism caused by that noted emperor Frederick and the noble Octavian, the anti-pope, at that time separated from the Church and resulting in schism. Therefore, at that time, without a grave reason did it appear the provocation for a still greater and serious schism if the sword of the word would be unsheathed against such a powerful ruler, I mean against the king of England. He who was of so youthful an age, so splendidly governed so much territory on this and the other side of

297 Saint Augustine, Contra litteras Parmeniani, iii, 13-4.

298 Source unknown.

the sea. This baring of the sword might cause separation from the Church since it was possible that the king being so strongly influenced because of his youth, might easily cross over to the enemy factions of the Church. In addition to all these reasons, there was a possibility that the authority of the Apostolic See would be seriously imperiled on this account. This (as we said) could easily happen, whatever plan or connivance he himself might decide upon, since that very act might aggravate the king completely. They advised the following modes of action: namely, that he replace his own sword, and not to strike with the bishop's crozier.

However, from the opposite faction, they were talking of other measures; that is, they were urging him to use the sword even to the shedding of blood,²⁹⁹ and to strike with his staff. For, as he had heard in the law a point we mentioned above, namely, "And the prince of thy people thou shalt not curse."³⁰⁰ He had likewise read in the law that the leaders of the synagogue were known to be much more sinful than those others who were compelled to

299 The shedding of blood by means of the sword is used in a figurative sense here, not literal.

300 Exod. 22, 28. Cf. Note 294.

remain outside the synagogue; by no means did it mean to curse the prince. This was forbidden by law, but then excommunication was a much severer kind of disciplinary punishment. Just as in those days, so now, to speak anathema against the prince, which the law forbids, means to control with disciplinary measures the prince as a son of the Church, and as one wounded and torn by thieves might, through the ministrations of the Samaritan, have his wound lanced with the knife that it might not become infected.

He had also read in the prophet, "Woe to me," he said, "because I have held my peace."³⁰¹ To himself alone the prophet says, "Woe," that is, that he did not reprimand the king Achab by that very authority which he should have used, nor did he compel him in virtue of the power given to him. For, as we have inferred above, because the king who was an adulterer and murderer had proclaimed to God, "To thee alone have I sinned,"³⁰² he did not for that reason say that at that time the power of compulsion against kings was taken away from the prophets and from the priests of the synagogue. This is why he admonished the king for his sin; on that account, he said,

301 Isaias 6, 5.

302 Ps. 50, 6. Cf. Note 295.

"To thee alone," speaking to God, because both kings and prophets represented the authority of the Lord, and were themselves as though the Lord Himself, Whose vicars they were. Hence, they themselves administer punishment; this punishment is of God alone, the application of which belongs to us. And just as in the past, so also now, even if the Church or the priest should punish the king, yet God alone is said to be the one punishing. For he who performs the function of the Lord on earth is the one who punishes, he who on earth was given as God to the people, according to that saying of the Lord to Moses, "Behold, I have appointed thee the God of Pharaoh."³⁰³ The priests, too, it is found, are called gods very frequently. He had read this in the law and in the prophet, and similarly throughout various places of the scriptures in regard to the admonition of kings.

So now, not so much by divine examples, but let us consider the examples of the early Fathers of the Church and others. He had heard and had read of a similar case--namely, of that leader of the Church, so learned, so keen-minded, and such a famous doctor, Ambrose, who had excommunicated Theodosius the great emperor and had barred him

303 Exod. 7, 1.

from the Church.³⁰⁴ Not looking for instances from afar, however, he had also heard that Ivo of blessed memory, bishop of Chartres, who just like an armory of the Scriptures in our times, spread the light of knowledge to his own flock and made himself a salutary influence among them. He had heard (I say), that this bishop had excommunicated king Philip of the Franks and excluded him entirely from the Church.

The archbishop had read and heard both the former and the latter cases. For this reason, then, hemmed in by the first and the second course of action, he feared above all else, that, if he should remain silent, woe to himself; but if he should speak, there was danger of schism. He was not afraid of what was mentioned above contrary to his intentions, seeing that he was versed in the Scriptures himself; but above all else, he feared this more seriously, that is, the danger of schism. Nevertheless, revolving the first and second viewpoints in his mind in this way, he finally concluded that his own king, his own son and lord, whom he had known more truly and more intimately from their long and familiar contact, would never be a son of schism but of peace. He also believed that no matter

³⁰⁴ Cf. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici,
A.D. 390, 2-30.

how bitterly the king threatened by his speech, yet he would never tear open the womb of his own mother the Church in order to throw himself out. Thinking in this wise (I say), he firmly determined in his own heart that he would chastise him with his bishop's authority, so that, by some chance, the one wandering and transgressing justice might return. However, (as we said above) he was still afraid that his own Church of Rome, which is at the head of all, might evict him by her authority since he himself had applied every means of justice. He was afraid of this, but nevertheless, whatever the Church of Rome would do as a mother and mistress, she exacted greater satisfaction in following the duty of her office rather than to leave evil-doing unpunished by her own silence and dissimulation, thus condoning transgressions. Thinking (and rightly so) he must least of all demand the blood of the impious, even though greater power might come from this demand, yet it might affect the accomplishment of the work of justice.

Therefore, by the dictates of his own conscience, (as he himself disclosed to me), upon its insistence on this course of action of which we have spoken, he maintained the most firm ecclesiastical discipline against the king in his own mind. Otherwise, it seemed to him that the shepherd of the gospel bore his staff without justification,

and the ecclesiastical judge without cause the sword, and the priest of the Lord had received the keys of the Church to no purpose,³⁰⁵ except that he had this authority and power as beritting those who are obliged to admit or exclude anyone from the Church.

When he had decided upon his future course, he determined that it be done not covertly, not secretly, but publicly and solemnly, since our cause and the public scandal of the opposite side was already known throughout the whole Church. He set out for that famous place named Vezelay, and at that celebrated season close upon the specially prominent feast of the Church. This was the feast day of the blessed Mary Magdalen, in whose honor the church was built, and whose body rested there in glory. For this reason, also, many nations traveled to this church from different kingdoms for the festive day.

At that famous and festive season, then, we came to that renowned place, one day's travel from our lodging-place at the monastery of Pontigny. We started out and arrived the day before the feast. The reason for our visit to this place was unknown to those of us who accompanied him (for he did not inform us of his intention, which we

305 Matt. 16, 18-19.

have spoken about above.) We were under the impression that he had gone only because of the feast day celebration. But the following day, that is, on the feast day, after the celebration of a public Mass requested by the abbot and the convent, he ascended the pulpit at the end of the gospel and gave the people an eloquent sermon from which much fruit could be drawn. Finally, he revealed, in the hearing of the people, the reason of the disagreement between himself and the king; how grievously and harshly he himself and his own people were treated; how the king even contacted so many times was not repentant but all the more obstinate. He recommended to their prayers the cause of the Church, himself, and all of his followers. Thereupon, in the hearing of all and to their astonishment, extremely saddened, in a sorrowful voice and with sincerest sympathy he sent out an edict against Henry, king of England, threatening him by name.

We, the companions of his struggle, hearing this announcement so unexpectedly, were stupefied by the fact that it was made without consulting us. He, himself, however, soon pointed out to us, that he hid this from us with all forethought and wisdom, because of the above-mentioned reason, stating why he had done this without consulting us. But this act was soon spread abroad throughout all the lands

by the many and various nations who had gathered together for the feast day and who had heard this edict with their own ears. It most surely came to the ears of the king. The king, and everyone else with him, were very deeply disturbed over this, and not without good reason,--but about this there is no time either to speak or to write.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister M. Benetta Luomas, C.S.C. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classical Languages.

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

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

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