An Annotated Translation of the Life of St. Thomas Becket By Herbert Bosham (Part Two)

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

(Part Two)

by

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the Requirements for the Degree of Master
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VITA

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INTRODUCTION

Detailed biographies of England's renowned martyr saint, Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, have been composed by at least twelve of his contemporaries. The last of these valuable accounts was written about fourteen years after the Archbishop's death by his faithful companion and follower, Herbert Bosham, a biographer whom James Craigie Robertson characterizes as "a man who had opportunities for knowing his subject scarcely inferior to those enjoyed by John of Salisbury and Fitzstephen."¹

Herbert was a native of England, probably of Bosham in Sussex. He must have been an intimate friend of Thomas for some time before the latter's election to the primacy of London in 1162, since at that time the chancellor chose Herbert as his confidential friend, mentor, and almost constant companion.² Herbert was present at the Councils of Tours, Clarendon, and Northampton; and, during the archbishop's exile, he remained in faithful attendance except during intervals in which he served his master by transacting business elsewhere.

¹ Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1859) p. 254
² Idém.
Herbert Bosham is described as a man of tall, majestic appearance, "possessed of great personal strength and courage which qualified him to be chosen as he was, for all enterprises of danger or of daring."³ It was on one of these perilous errands, namely his attendance at an interview between the king and some of Thomas's clerks, that he distinguished himself by his bold reply to an insult hurled at him by the angry king. Henry was endeavoring to gain the support of Thomas's followers; to attain this end he promised the return of all confiscated church property if these adherents would abandon their Archbishop. Herbert's fearless opposition in the matter enraged the sovereign, and he referred openly to Herbert as "the son of a priest." Indignant at the insult, Herbert was quick to retort: "I am not the son of a priest; for I was not begotten in priesthood, although my father later became a priest; nor is he a king's son, unless his father was a king when he begot him." This reply, particularly the reference to his father, further angered Henry; and the conference ended in complete failure.⁴


It is probable that Thomas, fearing the result of Herbert's impetuosity, purposely dispatched him on a mission to France at a time when the dissension had reached its height. Thus it happened that this faithful friend left the country on the day preceding the Archbishop's martyrdom which occurred on December 29, 1170. Beyond that date we know little of Herbert's life, except that he began his lengthy biography of Thomas in 1184, the fourteenth year after his master's death, and finished it before 1187. The approximate date for the completion of this work is evident from the fact that Pope Urban III, who is among the "Eruditi" mentioned in the Catalogue, died during that year. From Herbert's own reflections we learn that he was very lonely after the death of his master, and that he was neglected by the clergy of his native land. 5 James Craigie Robertson is half inclined to see in this lament an explanation of the author's somewhat ostentatious attempts to do justice, here and there, to the motives and measures of the king. 6

Herbert's Vita Sancti Thomae consists of six long books supplemented by a seventh book or appendix, Catalogue Eruditorum Thomae, a list of the scholars and clerks who formed the inner circle of Thomas's acquaintances. There are also two other volumes: a sequel entitled Liber Melorum

5 Ibid. 3,553

wherein Herbert's love of lengthy and irrelevant discourse is indulged to the extreme; and a "Homily on St. Thomas," which is regarded as having no historical value.  

The Vita Sancti Thomae, despite its innumerable verbose passages of wearisome commentary, is valuable as the work of a man who was a close associate of Thomas and an eye-witness of many of the events of which he writes. Herbert staunchly defends his many tedious digressions, declaring them to be both necessary and profitable. Indeed he has charged posterity to refrain from mutilating or abridging his work. He permits one exception: that some portions of it may be read in church on the feast of the martyr.  

Herbert's simple, reverent, yet intensely human affection for Thomas is evident throughout his long prosy tale. "In Herbert of Bosham," says William Holden Hutton, "if sometimes the real Thomas eludes us, we come very near him in the impression which he made on those who knew him well."  

Sister Mary Imelda Horback, O.P. has translated the first part of Bosham's Life of St. Thomas in a thesis comprising Books I and II and the first sixteen chapters of Book III. Chapters seventeen to thirty-eight of Book III  

7 Cf. Materials 3.XXVI
8 Cf. Ibid. 3.533
9 Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1926) p. 294
are presented in this translation.

The text for the present translation is taken from James Craigie Robertson's *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.* volume three, pages 238-315. The two extant manuscripts of Herbert's writings used in the preparation of this text are the Oxford MS, preserved in the Library of the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the Arras MS which is in the Public Library of Arras. Both manuscripts, having suffered from decay and mutilation, are incomplete; and in an effort to supply missing portions, Canon Robertson has made use also of the Phillipps MS and other available copies of the abridged form.
Chapter 17. His Carefulness in Regard to Ordination

It is indeed imperative that you, especially those of you who are of the same province, return at the appointed and fitting season, and that soon, to your new archbishop, since on the solemn feast of the present month, September, he has arranged to ordain and appoint ministers to the altar of God. So too it is of importance that, just as a new bishop ought to ordain and appoint such ministers, so you, either by teaching may give the form to your flock, or by learning from your archbishop may obtain the manner of doing this. And indeed it was done as he ordered. For after his own consecration, which, as we have already told you, was performed so festively, so gloriously, within the octave of Pentecost, he ordained during the Ember Days of September. He did this all the sooner because the metropolitan see had been vacant for some time. And really, to tell the truth and the whole truth, he was exceedingly fearful and anxious concerning this duty of the shepherd. He had read well the advice of the Master to His disciple: "Impose not hands lightly

1
upon any man, neither be partaker of other men's sins.\textsuperscript{1}

From these words as from a terrible crash of thunder, so to speak, especially of that thunder produced by fearing for his own sons, he was thoroughly shaken in mind and body; fearful beyond measure of what was contained in the end of that terrible sentence of the Apostle: "Neither," he says "be a partaker of other men's sins." Thus, in a certain exhortatory sermon which he himself had at that time composed for those who were to be ordained, among the various matters mentioned, he explained this point; not, however, introducing anything new, nor departing from the accustomed interpretation of orthodox teachers. For the instruction of those assembled in the presence of the Lord, he undertook to interpose here a particular word of his own explanation of this matter, which he delivered to those who were to be ordained, addressing them thus:

"I beseech you, brethren, through the mercy of God, that you do not permit my hands to be imposed lightly upon you, unless they be imposed upon men who have determined, each mindful of his own duty, to administer worthily the obligations proper to the clergy according to the rank of his position in the Church of God; permit not that I, who realize that I am heavily burdened with the multitude of my own offences, become a partaker of other men's sins. Certain it

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} 1 Timothy 5.22
\end{itemize}
is that if one ordains with full knowledge and without
previous trial an unworthy candidate, he offends God grievous-
ly even though the one ordained corrects his life later. But
if he who is ordained is not corrected, then he who ordains
such a one stains his own soul with the sins of the one
ordained, especially with those which the ordained commits
after the day of his ordination. For this reason, the
Apostle admonished Timothy, saying: 'Impose not hands lightly
upon any man, neither be a partaker of other men's sins.'

We forbid you, brethren, in the name of God, the all-powerful,
and in our own, to permit the yoke of the Lord to be placed
on any one of you if he knows that his strength is not equal
to it. Let him persevere rather in doing good as long as he
is incapable of doing the more excellent."

This special message of his own he included, among other
matters, in that sermon to those who were to be ordained.
See from these words if he was not stricken with fear, if he
was not trembling, if he was not disturbed. For the same
reason, as in the interview of those to be ordained, he was a
most keen examiner. First, he inquired, according to the
custom of the Church, if the candidate led a worthy life;
secondly, if he were endowed with the knowledge necessary for
the state which he was seeking; thirdly, if for his life and
knowledge and the rank which he sought, he were seeking

2 1 Timothy 5.22
at the same time, a competent Church benefice. He did this lest, after having been raised to the priesthood, they should roam about as vagrants and mercenaries, and should be endowed with Holy Orders for their own advantage and display rather than for the benefit of religion. And he declared that these three requirements were not only according to the teachings of Canon Law, but what is more, according to the formula of the great High Priest, Christ Himself. All those who have been thus ordained are ministers at the table of the altar of "Him Who first began to do and to teach" and Who had a purse for His own use and that of His disciples and of the poor. Behold these three points: life, knowledge, and benefice. You hear of the purse of Christ, you see it—so, too, take your benefice in the Church of Christ, not seeking one canonship upon another, nor Church upon Church, nor benefice upon benefice, that by so doing there may be a heap of mammon, but seeking some fair benefice for the Church, that in this Church there may be the purse of Christ, not extravagant but adequate. This and this alone is the purse of Christ, this the wealth of the Apostles: "Having food and wherewith we may be clothed," they say, "with these let us be content." These three things, therefore, according

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3 Acts 1.1
4 1 Timothy 6.8
to the example of that great High Priest Christ, our bishop, the newly appointed ordainer, asked of the ministers of Christ in these first ordinations which he solemnized. He was so severe in examining these men, that he would scarcely ever entrust this examination to anyone else, because he feared, as he himself has declared many times before, that "he might be a partaker of other men's sins," or "might raise up idols in the temple of God," instead of ministers of that temple; or, like a crafty money-changer, might debase the coin of the greatest King. For certainly to adorn with the royal insignia men of unworthy life and learning is to dishonor the coin of the Highest King entrusted to the bishops. It is to stamp the seal of the King not on gold or silver, but in their place on tin or copper or lead. Hence, these forgers of the great King ought to be disinherited and consigned to the gibbet.

What shall we say, then, of those who, without pressing necessity of the Church, hastily force to higher orders clerics not yet proven for the canonically appointed time in

5 1 Timothy 5.22
6 Cf. 2 Corinthians 6.16
7 The Latin "cuneus" means "a wedge." Because a wedge-shaped die was used for the stamping of money, the term was applied to the die and was eventually transferred to the money so stamped. It is from this widest meaning of the word that the old French "coing" and "cuigne" and the English "coin" are derived.
the orders which they have received? What of those who compel such clerics, against their will, to advance? These as it seems, are either seeking to act high-handed in the clergy, or they cause themselves to be suspected of receiving base recompense, since to permit that an ordination take place or to hold out on it on this account is judged a crime equal to simony. But on this point we shall say more elsewhere. You who are approaching these orders, the assembled bishops as mentioned above, see if this new minister of ordination does not adhere to the canonical form of ordaining. I know and I have no doubt about it, that it will be judged canonical. Whence it is expedient for the Church, that if you have not conformed to this new minister of ordination, you continue from now on to keep this form from your new metropolitan; surely in this matter of ordaining prelates, there has been frequent and serious abuse. And this abuse is all the more dangerous because as one of the doctors, the apostolic man, says: "Once ordained, one cannot be judged. Hence, he must be examined the more accurately before, as he cannot be judged after he is ordained." 8

Truly there was one condition which, not without cause, greatly disturbed our new archbishop, our new ordainer. For he saw, both in his own and in other provinces, (a condition,

8 Cf. Gratian Distich XXIV
alas, too frequent in these days!) few "called by God as Aaron was," but almost as many who rose to the highest pontifical office merely through the favor of kings and of men; and that these were promoted to this dignity not because of the merits of life nor of learning, but merely by reason of noble lineage, of wealth, and of favor, and especially by the sycophancy of princes or by the acclaim of the world. This, certainly, was that great evil under the sun which the wise king saw, "as it were by an error proceeding from the face of the prince; a fool set in high dignity, and the rich sitting beneath. I have seen servants upon horses: and princes walking on the ground as servants. Concerning this abuse the wise king speaks elsewhere in the same manner: "As he that casteth a stone into the heap of mercury: so is he that giveth honor to a fool." Moreover, similar to this is the case of Jeroboam, the successor of the wise king, but illegitimate and the first schismatic of the kings, who is frequently censured through the prophets because as soon as he seized the kingdom and priesthood for himself, amid the first beginnings of his schismatic reign, he set up idols for the adoration of his people, "And he made temples in the

9 Hebrews 5.4  
10 i.e. Solomon  
11 Ecclesiastes, 10.5-7  
12 Proverbs, 26.8
high places and priests of the lowest of the people. 13
And thus that schismatic king, by assuming to himself the
priesthood, established idols over the people which the
people might adore, and afterwards formed a priesthood from
the lowest rank of the people. Yet because in kind all of
our misfortunes resemble those mentioned, these prophecies
are written also for us. O how many of our kings, after
that shadow of future priesthoods, have usurped for them­
selves the priesthood, and do so daily even now. Read our
histories, read books of the times, read the annals, and
you will hardly find one among the kings who has not taken
on an anathema, 14 who has not usurped a priestly office, 15
who has not put forth his hand to the ark, 16 who has not
carried away something from the temple, 17 who has not
drank from the vessels of the temple, 18 or profaned the
vessels of the temple; 19 as if a kingdom were not suffi­

13 Kings 3.12.31
14 "Anathema" in the New Law means the solemn curse of the
Church; formerly it was a double curse intensified by
a prayer. Cf. Josue 7.1,11; 1 Corinthians 16.22
15 Cf. 2 Paralipomenon 26.16
16 Cf. 2 Kings 6.6
17 Cf. 2 Paralipomenon 36.10
18 Cf. Amos 2.8
19 Cf. 2 Machabees 5.16
cient for these without their interference in the priesthood. But passing over these examples as ancient, let us turn to recent faults that are our own. The same complaint, which was an ancient one concerning that afore-mentioned first schismatic king, is the new complaint of our times. Instead of those kings whom we have mentioned, there are those who now deceitfully establish over the people new idols like those of our forefathers, and who, from among the lowest of the people ordain priests like those who ministered to the idols of the ancients. What indeed are foolish and ignorant priests set up over the people here and there at the whim and nod of kings except Jeroboam, who placed idols in Dan and Bethel? 20 Regarding this matter, one of the prophets says, "O shepherd of idols." 21 And what are those priests from the lowest of the people, who minister to these idols except those men of vile life who, administering the priesthood, are now subject to these bishops? Just as bishops make such as these priests, so indeed do kings make them priests; not, indeed by imposing hands upon these persons themselves, but by placing in authority persons who will ordain these candidates, persons who may easily impose hands on men of this type. Such, I say, are as guilty as those who commit these crimes. These

20 3 Kings 12.29
21 Zacharias 11.13
two groups are like the false gods and statues of the gentiles; the one group smaller, the other, greater. O how the usurpation of the priesthood ought to be avoided by kings and by those in high places, as something vain-glorious and profane! It ought to be avoided, I say, lest with the ambitious Jeroboam they may destroy their own Abia, lest with imprudent Oza they may be divided, and lest with heedless Ozias they may be smitten on the brow with leprosy; on that brow, (I say,) which in the priesthood he adorned with a plate of gold to make it more beautiful, which, according to the prophet, the inscription of the letter Tau protected from murderers, and which, for the destruction of a bold and exasperating Philistine, the blow of a sling-shot shattered. I pass over, for the present, that immense prophetic burden of the desert, namely the destruction of the great empire of the Babylonians, mentioning only the fact that the princes of

22 Cf. 3 Kings 14.7 ff.
23 Cf. 1 Paralipomenon 13.17
24 Cf. 2 Paralipomenon 26.19; Cf. Ezechiel 9.4
25 "Allophyli," the adjective meaning "foreign" is applied in Scripture to the Philistines. Cf. Psalms 55.1
26 Cf. David and Goliath, Kings 17.49-51
27 The word "onus" here refers to the woes predicted against Babylon by Isais. Cf. Isais 13.1
Babylon drank from the vessels of the temple, carried off by others, and dared to handle them irreverently. But in this present treatise, that king or emperor is not mentioned who, with the holy king and prophet David, mindful of the dignity of the house of God, desires, labors, and prays that in the house of God, both for the glory of His house and for supporting the edifice of the church, there may be hewn strong pillars; and that such may be chosen from among the clergy for the guidance of the people, if by chance they can be found if sought. For those do not offer themselves whom sacred scripture recommends, ordains and destines for so special and sacred an office. In truth, such and only such are worthy, and indeed other men are wholly unworthy of our obligation--those especially who, enriched with the goods of the church, contrary to all ecclesiastical form, following political parties are at it day and night, to seek ecclesiastical and particularly pontifical honors; this they do merely that they may continue to advance. But if you object that such as the scripture describes and seeks now form no column in the clergy because, as was once predicted and is now fulfilled, our age is so destitute of men, my answer is: Would that a more religious choice were made of the better element of the clergy, and greater zeal shown in the choice. For, as

28 Cf. Daniel 5.3
we have just said, such as these do not present themselves for honors; but either in the schools or in the cloisters, or preferably in the mountains or in the caves or caverns of the earth, they hide themselves from the confusion and contradiction of the world.

But let us return to our original point. We see that even today, merely by the favor of the kings (would that it were without offence to the King of Kings, or that since not without offence it might not be without pardon) many rise to the highest episcopal office. To tell the truth of what I know of these abuses, it seems that just as in these matters the more serious fault is that of the metropolitans rather than that of the sovereigns, so also the more serious complaint stands against the metropolitans—the difference between wishing and doing, or between the desire and the act. The sovereigns, indeed, only desire; but the metropolitans, who first confirm the election of such as these, and afterwards impose hands, both desire and act. The very book of the questionings, which they call their Ordinary, quite openly condemns this as a shameless and sacrilegious practice. It is not surprising if, in view of these facts, our new archbishop, our new ordainer, is fearful in the matter. It may seem wholly unjust, at first, for him to turn away such persons as were presented to him that he might first strengthen and confirm their
vocation, and at length (what is even greater,) might impose
hands upon them and consecrate them, since in the eyes of
the Church they had neither been convicted by another nor
had they confessed to any crime by which they might be less
qualified nor any act which might make their consecration
guilty. Still, on the contrary, it seems dangerous to admit
such persons inasmuch as their former life does not conform
to the pastoral office, or if, by chance, it does conform,
has seemed, nevertheless, in the opinion of all, to have
conformed very slightly; since both by divine law and human
testimony, he alone ought to be considered worthy whose con-
versation seems holier. But we may omit, for the present,
what concerns his manner of life (for interior things God
sees better than man does). A point of importance is
this, that knowledge alone is not sufficient. I am speak-
ing of the one to be ordained, or of the one chosen for
ordination—one who has spent his whole life amid the empty
baubles of the world, not as a disciple. He seeks to be
not a pupil in the schools, but, as it were, an ordinary
teacher of the scriptures. Our new archbishop therefore,
was being hard put to it by these considerations, because,
as we have shown, while it would be dangerous to admit such
persons, at the same time it seemed unjust to reject them.
And above all, the archbishop was influenced in this matter

29 Cf. 1 Kings 16.7
by that advice which the master gave to his disciple, and which the apostle, indeed, more truly, the great apostle, wrote, among other things, as if to one of his own bishops: "For this reason, I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst ordain priests in every city, as I also appointed thee. He soon adds, explaining what type of men he should appoint to be ordained: "If any be without crime," and the other conditions which are reviewed many times in that holy apostolic catalog of pontifical virtues; following here the interpretation of holy orthodox teachers, understanding "bishops" in the title of priests, in the term of that age we have the name of our office.

Our new archbishop and new director was disturbed, therefore, chiefly by reason of those salutary warnings of the master. Indeed they alone are truly and completely worthy whom the master, himself a noble delineator, pictures so beautifully. But, humanly speaking, because of the lethargy and lukewarmness of our times, although he who is to be ordained may fit this description perfectly, it is necessary, nevertheless, that he who seeks to be

30 i. e. St. Paul
31 Titus 1.5
32 Titus 1.6 ff.
33 i. e. St. Paul
consecrated be distinguished in some gifts of the pontifical catalog of virtues, and he who ordains perceive this. Otherwise, surely unworthily and to his own condemnation does he consecrate who, without being fully aware of the virtues of the one to be ordained, ordains rather from certain other inducements, and, with a guilty conscience. He is a partaker of the sins of another upon whom too lightly he imposes hands. Therefore, through the master as the herald of justice there were published two edicts of the heavenly king, ending in almost the same way. The first of these is: "All which is not of faith is sin." 34 and, secondly: "Impose not hands lightly upon any man, neither be a partaker of other men's sins." 35 In this very respect, however, a dispensation is dangerous, if to the neglect of the better class there be preferred the lower, as in that saying of the prophet: "Cursed is the deceitful man that hath in his flock a male, and making a vow, offereth in sacrifice that which is feeble to the Lord." 36 And thus among those of high priestly rank, there is a danger which is indeed great and which can scarcely be avoided. Lower-ranking priests, are, to be sure, the less dangerous in that they can be examined in life and in learning, and can

34 Romans 14.23
35 1 Timothy 5.22
36 Malachias 1.14
be dispersed, rejected, separated and removed; but, who can dare to escape the more powerful and influential? Anyone unfamiliar with the circumstances who would attempt to do this would be considered presumptuous or rash. Time and experience have shown that such men are beyond number. Since this is true, our new archbishop was disturbed, and not without cause; he was so disturbed that he was a most bitter accuser of himself. Obviously he, so he accused himself, a man, like those we have described, vain and proud, had been elevated, contrary to all correct form, disgracefully and irregularly, as it were, from the royal court to the church. One of his learned companions remarked by way of example, that many had been raised from the court and many others from heathenism to the highest pastoral office, and that frequently many honest men, though uneducated and ignorant of the scriptures, nevertheless piously and actively administered their pastoral office, and even that grace abounded where sin superabounded. 37 To this he replied to that member of his learned companions who had spoken thus: "Brother, indeed these facts which you recount are miracles of a merciful God in that they have led to no serious consequences. Otherwise, according to those examples which you mention, let there be chosen in the

37 Cf. Romans 5.20
church indiscriminately and without distinction just and unjust, alike clean and unclean, the unlearned with the learned, and then let us see if God is yet powerful and if there is virtue on high; and since the law of the Church has been despised, we may attribute all to a divine miracle when the Most High "is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham;" and often, as you point out through your examples, He has done so. One thing, I have surely determined, that, God willing, so may it happen, never with a guilty conscience will I confirm the election of one presented to me as marked out for pontifical orders, nor will I consecrate such a person when elected; whence I humbly beseech the Most High, the kind and merciful Lord, that He may, day by day, strengthen and confirm this my purpose and desire which I doubt not to be just. And truly, the following portion of this history will soon show that our new archbishop, so careful an ordainer of bishops as is now evident from these words, was manifestly favored by God.

18. Reasons for Digression

Thus far we have related, according to the best of our ability, how great our Thomas was in court, and how, as soon as he had assumed the priestly rank, he began to be great in the Church; how actively he had first rendered

38. Matthew 3.9; Luke 3.8
military service to Henry, the illustrious king of the English, and how gloriously afterwards he began to render that service to Christ, the highest King of the angels; in the court rendering "to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," and in the Church "to God the things that are God's." But in relating these works of the bishop, just as formerly fear did not impose silence, here I cannot avoid again mentioning the detractors whom I fear. In relating these pontifical duties, I say, that in praise of his works themselves, I seem, perchance, to be a tedious repeater of words, and rather to persist in theological instruction than in an historical explanation of the deeds of a man; thus to savor too much of theology, too little of history. Truly, let anyone who notices this fact refrain from judging me; let him note, rather that I am recounting not only the deeds of the pontiff, but also the reasons for those deeds, a procedure indicated above. Thus, I am relating not only the deeds, but the disposition of the doer precisely as he informed me. For this reason I trace the causes of actions the more diligently, since I have received these from the doer himself; and following the causes of acts, I am therefore the more careful in relating them. For let us run through a single work which I have described, and it will clearly be seen that such is the case: Let us hasten, I say,

39 Mark 12.17; Luke 20.25
through each event, first to the haircloth of the young soldier, to the vestment of the young priest, to the secret command of dispenser during the night, to him solemn before the altar, having hastily consumed the yearling lamb, to that judge in a tribunal unchangeably just, to the head of the household so courteously and religiously sober at table, to the master in school, so strict an examiner of his pupils. Let us skim through these one by one, and whether I have learned of all these events through him alone or have undoubtedly received many through my own labor, you will clearly see the cause, because the deeds of so great a bishop, and the motives of those deeds which I have inserted, are so great and so worthy that, just as I am unable to compress them, so I fear by artificial terseness to conceal and to abbreviate deeds so illustrious and so important.

Accordingly, after I have written the deeds of the bishop, and then have explained the reasons for those actions, there is made manifest a more fruitful means of edification and a more perfect instruction. Necessarily the thread of a longer speech, a more extensive web,
had to be woven. In doing this—perhaps exceeding the law of history,—I savor rather of the theologian. Really without theology, without the word of God, the virtue of the works of God neither can be nor ought to be proclaimed. Therefore, if I have digressed in this, the virtue of his works compelled me to do so. If this is perchance, of value to anyone, he will excuse the digression; and if it is not, it will increase his merit and form a more abundant fruit of edification.

And indeed for extensive work it is important that the one who works with the aid of divine grace recognize the cause and virtue of his actions; whence the prophet seeks for understanding that he may know why he does it. "Give me understanding and I will search Thy law and I will keep it." Behold what he sought before the theory and the practice of sanctity; that just as doctors seek a knowledge of the health of the body, so in this case he understands the health of the spirit. Indeed, a holy deed, in accordance as it is understood, edifies more profitably, and gives life more vigorously, and is more fearlessly advanced or concealed according to the circumstances. If indeed work without knowledge is held to be like a body without a soul, like earth without water, and like clouds without rain, then also the charity which is possessed with knowledge surpasses all other charity. This, among other

41 Psalms 118.34
things, the Master wished His disciples to know, for He writes thus to them: "To know also the charity of Christ which surpasseth all knowledge..." 42 For every good is chosen because it is loved—and is loved more effectively if it is known more perfectly that he will be fully punished for its loss, and as he knows the manner and way whereby he may return. Concerning this the wise king says: "He that addeth knowledge addeth also labor." 43 When one regrets the loss of virtue, grief will be more bitter in proportion to greater knowledge. What vinegar is to the taste, what oil is to flame, what wood is to the pyre, what herb-juice is to medicine, this knowledge is to repentance. Otherwise what the master entertreats will not be a reasonable obedience, if the reason of obedience be unknown. For just as it is better to carry out a command of the Lord than to know, so to know precedes the act; for to act and not to know why you act, even as it does not argue full knowledge, so it is not perfect obedience. Ignorance takes away and renders obedience less fruitful. On this subject, one of the prophets says: "And thou, Israel, be not ignorant." And the master, "Wherefore, become not unwise but understanding what is the will of God." 44 Certainly when you have acted

42 Ephesians 3.19
43 Ecclesiastes 1.18
44 Ephesians 5.17
and have known the reason for acting, then, as the master wished for his apostles, "You may be filled unto all the fullness of God." But that we may return to our former subject, as we have said before, in relating these recent deeds of virtue of the new archbishop, we have made known with the deeds themselves the reasons and the goodness of those actions; and therefore, in describing all of this, we have been the more verbose since this very prolixity becomes, as it were, a means of edification and of praise. For, whoever will deign to read these accounts, however criticized and by whatever pen attacked, because of the eminent piety and the memory of the archbishop, will relate not only his deeds but the goodness of his deeds, and will proclaim his greatness.

19. Property Which He Reclaimed from Seculars

But from the events with which the archbishop so gloriously began his life, I should proceed, with whatever ability has been given to me, to other matters. For he who had sailed thus far within the harbor of the church is now beginning to advance into the sea of the times, and to deal with temporal matters. Very often this duty is a necessary one for a bishop; but to a wise bishop, it is

45 Ephesians 3.19
never agreeable. He now presented to certain prominent persons of the realm, men great and powerful, the problem about estates removed either through the weakness of his predecessors or the carelessness of his church. He did this by reclaiming certain estates; some, it is true, where injustice seemed obvious, he revoked without any investigation. These estates were of the kind commonly known in the land as strong feudal holdings. When those said to be farming these estates had been compelled to leave, the bishop at the beginning of his episcopate and without the decision of a fiscal judge, recalled this property to his own jurisdiction as belonging to his household. Called to answer this action he said that he would in no way take up legal action concerning those lands which, although removed on some unjust pretext, had been known to belong to his realm. So, on his own authority, he set in order and retained those estates until he was later cast out and proscribed; he then lost both these and other estates, which had been justly acquired. The following pages will discuss this matter more fully. He immediately recovered that fief which is said to belong to William of Rose; the fief, if I am not mistaken, of seven soldiers, land which had been

46 In the medieval period, "firma" was used to mean "a farm. "Firmaria," which would seem to be a compound of "firma" and "denarius," meant "rent." Herbert has here used the substantive "firmarii" meaning "farmers or renters."
confiscated soon after the death of the archbishop Theobald. Here indeed the archbishop, controlling his approach, stood firm on a question regarding the fief of the king who was then absent from his realm. Because other matters engrossed him, however, he did not bring up the matter of this fief at the king's next visit, but postponed it. There was a bitter quarrel between the archbishop and a nobleman, the earl of Clare, because the archbishop demanded that from the fort which is said to belong to Tunebridge, and from all the land which is a part of the fort, bounty be paid to him; and especially because he exacted this on all territory within a mile surrounding the camp, a distance commonly called a "banleuga," or, in more correct Latin, "bannun leugae." The earl, it is true, offered a fealty, but refused to raise the additional sum which the archbishop demanded. Besides, he reclaimed the jurisdiction of the Castle of Rochester, which was declared by law the property of his see, bringing forth in this regard a public document, a map, evidently that of William of sacred memory, once the illustrious king of the Angles, who had acquired the kingdom

47 "Hominium," a derivative of "homo," is a medieval term meaning "homage."

48 "Leuca" or "leuga" is a Celtic word for a Gallic mile of fifteen hundred Roman paces, a league. The word "banleuga," an area of jurisdiction, came into use in the twelfth century.
under his firm dominion by valorous armed conflict. After these and other investigations of the same nature had been introduced, and the claims of some estates recalled, those of others demanded back again, there arose numerous quarrels and suits and opponents of the archbishop; but all were secret because of fear of the king, as though fearing and reverencing that extraordinary favor of the king, which, as we have shown, the archbishop enjoyed up to this time. For this reason, they were not a little fearful to cause any disfavor to the archbishop. Although those who felt that they had been injured or feared that they would be injured were afraid, some had already approached the king who happened to be absent from his realm. In their requests, some maintained that they had indeed suffered, others that they would suffer injustice through the action of the archbishop unless, with royal clemency, he apply the hand of justice. In an effort to weaken in some way the steadfast favor of the king toward the archbishop, they added that too much royal favor might give the archbishop courage to exceed his authority. But the king, who loved him in deed and in truth,49 not at all influenced by these complaints, paid no attention; and because he was on the point of crossing the sea, he put off the complainers until his arrival in England.

49 Cf. 1 John 3.7
To everyone's surprise, a short time later it was announced that the king, heralded as was fitting and customary, had landed at the southern port which is called Southampton. The king landed in the first year of the bishop's consecration, if I am not mistaken, shortly after Christmas. Immediately the archbishop in company with Henry, the son of the king and heir to the kingdom, that illustrious youth whom we have often mentioned before, came to meet him. He had advanced close to the sea, and, for several days had been awaiting the arrival of the king. And lo! after the entrance of the archbishop and the king's son to the reception, the king and his retinue advanced; and there was, throughout the court; great joy and exultation. The king and the archbishop met with mutual greetings and embraces, outdoing one another and striving to surpass one another in showing honor, so that it looked as though the king gave little attention to his son, but devoted himself completely to the archbishop, as now, for the first time, he beheld his Thomas, once of the court, now an archbishop. Far more was he overjoyed because he now recognized with certainty the very great sanctity of the archbishop who had been taken, as we have explained, from his court. But the archbishop, having regard for the king who was tired and wearied by the sea voyage, retired after they had spent a little time in mutual greetings and rejoicings, and then went to a nearby inn. When
they met on the following morning, they traveled together, alone in one another's company, conversing all the time in a familiar and confidential manner, and mutually congratulating each other. After they had spent several days in this manner, the archbishop with his foster-son whom we have mentioned, the son of the king, departed from the king in highest favor. The complainers, to whom we have previously referred, seeing and hearing that matters were thus, kept out of sight and concealed their grievances.

20. The Archbishop's Departure for the Council of Tours

And behold, shortly after these events, Pope Alexander III, of happy memory, called a council of the universal Catholic Church; (there was at that time a schism in the Roman church,) therefore, our archbishop, greatest of all, made elaborate preparations for crossing the sea. Since the

50 At the death of Pope Hadrian IV in 1159, the Sacred College elected Cardinal Roland Bandinelli, who took the name of Alexander III. An imperialistic minority set up Cardinal Octavian, known as Victor IV, as antipope. Barbarossa alone upheld the claims of the antipope; and his action resulted in an open war between the priesthood and the empire. Frederick was defeated at the battle of Legnano (1176), and the Peace of Venice (1177) stipulated that he acknowledge Alexander as the true pope. Under the archway of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, the Emperor prostrated himself at the feet of the pope, and humbly begged forgiveness.
king, whom he loved above all men as his sovereign, was visiting there, he restored his foster-son to the king, his father; and, after a few days of pleasant and familiar conversation between him and the king, having bade the monarch adieu, taking up his abode near the sea in Kent, in his own village which is called Rumenel, he awaited a favorable wind. This came after a few days; and having set sail, he landed safely in Flanders, in a port called Gravelines, with an extensive and magnificent retinue. On the very shore of the sea, a nobleman of Flanders and Philip, the Earl of Vermandois, met him; and on the following day the nobles and princes of that land came, striving to show him honor, and offering their resources and whatever they could give. Then, indeed, passing through Normandy and Maine in all the majesty of the illustrious king of the Angles, throughout states, forts, and villages, he was received with as great respect as though he were the king himself. Arriving at Tours, he entered the state on the third day, if I am not mistaken, before the convocation of the council. When the arrival of the archbishop of Canterbury became known, the entire state was soon excited, and all went forth to meet him, not only citizens and natives, but also ecclesiastics, most of whom had now assembled for the council, archbishops and bishops of the various countries. And we may, by no means, ignore the fact that, contrary to the custom of the Roman Church, priests of the Lord and rectors of the church
and all the cardinals assembled long before he had entered the state; and particularly that two cardinals, who in such festive crowds did not leave the side of the sovereign pontiff, also came. So great, indeed, was the throng of followers that, as the archbishop was entering the palace of the sovereign pontiff, the pope himself, as if out of necessity, that he might not be held back, went out of the room in which he was and entered the palace. Moved, as it were, by the spirit of the prophet, the pope himself, who seldom rises for anyone, came as if to meet him and, in meeting him, showed reverence. This whole meeting, which occurred on the feast of Pentecost, was, as it were, true and significant, a prophecy to the anointed of the Lord of the future. We now see this prophecy fulfilled, when from the entire church, from the east and from the west, people come rather to venerate than to meet him. The holy father indeed received the archbishop in a most kindly manner, the more kindly because he had been desirous of seeing him for a long time, and had already heard many good reports concerning him. And (as it seemed), taking compassion on him on the way, he dismissed him quickly with these words: "Go, brother, and rest; repose is necessary after labor." So we then retired, and went to the guest-chamber near the palace of the pope. 51 For, hearing of the magnificence of the

51 i. e. Pope Alexander III
archbishop and seeing it as well, for as many days as possible, ecclesiastical personages of various kingdoms flocked to him, seeking and extending favor and friendship. Besides, noble and powerful men of the land were constantly going and coming at our quarters; especially those who exercised royal authority, knowing the archbishop to be in the highest favor of the king, were constantly around us, either prepared to offer or in the act of offering their submission. And what is still more important, the Roman church honored our archbishop above all others, as the most distinguished among the many who had assembled, with a certain distinction, as it were, of the highest rank and reverence. After the council had been assembled for several days, and at the petition of our archbishop, some of the privileges of his see had been restored, the apostolic man dismissed him and his retinue with the kiss of peace, strengthened with the apostolic blessing and grace. And indeed, on a calm sea, and with favorable winds, we made our return voyage into England speedily and with joy and success, in the second year of his pontifical consecration; and, according to custom and obligation, he was received by the king as a father by his son, with all joy and eagerness.

At this time, two episcopal sees, namely those of Worcester and Hereford, were vacant at the same time, the

52 i.e., the Pope
bishop of the first see having gone the way of all flesh, but the other bishop having been transferred from Hereford to the see of London. The one transferred was called Gilbert, surnamed Foliot. On account of his merits, as then the world was acclaiming him, through the influence of the king and our new metropolitan, he was transferred from Hereford, that remote corner, as it were, of England, to the famous city of London which shines forth in the realm and is, so to speak, the heart of the kingdom; that the light which had formerly been under a bushel might be placed upon a candlestick so that, being nearer and higher, it might shine the more clearly to all who were in the house of the English church. 53 When, therefore, the king had held these two vacant sees for some time, he was humored by our new metropolitan, and from time to time, requested, advised, and occasionally even rebuked, gently but firmly, because he would neither consent to the appointment of pastors for the vacant sees, nor would he make appointments. An impious custom had now become prevalent in many kingdoms, whereby kings retained bishoprics and monasteries for their revenue throughout the years, and when Christ, so to speak, had been confiscated, the portion of widows, and the patrimony of the Crucified, the relief of the unfortunate, and the

53 Cf. Matthew 5.15
aid of the poor were applied to the treasury.

...another might be covered, or, if one of the poor go unclothed that another naked one might be clothed. Because, as scripture testifies, "The ransom of a man's life are his riches." For going they went and wept, sowing not the seeds of others but their own seeds. On this point, we also read that God ought to be honored by just works. As the wise man says, Who offers sacrifice of the goods of the poor, is as one who but sacrificeth the son in the presence of the father.

And that we may add to this, for the entire time during which the occupied sees are thus vacant, labor perishes, works perish, the interior care of the pastor and the pastoral office perish. And thus the salvation of the entire flock is in danger. Thus if a monastery should be occupied, restraint perishes within the monastery without a father, learning perishes without a doctor, industry perishes without the yoke, discipline perishes without the

54 Here there is a gap, and the Arras manuscript resumes. The meaning of the imperfect sentence may be gathered from a passage in Book IV, c. 29, which is translated: "I learn that clothing another is like covering an altar." Play on words is evident in the use of "alterum" and "altare."

55 Proverbs 13.9

56 Cf. Psalms 125.6

57 Ecclesiasticus 34.24
rod, obedience perishes without a prelate. And thus, set free, so to speak, by this harmful freedom within the cloister, a dangerous dissolution ruled over those who had been living saintly and industrious lives as servants of the monastic rule to which they had been trained as children. Indeed, the whole church entrusted to the care and solicitude of the provincial all complaints in regard to these grave matters, and especially those against archbishops. By the deceptions of these provincials, kings were often changed, and to say, into tyrants; the archbishops themselves wheedled, petted and excused those whom they ought rather to have governed just as fathers deal with their sons. Whence the master says to one of his metropolitans: "Rebuke with all authority." 58 Indeed to say no more of the negligence or even imprudence of these masters and fathers, there are some who, because of their mildness (I do not mean negligence,) were deterred from making corrections of this kind. Fear of disturbing the pleasures of friendship causes some to accord short-shrift to justice. So Adam sinned with his wife, 59 and Heli with his wicked sons. 60 In matters such as these, they injure both them-

58 Titus 2.15
59 Genesis 3.6
60 1 Kings 3.13
selves and their loved ones, and occasionally bring destruction on whole nations, when, lest they offend friendship, they fail boldly to censure error. They are deserving of blame because with that authority which they wield so haughtily, they fail to correct where correction is in order. And thus, while they spare one, many are ruined. Surely these who thus pet and shield and suspend correction are not training the offenders to be diligent fathers nor conscientious pastors, but, as one of the doctors says, to be thieves, who in turning aside the cattle, scatter fodder that they may lead them away, and do not hold out a whip, that by threats, the erring may be recalled. The wise man well understood this, for he said: "Scolding enemies are often more useful than friends fearing to scold." For in quarrels these often betray our faults which we believed hidden; those indeed keeping silence favor us more in our guilt, in that without the bridle of correction we run farther and more boldly in impenetrable places and not in the right path. Occasionally, while in the way of error, the end of which leads to death, we see the right path; sometimes even knowingly and deliberately we choose the evil way, little thinking, however, that what is so near and so direct might be dangerous. As the prophet says, "the adornment of justice is silence," so also, according to the same prophet, that very silence is sometimes
dangerous. "Woe," he says, "unto me, because I have held my peace." The prophet here applied the case to himself, feared woe; particularly because Ahab did not correct a king as severely and as boldly as was fitting with his authority, and because of this he blames himself that his polluted tongue contracted. Having considered all these facts, therefore, our new archbishop, reflecting and considering it to be his duty, first asked, then implored, then advised, and finally corrected, though in a friendly manner, the king whom he loved above all men, reproving him because he had held these vacant sees for so long, not failing to mention the temporal and spiritual evils which had developed through this abuse. He was particularly disturbed because of those two bishoprics, which, as we said, were vacant at that time.

21. Two Men Consecrated Bishops

Finally, because of the pressure of the archbishop, at about this same time, the king consented to the appointment of bishops. It so happened that men of outstanding holiness were appointed bishops to the two sees which we have mentioned. To the first which we mentioned, the see of Worcester, there was elected a certain man youthful in years but old in manner and dignity, Roger, by name. He was

61 Isais, 6.5
a great personage, the son of a great man, Robert, once earl of Gloucester, whose more remarkable virtue had thus far surpassed his nobility of blood. Oh, if it were now permitted, or if only the rules of history which I have undertaken would allow me to exalt that man with the well-deserved renown of his virtues! Surely "as a morning star"62 of the heavenly firmament, so to speak, or the brightest gem, shining and gleaming above all the rest on those in the present shadows of our life, he would illumine this entire history of the martyr. As often as I think of him, I imagine him to be another "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life propped up the house, and in his days fortified the temple;"63 he is "as the rainbow giving light amid bright clouds," "as the lilies on the brink of the water" and "as the flower of roses in the days of the spring,"64 as "frankincense burning in the fire,"65 "as the massy vase of solid gold,"66 a vase precious, sanctified in honor, and truly useful in

62 Ecclesiasticus 50.6
63 Ecclesiasticus 50.1
64 Ecclesiasticus 50.8
65 Ecclesiasticus 50.9
66 Ecclesiasticus 50.10
the house of the Lord. Indeed, with my subject constantly recalling me to the present, and with my pen digging away, it is not by any means a stream, or even a little brook that must be opened to flow through the pleasant meadows of his virtues, nor to describe his graces, delightful in the beauty of the flowers of his virtues. It is plain to see how truly he was a lily of purity, a rose of modesty, a poet of delightful society, and above all, how truly a pillar of justice and a diamond of inviolable chastity.

Touching upon these matters briefly, therefore, because this is by no means an occasion for delay concerning them, he who was young in years, but old in manners and virtues, elected by the common vote of all to whom he so appeared, was the first whom our new archbishop consecrated to the see of Worcester. He was afterward always obedient, in time of prosperity or adversity, even to the extent of suffering injuries, proscription, and many dangers; judging it a crime if, he, a soldier at home, should, as commander in camp, use applications of ointments of the bath, such as are found among the cosmetics of women or the wicker baskets of girls. But because the following of the present history urges us to the present, let us pass over this matter.

We now consider the other, called Robert, surnamed Melum, a distinguished master of secular and sacred letters,
even much more illustrious in his life than in knowledge. He was also a great priest, whose conduct, even as a pupil in the schools, before his consecration, had been almost priestly. This was, indeed, a doctor as great in life as in knowledge, shining and sending forth numerous rays of his light as though to illuminate the great circle of churches throughout the world, and the learned multitude of disciples. He was the second and also the last whom our new archbishop consecrated for the diocese of Hereford with the unanimous approval of the clergy and people.

Thus it was that, in the consecration of these two bishops, outstanding in holiness, as the world knew, (and the new consecrator consecrated no others,) that purpose of his which we have declared previously in this history stood firm, and what he desired from the Most High (as we have explained before) was fulfilled, in that he so appointed, as he had begged, beseeching the Most High, that as an archbishop he impose hands, especially of consecration, upon no one against his conscience, upon no one who was not worthy. A short time later, the archbishop, with the king's permission and in his presence, and with many provincials of the see assembled, ceremoniously dedicated that noble and royal monastery of Reading, where the founder, Henry of blessed memory, the grandfather of Henry II, our present illustrious king, rests gloriously in a mausoleum.
And in that same year, at London, at the monastery called Westminster, equally famous and regal, he raised the body of the glorious and truly saintly King Edward, as a shining and precious vessel of perfect continence, from the dust of the earth; and, because of the many and illustrious merits of his royal life, solemnly translated it to that high place in the church among the bodies of the saints, likewise in the king's presence, and with his permission. And, with state and clergy cooperating in the greatest peace and harmony during this time, the God of peace and love so ordaining, there was, as we have said before, between the illustrious king and the saintly archbishop "one heart and one mind in God." 67

But alas, and truly alas! nothing human is lasting, nothing permanent, but according to the saying of the wise man, all things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven. There is a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time of love and a time of hatred; a time of war and a time of peace; all things have their season. 68

The names of so powerful a king and so eminent a bishop were indeed great, and their agreements esteemed. Truly, it would be hard to find, anywhere else in the world, such

67 St. Augustine, Regula ad Servos Dei, 31 (Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, 32.1378); Cf. Acts 4.32
68 Ecclesiastes 3.1-8
complete harmony between so powerful a king and so eminent an archbishop. The harmony was indeed remarkable, but short-lived. In brief, dissension ended all agreement, and through none other than the enemy of all peace and love, that bond of friendship so great and so strong, so necessary to the clergy, was destroyed.

But why do I mention this bond? Since indeed, as we experience daily in our lives, our human hearts, so often divided, wounded, torn apart, and estranged through vanity of reasoning in the course of so many cares, problems, and affairs, are so open to the incitements of double-tongued whisperers, to the torments of suspicions, that a bond of friendship toward another, as has been proved by experience, may seem to be nothing at all. There can be a union like a crumbling mud wall, soon, very soon, to be dissolved, at the first flood or the first short breath of winter. For how will the bond of friendship be intact among others when, between so great a king and so great an archbishop, contrary to all the anticipation of the world, it may be broken? And who thereafter may not fear a future enemy, though one is as yet as friendly as possible toward another? And who, remembering the case of Henry and the archbishop, and possessing any measure whatsoever of self-love, would not

69 Cf. Ecclesiasticus 28.15
fear a quarrel with an enemy of some future time, until now
least suspected? Truly, although this may be rare, especially
in the court, among so many flatterers, so many envious,
hypocritical, and suspicious persons, nowhere and at no
time is love secure. But among mortals, and in court, what
is most powerful, just as what is ever unfaithful, unstable,
unpredictable, and vain, is thrown in with the rest of
creatures. Especially among the powerful, who are like
glass vessels of love, if one strikes the vessel a little,
by that little it breaks; it is shattered by a small bump.
The sensitive and tender among the powerful are wounded by
a slight offense, and soon die. O wretched and pitiable
beyond all else is this condition of human affairs! Today
my spirit may enjoy the sweetness of love, tomorrow it may
linger in the bitterness of hatred. Today you may be my
very heart, as it were; tomorrow a deadly ulcer. Truly,
human life on earth is a trial. O thus unbelievable and
truly sad, as what follows will soon show, was this cruel,
rapid, fearful, and harsh conversion of such great friend­
ships of the king and archbishop into such great enmities!
Just as it was wholly unbelievable, so was the strangeness
of this conversion very sad. O one-time friendship, now
being dead, you have heaped upon both the kingdom and
priesthood as much sorrow and grief as heretofore you sur­
rrounded it with joy and gladness. If I may anticipate here,
and I do it because the plan seems to demand it, I promise to treat important matters more fully later on! O how many and what great evils befell the kingdom and the priesthood because of this dissension! Not to mention other evils which may have happened to us without our knowledge, (from these, and from others in the future may the Almighty deign to preserve the kingdom, safe and free) indeed because of this quarrel, the youthful anointing of Henry, the son of Henry our king, was hastened into sovereignty; and twice afterwards there followed a serious and disgraceful rebellion; finally if I am not mistaken, on account of the sin of rebellion against his father, the death of the king's son was premature. And indeed, the evil resulting from this quarrel was characteristic of the kingdom. Even in the priesthood there were many evils and dangers. First there was the desolation of all the clergy throughout the realm, wretched and pitiable because of the enemies of the church, likewise the oppression of his defenseless clerics, the wretched destitution, for years, of the vacant churches, while the archbishop was traveling, and, what was more serious, the discontinuance of the use of the Sacraments which are for the salvation of all; since in the vacant churches there was a lack of care for all pastoral duties. So, too, that famous desert of Egypt, once flourishing with the flowers of Christ, with a multitude of monks
hedged in by cells, just as swarms of honey-bees by the hives, nay rather all Egypt, once flourishing with religion like a storehouse filled with the fruits of paradise and with the Holy Spirit, finally, because the defection of pastors was given over again to paganism, to gray failure, and to the raging wolves. To add to the evils of the quarrel which I have already mentioned, the death of the archbishop himself resulted in hateful enmities for all ages to come; and yet the whole church carried on its worship, and advanced wholly esteemed and fruitful in itself, as we now see it, despite the ignominy and ruin of many great members. Behold how great, how detestable, in the priesthood was the evil resulting from this conflict; too long like a dark and deadly pest, it surrounded the kingdom and the priesthood, dragging after it a trail of evils. We who are here have seen and heard. But others who will survive us have neither heard nor seen, and above all, let those who will live after us read the cause of the conflict. Yet, what we now say is but the beginning of the quarrel, not the end.

70 Egypt was the first center of Christian monasticism. The flourishing religious life which had developed there in the fourth century under St. Paul the Hermit, St. Anthony and St. Pachomius ended in the seventh century, when Mohammedanism conquered the northern part of Africa.
22. Dissension Breaks Out Between the King and the Archbishop

It happened that certain servants of the devil, clerks in name only but of the ranks of Satan, accused of misdeeds, were arrested and held in prison, as was customary in the kingdom, for committing serious crimes and for disturbing the peace. Among these was one priest, notorious for murder, and accused by the relatives of the dead man. Because of the privilege of his order, he was sent, when arrested, to the bishop of the diocese of Salisbury; and the king's officials and the relatives of the dead person who accused him sharply urged that the bishop exercise justice. Since the priest was constantly corrupting others, although he could not be convicted of the murder by his accusers, a canonical penance was imposed on the accused. This report was especially agreeable to his accusors and probably also to those complaining that he had been accused. But, as he rebelled against the punishment, the bishop sent to the archbishop, consulting him about the law, so that he might more safely proceed in carrying out the punishment. The archbishop, when consulted, ordered that the cleric should be dismissed, deprived of all ecclesiastical benefice, and consigned to a monastery to perform
severe penance for the remainder of his life. Although no
punishment had been imposed by the vote of those judging
him, this punishment was the same as if he had been con-
victed. Indeed, throughout the province, clerics accused
and convicted of crimes, or detected, or even infamous
clerics whose crimes had not been judged worthy of punish-
ment, were in this manner struck down by a spiritual
punishment of this kind, without any corporal punishment,
according to the decree of the archbishop confirmed by the
early sanction of authentic canons. The punishment was,
however, made severe or lenient, according to the nature of
the crime, the rank and order of the delinquent, and the
manner and motive of his delinquency.

I ought not to omit the fact that about this time a
certain Philip de Broi, a canon of the see of Lincoln,
offended the justiciaries of the king, men commonly said to
be wanderers on the earth, by disgracefully insulting them.
Because of this, the king seemed incensed, not only against
him but against all the clergy of the kingdom. It is gen-
erally agreed that what is disgracefully and seriously
applied to members of a profession is applied to the entire
profession. But, indeed, anger and jealousy judge too
hastily and too rashly in this matter, as though, if a small
blemish should be found on any part of the body, the entire
body should be declared covered with a filth of moles. In
these disgraceful insults, it is certain that the cleric committed a serious offence; but the cleric, accused beyond his guilt in the complaint brought to the archbishop, was punished so that the king's wrath might be mollified. The cleric was sentenced to be whipped publicly, and was suspended for some years (I do not recall how many,) from the entire ecclesiastical benefice which he held in the kingdom. But even this did not suffice to appease the angry king. That is the fourth thing which the wise man enumerated among the others, namely the fire of anger which, until it is completely extinguished, "never saith: It is enough." 71 Since this did not satisfy the king, it seemed preferable to him to demand the guilty cleric for another punishment; but he was afraid to press this matter, as he already perceived that the sternness of the archbishop could not be bent to this procedure. The king, therefore, was disturbed and the archbishop was disturbed. The king was as zealous for the peace of his people as the archbishop for the liberty of his clerics; seeing and hearing the reports of many, and learning that there were many complaints, especially concerning punishments of this kind for such clerics, in very truth likenesses of devils, and that crimes were not checked, but rather that conditions throughout the kingdom were daily becoming worse, he solemnly assembled the archbishop

71 Proverbs 30.16
and the provincial bishops and the rest of the clergy of the kingdom at Westminster of London.

23. The King Declares in Favor of the Peace of His People

When the reason for the summons had been made known, the king immediately demanded that clerics arrested or held when convicted in serious crimes should be deprived of the protection of the church and exposed to his lictors. He added that they would be more willing to do wrong unless, after the spiritual punishment, they should undergo corporal punishment; that they cared little for the loss of their order who, in consideration of the order, had not enough reverence to restrain their hands from such outrages; that those who were inferior were engaged in crime as much as those worthier of the privileges of order were engaged in other matters, and that for this reason they should be checked by being punished more severely when they were discovered in their evil deeds. In this, therefore, trusting in the consideration of every law that he had power to check the cunning of those who were threatening, the king urgently demanded that such persons, being immediately removed from the clergy, should be given over to the curia. Not only human law, but also the canonical authority of divine right
sanctions this; and for this reason one finds frequently in a canon, "Let him be handed over to the curia." Whence these, in behalf of the king, because of royal favor, as it seemed knowingly unknowing, declared that such persons ought to be punished not by exile or the monastery, but, according to the sacred canons, ought rather to be handed over to the curia, to become, thereafter, servants of the curia, to serve the curia for life, or to be punished in any other way which the curia decided. To be handed over to the curia means to be consigned to a secular judge for punishment at his hands. On this point also, it follows in a canon, "And let him receive (punishment) because he has done wickedly." 72 And whatever he might say of the monastery, they claimed constantly that sentence of exile was not the business of a priest, but of a Caesar; to him belonged the earth and the right to exile, to remove, to depart, to expel; just as to him (the archbishop) belonged the church and the power to excommunicate, to suspend, to prohibit from the altar: this indeed belonged to the pontiff as an ecclesiastical ruler; the other matter belonged to Caesar as a temporal ruler. Here, however, I insert something concerning exile, because already the archbishop had compelled a certain priest, degraded because of a crime, to leave the land; and for this, among other

72 Cf. Deuteronomy 9.5; Malachias 4.1
reasons, the king was disturbed. That sacred law, they added, given to the transgressors through Moses had no exception of rank or order; they were punished corporally according to the quality of the misdeed, receiving a life for a life, an eye for an eye, and in other matters always receiving recompense, priest and people alike, according to the justice of God; as they were then granted no privilege of order or dignity for saving themselves, but rather, the more distinguished in order or higher in rank the transgressors were, the stricter was their judgment, and the more severe their punishments. He declared that this was now an innovation of the law, and truly a new holiness, if crimes can protect themselves with privileges, crimes by which the peace is disturbed, the justice of the king violated, and indeed all sanctity profaned.

24. The Archbishop Declares in Favor of the Liberty of His Clergy

A short time later, the archbishop, having taken counsel with his brothers, the other bishops of the province, and with his learned companions whom we have mentioned before, spoke to the king as follows:

"My Lord King, Holy Church, the mother of kings and priests alike, has two kings, two laws, two authorities
and two punishments. Two kings, the heavenly Christ, and the earthly king; two laws, human and divine; two authorities, ecclesiastical and legal; two punishments, spiritual and corporal. 'Behold here are two swords.... It is enough,' says the Lord.73 Neither is unnecessary, they are sufficient. But men of that profession called clerics, by reason of their very order and obligation, have Christ alone for their King, sealed as they are by a certain special mark which is placed upon the forehead, thereby set aside, as it were, from the nations of the people, and chosen particularly and exclusively for the work of the Lord. Therefore the privilege and duties of order are not subject but are superior to earthly kings, as those who establish kings, whence a king receives the sword-belt of warfare and the power of the material sword. Therefore, I say, by reason of their profession and order, the king has no jurisdiction over these men, but they are rather the judges of kings. For even if men of our profession are weak, contemptible, and cowardly, as the great king and prophet foretold of them, they bind the kings of the nations with fetters, and the nobles of the time with manacles of iron.74 For this reason, not subject to an earthly king, but to their own king, the King of heaven, they are governed by a particular

73 Luke 22.38
74 Cf. Psalms 149.8
law, and if they transgress, they are punished by this particular law which has its own punishment. Nor is this law which we now mention that public and common one, binding upon all those living piously in Christ, but I refer to that law published for one profession, clerics. Certain of these decrees of the holy fathers, published for our benefit, reward those who are doing well in the present church; but on the other hand, many condemn. Therefore, as belonging to the King of heaven Himself, the spiritual law and jurisdiction of spiritual matters, is likewise, in a particular and spiritual way, the portion of God; and so also spiritual punishment, by its very nature, is distinct from secular punishment. Thence it is that this punishment is without mutilation of members and without any deformity, for it is spiritual. What is more, let the privilege of order exclude branding, although this is a punishment commonly inflicted among men, and even the law publicly condemns it, lest, obviously, in man, the image of God may be deformed.

Provision has been made in our decrees for the mercy and the majesty of kings. For it would be a disgrace and highly improper if royal mercy should behold it, that the hands of one consecrated to God, which, a short time before, formed on the altar the image of the crucified King, the Saviour of the world, now, bound behind his back, should
portray a public robber; and that the head anointed with
the unction of holy chrism should hang, with the neck bound
in punishment, from an infamous gibbet, the head of him to
whom but a little while before, royal majesty had turned
seeking grace and pardon."

The archbishop added that: "It was in accordance
neither with royal magnanimity nor royal mercy that those
hands from which the king himself received the favor of
divine grace and heavenly benediction should soon receive
from him an ignominious punishment, and should be subjected
to the axe of the executioner, or in other ways just as
disgracefully and irregularly mutilated."

And the archbishop, addressing the king, added: "I
speak likewise, my lord king, concerning those who in sacred
orders are clerics, who are assistants of the priests of
the Most High on the altar; as by ministry of these
assistants also, earthly kings obtain the benediction of the
heavenly King. One who belonged to us, however, if discharged
and handed over to the curia, would in time, sustain these
charges from a new situation, and by order of a secular
judge, would undergo corporal punishment; this, we do not
deny, would be fair and just, and we would have no concern
then for the punishment or the punishing. For one handed
over to the curia has been placed under royal and secular
jurisdiction, to serve the curia for life. This is what the
canon says, "Let him be handed over to the curia." which is from the histories whence this obvious word is taken; but after a person has been thus handed over, between us and him, now a slave of the curia, there can be no relationship. And therefore if there is any punishment hereafter, it will not be ecclesiastical punishment as if a cleric were the offender, but will be your punishment as if administered to an ordinary citizen.

But as to what you add, namely that the right to exile is not ours but yours, since the earth is yours, not ours, and that this punishment, too, should be not ecclesiastical but civil, we reply briefly that we are the representatives of Him Who is above all kings, to whom belongs the earth and the fullness thereof; this the sacred canons approve; and we maintain that by the authority of that King to Whom the earth belongs, in whose embassy we are engaged on earth, from time to time, we condemn our own members, judged according to the manner of offending and the type of crime, to exile and to the proscription of their goods. For those punishments are not limited which belong to a King Whose power is infinite; except that it is not even permitted to

75 Gratianus Decretum 187, Causa XI, qu. 1, s. 18 (Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, 69.892)
76 Cf. Psalms 23.1
us to take part in a trial of blood; that belongs to you, I say, who carry another sword, one of iron and not of speech. For behold these two swords, under which all punishment exists, not indeed among themselves (may this be far from them) but mutually cooperating, so that what one is not strong enough to do, the other, the co-worker, as it were, may carry on and complete; whence He says, "It is sufficient." And, by the authority of the highest King, not only our own members but also your people, placed under your own royal jurisdiction, noblemen, I say, or men of low birth, who repent of the crimes which they have committed in this life, we compel to depart from the land of their birth, and to leave those places in which there is for them cause and occasion of sinning more easily, and to go to a foreign country; very often we settle them at Jerusalem, in the temple or as hospitalers or at other sacred, far-away places of a more severe life, there to be wanderers for a time or forever. In this way, by order of the highest King, we send them away, as it were, or banish them; always, however, in accordance with the nature of the crimes which they have committed, and in consideration of the salvation of those repenting of their misdeeds.

If, however, as you say, our laws are more lenient and easy toward evil deeds, because corporal punishment does

77 Luke 22.38
not follow the spiritual, that is indeed possible in some cases: we restrain from crime not the mind of these men (which belongs to God alone) but the hand insofar as it is lawful and possible, or, in some monastery or severe place, others train the condemned under strict vigilance, when we find this to be expedient; and we go no further. If indeed, our punishments are limited, so also are yours; to go beyond this limit is to transgress. And if we are lacking, our own King Who says, "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay," will supply what is imperfect in the punishment of his servants. Concerning those priests and levites of the Old Testament who, when they transgressed the laws, were punished corporally, what was commanded for these in no way applies to the presentl for in the new law there is a new censorship, and because there is here a new law, a new King, judgment is now changed in form, not only in the matter of punishments, but also in regard to the sacraments, in sacrifices, in new works and new burdens. "For the old things are passed away, behold all things are made new," a new king, a new law, a new flock, new sacraments, new burdens, so also new corrections and new penalties."

78 Hebrews 10.30; Cf. Romans 12.19. Though the Vulgate reads vindicta in both texts, Herbert uses the accusative vindictam, probably considering it a part of an indirect quotation. He changes, however, in the same sentence to the direct form ego retribuam.

79 2 Corinthians 5.17
We have thus far heard the king and the archbishop, who discussed the matter in this way, the one in favor of the peace of his people, but the other in behalf of the liberty of his clergy. Already they were drawing after them a quarrelsome faction, the bishops standing unanimously and firmly with the archbishop, so that it seemed that a certain impenetrable battle line had been drawn up between the two camps. The disciple who gives testimony heard these things and wrote them. 80 He wrote, I say, and what is here written, if not the exact words spoken, give at least the value and substance of what was said. O king, O archbishop, each motivated by the imitation of God! One is zealous for the peace of his people, the other for the liberty of his clergy. Oh how great was the archbishop among the clergy, with what devotion was he received by the clergy, who for the liberty of the clergy lost the favor of the king, and esteemed glory less. For now there was a great quarrel, now there was obvious dissension. With what great devotion, therefore, ought he to be honored by the clergy, who, "having joy set before him," for the sake of the clergy, "endured the cross, despising the shame," 81 choosing rather to be afflicted for

80 Cf. John 19.35
81 Hebrews 12.2
the clergy of God than to enjoy the pleasures of the imperial palace. Except that the beginning of dissension was in behalf of the clergy, the first cause of the quarrel did not lie in this. What follows will explain a greater and more important cause of disagreement. And oh, how great among the people is the king, how they ought to rejoice for him, and how devotedly and how faithfully they ought to serve with fear him who then, for the peace of the people, turned away from so beloved and so faithful an archbishop! As we have shown before, among all the bishops, the king entertained the highest preference for him. Oh, zeal of the king and zeal of the archbishop! Oh zeal and zeal! How cruel, how deplorable that the Spirit of knowledge did not unite these zealous men! But the spirit of revolution and error, which always separates, was intermingled. There is certainly no doubt that each had a zeal of God, the one for the people, the other for the clergy; but as to which zeal was according to knowledge, it does not belong to man, who easily errs, but to the God of knowledge to declare the final judgment. Yet the archbishop, in the beginning of his above reply besought, with all devotion, the royal mercy, that under the new King, Christ, and under the new law of Christ in a new and particular destiny of the Lord, he might not introduce a new punishment throughout his realm contrary to what had been the established customs of the holy
fathers; beseeching humbly and frequently for himself and for the stability of his government; reverting frequently to himself as if he ought not and could not bear it.

But the king, not at all induced toward these views, was more disturbed, it seemed, in this, that he perceived the archbishop and his fellow bishops who were, he thought, so united and so firm, to be against him. He inquired whether the royal constitutions would be observed. To this the archbishop, according to a plan previously formed with his brothers, answered that he and his brothers, would observe these "saving their order." And one by one, the bishops, questioned by the king, replied, each for himself, in the same manner, except that in this chorus, one voice alone was discordant. It was one of the bishops, who hearing that the king was more disturbed because of this, the only voice among all, without consulting the archbishop and the bishops, he changed the expression; and indeed, for a good cause, namely that the mind of the king might rest, said that he would observe the royal constitutions "in good faith." He was Hilary, of good memory, then bishop of Chichester. But the king, not at all pacified at this, spurned him, treating him, so to speak, with scorn; and, turning to the archbishop and bishops, after he had heard them reply thus unanimously, he declared that a line of

82 This phrase salvo ordine, is the condition which incensed the king, and which proves to be the stumbling block to peace between clergy and crown.
battle had been strengthened against him, and that deceit
and poison were in that expression, namely "saving the
order." He demanded repeatedly that they agree to observe
the royal constitutions absolutely and without any addition.
To this the archbishop replied that they had sworn fealty
to him, namely life, limb, and earthly honor, "saving their
order," and that the royal constitutions had been included in
earthly honor; that they would, by no means, bind themselves
to the observance of these in any way except as they had
previously sworn. He added that this was the form of oath
introduced by the holy fathers not only for bishops, but
for minor clerics as well, a form now common and customary
throughout the universal church. From this it was not
safe to retreat, especially since, as he declared, by means
of this addition, the privilege of the clergy was not
ignored. In this regard, he also added that since members
of this profession take an oath of fealty to earthly
powers, for that very reason they do not pass over their
order in silence; they declare themselves superior, by
the privilege of order, to those very persons to whom they
bind themselves by oath, although subject to those by
reason of temporal affairs and other just causes, for which
they are held responsible to them by the oath of fealty.
And this was indeed the reply of the archbishop. When the
day was now far spent, or rather when it was about twilight, the king, annoyed throughout the day, after insulting the bishops in his fury and indignation, suddenly left the court. The bishops, equally disturbed during the whole day, also left, going to the guest chamber. That bishop whom we mentioned was indeed sternly rebuked, as they were leaving, by the archbishop for presuming, without consulting the bishops, to change the expression common to all.

25. The King Demands from the Archbishop the Return of Certain Fortifications; Some of the Bishops Desert Him

On the morrow the king received the fortifications and the honors connected therewith which the archbishop had been holding in custody from the king since the time of his chancellorship, and which were now demanded back. And, without greeting the bishops or being greeted by them, in fact without their knowledge, the king left London secretly, before daybreak. This was indeed proof of his great anger and indignation. Some of the bishops, terrified at this, followed the king ready to obey his will in all things and this without the tacit or expressed permission of the archbishop on whose side they had been. As to whether or not they acted wisely, each at his death will have only

83 Cf. Luke 24.29
the living God as his judge; let Him behold and judge. For it is not befitting my ability, nor does it suit my insignificance to speak, forsooth, concerning our great men in their allegiance. One thing I know, there is grave danger in false brethren; indeed this danger arises at the beginning and does not cease until the end of life. Other dangers, the temptations and struggles of life, you know; those which are as the furnace to gold, as the flail to the grain, as a file to iron, this a false brother is to the just, by whom he is as though struck down while he arrives at an understanding of truth. In like manner says one of the doctors, "There can be no Abel whom the malice of Cain does not test."84

26. The Bishops Desert Their Archbishop

When the rest, the chaff as it were, had been separated and sifted from the grain, we alone remain, we alone sit in council, but few of the bishops now with us, the others day by day, withdrawing from us. Yet these few who were with us were there secretly because of fear. For many

84 Gregory M. in Ezechiel 1. "Homily ix s. 22; (Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, 78.881)
days, therefore, we sat thus alone, daily hoping and waiting for the favor of the king; while during this absence, the fire of royal indignation had cooled, and, being diligent and merciful, the king perceived the cause of his indignation, and returned to his senses. But meanwhile, many distinguished men, seeing the situation and sympathizing, frequently came and went between us and the king, and, in various ways, encouraged the archbishop to gain the favor of the king, relating at one time their former intimacy, at another the great honors, then the benefices accumulated; on the one hand, they held forth his advantage of peace; on the other, the evil of disunion. They also added what utter foolishness it would be to incur, on the occasion of one contentious word, the disgrace of ingratitude for such great blessings, to lose the favor of one so affectionate and so highly esteemed, to foster dissension, the root of so many and such great evils, and all this in a quarrel over one word which scandalized the king. For the archbishop was then being persuaded that, in binding himself to observe the royal constitutions, he suppress or change, as the king demanded, only that one expression, "saving the order." More than all the others, that bishop, a big-hearted man and an eloquent speaker, who, as we mentioned before, by his own authority and without consulting the archbishop and bishops, had changed this expression, was persuading the archbishop,
in every way he knew, to alter this phrase. These advised him, and those advised him; but above all, the affection which the archbishop had for the king, influenced him; for true charity, as the master teacher, "believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." So at length, after he had been persuaded, but with charity, above all, urging him on, he came to that noble and royal castle called Oxford, as a suppliant before the king, and promised to change the expression that had been a scandal to the ruler. The king, therefore, who was now sufficiently calmed, regarded the archbishop more serenely, though not yet in his usual manner. The king said, however, that he wished the oath of observing the royal constitutions to be made to him in this manner: at a public hearing in the presence of the bishops and nobles of the kingdom. Certain persons, wise to do evil, who had long been envious of the archbishop, approached. These persuaded the king secretly that at the time when the oath was made, he should give expression to the royal customs. Persuaded in this way, the king added that he, too, desired that the royal customs should be reviewed by the great and venerable men of the kingdom, who were familiar with them; and that, for the future, as he

85 1 Corinthians 13.7

86 Cf. Jeremias 4.22
said, there might be no schism between the royal power and the priesthood, with the clergy usurping rights which belonged to the state, and the state, rights which belonged to the clergy. The prelates and nobles who were present declared that this was good. And indeed, in what has been said above, that word seemed fair enough to all appearances which was, in reality, most damaging, and which was the cause of a perpetual quarrel between the king and the archbishop. Those wise for doing evil, giving gall for honey, and poison for advice, understood this very well.

27. Those Wise to Do Evil

Such plans are usual among those who, according to the prophet are "wise to do evil;" because, according to the same prophet, "Babylon hath been a golden cup," that those who see gold may not fear poison, because it is not usually given unless smeared with honey. Those, therefore, who are "wise to do evil" have honey, indeed, in the mouth, but like brothers of scorpions, have gall in the heart, and a sting in their flattery, that they may secretly wound the innocent. The final outcome will explain this more clearly. And truly those giving gall for honey, the

87 Jeremias 4.22
88 Jeremias 4.22
89 Jeremias 51.7
bitterness of dissension for the sweetness of peace, have
in the entire kingdom, as they all know, good customs
which the church approves, and they have also other evil
ones, which the church tolerates. To these, although when
they are expressed she may be compelled to assert her
authority and her stand, she does not submit, nevertheless
she tolerates them. According to the saying of a learned
man, "Those things injure which are expressed." And as the
wise man says, "He that violently bloweth his nose bringeth
forth blood." But these viper-like advisers laid snares
so that approval might be granted to the good customs and
to others obscurely expressed; and that if this were not
granted, there might be perpetual schism between the royal
power and the priesthood.

Oh, the boldness of envy, always striking the highest!
Oh, the cunning of Satan, always pursuing the saintly:
Truly is envy the advocate of Satan, the nursling of schism,
the mother of contention, the inextinguishable tinder of
detraction, sorrowful at success, rejoicing at adversity;
that which peace disturbs, confusion soothes, sadness delights,
depression lightens, grief pleases, and which the misfortune
of another always gratifies. These plans, now joined by the
cunning of Satan, under the shadowy form of peace, began
already to sow the worst cockel of perpetual schism.

90 Proverbs 30.33
28. The Archbishop is Called to Clarendon

The king, zealous, as it seems, for the peace of the kingdom and the priesthood, but less far-sighted in regard to himself and his archbishop, not perceiving any hidden malice in this plan, soon summoned to that noble and splendid palace of the king, that castle called Clarendon, because of its splendor, all the prelates and nobles of the realm. Within a few days they all assembled; and there in the presence of all, and first in rank, preceding all the archbishops, our archbishop solemnly promised, according to the form previously mentioned, that he would observe the royal customs "in good faith," suppressing, of course "saving the order." And as if adding the caution connected with swearing, he confirmed his promise to do this on the word of truth. All the archbishops one after another, did likewise. Whatever he had promised at that castle to which we referred previously, namely Oxford, he would hardly have been induced to this oath; the principal reason that he was induced was certainly his fraternal and compassionate charity. For he had brotherly compassion for certain of his brothers, his fellow bishops, fearing more for them than for himself, for that generous man, Henry of glorious

91 The time was about the end of January, 1164
memory, then bishop of Winchester, and for Jocelin, then bishop of Salisbury. Unless he would do this, arrest or worse seemed to threaten these men because of old grievances, and now, because they were under suspicion in this difficulty of the church. Indeed, such was the nature of the obligation which the archbishop and bishops had to observe the royal ancestral constitutions, as they were called. And the obligation had been exaggerated in this way: the investigation of the royal customs was made through these nobles of the kingdom who should have been familiar with them, so that, as it were, they might be publicly and expressly recounted. When the greatest part of these had been explained, and it seemed that many more would be explained at length, the archbishop interrupted, stating that he was not among the more venerable of the kingdom so that he would know the ancient customs of the kings, and that neither had he been long in the archbishopric, therefore he had no knowledge of these matters; and that, furthermore, since "the day was now far spent," 92 such business ought to be postponed until tomorrow. His request met with approval, and he went into his guest-chamber, returning on the following day. The royal constitutions which had been interrupted on the previous day were investigated, explained, and reduced, in completed form, to writing; these were called by the name of royal constitutions. Many of these, as

92 Luke 24.29
several proposed, were by no means royal, but, as we began to say, were the poison of rivalry and envy, vomited forth in hatred of the archbishop for the enslavement of the church. The king himself was not aware that unfriendly men craftily intended thus to sow the cockle of discord between himself and his archbishop. For neither the king, who was then merely a youth, nor his new archbishop was acquainted with the royal customs except through the report of others.

29. The Demands of the Constitutions

And that we may insert here something else concerning these constitutions which they called royal and which were then proposed to us: first, to use the very words of the fatal written decree, it was this:

If a dispute concerning advowson and the presentation to churches should arise among the laity, or between members of the laity and the clergy, or among the clergy, let it be tried and decided in the curia of the lord king.

Soon the archbishop, first to speak, replied that thus clerics were dragged to secular judgments and that ecclesiastical jurisdiction was changed into secular. The advowson, indeed, advances and only supports itself by the spiritual law, by which anyone commonly known as a leading personage of the church attains the spiritual charge and

93 Advowson is, in English law, the right of presentation to a benefice.
direction of souls; whence it belongs to this spiritual power to decide concerning the first law and what pertains to it, when one law depends upon another, and which are closely connected or merely related. Otherwise, if what is called by this dangerous innovation "advowson" is merely a secular law and the law of inheritance, it may be sold, it may be bought, and the likeness of other secular abuses will be brought into the monastery. The archbishop, therefore, complained doubly that this was a disastrous innovation, at one time because they were dragging clerics before a judge not their own, at another because the matter of the controversy was not within the knowledge of a secular, but rather of an ecclesiastical judge.

To this deadly law there was affixed another more impious decree not immediately following, however, but the third in writing, the words and clause of which were as follows:

Clerics cited or accused of any offense, summoned by the justice of the king, shall come into his curia, there to answer the charge, whence it will be seen what ought to be answered there to the curia of the king, and likewise what the justice of the king shall send into the curia of holy church, and how the matter shall be handled there. And if the cleric is convicted or shall have confessed, the church ought not to regard him among the rest.

In this custom, as they called it, thus set down in writing, the archbishop perceived and understood more surely
than from the former that the poison of jealous rivalry was being given to him to drink; and he soon declared that the very words of all the disastrous writing, words, as it were, of foolish refinement, were thus full of malice and plainly destructive of the liberty of the clergy. "Behold," he added, "that according to this deadly canon, clerics are dragged before a secular judge in a criminal as well as a civil matter. And Christ is judged anew before the ruler, Pilate. And, what reaches the height of penal slavery, contrary to the command of the Lord in the prophet, the clergy will be judged twice for the same offense, and a double punishment will result. If this be the case, the state of clerics will be worse than that of all other criminals."

Following this was another decree of fatal writing:

It is not permitted to the archbishops, to the bishops, or to persons of the kingdom to go out of the kingdom without the permission of the lord king. And if it so please the king, they shall give security that neither in going, nor in remaining away, will they seek harm or destruction to the king or the kingdom.

But to this the archbishop objected that by the edict of this promulgation, pilgrimages to the holy lands would cease, and vows and even obedience would be made void; and because this illustrious realm might become, in very truth a prison for the persons of the kingdom, and thus the lot of persons belonging to the kingdom, would be worse than
that of private individuals. For what if any of these persons has vowed to make a journey abroad, or, perchance, for some other just and honorable purpose, should prolong a visit to foreign places? What if, perhaps, as sometimes happens, dissension arise between apostolic men and kings of the English? For council and for executing other necessary business, this one calls, that one holds back. Is it not proper to obey this one rather than that, the vicar of Christ rather than an earthly king? It is indeed proper, as much as we ought to obey God rather than man. But, when ecclesiastical persons are thus bound to kings, according to the form of this obligation, their vow and obedience would depend upon the authority of kings. The archbishop, therefore, interrupted: "It is indeed fitting and proper that if, for any reason, these persons arrange to leave the kingdom, they go only with the king's permission; but for one to bind himself by oath that he will not depart without permission is both irreligious and improper."

But following these there was still a seventh written decree:

No tenant-in-chief of the king, nor any member of his household may be excommunicated, nor may his lands be placed under interdict until the king, if he is in the land, or the justiciary of the king, if he is outside the kingdom, agree that he has a fair trial. Thus what shall pertain to the royal curia shall be settled there; and what shall depend upon the ecclesiastical court may be sent to the same, and may there be settled.
In regard to this written decree, the archbishop protested that the church was plainly deprived of power, and that in the presence of the Lord of Saboath priests were deprived of the military sword-belt, who from the highest prince of all, from Him Who receives the souls of all princes, received the sword, and have over the kings and princes themselves free power of binding and of loosing. According to this the king and prophet himself says: "For binding their kings in fetters, and their nobles in manacles of iron." Priests, I say, leaders of the Christian army, would be thus deprived of power, whose right it is to distinguish between what is holy and profane, between what is defiled and clean, and according to whose authority one who is leprous is separated.

Closely following this was the eighth decree:

Concerning appeals if they should arise, they ought to proceed from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from him to the archbishop. And if the archbishop should fail to administer justice, it should next be taken to the king, that by his command the dispute may be settled in the court of the archbishop; thus it ought not to proceed further without the consent of the king.

As soon as the Archbishop saw this decree, he set himself sternly against it, declaring that if the archbishops who, on receiving the pallium had expressly taken an oath on referring appeals to the Roman pontiff, consented to this,

94 Psalms 149.8
they would be guilty of perjury. He added that this cruel and disastrous law forbade that a refuge of all the oppressed be raised, and that the faithful return freely to the Roman church as to the mother of all.

After this, among many others, the twelfth written decree was added:

When an archbishopric, a bishopric, an abbey, or a priory within the realm of the king is vacant, it ought to be in his hand, and he shall receive from it all the revenues and proceeds, as of his domains.

To this the archbishop responded briefly that the property of the poor ought by no means to be applied to the treasury, and that this would be, as it were, contrary to royal mercy and magnificence; also that these riches of another are in no wise the redemption of the soul of a prince. Although this sacrilege has sometimes been committed by those before us we ought not extend it to its limit. Rather this (encroachment upon the rights) of the church ought always be proclaimed, always opposed, and, as far as possible, resisted. And if what cannot be corrected be tolerated, yet we ought never agree to it.

There follows in the same irregular canon:

And when the time shall come for providing for that church, the lord king shall recommend the better persons for that church and the election shall take place in the king's chapel.

95 Cf. Proverbs 13.8
And indeed the archbishop, a strong defender, as it were, of canonical election, in this as in other matters presently replied that this new canon and the new form of election introduced as a result were entirely different from and opposed to the venerable and customary ordinances of apostolic precepts; nor was it lawful in so singular an innovation and in so new a singularity, for him, without the authority of the apostolic man, or rather that of the universal church, to be responsible for this unusual power or approval, more especially in appointing such important ecclesiastical persons in a church entrusted to him, even if this would be most useful to the church. For thus to depart from her own feeling and spirit, and from the general and now accustomed clauses of the holy fathers would be, as it were, to form a certain, particular schism in the church. He added that this new form of election in England, even as a certain spark in the heart of the sea, is able easily to produce from itself a great conflagration. For if, at his own wish and nod, the king of England invents this form of election in his kingdom, why will not other kings, hearing of this, do the same in their kingdoms? He added also that this new canon was evidently most detrimental to the liberty and honor of the canonical election since, unless a most urgent reason should intervene, a priest ought to be chosen in that place for which he is to be consecrated, not indeed
in the presence of the prince, even though with his knowledge and consent. For who does not fear the presence of a prince? Who is not terrified? Who will nominate freely any person except one whom the prince desires or requests? The holy fathers piously foreseeing this, determined that the election of bishops should neither take place nor be confirmed in the curia, in court, nor in a chamber, nor even in the chapel or oratory of princes.

He continued that it was by no means even proper that ecclesiastics of high rank, persons so celebrated, so distinguished, to whom the guidance of so many people, the charge of so many souls, and the care of so many churches was entrusted, should be chosen or confirmed when elected in those places which are pleasing and are appointed for submission to such members of the laity, even of kings. And to those who opposed him, he presently replied that although, in this kingdom of the English, it may have been done thus from former times of other kings, the custom was rather tyrannically usurped than lawfully established. He spoke finally of the different forms of elections; concerning these the ecclesiastical histories teach us a page of each Testament; from these it is clear that in the primitive church, Catholic princes never took part in ecclesiastical elections and affairs. Truly, according to the effect of faith, and to the various changes of matters around the church, in
various ways the dispensation of the holy fathers concerning the forms of elections was discovered. In these, another decree concerning the rising Church was found, not indeed another, while according to the saying of the prophet, this law "has been established in the pride of the times;" therefore it is by no means safe to depart from that form of election which the church has now adopted, and which she approves and observes. And to all this, the archbishop replied as we have stated.

From these deadly constitutions, therefore, which we have just now related, invented, invented by enemies of the church in hatred of the archbishop, for the oppression of the liberty of the church, one can see how clear, how just, is the cause first of the exile and finally of the martyrdom of our archbishop. Because I have neither heard nor read that the cause of any of the martyrs has been more just or more manifest. Let him teach this who can, since there remain many more of these, similar in form and clause, inserted in that deadly written decree.

But it is not for my capacity, my insignificance, to extend itself to royal or ecclesiastical customs, dignities, or liberties. This is in accordance neither with my insignificance nor with these honors, nor is it of my capacity or knowledge to approve these or to disapprove them. This is rather a consideration of the kings and bishops themselves.
I bear witness only of what I have seen and heard. One thing I know, that those which I have related, and some others like them, briefly about seven distinct decrees, inserted in the writing which I have mentioned, were abundant material for trouble between the king and the archbishop. And this written form of the decree, borrowed from the original, the Lord favoring, we place impartially at the end of this volume, so that, with all the martyrs, it may be clearly revealed even more than these facts which I have already recorded have revealed it, how distinguished, how evident, how illustrious was the archbishop's cause, first of exile, and afterwards of martyrdom. The Lord indeed, the judge of all, so disposing, wonderfully, it is true, yet most justly, that these customs should be abolished through the blood of that very same person in hatred of whom they had been introduced, and for which he (Thomas) was seen accusing himself that had he consented in a certain way; his blood thus abolishing what was opposed to us through a hostile written decree; even kingdoms and those in power openly exulted in him. For I shall omit the account of others now, of the king, coming to himself and returning at last, with his whole heart and person, to his archbishop, for whom he renounced what was then being enacted in the

96 The Constitutions of Clarandon have been printed in Volume 1, pages 18-23, and it has seemed needless to annex them to his volume. (Materials 3.159)
present written decree, denied its force, and rejected its authority; (I shall pass over these) because, obviously the book which I have entitled "Of Songs" and which I have affixed to this history, will thoroughly explain this. But if you propose to me the objection that to this day many of these unjust statutes are observed throughout the kingdom, I shall reply briefly and most positively that the king renounced them, as we have said, and that the church, the spouse of Christ, conquered in the triumphal blood of a martyr of Christ. Whether the king persevered in his repentance and renunciation, God knows, God desires, the king himself has seen. But if, as you object to me, other customs have the force of that deadly statement, and, after what is harmful has been cut off, some grow up, spurious, as it were, from an evil stock, we ought still to hope that, for the perseverance of archbishops succeeding the martyr, what is imperfect may be supplied through the mercy of kings, while memories of the martyr and of the cause of his martyrdom frequently and piously survive, and that the yoke of slavery of the church shall putrify at the presence of the oil;97 but if not, the Most High so disposing, archbishops who succeed the martyr will have an occasion in these days of the flesh of exercising and of proving virtue. But, anticipating, as it were, (this is not yet the place for

97 Cf. Isais 10.27
these matters which we now mention) let us return to what is going on in the present, the cause and occasion of trouble, a cause most just in the judgment of the whole church, and if I am not mistaken, the only one of those which we have discussed, except others which I shall here omit. He who is first in the entire church, the apostolic man, justified this cause, confirming it by his own authority which is above all, as the following account will explain. Let us return, I say, to the now abundant cause of trouble. For now there was evident matter of dissension, a little later of exile, and afterwards, of martyrdom.

O ancient iniquity of envious persons! O profane novelty of laws, too powerful for evil! How great a king, and how great an archbishop, so necessarily united by a bond of such commendable charity, you have separated; prophetic and eternal woe to those who established these new laws! These are certainly the inventions of diabolical envy. O envy which in men of low and contemptible life, having a cottage, seeks the thrones of kings and the choirs of doctors.

"Let envy take a lofty flight, through highest places let the breezes blow."98

The saying of the wise man also conforms to this: "The

98 Ovid, _Remedia Amoris_ 369
lizard supporteth itself on hands, and dwelleth in kings' houses." Proverbs 30.28

Oh, how harsh, how cruel, and how inhuman is this envy, breaking pledges so sweet, so dear and so illustrious to the world, pledges of such great pleasure, of such sweetness! It is directly opposed to charity, as we remember now that we said above; and grief urges it to return. It is always disturbed about peace, disagrees with harmony, pines away from safety, is confounded concerning happiness, sad about success, jovial about grief, weeping with those who rejoice, and rejoicing with those who weep. But after spurning these enemies of peace, these workers of Satan, let us return and follow what is before us. The king indeed demanded from the archbishop and the other bishops that they give force to the written form containing the constitutions, as we have said, after it had been written, concluded and made public, by attaching their seals for a greater pledge. In truth the archbishop, greatly moved and saddened, nevertheless dissembled, not wishing to provoke the king. And indeed, being cautious, he did not refuse, but said that this ought to be postponed. As if intending to do what had been planned, he said, nevertheless, that, because of the importance of the business, it was fitting that there be some little delay, since, according to the wise man, nothing serious ought to be done
without a plan; and thence, after deliberating a little, he and the other bishops would examine this more diligently. He received, therefore, the written form mentioned, containing the constitutions, deliberately indeed, and cautiously, evidently so that he would have his own written cause with him. The Archbishop of York, indeed, received the other part of what was written and the king took the third part to be placed in the archives of the kings. Thus we departed from the court, and set out toward the state of Winchester.

30. The Sadness and Grief of the Archbishop

The archbishop seemed disturbed and saddened beyond measure, and, contrary to his usual manner, talked to no one among his followers, nor did anyone address him. He called no one; no one approached him, but he rode alone and apart during the journey, alone, meditating on the way. We, the companions of his journey, sharing the burden with him and sympathizing, soon noticed this, and now suspected, to some degree, the reason for this. But finally the disciple who writes this presumed to approach, saying, "My lord, this is not your usual demeanor; why are you so downcast? For you do not show your face, as yesterday and the day before, nor do you hold council or conference, as is your custom, with your friends."
The archbishop answered him thus: "It is not strange that I seem to see for myself that through me, because my sins demand it, the English church which my predecessors, as all the world knows, governed so prudently amid so many dangers, must be enslaved; that church for which they also fought so bravely and triumphed so powerfully; for which, moreover, some of them resisted, manfully and fearlessly, even unto blood. But this lady [the Church] stands before me, enslaved now by me, wretch that I am; "O that I had been consumed, that eye might not see me!"

And rightly, indeed, will the church suffer these injuries through me and in my time because, I was taken not from the church, as were my predecessors, but from the court, for the office. Not from the cloister, nor from any religious place, nor from the school of the Savior, but rather from the protection of Caesar, proud and vain as I am; from a shepherd of birds I have become a shepherd of sheep; not long since the patron of actors and the follower of hounds, I became the pastor of so many souls. I know not who they were who placed me as a keeper over the vineyard, I, who have not taken care of my own interests, but have neglected them. My past life was certainly far from the welfare of the church,

100 Cf. Hebrews 12.4
101 Job 10.18
and now these are my works; whence I see clearly that I am abandoned by God, and deserve to be cast down from the sacred throne on which I have been placed." Then grief so overcame him that his eyes filled with tears, and, weeping copiously and breaking forth in frequent sobs, he was forced to break off the conversation rather than to finish.\textsuperscript{102} on the last day "he shall not fear the evil hearing."\textsuperscript{103} And the disciple, who shared his sorrow, restraining his tears and sobs as best he could, began: "My lord, it is written that 'to them that love God, all things work together unto good, to such as, according to his purpose, are called to be saints:'\textsuperscript{104} just as, when some turn aside and wander, in this life, into a crooked and devious way, and run 'where there was no passing, and out of the way,'\textsuperscript{105} that impassable way itself may be, as it were, a certain short-cut to the way of salvation, to their true country, in that, by that very way into which they have wandered, the Lord, their leader and their ruler, wonderfully directing them; whence 'God is wonderful in his saints,'\textsuperscript{106} leading them in a wonderful way, so wonderful that the impassable place itself

\textsuperscript{102} Here there is a gap in the manuscript. Arras resumes.
\textsuperscript{103} Psalms 111.7
\textsuperscript{104} Romans 8.28
\textsuperscript{105} Psalms 106.40
\textsuperscript{106} Psalms 67.36
may become for them the way to salvation, the way to their country. Have confidence, therefore, my Lord, because if you have fallen, you will rise more courageous, the Lord putting His hand under you; if you have sunk into ruin at the instigation of another, you will rise more circumspect; if by your own impulse, you will rise more humble. So also the prince of the Apostles, Peter, the model of pastors, presuming that he would die before he would deny his master, denied first to a maid-servant, and later, when led before governors and kings, did not cease to deny each time; from this presumption he became more learned and more humble; from his apostasy, more faithful; from his denial, more immutable. But the all-powerful Spirit of wisdom knows how to draw a good out of evil, as if drawing a violet from dry ground, a rose from a thorn, honey from a rock, oil from the hardest stone. As for this, it ought to be worked out with the greatest zeal, in order of the succession of events, how a likeness to the prince of the apostles, the model of pastors, may be found in you. If you, like Peter, have offended in word, like Peter you do not offend in work. To observe good royal constitutions is indeed good and just.

107 Cf. Psalms 36.24

108 Robertson here suggests interpreting "ex rosa spinam" as "ex spina rosam," which is in accordance with the sense of the passage.
But if these others are, as you say, new ones invented in hatred of you and for the injury of the church, it is well-known what ought to be done about them, which indeed, as we may believe, the king would not have demanded, had he perceived that new ones would be introduced by those who were rivals. For profane innovations of laws are to be avoided; regarding such inventions, the prophet says, 'Woe to them that make new laws.'\textsuperscript{109} Indeed, it is not usual for the mercy of Christian kings, for the honor of Christ, to introduce such new and evil laws, nor to enforce them when they have been introduced, but rather to abolish them. Thus has the liberty of the church, thus has the honor of the clergy increased. But that I may now connect with that other, that past life, I say, which you now bewail so tearfully, one fact you know for certain, how, as you accuse yourself, your past life does not harmonize with this office in which you now are. This pastoral burden has nothing in common with those luxuries and riches of Augustus; thus, if I am not mistaken, God is showing you how fitting it is that you suffer great things for Him; you who, taken not from the church but from the court, have presumed, nevertheless, to rise to this place and to this rank. If, therefore, you have as you say, fallen disgracefully, all that remains is to

\textsuperscript{109} Cf. Isais 10.1; Herbert has used "novas" to modify "leges," whereas in Isais, the adjective is "iniquas."
rise bravely and becomingly, and shake yourself, if you are a child of them that have been shaken, \textsuperscript{110} yes, because you are, and 'do manfully, and let thy heart take courage,'\textsuperscript{111} let not sorrow swallow you up,\textsuperscript{112} but rather let justice cheer your way; 'Do manfully,'\textsuperscript{113} I say, Take courage, and be careful in time, brave and valiant.\textsuperscript{114} And you may know for certain that the Lord will be with you, a strong helper,\textsuperscript{115} as we read that He was with David, the king and prophet, who had previously however, been an adulterer and a traitor; as He was with him whom we have already mentioned, the prince of the apostles, who had been an apostate; as He was with that holy and apostolic woman once a sinner; and lastly as He was with the great doctor of the Gentiles, who was more than all other men a persecutor of the church. You, too, on that occasion, so it seemed and was said, were a Saul but if now you desire to be a Paul, now that the scales have fallen from your eyes, in this task your Jesus will show you

\textsuperscript{110} Cf. Psalms 126.4
\textsuperscript{111} Psalms 26.14
\textsuperscript{112} Cf. 2 Corinthians 2.7
\textsuperscript{113} Psalms 26.14
\textsuperscript{114} Cf. Deuteronomy 31.7
\textsuperscript{115} Cf. Psalms 70.7
what great things you must bear in His Name."

It seemed that these words gave some consolation in that great sorrow of which we have spoken. For he [Thomas] looked more to the love and fidelity of him who was speaking than to the value of the words. And lo! it was suddenly announced that the bishop at whose persuasion and instigation the phrase, "saving the order" had been suppressed was following us. The archbishop, addressing the disciple who had been speaking with him almost up to this point, said "Let him follow, and let Satan get behind me."

31. The Archbishop is Absolved by the Apostolic See

After a few days, because his conscience was branded with what had been done, the archbishop sent with much haste to the Roman pontiff, inasmuch as he has power to heal the contrite of heart and to bind their wounds. As he was absent, he could do this by writing. He laid bare his wound and sought a remedy; meanwhile, he denied himself the privilege of saying Mass for the entire time (about forty days) until, when the messenger returned from the supreme pontiff, he obtained through the apostolic letter, the grace of absolution for that of which he accused himself. The nuntio indeed returned in so short a time because the supreme

116 i.e. Hilary of Chichester
pontiff was then staying in Sens, the noble and royal state of Gaul, because of the schism. Besides the benefit of absolution, he received such consolation through his apostolic letters, in which he encouraged him with fatherly affection to bear his pastoral burden bravely and cheerfully, and to gird himself for pastoral works. He received this apostolic commission just as a sin-offering sent to him from heaven, with all cheerfulness, as one who was most fervent in spirit, completely renewed in spirit through the exhortatory apostolic letter as from a mother's breasts. But because, as we have said, the lord Pope was near, and because writing was not, and should not be the most useful method of confession, and since he would scarcely be successful among the people, he arranged to go in person to the supreme pontiff. He attempted, therefore, to cross the sea secretly by night, without the knowledge of his friends, with the exception of two or three whom he was taking with him. For if he wished to leave publicly, the way would not be open. Among the prescribed constitutions, indeed, was one commanding that none of the bishops or personages of the kingdom should, without the king's permission or that of his justiciaries, depart from the land; therefore, the archbishop attempted to leave secretly. He set out upon the sea twice, and was turned back both times, God Himself, as it were, through his elements, opposing him in this action. For, as
"all things have their season," 117 so there is a time of being present and a time of fleeing, but it is not yet time for this flight. Stealthily, but very quickly, the report was spread throughout the kingdom that the archbishop had attempted to cross the sea; the people were amazed at this, the nobles wondered, the bishops were disturbed, and the king was greatly excited, particularly because, as he believed, the archbishop had so quickly and so suddenly presumed to act against the laws established. The archbishop, however, knowing that what he had attempted was by no means pleasing to God, and hearing and knowing that certainly the king was provoked at this, was sad; because he so loved the king that he was unable to be happy and jovial while the king was angry. He approached the monarch at that royal palace called Woodstock. The king, treating the archbishop, upon his arrival, with honor, yet not in his customary manner, pretended that he had heard nothing of the matter presented; but the archbishop and those who were with him by no means believed this. He pretended, I say, except that he taunted the archbishop, as if in a joke, asking him why he wished to leave his kingdom, as if it could not hold them both. But now the archbishop, who had known the king for a long time and with unusual familiarity, understood that the heart of the king had been alienated from him, and those who were in the court predicted this; therefore, departing

117 Ecclesiastes 3.1
as soon as he was permitted by the king, and knowing above
all that he had been prevented from crossing the sea by
Him whom the sea and the winds obey, he thought himself,
and even said secretly to his friends, that from that time
on, he must either yield basely or contend manfully. For
this reason, supported by apostolic authority and exhortation,
as he was fervent in spirit, he soon shook himself, the
child of "them that have been shaken," and with the
prophet's mattock he plucked up, pulled down, scattered,
and rooted out whatever he found planted amiss in the
garden of the Lord. His head rested not, his eye spared
not; whatever was improper, whatever rough, whatever crooked,
he not only assailed with the prophet's mattock but, with
the axe of the gospel, he cut it down. He observed such
royal and ecclesiastical customs as were good; but the
others, brought in for the hindrance of the church and the
dishonor of the clergy, he pruned away as bastard slips
that they might not strike their roots deep. And, like one
struggling for strength in a rugged and thorny forest, he
destroyed and thrust out whatever was rough, whatever was
irregular or improper, whatever would stand in his way,

118 Cf. Mark 4.40
119 Psalms 126.4
120 Cf. Isais 7.25
121 Cf. Jeremias 1.10
that he might make the crooked straight, and the rough ways plain.\textsuperscript{122}

But alas! Lofty indeed was the work, but there was a brief delay. For, now, even by this, enemies are aroused against him from right and left; thus, as it was prophesied of that Head of which he was a fitting member, namely that he was "set for the fall and the resurrection of many, and for a sign to be contradicted.\textsuperscript{123} Tale-bearers run to the king, with the accusation that the archbishop was not observing the royal constitutions which he had bound himself under oath to observe; for the same reason, indeed, complainers strike, roaring that, trusting too much in the favor of royal gratitude, he has disinherited them. But above all, the rivals at court annoyed and instigated, reproaching him with ingratitude for so many great benefits. For now on that consuming serpent, which we said at the beginning of this work was creeping stealthily through the court, openly thrust forth its head. And this surely, which the wise man calls "the tongue of a third person, hath disquieted many and scattered them from nation to nation.\textsuperscript{124} Therefore, there were these three groups,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{122} Cf. Isais 40.4; Cf. Luke 3.5
\item \textsuperscript{123} Luke 2.34; Cf. Isais 8.14; Cf. Romans 9.33
\item \textsuperscript{124} Ecclesiasticus 28.16
\end{itemize}
tale-bearers, plaintiffs, and rivals at court; the first are like sciniphs, the second like bees, and the third, in truth, scorpions. All these were now vexing the man of God and perpetually prodding the king, so that the voice of the Head harmonized with that of the member of that Head. "They surrounded me like bees," He says, "and they burned like fire among thorns." All these agreed, then, in vexing the archbishop and in writing the king against his archbishop; it is not strange, then, that, if with these instigations as with sharp stings, the heart of the king was vexed and breathed forth a flame of wrath and indignation. Then, too, the king became more and more incensed from the fuel which they collected daily; and his anger, until now concealed, increased day by day, and finally burst forth, "For if thou blow...," says Wisdom, "it shall burn as fire." At first, at the persistence of those voicing complaints, the archbishop was cited for trial, to come prepared to answer for those estates, which, as we have mentioned, he had reclaimed for himself.

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125 Cf. Exodus 8.17
126 Psalms 117.12
127 Ecclesiasticus 28.14
32. The Summons of the Archbishop to Northampton

But because he did not appear in person at the first summons, he was summoned again by a second agent, and not only the time but also the place was determined, namely that noble and royal castle called Northampton. The time, unless I am mistaken, was the month of October, the fifth day of the week, the sixth before the birthday of blessed Callistus, pope and martyr. On this day and to this place all the bishops of the kingdom were strictly summoned by a royal edict.

But now the ship which has thus far stood on the shore must be dragged into the deep. For we who have sailed in harbor must now set sail on the wide expanse of the sea, and our ship must be guided between Scylla and Charybdis, between the Syrtes and the many other dangerous abysses of the sea. O abysses of the sea, O dangers of life! All thy heights and thy billows have passed over us. "He said the word, and there arose a storm of wind; and the waves thereof were lifted up."

128 October 8, 1164. "Natalitium diem" denotes the heavenly birthday or the day of St. Callistus's death.
129 Vergil, Aeneid 3.420, 432
130 Ibid., 3.480
131 Ibid., 1.84
132 Cf. Psalms 41.8. Here Herbert has substituted "nos for "me" of the Vulgate.
133 Psalms 106.25
33. The Work of the First Day on Which He Came to the Council

Since he had been summoned, as we said, to trial, nay rather to sorrow, the wrestler of the Lord arrived at the appointed time and place. Even at first, the above-mentioned complainers, like bees, surrounded the anointed of the Lord, the bishop of Christ. They even directed civil questions to him, so many darts, as it were, stinging him. As it was known that, as we said, he had not appeared in person for the first citation of the king, (although as he declared, on the contrary, that he had sent an adequate reply) yet, in the judgment of all the nobles, and even of the bishops, all his movable property was confiscated, unless perchance royal clemency desired to temper justice; that is, as it is commonly known in the land, he was sentenced to the confiscation of all his movable property to the king's mercy. When he heard that he had been so judged, he said, "Such may be this sentence, such this judgment of what is constitutionally written, the one that is evident to all that are experienced in law: there is nothing for me to gain by contesting this point. Though I am silent, future generations will not be silent. This is a new kind of judgment, no

134 Wednesday, October 7, 1164
doubt, according to the new canons published at Clarendon."

But passing over this judgment, he declared that it was unheard of in that time that bishops of Canterbury were judged for such a reason in the court of the king of the English, first because of the dignity of the church, then because of the authority of the person. It is evident, therefore, that he is the one spiritual head of all the kings and of all who are in the kingdom of Canterbury; and that, for this reason, a matter is always reported by the kings and nobles of the kingdom to their archbishop. Yet the archbishop complained much more concerning his own suffragans and fellow bishops than concerning the trial or the judgment by nobles, saying that this was a new form and a new order of judgments, that an archbishop should be judged by his own suffragans, a father by his sons. It would be less wicked, he said, to scorn what was revered in a father than to judge the person of the father himself. For, as he said, the bond of profession and obedience is so severe and so binding that it joins and unites those professed to their superior just as members to a head; because, although they may be under obligation, by reason of temporal affairs, to kings, nevertheless they cannot and ought not, for temporal reasons, especially when forced, judge their superiors in the manner of ordinary citizens; since the virtue of obedience is so great that because of it they are obliged not only to
abandon temporal matters, but also to place it even above self. He placed the blame upon all the bishops because they held such an opinion. He said that it did not in any way merit the name of opinion, but deserved rather to be called a conflagration of hatred. He feared, too, that what had been done did not seem to his followers to be a judgment of liberty rendered before trial, nor something that would lead to consequences for future time. Indeed, as he maintained secretly, the bishops thus judging their archbishop would by raving with their tongues against their archbishop, soon bind him under interdict of suspension, unless the athlete of Christ prepared himself for yet greater afflictions. And these opinions, spread thus against the archbishop, were, on the fifth day of the week, the first action of the council.

34. The Work of the Second Day

On the following day, the king himself demanded from the archbishop money to the amount of five hundred pounds of silver, which, as he declared, the prelate borrowed from him while he was chancellor. Upon hearing this, the archbishop said in amazement, "It is especially unjust of royal magnificence to recall what has been given; nor have I, indeed, in the time of my chancellorship, misused that
which (as I hear) you are now seeking, ready cash, which was not a loan, but a gift; and if it please you, you ought rather to recall how submissive to you I proved myself in that office than to avenge what was then done between us." But the king, ignoring these words, demanded judgment; and those who, we have said before, were prepared to judge, our bishops as well as nobles, decided that the money demanded should be paid, because the archbishop confessed that he had received the money, although (as he could not then prove) under the guise of a gift. Since the money had been awarded to him, the king demanded security; but to this the archbishop replied that he had in the kingdom far more than the value of the money awarded; and that it was not becoming that he should, for the good pleasure of the king, produce further security, nor even that the king should demand more. But it was objected that he had not even this much movable property, since, through yesterday's trial, all his movable property had been confiscated. He was threatened, therefore, and security was demanded; and he was told sternly and to his face that he might either get security or remain a prisoner. This was sanctioned by the one who threatened imprisonment. But some, now directly opposing the king, and seeing that the archbishop was abandoned and was beginning to suffer not the suffrage of his suffragans, but
rather shipwreck, seeing this, I say, they were alarmed. Because of these circumstances, some of these presented themselves and were bound under oath for him. Five were bound, each for one hundred pounds. And this money was demanded from the archbishop on the sixth day of the week, as the second action of the council.

35. The Work of the Third Day

On the morrow, namely the Sabbath day, the day did not dawn for us as the Sabbath, but as a day of work and affliction, since, as we have said before, the king was directly opposing us. Accordingly on this Sabbath day, the king demanded from the archbishop on account of all the property which he had held in custody, by order of the king, during the time of his chancellorship, including (I say) the then vacant bishoprics and abbeys and also the baronies with their many great honors. Up to this time, as the king said, no account of all these had been required or preferred. And the property of the account to be rendered was very highly taxed, namely to the sum of about thirty thousand marks. Upon hearing this, all the others in the palace who had come to the council were amazed. Already in scattered groups,

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135 There is play upon words here in the use of "suffragium" and "naufragium."
they were whispering that this could mean only prison for the archbishop. But others suspected something even more serious, and indeed this opinion had spread far and wide. The archbishop, indeed, who, as we said above, began in this castle to go down to the sea and to tamper with the dangerous whirlpools of the sea of the times, was troubled at this sudden and unexpected demand for an accounting; he reeled like a drunken man and all his wisdom was swallowed up. Of such the psalmist says, "They were troubled, and reeled like a drunken man, and all their wisdom was swallowed up."136 When the bishops had been called together, however, after much deliberation as to what reply should be made to this and what should be done, Henry of blessed memory, then bishop of Winchester, who indeed favored the archbishop, though secretly because of fear, at last remembered that at the time of the election of the archbishop, then archdeacon of Canterbury and chancellor of the king, he had been restored to the English church free from all obligations to the court. We recall that we, too, mentioned this above, when the election of the archbishop was described.137 And indeed the other bishops could not lack such evidence as would prove this; therefore finally, all the bishops

136 Psalms 106.27
137 Cf. Materials 3.185
jointly proposed their testimony to this decree. And so, about evening of the Sabbath, we were dismissed. But because of this decree, we were not yet dismissed in peace; the account thus demanded from the archbishop on the Sabbath was, nevertheless, the third action of the council.

On the following day, namely Sunday,138 because of the day, we rested; on Monday, commonly called the day of the moon, we were summoned and awaited at the trial. Truly, on this day, or in the night just preceding the day, the archbishop was seriously stricken with that illness called "passio iliaca."139 But the king and those who were in the court, thinking that this was a pretended infirmity and not a real one, sent some of the nobles of the kingdom who had assembled to investigate this matter. "Today," the archbishop said to these men, "as you yourselves can see, since I have been overtaken by serious ill-health sent from God, I am unable to come to court: but may you know for certain that, with the Lord's help, I shall appear at court tomorrow, and, if there is no other way, I shall have to be carried there in a litter." But another way was given him from above, and, the Lord favoring him, as the athlete of Christ wished, so it happened; on the following night he completely recovered.

138 October 11, 1164
139 i. e. an attack of colie.
36. The Work of the Last Day

On the following day, that is on Tuesday, commonly called the day of Mars,\(^{140}\) (a day which dawned for us as truly as a day of Mars,) he entered the court, not indeed as a patient carried on a litter, but as the tower in Jerusalem situated directly opposite Damascus.\(^{141}\) But before he came into the court, on the last morning, the bishops came to him stunned and terrified, because the word had now spread, even here and there in the palace, and among scattered groups in the council, though by no means openly as yet, that on this day the archbishop was threatened with imprisonment at least, if not something worse. This very report was dropped secretly even into the ears of the archbishop by certain courtiers who still loved him because of the benefits and honors he had formerly bestowed upon them. For this reason also, the bishops were skillfully advising, (not openly because the matter was so unusual, but under a certain form of insinuation) that in everything, even in what concerned the archbishopric itself, the archbishop subject himself in every way to the wish and whim of the king, so that perhaps the wrath and indignation of the king might thus be calmed. They also added that, unless this were done, he would

\(^{140}\) October 13

\(^{141}\) Cf. Canticle of Canticles 7.4
presently hear in court the charge of perjury placed upon him, and would be judged a traitor because he was not paying to an earthly lord the earthly honor included in the oath of fidelity, that is, he was not observing his royal constitutions to the observance of which he had bound himself by the new obligation of oath. The argument was advanced by some and corroborated by others that even an archbishop could ill afford to incur the indignation of the king. Such opposition between the crown and the church meant turmoil rather than peace, a great loss and no gain. As a result, the episcopal office became more truly a cross. And in this advice all the bishops agreed as one against the Lord and against His anointed. 142

Behold that now not only the insects mentioned before, the bees and scorpions, but also fat bulls surrounded the athlete of Christ, so that the voice from the suffering of the Head can now be applied to the suffering member of that Head: "Many calves have surrounded me:" he says, "fat bulls have besieged me." 143 Such bishops are indeed the fat bulls; the many calves are the followers of such as these. All of these offered the same advice, that in everything he submit to the will of the king. And indeed, through these daily

142 Cf. Psalms 2.2
143 Psalms 21.13
beatings, through the pressure exerted day by day, they struggled toward this end, namely that he might bend the knees and surrender; that he might be pressed, so sorely pressed indeed that those shoulders which he had placed under the pastoral burden he might soon submit to an earthly power. But the pillar of the church, hewn and strong, as it were, once indeed moved, but now for that very reason the more immovable, rooted in charity, founded upon a firm rock, standing firmly on the rock, was strong against the attacking enemy, brave from misfortune; he was, therefore, the principal pillar, the chief pillar of pillars, as it were. Resorting presently to prayer and counsel as weapons against the insinuations of his brethren, he addressed them thus:

37. The Archbishop's Address to the Bishops

"Brothers," he said, "the whole world, as you perceive, rages against me, my enemy rises up, but what I bewail more tearfully because it is more detestable than all else is that the sons of my own mother fight against me. For, though I were to say nothing, future ages will relate how you left me alone in the battle; how for two whole days you sat in judgment upon me, your archbishop and father, sinner though I am, and were made as nails in my eye and spears in my
side, you who ought to have risen up and to have stood with me against my enemies. And yet I surmise that you are ready to judge me in a secular tribunal, not only in a civil matter, but in a criminal cause as well. But I enjoin upon you all in general, in virtue of your obedience and in peril of your orders, not to take part in any trial in which my person may be judged. To prevent you from so doing, I appeal to our mother, the refuge of all the distressed, the Roman see. Moreover, if, as is already reported publicly, it may happen that seculars lay violent hands upon me, we command you likewise, in virtue of obedience, that you make use of ecclesiastical censure, as is proper, in behalf of your father and archbishop. Be assured of one thing: though the world may rage, though my body may tremble, for flesh is weak, yet never, the Lord favoring, will I basely yield nor wickedly desert the flock committed to my care."

After this brief speech, one of the bishops immediately appealed from that command of the archbishop, namely that if seculars should lay violent hands upon him when he had been judged, the bishops should not hesitate to make use of ecclesiastical censure. That bishop was Gilbert, bishop of London. After the archbishop had spoken, the bishops departed, hastening to the court, with the exception of two who, lingering

144 Cf. Numbers 33.55
in the room where the bishops had assembled, secretly comforted and encouraged the archbishop. One of these was Henry, of blessed memory, bishop of Winchester, of whom we have often spoken, and who, as we related before, consecrated him bishop, and for this reason sympathized the more with him in his sorrow. The other, indeed, was Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury; and both, because of fear, spoke secretly. The archbishop, truly as if now about to proceed to his doom in a court where he alone was awaited because the battle was fought against him alone, prepared himself for the struggle. After the departure of the bishops, he quickly entered the church, and at the suggestions of a certain one of the canons, as was his usual disposition and desire, he himself celebrated the Mass of the blessed protomartyr, Stephen. And this was the introit of the Mass: "For princes sat and spoke against me." And on that day, which was not a feast day except that it was the birthday of blessed Callistus, pope and martyr, he celebrated this Mass with a pallium.

O how great, in the celebration of that Mass, was the devotion, the compunction of heart, the expression of the whole interior and exterior man. How many and deep were the

145 Cf. Materials 3.188
146 Psalms 118.23
sighs mingled with his falling tears. Thus, during the prayers to be said, he was frequently compelled to end a collect where there was no conclusion, only with difficulty coming back and returning to that which he had begun. When he had finally finished the Mass, as well as he was able amid such copious tears and with sobs frequently bursting forth, he immediately put aside that face which he had shown during the Mass, that is, the face of humility, and assuming the face of a man, the face of a lion, with those prophetic animals, indeed rather he was very similar to that of the evangelist described by the prophet, he who, among the rest, had the face of a man and the face of a lion.147 And indeed, he would have proceeded to the court clad in those mystic and priestly vestments, had not certain templar soldiers hindered him. For he said that he wished the court to see and know him whom it had already judged twice and whom it was now prepared to condemn. But after much persuasion, he omitted from his plan the attire which we have described. Nevertheless, because many great men now believed and feared that on this day either imprisonment or worse threatened, and because they were so afraid of those courtiers by whom even more secretly a tale was dropped, they carried with them the viaticum of ecclesiastical communion,

147 Cf. Ezechiel 1.10
that is, the Eucharist. He now became more bold, therefore, and more secure, as though our evangelical lion hastened for plunder to the court where the bishops and nobles, awaiting the arrival of the archbishop and the outcome of the matter, had already assembled. The archbishop, as he entered the court, took the cross from the cross-bearer ahead of him, and, openly and in the sight of all, he himself carried his cross, as if, in the battle of the Lord, he were the standard-bearer of the Lord, raising the Lord's standard. Thus he fulfilled, not only spiritually but figuratively as well, that saying of the Lord, "If any man will be My disciple, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow Me." Truly this mystical work was a prophecy of his future cross.

Indeed all who see this are amazed, the bishops are distressed, the nobles are indignant, but the king in the banquet hall below, hearing this, lost all control of himself. One of the bishops, hastening to meet the archbishop then entering the court, seeing this, and, and it were, foolishly affected, immediately tried to tear the cross from the hands of the archbishop, but could not do so. He was Master Robert of Melum whom the archbishop had ordained to the priesthood and consecrated bishop of Hereford. Another of the bishops, who likewise met him on the other side of the cross, scolded and reviled him. "If the king bares his sword," he said,

148 Matthew 16.24
and you unsheathe yours, as for what remains, what hope can there be for the reestablishment of peace between you? But you were always a fool; your foolishness appears this day in you." Behold the insult, lest obviously the disciple, now in the act of hanging on the cross might be cheated out of this title of the Master. This was Gilbert of London, whom we mentioned above. But the disciple on the cross, following the Master, Who when He was reviled did not revile, advanced, bearing his cross as he went, from the court into another interior house; and sitting among the bishops, he held the cross in his hands. Oh, what a spectacle, to see Thomas, once, indeed, outstanding even in the court in the manifold beauty of his traveling robe, now indeed clad in sack-cloth and on the cross. Once surrounded, wherever he went throughout the court, by a circle of so many notable persons; he who could then scarcely be approached except by those in power, now, indeed, an individual and alone, whom scarcely anyone wished to approach, since all now put themselves far from him. Thus that voice of the Master can be applied to the disciple, "Friend, and neighbor thou hast put far from me: and my acquaintance, because of misery.  

149 1 Peter 2.23
150 Psalms 87.19
Likewise that of the prophet, "He shall sit solitary, and hold his peace; because he hath taken it up upon himself."¹⁵¹ Truly the judgment of God regarding this sight, although terrible, is pleasant. He beholds Thomas, the bearer of a cross in that court in which, amid pleasures and luxuries, filled with every species of vanity, he had paraded himself. It is indeed in accordance with the just judgment of God that he begin to pay the penalty of rejection where heretofore he had found occasion of such great exaltation. According to that saying of the wise man, "Son, when thou comest to the service of God, stand in justice and in fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation."¹⁵²

Soon, however, after the bishops and nobles had been called together by the voice of a public crier, the king laid down a serious and weighty complaint, that the archbishop's entry into the court was a matter of disgrace for both himself and the kingdom. His entry was not that of a king but of a traitor involving thus the odium of treason. It was unheard of that this had ever been done, in any age, in the court of any king who professed the Christian faith. Those who added their testimony to the decree of the king said that he [the archbishop] had always been a vain and

¹⁵¹ Lamentations 3.28
¹⁵² Ecclesiasticus 2.1
proud man, and that this disgraceful matter redounded not only against the king but against the whole kingdom and against all there present. They said that all this deservedly happened to the king, since he had given second place in the kingdom to a person of this type, with all under him and no one his equal. Repeatedly, therefore, and quite openly, all shouted that he was a traitor who would not now pay to his lord and king, from whom he had received so many great favors, the earthly honor as he had sworn to do, but who rather, by this deed, stamped both king and kingdom with a perpetual stigma of treason. Therefore, they said, measures ought to be taken against him, as against a perjurer and a traitor to the king. As the shouting grew louder, the bishops were quaking with fear and terror, so much so that whenever people came down from the banquet hall where the king and his retinue were to the lower house in which we were assembled, the archbishop and all of us in the house, raising our hands, fortified ourselves each time with the sign of the cross. But no one spoke to the archbishop, nor did he address anyone except the disciple who wrote this and who sat at the feet of him who held the cross.

When, on one occasion, certain of the courtiers who, as it seemed, had the duty of door-keepers in the court, came down from the dining hall, which we mentioned, with great
violence and with rods and staffs\textsuperscript{153} from the hedge, and with threatening looks, turned and pointed at the archbishop and the disciple seated at his feet, while those within the house signed themselves with the sign of the Cross. The archbishop, with bowed head, said to the disciple sitting at his feet: I fear now for you, though you do not fear; for you will yet have a share in my crown." The disciple quickly replied, "You ought not to fear for me; for you have raised that noble and triumphal standard, sacred, terrible, and all-powerful, in which many have won countless battles. The exemplary battles of Constantine the Great of blessed memory, among other facts, teach and confirm our words.\textsuperscript{154} In this standard of the cross, so illustrious that no only earthly, but heavenly powers as well have been conquered and despoiled; through this standard, and in it, the world and even hell have been equally subdued." And the disciple who was speaking to him added: "Remember that you were once the unconquerable standard-bearer of the king of the Angles; it would be a disgrace if now you should be a cowardly standard-bearer of the King of the angels." But indeed, while the master and the disciple were thus conversing in

\textsuperscript{153} Cf. Isais 10.5; Psalms 22.4

\textsuperscript{154} Eusebius De Vita Constantino 1.28-40
whispers, the bishops, separated with the permission of the
king from the nobles, went into a special council of their
own. It was a matter of great concern, whether the bishops
should incur the anger of the king or should, with the
nobles, condemn their archbishop at a criminal trial in
court. In this matter, because of the clarity of the holy
laws, they did not dare transgress.

For those who are "wise to do evil"\textsuperscript{155} do not stretch
forth their hands to any evil whatever, but only to those
which could be concealed by premeditated and carefully ar-
ranged fraud. Concerning such as these, the psalm reads:
"They have talked of hiding snares; they have said: Who shall
see them?"\textsuperscript{156} Like these indeed is the way of the adulterous
woman who, according to the saying of the prophet "eateth,
and wipeth her mouth, and saith: 'I have done no evil.'"\textsuperscript{157}
Otherwise they would not have been wise to do evil, if with-
out any difficulty they could be apprehended in evil. There-
fore, the bishops were pondering and reflecting, in distress,
what they ought to do and how they could avoid the issue.
And finally it was decided, by common consent, that they
would summon their archbishop to the Roman see for the crime

\textsuperscript{155} Jeremias 4.22
\textsuperscript{156} Psalms 63.6
\textsuperscript{157} Proverbs 30.20
of perjury, and that they would pledge themselves to the king on the word of truth by a promise that they would bend all their efforts, as far as they were able, to the deposition of the archbishop, on this condition, that the king would absolve them from that judgment of the archbishop which was threatening. When an appeal had thus been made to please the king, they were seated, each according to his rank, near the archbishop.

Now indeed fear and terror prevailed over all. For now, with the king sitting with the noblemen before the tribunal, and with the bishops turned away, it was thought that soon imprisonment or worse threatened the archbishop. From that time on indeed distinguished men and all the greater personages of the kingdom who opened their mouths, ravaging and roaring like a lion, judged the archbishop, as was later confided to us, to be a perjurer and a traitor. Why he was judged, however, we could but suspect rather than know, as will soon be explained. When sentence was about to be pronounced, therefore, and the king remained with a few others, all those from the dining hall came down to the lower house and stood, as they pronounced it, before the archbishop. When the archbishop wished to rise for those who were descending, the disciple who sat at the foot of the cross reminded him that it was by no means proper that in such a crisis a father should rise for his sons, especially since
he held in his own hands the standard of so great a King.
The archbishop agreed, and did not rise to quiet those standing before him; and no sign of cowardice or of idle fear could be detected in his gestures, in his speech, or his actions. But Robert, a nobleman, then earl of Leices­ter, a man greatly distinguished among honorable people, on whose lips the verdict had been placed, rose to speak. He recounted first into what familiar favor of the king Thomas had been admitted, how many great benefits he had received from the king's hand, and how he now seemed unmindful and ungrateful for all these, rendering evil for good, and hatred and ignominy for favor and glory. And because this earl, a man great and generous, had loved the archbishop simply and sincerely during the time of his chancellorship, but now concealed his affection through fear, he was sad and sympathetic, as was clearly evident, and temporized, fearing to pronounce sentence. The archbishop, quickly perceiving this, interrupted the earl's speech, and, just as a father restrains his sons, he forbade all those who were standing before him, in virtue of obedience and by the faith of Christ which they professed, to pronounce a sentence in which his person should be judged. But when it came to the clause which accused the archbishop of the crime of perjury, and the earl, as could easily be seen, was on the point of pronouncing him a perjurer, and perhaps
(as was being conjectured) intending to pronounce him also a traitor, the archbishop, surmising his purpose, arose immediately without waiting for the sentence, protesting that it was not their place to judge their archbishop on criminal charges; therefore we do not know positively what charges were placed against him. Soon, however, as some who stood about to render judgment taunted and upbraided him as a perjurer and a traitor, he left the court. Turning and fixing a stern gaze upon those who were reproaching him thus, he replied that, if his priestly rank did not prevent him, and if it were lawful for him, he would fight with military weapons against them to defend himself against their charges of perjury and treason. Thus we departed from the council. He who gives testimony of these events, and who saw and wrote them, is the disciple who alone followed the archbishop bearing his cross while we appeared in court; and on this day "we were made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men."  

When we had left the court, and we had mounted horses, the archbishop was scarcely able to manage his horse, to carry his cross, and to give his blessing to those who asked it, as the crowd of people begging his blessing was so

158 Cf. Luke 14.27

159 1 Corinthians 4.9
great. For as though prophetic of what was to come, as he carried his cross through the villages and streets, a throng of people fell prostrate before him, venerating him and asking his blessing. When he had reached his lodging, namely the church of St. Andrew, a conventual monastery of religious monks, where tables were immediately set, there was, as usual, a grand and illustrious retinue. But soon many members of our household, especially the knights and noble youths, asked to be dismissed because they feared the king; and when they had obtained their permission, they departed in great anxiety and sorrow, from the archbishop; thus proving that saying of the wise man: "There is a friend a companion at the table, and he will not abide in the day of distress." 160 These, however, might be excused because they were laymen who, not without cause, feared the royal displeasure. But there were among those who deserted him some men, I say, of our own office, some among the clergy. These are less excusable and more culpable in that, as soon as they foresaw the situation between the king and the archbishop, like swallows at the approach of winter, they gradually flew from us. Truly like swallows and like reeds were these men who yielded to the first blast of the wind. Such as these are indeed sons of the

160 Ecclesiasticus 6.10
wind, friends of fortune, striving for gain alone, and seeking their own advantage. But I shall not now continue to censure further the timidity of these men; it is sufficient merely to have mentioned it, especially since afterwards they themselves, perceiving the outcome of affairs, humbly confessed that they had erred and that they deeply regretted having thus deserted their pastor and father. It is, nevertheless, fitting to have touched upon this matter, so that in another situation of this kind men of our rank, following their pastor and father, may, by no means, look backward and abandon him in distress. For, as the wise man says, "He that is a friend loveth at all times: and a brother is proved in distress." 161 Disregarding, therefore, those who departed from us, but who never really belonged to us, let us continue the order of events inserting only this point for the glory of so great an archbishop, that, with some withdrawing, with others going away, that man, relying on a perseverance in virtue without which he would have failed completely, concealed his feelings with complete fortitude. Indeed a great mind generally regards any temporal prosperity or adversity as a trifle, considering

161 Proverbs 17.17
that, as someone has said, prosperity is not lasting, nor does misfortune long endure.

Accordingly, since our departure from court had taken place in the evening, when the office of vespers had been completed, the archbishop and those whom he then had with him, immediately retired. During breakfast, the reading was an account of the persecution of the bishop Liberius from the ecclesiastical *Historia Tripartita*; 162 and when we heard that saying of the gospel quoted, "And when they shall persecute you in one city, flee into another," 163 the archbishop looked at the disciple who writes this, now conceiving from the gospel, just as I had surmised and as the result soon proved, the idea of flight. Indeed, when the hymn had been sung, the archbishop arose from the table and immediately calling Roger, then bishop of Worcester, and Robert of Melum then bishop of Hereford, the two whom he had ordained priests and consecrated bishops (for he had consecrated no others before or afterwards,) and likewise the bishop of Rochester, his own chaplain, he sent them to the king to ask him for a safe

162 The scriptural text mentioned has been quoted not by Liberius but by the Arian bishop, Demophilus, in the *Historia Tripartita de Constantino*, 9.10, (Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* 69.892)

163 Matthew 10.23
passage from the country. These messengers quickly returned, reporting that the king had replied that he would postpone the matter until the council of the following day.

38. The Flight of the Archbishop

Meanwhile, the bishop was secretly enjoined and counseled by those familiar with the royal secrets that he should act with caution for the sake of the king as well as for his own interest. On the same night, therefore, a little before dawn, the archbishop, with only four horses, began his secret flight. Very few knew of this, only the disciple who wrote this and his own chaplain and chamber-servants without whose knowledge this plan could not have been carried out. Indeed he charged the disciple that on that same night he should set out for Canterbury. And since at that time the system of income was a general tax of the entire archdiocese, he ordered me to get together as much money as was possible and to hasten across the sea to the famous castle of St. Omer in Flanders, there, in all faithfulness, in the eminent monastery of St. Bertinus, surely to await his arrival. He declared positively, without a plausible explanation, that, God willing, he would come unless prevented by arrest or death itself. He then added a request which I have been careful to insert here; he asked that I take charge of a certain
book of his, so that it might not, as soon as it was seen, be destroyed in the struggle, with his other possessions, after his flight. One may note here how truly, when it was proper, he was a despiser of those who possess wealth, since in the midst of such a variety of splendid furnishings which he left behind, he was thus mindful of but one brief testamentary order. Thus the archbishop departed, and left behind his disciple, lamenting and crying after him. On this same night, indeed, certain of our companions, not knowing of the archbishop's escape, were asleep in a certain separate bedroom. By one of these, as he afterwards reported to me and to others, the sound of a voice was heard distinctly repeating those two verses of the psalmist, "Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are delivered."\(^{164}\)

And indeed on this third day of the week\(^ {165}\) that ruinous dissension between so great a king and so great an archbishop, between the head and the members, (that is, the metropolitan and his suffragans), a wicked separation, and finally, the disturbance of the entire kingdom and the priesthood and the beginning of our six years exile which was to last until the martyrdom, comprised the fourth action of the council.

\(^{164}\) Psalms 123.7

\(^{165}\) Tuesday, October 13, 1164
O accursed day! O wicked council! O action of a day and a council to be abominated for all ages to come; through which such dear pledges of so great a king and so great an archbishop were so irreparably destroyed that never again were the king and the archbishop to see each other in the kingdom. Oh what great misfortunes befell both kingdom and priesthood, as a result of what took place here! Therefore, as I have seen, as I have heard, and as I myself have known, I declare what a wicked, noxious, and deadly crime it is to sow discord or schism between the kingdom and the priesthood, unless, perchance, priestly emulation be aroused in the very clear cause of justice. For a schism or scandal which arises between kings and priests because of the truth of God is not so much a schism or a scandal as the healing of ecclesiastical peace and liberty. But many to whom priestly power has been given merely pass under the guise of religion, remaining silent and hypocritical while the liberty of the clergy is being imperiled before their very eyes, not wishing, so they say and persuade themselves, to stir up schism between kingdom and priesthood. Some of these more truly dissemble what they see and regard it as a hardship and a misfortune if these abuses are opposed. These especially are the best pretenders, bearing all things for the sake of Caesar, who through him are more easily promoted to higher positions; or, as sometimes happens, contrary to
lawful procedure, whose rank Caesar himself procures. But our Thomas here, although (as we have explained) he had been taken from the royal court and had stood in such high favor with the king, and so had been promoted at the king's wish and by his arrangement, nevertheless, when the time came and the occasion presented itself, forgetting the things that were behind, he stretched forward to those which were before him, and for the honor of the clergy and the liberty of the church, which he had undertaken to guard, he preferred to man Him Who is above all men, and, still in high favor, opposed the king. Unlike that ancient priest in the gospel, unlike the levite, a minister of carnal things, he did not pass over, he did not pretend. But, as I was saying, the injuries to kingdom and priesthood which arose from this schism and quarrel are many and are not described here. This is just as that man, Thomas himself, foretold, providing for everything before the evils occurred; certainly as he added, not in the least ought the cause of justice to be abandoned nor even dissembled because of this instance. When one has undertaken hard tasks, it is fitting that a great deed follow great deeds, otherwise a good deed is lost; thus, when one has begun a life of virtue, his virtue itself is there finally proven as it is the more perfectly and the more worthily imitated. "For power,"

166 Cf. Luke 10.31,32
says the Master, "is made perfect in infirmity." 167 The following section of the history will explain the nature and extent of the misfortunes which, because of this dis­sension, befell the kingdom and the priesthood. Anyone who wishes more information concerning these may read our letters written during our exile, or those written to us or in our behalf. There has been compiled from all these one abundant and compact epistolary collection for reference. Many of the facts contained in letters we shall omit, for the sake of brevity, in the continuation of this history.

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The thesis submitted by Sister M. Ann Kathleen Fisher, O.P. 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.

April 12, 1947

Signature of Adviser